

*A*  
**GENERALL  
HISTORIE**

*of France.*  
written by Iohn de Serres  
vnto the yeare .1598.

*Much augmented and continued vnto  
this present out of the most ap:  
prooved authors that haue  
written of that  
subject.*

BY ED. GRIMESTON.  
*Esquire.*

IMPRINTED  
BY GEORGE ELD.  
1611.





TO THE RIGHT NOBLE,  
AND MOST WORTHIE OF  
*ALL HONOURS, AND*  
ALL TITLES,

ROBERT Earle of *Salisbury*, THOMAS Earle of *Suffolke*,  
*Lord High Treasurer* | *Lord Chamberlaine to*  
OF ENGLAND, &c. | HIS MAJESTIE.



Y most Honoured Lords, Such is the indulgence of many men, especially Paper-walters, to their owne imperfections; that when they are receiued with Fauour, and sometimes Pittie, they value them to bee iust such things, as the Mercy and Grace of those, to whom they were giuen, hath made them: And so, by the prosperitie of one fault, become confident to commit the second. I am afrayd to be found in this List: that, hauing about me a conscience of trespasse in my first Dedication of this TRANSLATION to your *Honours*, dare yet attempt you with the latter: All that will saue me in the Imputation, is, that I did then dedicate my selfe, with my vtmost abilities: From which, the fraylties that accompany Humanity, Errors, are not easily separated. Yet, if in this second Edition they appeare lesse, either by mine owne indolence, or *Printers*, though not all found and weeded; that very study of bettering and handsoming the *WORKE*, wil (I hope) commend both it and me, to your *LL.* fauour: which Fauour (next to diuine *Grace*) I proclaime, to haue beene the chearing meane, and inspiring power, enabling me to these, and more, that shortly couet the Light vnder

B06.047

*The Epistle Dedicatorie.*

your *Honours* names: At the foot of which two *Pillars* (may they bee as renowned as those of *Gades*) I haue written my *Terme* or *Bound*. There I will stay, and contemplate your *Vertue*: which, if in other breasts it find *Court*, and *Reuerence*, in mine it hath *Religion*, and a *Temple*. And *Iustice* hath well prouided, that such, who are not equall in *Ceremonie*, may yet be better in *Deuotion*: by how much the study of *Truth* exceeds that of *Shew*.

Your *LL.* deuoted in all  
duty and service,

EDVVARD GRIMESTON.

AN



An aduertisement to the  
Reader.



Curteous Reader; It may bee, you will hold it strange, that (contrarie to the vsuall manner of Translators) I should set a new Epistle in the front of an old Booke: It is not to insinuate for more fauour, either in the behalfe of the Authour, the Printer, or my selfe. You haue bene pleased to read the worke, and I hope you haue liked it, for the Printer selles mee they are all sold, which is a good Testimony of your kinde Approbation. He hath therefore undertaken an other Impression, intreating me to take some paines to reuiew it, and to continew the History vnto these Times; wherevnto I was the more willingly drawne, for that I would not haue any other to put his sickle into my harvest, or to finish that which I had begunne.

This is only to giue you an account for what I haue done in this second Edition, and to satisfie you for some Alterations which you shall find in the course of the History; wherein some, happily, will say, I haue exceeded the Lawes of Translation. I haue in this second Edition, used two partes of Arithmetike, that is, Addition, and Substraction: for the first, whereas Iohn De Settes, (whom I onely acknowledge to bee mine Authour, vntill the Treaty of Veruins, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1598.) Making profession to write but an INVENTORY, did set downe euery action briefly and succinctlie, referring the Readers to the Originall, to bee there satisfied of all the circumstances more at large, and so happelie hath left them in suspense, beeing (as I presume) as desirous to know the manner, as the matter. I haue therefore endeouored in this Edition to ease the Reader of this labour and charge, and haue (out of the most approoued Authours that haue written of this subiect) added the reasons and circumstances of many things, which hee did but onely touch at, without any alteration of the subiect. This haue I chiefly obserued in matters of State, as Treaties, Compositions and Capitulations: wherevnto I haue added the Articles, that the Reader may not onely see what things were done, but may also know the reasons, and vpon what grounds they were concluded.

After the Treaty of Veruins, whereas Settes ends his INVENTORY, I haue tied my selfe to no certaine Authour, but haue collected it out of all the best that haue written of these later times, the which I haue continued vnto the Coronation of this young King. Wherevnto I haue added such Discourses, Conferences, Edicts, and Declarations, as haue past, the which I thought would giue some luster vnto the History, and content vnto the Reader. And thus much for my Addition. As for my Substraction, I haue taken the same course in this, as I did in my Netherland History, to make it perticular for France, else I might bee held so want discretion, making to great a Volume with vnecessary repetitions: I haue therefore as much as I could (especially in these later reignes) omitted all things that doe not concerne France, or the French, referring the Reader to the History of those countries where they were acted: as for the actions of the Low-countries, so the Netherland History & for the Turkeish

## To the Reader.

warres, to its proper History, the which is very worthily written by Mr. Knowles. Concerning matters of Spaine, I referue them for a perticular History of that Country, the which if it please God to send mee life and health, you shall see published before the yeere passe aboue.

True it is that in the reignes of Charles the eight, Lewis the twelfth, and Francis the second, you shall finde much written of the warres of Italy, the which although they were acted vpon another Theater, yet were the French chiefe actors in those Tragedies. Neither could I well omit them without leauing an imputation of idlenesse vpon those generous Princes, who imploied a great part of their reignes in making warre there, for their pretentions to the Kingdome of Naples, and the Dutchy of Milan.

Thus much I thought good to aduertise you of my course in this second Edition, referring it to your kind and iudicious censures. And so I rest.

Yours.

E. G.



## IOHN DE SERRES, TOUCHING THE VSE of this his Inuentorie.



San Historie is the Theater of mans life, whereby all may <sup>The generall</sup> learne one common lesson, by the goodly examples, the repre- <sup>vic of histo-</sup> sents vnto their eyes, eares, and vnderstandings: Euen so thee <sup>ties.</sup> inuities all men to view, heare, and to conceiue them well, what language soeuer thee speakes, what subiect the treatates of, what time thee notes, and what person soeuer thee represents. Thus offering her selfe to all with this excellent vse, she deserves iustly to bee embraced, Experience verifying the testimonie which wise Antiquity doth giue her. *That shee is the Mistresse of Mans Life, the Testimonie of Truth, the Recorder of Iustice, the resplendent Beames of Vertue, the Register of Honour, the Trumpet of Fame, the Examiner of Actions, the Comptrouler of all Times, the Rendez-vous of diuerse Euents, the Schoole of Good and Euill, and the Soueraigne Iudge of a l Men, and all Exploits.* This praise is common to all Histories: But as in a generall action euery one ought to haue a more speciall eye of that which concernes his priuate duty: So in the generall History of all Nations, euery man is bound to bee more perticularly informed of that which toucheth himselfe, and instructed in the managing of the State, vnder which he is borne: By reason wherof I haue alwaies held the complaint of *Thucydaides* (one of the chiefe Architects of a History) very considerable, *That it was a great shame for Grecians to bee Strangers in Greece*; when as (busying themselves in forreine Histories) they were ignorant of their owne. May we not in like manner say, *That it is a great shame that Frenchmen should be strangers in France*: for why should the ignorance of our History bee more excusable in vs, then of theirs in them. Doubtlesse we often seeke for that a farte off, which is neere vnto as at home: I commend the diligence of our men in searching out of forreine Histories. But if it may be lawfull to speake of this subiect (as one of the common sort) I dare say there is no Nation vnder the cope of Heauen (without flattering my selfe with the loue of my Country) since Man was borne, that hath more admirable matters, or more worthy euents in euery kinde, and by consequence a History more memorable, then ours of France. Bee it for the forme of *Gouernment*: there was neuer Kingdome nor Common-weale established with goodlier lawes then our Monarchie. It is the true patterne of a perfect estate, such as the wise Politicians in former times vsed to discourse off in their *Academie*. A soueraigne Commander, with Authority absolutely soueraigne, but fortified with a power so well qualified with the Counterpoise of inferiour offices, as we may rightly call the French Monarchy, a mixture of all the lawfull governments of a common-weale, by a well gouerned proportion, if the lawes prescribed be well obserued, the which I haue (to that end) planted in the front of this building. Bee it for the *greatnesse and strength of the State*, although I know well that the foure Monarchies which commanded ouer Nations, had larger dominions then the French, yet was there neuer any Empire better vnited, better grounded, nor of longer continuance, more famous for the beautie and bounty of the soyle, situation

## The vse of this Inuentorie.

of the country, Riches of the people, and excellencie of wittes, eyther in peace or warre. As for the greatnesse of her Prouinces, what is the French Monarchie, but diuerse kingdomes vnited in one, and sundry crownes annexed to one? But heerein it excels the rest, that although they all in generall hold as it were of the Church, yet ours hath heerein a more speciall priuiledge, hauing diueried from Europe that great deluge of Infidels, which threatned all Christendome with Shipwrack. To conclude, it yeelds to no Monarchy whatsoeuer, neither needs it any thing but good husbandry. As for worthy men, which be a liuing law, and as it were the soule of an estate, is there any nation whatsoeuer that can shew so many excellent personages, yea and Kings, as France may? There is no vanity more vaine, nor more vnworthy of a free minde, making profession of an History, wholly vowed to truth, then flattery. But the most strict Arcopagite that euer was, cannot deny, but our Monarchie may produce as many excellent Kings and Princes, as any other whatsoeuer. The three Races haue made shew in diuerse seasons: But the third had the continuance of a more temperate, for the establishing of an Estate. Let iudgment bee made by an vnpassionate tryall of their reignes and actions: to set downe Kings beautified with sundry graces, as necessitie required, valiant in warre, wise for counsell, resolute in aduersitie, milde to pardon faults, when as forgetfulnesse was necessary for the good of the State, and the quiet of the Realme.

What shall wee say of great and worthy euents, such as may chance to Man, beeing good or euill? Hath any Historic more rare examples then ours? eyther ordinary in the common sufferance of Prosperity or Aduersitie: or extraordinarie in the greatest, and most tragicall rare accidents that may bee noted in any other Nation: there was neuer State reduced into greater difficulties, both within and without the Realme, and not subuerted: And in these extreame dangers, what valiant resolutions! Truly our History sets downe in diuerse reignes, the courage and constancie of diuerse Kings and people: in shew conquered, in effect Conquerors: in that they neuer dispaired of the Common-weale, in the midst of their dispaire: what loue of Kings to their Subjects, and of Subjects to their Kings, in common calamities? Our Historie is full of examples, and of all things else considerable in the societie of Man, either in warre or peace, and which depends vpon their vertues, which gouerne the helme of this great Barke. But as wee cannot hide, nor deprive of their due praise, these goodly lights which shine in diuerse parts of our History, by the many examples of valour, equity, wisdom, magnanimity, modestie, dexterity, and other excellent vertues of our Kings, so to iudge thereof soundly, wee must flye to the Father of lights, who vsing these great and worthy personages for the building, preservation, or increase of this Monarchie, hath enriched them with great and pretious graces, that acknowledging him the author aswell of all these vertues, as of the happy successe of things managed by them, wee may learne to yeeld him homage, for the preservation, continuance, and increase of this great estate.

The negligence of our Kings hath too often brought our royall Diademe into danger, whereof they made themselves vnworthy, making it weake and contemptible in their persons, who (by their basenesse and childish gouernment) suffered their seruants to command absolutely. The kingdomes hath beene as it were dismembred by the diuision of royall commands. And by this meanes brothers deuided by strange and selfe-wild discensions, haue abandoned all to spoyle: and from these home-bred diuisions, haue sprung ciuill warres, amidst the which, the Inferiours (fishing in a troubled water) freed them-selues, and opposing against their Soueraigne, became petty Kings. Wee haue seene their rage extend farther, attempting against the Kings person, imprisoning him, forcing him to quit his crowne, and in the end reducing him to that extremity, as to dye desperately, seeing himselfe so outrageously intreated withall. Wee haue seene Kings prisoners in their enemies hands, and abandoned by their subiects, Kings besieged in their houses. Wee haue seene a poore young man appointed

Excellencies  
remarkable in  
the miracu-  
lous prefer-  
uation of this  
Estate.

## The vse of this Inuentorie.

appointed to guide a ship (during the fury of a storme) without Helme, without Mast, without Sailes, and without Oares: beaten without by the tempest, and within by the Sayers: Seized on in his Cabin by madde men, imbrued with the blood of his most trusty seruants, murdered before his eyes, yea euen in his bosome. Wee haue seene the Crowne of Kings in their minorities, set to sale by their Tutors, who became murderers, and of Regents, Theeues, making themselves Kings: Wee haue seene a King in his non-age become madde, gouerned by the passions of Men and Women, holding the chiefe degrees in state, which did strue to ruine it with in-bred factions, rages, and populer tumults, by tragicall massacres, and furious hostilitie. Wee haue seene amidst these combustions, the Stranger not onely awaked at this brute, but also armed, entered within the Realme, and lodged within the bowels of the goodlyest Prouinces. And (which is more) installed in the Kings authority by the Ediſt of a lawfull King, seated in the royall throne, hauing the Crowne on his head, with the Scepter and Purse in his hand, and a Daughter of France in his bedde, for a pawne of this vniust pretension, a Sonne to warrant his possession, with the force and obedience of the Capitall City, and the first Princes of the blood armed with power and counsell to countenance these horrible confusions. Amidst these ruinous disorders of our Countrie, who hath preserved the realme of France, but hee that with one and the same hand, hath made both the lawe and the King of France?

O my Countrymen, it is to you to whome your History is directed, hauing the chiefe interest in the estate of our Mother, although Strangers are forced to admire it. But what? Our Ancestors haue seene all these things specified heere, and represented in particular in the discourse I now offer vnto you. But I beseech you what haue wee seene with our owne eyes, within these thirtie and five yeares? haue wee felt lesse misery, or found weaker remedies? What were our troubles, and to what extremitie were wee brought vnto of late yeares? By the conference of our History, with our Ancestors, ours serues as a Comentary for the well vnderstanding thereof, yet can wee not deny but our age hath seene things farre more extraordinary and miraculous: So as wee rightly may say, *That wee haue liued in a time of Miracles*: Without doubt our posterity will admire in particular the History of our time, as the rarest part of the whole body; we that haue seene it, should often belye our eares and eyes in reading or hearing it, when (thee shall appeare in publick to put vs in minde of that whereof wee were eye witnesses, and therefore witnesses about all exception: But euery thing must bee done in order and time. Behold the first part of my desseigne, which it behooues you to obserue: SHALL IT then bee in vaine, and without any fruit? it is not my intention, if the end of euery commendable enterprife be the Vse: Shall wee thinke that the knowledge of our ancient Estate is vnprofitable, and in a time when as wee haue so great need of consolation? Truly in the continuance of our long calamity, wee must needs bee oppressed with a troublesome care. But in feeling the paine, why seeke wee not the remedie? If wee often apply the example to things wee doe eyther without Lawe or against the Lawe, how much more should it auail vs being ioyned with Reason? An example rightly represented in the History of our Ancestors, serues vs now as a good guide to comfort vs, when as the like misery is common to vs and them. And if it please God to make vs like in condition, what reason haue wee to complaine? At the least wee may therein obserue, that not at this time alone France is afflicted, and hath shewed her indiscretion. So likewise by the same reason, it is not now alone that thee hath felt the succours of her Protector, who preserves her, amends her follyes, and repaires her defects: without this protecting hand, thee had long since perished. What shall wee then say? truly wee were much too blame to accuse our Fathers, and seeke to excuse our selues, of the like or greater errors: our waywardnesse were not pardonable, if our hearts should faint in these difficulties, seeing that wee learne in the same Historie, that our

The speciall  
vse of this  
History.

## The vse of this Inuentorie.

Fathers haue bin deliuered from the like afflictions. It is therefore a speciall vse of this Historie, to cast our eyes vpon the condition of our predecessors, to mollifie our languishings, as a necessary symptome of our inciuill warres, which like a continuall feauer hath sucked (euen to the marrow) all the vigour of this Estate, and hath not yet left it.

We must accuse our impatiencie and nicenesse, if we shall complaine to haue bin worse intreated then our fore-fathers, seeing we obserue in them the like afflictions. Experience laies goodly grounds to reason, this certain experience ingenders in our hearts hope of future things, without confusion or deceit. Doe we not then reap excellent fruits of this Historie? if by the deliuerance of our Fathers we conclude and hope for ours, but in such sort, and at such times, as the wise prouidence of God hath appointed; which ordinance, neither Enemies can hinder, nor Friends aduance: and therefore the direction of this truth doth teach vs to saile in this sea, euery one as he ought, according to his degree, expecting a happy harbor by the bountie & wisdom of him that rules the waues of humane confusions, as the soueraigne Iudge, holding in his hands, both the hearts of men, and the euents of things. Doe we grieue at our long troubles? let vs read the reigns of *John, Charles the first, Charles the first, & Charles the seuenth*: do we repine at our late losses? let vs read the raigne of *Philip of Valois*, & we shall see that the losse of the same city was deerer to him then to vs. As we may neuer disseemble our losses, so is there a time to loose, & a time to gaine, if in our houses in the country or city, all things succeed not as we desire, who can with reason require always the like successe in a State? To conclude, if to flatter the disease be no means to cure it, or to complaine without remedie, (seeing that choller and despair brings no helpe to the diseased) let vs rather seeke for remedie, then increase the disease by a bootlesse complaint. If we wish for peace abroad, let vs lodge it first in our hearts at home. This inward peace shall be a good warrant for the generally, but wee are very sicke, if we thinke by waiewardnes and furie to cure the disease. If then wee seek any sound cure for our griefs, the Apothecaries shop is open, behold some preparatiues. But what is that in regard of the serious reading of the History it selfe, as necessary at this day for French-mē, as necessity doth force vs to seek for consolatiō?

I haue endeauored therfore (my countrymen) to trace out some slender obseruations for you in this little worke, grossly such as I could, I see it is not according to the dignitie and greatnes of the subiect (worthy in truth of a good writer) but rather fit for that obscure age, when the most ancient Druides had a maxime, *not to write all*, or of those which haue left vs these small abridgements, the which we now vse for want of better: and without doubt, if our History had encountered such spirits as the Greeke and Latin did, it had bin nothing inferior to any of them, in beauty and profit. This is the only cause why our countrymen haue not read our History, hauing not enioyed the light of excellent writers, to represent her in her liuely colours, according to her worth. And although our France hath heretofore had cause to complain in this respect, yet now that fault is partly repaired, by the industry of some that strue to plant & beautifie it. Amongst such as haue labored in this subiect, *Du Haillan* in my opinion exceeds all others, & deserues immortall commendations, hauing so happily clenfed these ouergrown bushes, and made so plaine a path in this obscure Forrest: if zeale to do my countrey seruice, & hope by my example to awake the learned to do better, were not my iust excuse, where should I hide me from the blemish of inconsiderate rashnes: especially being in this citie of Paris, not only the capitall City of France (the fertile mother of good wits) but also the Rendez-vous of the greatest miracles in the world. I will therefore speake freely, that in presuming to beautifie this Historie, I haue taken for the only obiect of my aime, *To seeke the truth with the vse thereof*, and to giue you some cause of content. Regard not my tongue, I offer you the simple truth without painting, the which I haue curiously searched for in many good Bookes, which my necessarie aboad here hath giuen me meanes to

obtaine,

## The vse of this Inuentorie.

obtaine, and the desire I haue to serue you, occasion to imploy them, for as I am wholie vowed to the publike, so will I yeeld an accompt not onely of my idleness, but also of my employments, I haue therefore resoluēd to vndertake a labour that should not bee vnprofitable, in preparing you a way to learne your Historie in the originalls, with lesse paine and more profit. I doe therefore call this my endeauour an INVENTORIE, by the direction whereof, you may see the body and euery part at your pleasure. If I may perswade the Reader to conferre this my labour with the writings of others vpon this subiect (both old and new) I shall not then need to put in caution, but be of an assured hope to obtaine a testimonie of my fidelitie: and it may be in time, of some diligence, at the least I bring nothing, that hath not bene well purified and applied to the vse. The fruit depends on the blessing of God, by the iudgement of such as shall read mee; I will protest onely for that which doth concerne my selfe: I haue used the Rule, Square, Lead and Compasse, to obserue proportion both in stile and subiect, that in my course I might direct you to the very truth; if it bee with that light and breuitie I pretended, I shall haue cause to thanke God, and to labour in some subiect of greater moment, yet I haue done my best indeauour that the learned may supply my defect, in dooing better. The course is open, euery one may runne it. I leaue the prize to them that shall doe best, my intent was onely to profit the publike: and therefore I bring not an Abridgement, but an INVENTORY. I haue searched the very Springs of such as went before me. The first haue not hindered the second: and why should the second take it ill to be followed by others? one kinde of meate may be diuersly seasoned to good purpose. A small Dya I markes the houres in like proportion to a great Clock: It is one of my wishes, that this goodlie subiect may be set to open view, that the learned may strue to exceed one another, and leaue no excuse for our Frenchmen to bee any more strangers in France, making the way easie and profitable: If in this respect my zeale and integritie may bee approued of my Country, why should I repent the inemployment of some houres in so goodly and worthy a worke, as a testimonie (at the least) that I desire to discharge my duty?

To conclude, my Countrymen, I must not conceale from you the chiefe cause that induced mee to compile this worke. About fixe and twenty yeares since, I was thrust forth vpon the Theater, (being very young) to represent the History of our miseries: the desire of forraine Nations begat this desseigne, being curious to vnderstand a particuler relation of our Tragedies. By reason whereof I presented this my first worke in Latin, that Strangers might vnderstand it. I held it for an Abortiue, and esteemed the losse but light, yet was the successe greater then my proiect, for being imbraced by the publike beyond desert, it hath so increased, as of one Booke there are made fiftene, and corrected with diuerse impressions. And as the child increased, so the Father had meanes to do him good. GOD suffering me to liue to be a witnesse of great accidents, not onely as many of my Country-men, that sees the danger from a safe Porte, but imbarcked in full Seas amidst these common tempests: for being imployed in some and no small affaires (both within and without the realme) I had the Honor to bee admitted into Kings and Princes Cabinets, to manage publique causes of Prouinces, and to conferre with the heads of Parties, to learne from their owne mouthes, and from others that had authority and imployment vnder them, the Truth of all that passed: so as being able to giue a reason for many things which I had seene, I may likewise giue an account of most that hath passed, by the proceedings and instructions of both parties. I will adde to this opportunitie the priuate deuotion which hath alwayes held my minde inclined to this care, to gather together whatsoeuer was done, when as necessity of affaires thrust mee into employments: and this my desire succeeded so happily, that both great and small haue fauourably imparted vnto mee whatsoeuer might benefit concerning this subiect. So as I haue made a iust collection of all the substance, that may serue for the building of a perfect Historie, from the

The occasion  
of this History.

My end and  
purpose in  
this labour.

beginning of the troubles to this day. The end of this painfull labour depends of him from whom proceeds the euents of all our prayers. To him therefore I referre my selfe, protetting onely of that which is in mee. As therefore I aduow my selfe both Debtor of this worke, and Author of these Bookes, which wander among men: so I protest the fault shall not be mine, if all turne not to the publike good, where-vnto it is appointed, as by the order shall be found most expedient. And expecting an end of this great masse, my intent was onely (as may easily appeare by the Table of the third Race) to set before your eyes (as in one Mappe) a Summarie of the ancient History, very necessary for the vnting and referabance of that which hath happened in our time. But the iudgement of my learned friends, hath made mee to take a new course, that the length of so tedious a painment might not bee troublesome vnto you, in giving you the whole History vnto this day, fashioned of this meane and base stature, whereof I now offer you this first part, as a Patterne of the whole peece, imbraking my selfe from the maine land in this tempestuous Sea, which must needs bee fearfull vnto mee, both by the feeling of mine owne weaknesse, and the apprehension of diuerse iudgements, as the Ebbing and Flowing of the Ocean. I durst not hazard all this small modell at one voyage. Goe forth my first parcell, and seeke thy fortune, learne by the Chapmen, how the market goes, that by thy successe I may resolue with lesse danger to Ship the rest, the which in the meane time shall attend (in a safe Harbor) the winde of your fauourable contents.



## A PLOT OR DISSEINE OF THE WHOLE HISTORIE.



**M**EANING is to represent in this discourse, what is most remarkable in the History of FRANCE, and (with a simple, faithfull, and liuely breuity) to report all that hath succeeded in the FRENCH Monarchy, worthy of memory, to make our Frenchmen see a modell of this great building, reducing it to the first foundation, according to the proportion of the subject, and the order of times, the certaine light of truth, and by the changes of the greatest and most famous forreine States, to the end, that this our INVENTORY may serue the learned for a memorial, and learners for a direction. The enterprise is not small, although the worke be litle, but as it must be valued by the fruite, so the prooffe will appeare to such as shall vouchsafe to read what my desire was able to performe. And for a ground of this goodly and excellent History, so worthy of knowledge, we must set downe in general termes what shall be handled in the particular throughout the whole discourse, and lay before our eyes (as in a table, by the most cleere and soundest proofes that may bee drawne from likelihoods of so obscure antiquity) the beginning and continuance, with the greatest apparence of truth, the increase, with the diuers euents and successe of this state such as now it is.

It were to seeke truth in vanity, following the common error, to search for the originall of the FRENCH, in the ruines and ashes of Troy, or in the fennes of Meotides, for in the most auncent Histories of the Trojans, there is no mention of FRANCVS or FRANCION, Sonnes of HECTOR, who had but one Sonne, named ASTIANAX, slaine at three yeares of age in the sacke of Troy. There is also no likelihood to find the stemme of our FRENCH nation in the fennes of Meotides, where they were first called SICAMBRES, hauing built a Citty by imagination named SICAMERIA: and that they issued from thence in great troups. There is no more prooffe that they are come from these marshes, then from the desarts of Aethiopia. It appeares the SICAMBRIANS were a different people from the FRENCH, and that the wallies of SICAMBRIA are yet to build. But the new presumption of a certaine writer is yet more admirable, who comes from far to aduertise the FRENCH of their originall, the which he findes beyond the Moone, and with so great an assurance as he sets downe name by name the Kings of the house of SICAMBRIA and of FRANCE, their race, manners, deeds, adventures, and that in so good earnest (as reporting a thing but of yesterday, or as beeing a Counsellor to these supposed Kings) seeming with reason to reprehend such as wil not take his word for present payment, vnder the authority of certaine old Registers produced by him, wherein he names these Kings one after one, like in presumption to the Castilians, the inuentors of the fabulous History of AMADIS: or the deuisors of the offspring of the Panim Gods, or of the Romant of the Rose, hauing forged names at their pleasure, leauing therefore all these Diuinations and Fopperies, let vs search (as meere as we may) what is most likely by the traces

## A Plot or Dissein

traces of truth, untill it may guide us to firme land, not plunging our selues any further in the bogges and unknowne deserts, of an imagined Antiquity.

**The French are come out of Germany.** What then? a doubtlesse wee shall no where finde a more certaine originall of our FRENCH Nation then in Germany. This is most apparant; FRANCONIA beares yet the name of the old inhabitants, and the marks of their auncient possessions: the Cities of the one and the other side of the Rhine are full of their Antiquities. We can no way doubt by these marks, but they have inhabited in those parts, and it is likely they were dispersed betwixt the Rivers of Rhine and Danubius, unto the Ocean. Whether they had there beginning there, or came from any other part, it avails not to dispute, seeing the search is altogether unprofitable, for that in deed it is impossible.

**Of the name of Frenchmen** The derivation of the name is very difficult, being wholly unknown to the first Antiquity: for wee read not in any auncient Histories of the name of FRENCH-MEN among the nations of Germany, yet carefully observed by the most auncient. But who see not the change of auncient names to new? Alemaine is now called Germany: Heluetia, Suisse: Britaine, England: with out seeking unnecessary proofes in so apparant a matter. The FRENCH therefore being an auncient people of Germany, have changed their name with the whole country upon diuers subiects, but when, how, by whom and wherefore, it cannot be certainly defined, but by coniectures, more easie to be refuted then maintained. It appeares onely that FRANCE is a German word, which signifieth Free, and that their auncestors either having shak't of the yoke of the Roman seruitude, and recovered their auncient liberty, or remayning free amongst so many neighbours subiect to that great Empire, were called FRENCH-MEN in token of their liberty.

There are learned men which write that FRANCE was the name of a Communality of diuers people, assembled and united together, to preserve their liberties, having taken that name as a marke of their generous resolution, and not of any certain nation: although Tully (a witness above all exception) notes the name of FRANCONS among the nations of Germany, which had offered obedience to the Romanes, whilst their common-weale flourished, before the Empire began, which shewes that we cannot talke of so obscure Antiquity but doubtfully, so as it is bootlesse to pronounce Oracles upon a subiect so disputable. Truly to referre the first memories of their name to the Empire of VALENTINIAN, and the beginning of their liberty to the defeat of the Alans and to the bounty of this Emperor, having freed them in recompence of so worthy a service: that were to make a leape of about an hundred and thirty yeares, to confound things and to be ignorant of the estate of our Auncestors, who at the time of this memorable defeat, did in nothing acknowledge the Romanes; But rather for a particular fruit of the victory gotten by them in common with VALENTINIAN, they had possession of a great part of the Gaules, not holding it of any but of their sword, nor doing homage but to their owne valour. It were in breefe not to have observed the originalls of true Histories. Seeing then the auncient habitation of the FRENCH was in that part of Germanie which lay neere it unto Gaule, who can with reason deny but they are issued from thence, and that in taking Gaule they made it to change both Master and Name: This is in breefe what may be spoken with most apparancy of truth, concerning the original of our FRENCH nation, if we will not urge more then may well be iustified.

**By what means and when they entered Gaule.** As for their estate & government, there is great likelihood that it was a great nation grown warlike by means of asending themselves and succoring others with their owne forces. I adde that they were led and commanded by a king, for the most auncient Histories represent them under a royal authority, as I will shew else where. Doubtles they had no means to buyld this great Monarchy in Gaule without force and order, yet did they not erect it at one instant, but slip't into Gaule sundry times, either employed to succor the Romanes, or they themselves, seeing their fortune, & good adventures: and as they grew familiar by diuers sommonings, so they got footing by little & little, untill that having not only expelled the Romanes, but all other tributary Lords; they became Masters and possessors of this goodly country: so

this

## of this Inuentory.

this Monarchy was built upon the ruines of the Empire, & the end of the one was the beginning of the other. The Roman Empire had not only seized upon all Gaule as the eie of Europe (having reduced it into the forme of Prouinces) but did long enjoy it by their gouernours & Lieutenants general. This authority and Roman power was in a manner disperfed ouer the whole world. But as this Empire was framed of diuers peeces, and built by iniustice and tyranny, so God (a iust iudge and reuenger of iniquities) rased them up great & pouerful enemies from all parts of the world, as it were hired to teare in sunder this Cloake, to dismember this body by peccemeales, & to punish their vnciuill rigor, by a barbarous cruelty, and their greedy iniustice, by the rauishing extortion of others. The Empire then which had robbed was sacket it selfe, and having taken anothers goods, lost their owne, being scarce able (& that by meanes of the FRENCH) to retaine any shew of this great and vast body. The fury of MAHOMET invaded Asia, and Affricke, with a part of Europe, like a violent flame, with an incredible swiftnesse, Spaine was seized on by the Vandales, Alanes, Sueues & Gothes: Italy by the Vandales, Hunnes, Gothes & Lombards: Gaule wanted not sumary guests, the Gothes seized on that goodly Gaule Narbonoise, called for the excellency a second Italy: & left their name to this goodly Prouince, which they enioyed long & called it by their name, first Gothia & after Languedoc, as it were the language of Gothe, although they giue other reasons of this name more subtle then true. The Bourgognons seized of the country which they called by their name Bourgongne, and erected a kingdome which contained the one & the other Bourgongne with the Prouinces of Lionois, Daulphine, Sauoy, and Prouence. The Normans, Brittons, & Picts, tooke euery one their ticks, to lodge in Gaule, according to the diuers occurrents of affaires which presented themselves in this general disipation of the Romans Empire, who amidst these confusions did with great difficulty retaine the least portion: knowing not how to oppose themselves against so great and victorious enemies. So the FRENCH having likewise in the beginning seized on their quarter, were so fauoured by the prouidence of God, that through their valour they layed the foundation of a new estate, so as having expelled out of Gaule, both the old and new vsurpers, in the end they became masters, and built this goodly Monarchy, the which since hath giuen a law to neigbour nations, settled the Roman Empire, stopt the violence of these cruell and barbarous nations, & (which is the greatest honor of this state) hath maintained the Christian Church in Europe: the which God hath appointed for an habitation amidst the furious confusions of Asia & Affricke, where the deluge of MAHOMETs blasphemies hath horribly excecraed: wherein the greatnes & power of Gaule is to bee admired, by the which IULIUS CAESAR could first alter the commonweale of Rome, his country, into the new forme of an Empire, & after when as all the most furious nations did flocke together to cast downe this great masse; CHARLEMAINE with the same force could preserve a great part of the West from that cruell shipwracke which had ruined all the East. And as this spoyle was not generall at one instant ouer all Gaule, but by fits, like unto a River which takes her course in a new quarter; so the FRENCH Monarchy was built by degrees. The FRENCH being first employed by the Romanes for their valour in notable occasions, we begin to reace of their name with some shew & state, under the Empire of Gallienus, about the yeare of Christ two hundred and seuenty. POSTHVMVS gouernour of Gaule armed them against his Master and with the helpe of their forces and the consent of the Gaules, he enioyed Gaule the space of seauen yeares, with the title of Emperour. It is likely this first abroad caused them to taste the fertile sweetnesse of this goodly and rich country. Thus both the example of POSTHVMVS and the prooffe of their owne forces gaue them courage to attempt for themselves. We read that under the Emperours AVRELIAN, PROBVS, DIOCLETIAN, and CONSTANTIVS father to CONSTANTINE the great, they haue often returned without any other subiect then to seeke their aduantage: so were they often repulsed by the Romanes with great losse.

These fruitlesse stryuinges might well haue cooled the heate of their attempts, but not



## A Plot or Designe

not their desire to seeke for means: but they continued most obstinately their practice in armes and mayntayned their reputation euen with the Romaines themselves, who were glad to haue them for friends and to imploy them in their wars, as CONSTANTINE against LICINIUS a great enemy to the Christians: and CONSTANTINVS his Sonne against the GERMANES and IULIAN the Apostata, against the Persians. Truly as well the History of the Church as Saint HIEROME in particular (one of the most famous Doctors) spake of the FRENCH as of a very renowned people, who might both hurt and hepe, by their multitudes and the valour of their Armes. The stile of this desseigne, which I haue undertaken, doth onely note the thing for your understanding, without spending time in longer proofes. This appren'disshpe of the FRENCH by their many voyages into Gaule, continued a hundred and thirty yeares for so much it was from GALLIENS to HONORIVS, under whome they began to set footing into Gaule, upon this occasion. Those of the City of Treues tired with the tyranny of the Romans, were infinitely grieved that LVCIUS their gouernor a Romane, had by force taken the wife of a notable Citizen. This excesse ministred a subiect to call the FRENCH-MEN to their ayde, who expelled the Romanes, fastid quietly on the City with the consent of the inhabitants, and so (proceeding in their conquest) they possessed their neighbour Countries, and in time became Maistres of all that lies beyond the Riuers of Elcaut, and Somme: and in the end hauing woone PARIS, and the territories there about, they gaue their name to the conquered Country. I do briefly touch what shall be represented in particular in euery place, and set downe truly the originall of the FRENCH in this Realme.

PHARAMOND layd the first stone in the buylding of this estate, CLODION followed in this desseigne, MEROVE made it appeare aboue ground, in a more goodly forme, hauing purchased credit among the Gaules, both by his valour and the happy successe of his Armes. CLOVIS (adding the profession of Christ to his Predecessors valour and his owne) did so winne the hearts of the Gaules (who were for the most part Christians) as by their hearts hee got their voluntary obedience, and the assured possession of these new Conquestes. Two nations united in one by the Conquerours, giuing lax to the Conquered, with so wise and mylde a discretion, as they held him worthy of this Alliance, and Name: and the fruite of this marriage was so happy as the new name of FRANCE was generally receiued in Gaule. Thus this new estate increased daily in the race of PHARAMOND by diuers occurrents during the space of three hundred yeares. But it was much more augmented by the famous race of PEPIN. And God the author of all good order in mankind, giuing him to Sonne CHARLEMAGNE to preuent the ruine of the Empire, enriched him with singular graces, and confirmed in him that great authority and power of King of FRANCE, and Emperour of ROME, which greatnesse God would make profitable to all Christendome. But his race, inheritor of these great honours, did not inherite his valour and happinesse, hauing scarce continued 237. yeares: but degenerating from his vertues, they lost both Authority and Crowne, so much augmented and beautified by him and CHARLES MARTEL. So this second race, unworthy of the blood and name of their Grand-fathers, was spoiled of their Kingdome by their negligence. But God the Guardian of Monarchies (who changing the persons, would preserve the State) raised up HUGH CAPET a wife and modest Prince, arming him with wisdom and dexterity fit for the preservation of his Crowne, accompanying his Armes with law, and his royall authority with well governed iustice. It is to HUGH CAPET that the Realme of FRANCE standes most indebted for the establishment of those goodly Ordinances, by the which (together with the valour and fidelity of the FRENCH) this great Monarchy hath withstood the stormes of so many ages, and maintained euen vnto this day the lawfull heire in the same Race for the space of five hundred and thirty yeares. So as gathering the summe of all these yeares, they reckon from PHARAMOND to LEUIS the thirteenth that now Raynges 1200. yeares.

This

## of this Inuentory.

This is the Plot or desseigne of the whole History of FRANCE, the which being thus laid, before we raise this great building in euery part, according to the true measures and iust proportions, let vs make a Diagramme as a liuely figure, which may containe nakedly, and without circumstance, the names of our Kings, according to the order of these three royall Races. To the which wee will adde a particular Chronology, which shall be proved by the discourse of our Inuentory, I haue distinguished it into three parts, according to the order of the three royall Races. In the front of euery part I note the names of Kings, and the time they haue reigned, that at my first entrance you may obserue all that is represented in this particular discourse, wherein the wise Reader (that shall take the paines to conferre this modell with the whole History) will iudge that I haue omitted nothing that may concerne the subiect of the History, with all principall circumstances, to the end the truth in this short, simple, and vnseemly weed, appointed for euery day, may serue as well as that which the Learned and eloquent writers shew forth in open Theaters at Festiual times. To Actions carefully described, I adde sometimes my Iudgement, for the vse of the History, examined by the Maximes of State. To actions I say generally aduowed, as for the rest I leaue them, remembreing that I am a witness and no Iudge, to doe seruice to such as could not see the Originals. I note in the beginning the Elections, the Birthes, Liues, Aduentures, Intents, Desseignes, Manners, and Completions of our Kings: the Motiues, Actions, Alterations, Crosses, Issues and Successe of their affaires, both in Warre and Peace: their Enterprises, taking of Cities and Countries, Battels, Encounters, Victories, Overthrowes, Advantages, Disadvantages, and other things remarkable in State: finally I obserue their ends in their deaths, as the Catastrophe of their Lines, and closing up of their Reignes. But to make this discourse more proportionable for the knowledge of our Monarchy, it was necessary to explaine it by that which hath chaunced of most import in foraine Estates, especially in the Church and Empire, the most famous Theaters of the world, by reason whereof I haue added a most carefull Collation of the one and the other with our Realme. I intreat the wise Reader to way with iudgement what I shall report concerning matters most subiect to comproule, as those of the Church, I doubt not but that hee shall finde that I haue contained my selfe within the limis of State, talking nothing of Religion, nor meddling with the diuerse humors of this age. I haue onely treated of the politique government of Rome, with as much modesty as the subiect would permit. I know like-wise that making profession to write a History, no man will wish me either to disguise, or to conceal the truth, the which will warrant it selfe, and free me from reproch, in making knowne to iudicious and modest wits, that I haue no other passion but my duty, whereof I can giue no better prooffe, then in iustifying my discourse with the Original, if there appeare any difficulty. I protest I haue onely had a true desire to serue the publique, whose profit is the onely scope of my labours. As for the Computations, as they be very necessary for the well understanding of the History (which is the Register of times) so hath it much troubled me, being altogether neglected by the most ancient Writers, borne in the first obscure ages. The learned which haue happily handled this subiect before me finding plainly this notable difficulty, haue held it expedient to make little or no accompt to obserue the dates, which was in my conceits (under correction be it spoken) to cut the knot asunder instead of vntoosing it. But it hath made me more carefully to labour in this search, to finde out some meanes amidst these extremities. And therefore I haue distinguished the most notable changes, not onely from one Race to another, but in the Races themselves, placing the dates in the front of the whole discourse, as a Bound-stone to limit the Lands. Moreover I haue faithfully collected in grosse the yeares of euery reigne, and haue diuided them as I thought most likely, by the continuance of publike and private actions. It is all I could do in the most ancient reignes, being unable to diuine further, but in those that approach neere to our age, the Reader shall see the uniting of things from yeare to yeare by degrees, whereby he may march plainly in so goodly a light without any confusions. The Diagrammes shall supply the particuler default of times, which wee cannot otherwise distinguish. But let vs first see the whole patterne of our Monarchy without any colour or flourish whatsoeuer.

The order and forme of this Inuentory.

A gene-



## A generall Diagramme.

Which notes onely the names of the Kings of France, according to the order and succession of the three Races, from Pharamond the first King, vnto Lewis the 13. King of France and of Nauarre (now reigning) in number three score and foure.

The first Race called *Merouingiens*, in number twenty and two Kings.

1. Pharamond.
2. Clodion or Cloion the hairy.
3. Meroucé.

Who vpon the foundation laid by his Ancestors of this Monarchy, made the buildings appeare more resplendent and beautifull.

4. Chilperic the first.
5. Clouis the great, the first Christian King, and the first of that name.
6. Childebert the first.
7. Clotaire the first.
8. Cherebert.
9. Chilperic the second.
10. Clotaire the second.
11. Dagobert the first.
12. Clouis the second.
13. Clotaire the third.
14. Childeric or Chilperic the third.
15. Theodoric or Thierry the first.
16. Clouis the third.
17. Childebert the second.
18. Dagobert the second.
19. Chilperic or Childeric the fourth.
20. Thierry the second.
21. Chilperic or Childeric the fifth.
22. Charles Martel, Maser of the Palace in name, but King in effect: having layde the foundation of the royall Authority to his posterity, and so reckoned among the Kings the two and twentieth.

The second Race of *Carlouingiens* or *Carlees* or of *Charles Martel*, or of *Charlemaigne*, in number 13. Kings.

23. Pepin the short the sonne of Martell.
24. Charlemaigne King and Emperor, hauing drawne the Empire of the West into France.
25. Lewis the gentle, King and Emperor, his sonne, first of that name.
26. Charles the first, called the bald, King and Emperor, his sonne.
27. Lewis the second, called the lisping, King and Emperor, his sonne.

28. Lewis

## A generall Diagramme.

28. Lewis the 3. and Carloman bastards to Lewis, received by the estates, against the Institution of Lewis by his will, who had named Eudes for Regent, they gouerne the Realme together, in the first yeare of the minority of Charles the simple, pupill and lawfull heire to Lewis, and yet being crowned Kings, (although they were but Regents) are accepted amongst the Kings, and make but one.

In the confusion during his Minority.

Lewis the Idle, Sonne or Brother to Carloman, takes vpon him to be King, but not being acknowledged by the French, as they were ready to dispossesse him, hee dyed, and is not reckoned for any.

29. Charles the 2. called the grosse, a Prince of the blond of France, and Emperour of Germanie, confirmed in the Regencie by the States, following the example of these Baisards, is Crowned King, hee was degraded from the Empire and the Crowne, And in his place
30. Eudes or Odo Duke of Angers, named by the Kings Testament (as is said) is called and crowned as the other Regents, and for this cause accepted among the Kings, in the end the Crowne comes to
31. Charles the simple, the lawfull King after 22. yeares, but being forced to renounce it, he dyes for sorrow in prison, and leaues for his lawfull successor
- Lewis the 4. his sonne, carried into England by his Mother, yeelding to the violence of the victorious league, by the which
32. Ralfe or Raoul Duke of Burgondie, Prince of the Bloud, was called to the Crowne, and so is accepted among the Kings, although he were an Usurper, and hee being dead
33. Lewis the 4. called Doutremer, or beyond the Sea, Sonne to Charles the Simple, is restored, and leaues the Crowne to
34. Lothaire, and he to
35. Lewis the 5. his onely sonne, who dyed without issue Male, hee was the last of this second Race, leauing the Throne empty to Hugh Capet, the stemme and first King of the third Race following.

The third Race, called the *Capeningiens* or *Capets*, in number 27. Kings.

36. Hugues or Hugh Capet, to whom succeeded
37. Robert his sonne, alone of that name, and to Robert
38. Henry the 1. his sonne. And to Henry
39. Philip the 1. his sonne. And to him
40. Lewis the 6. surnamed the Grosse his sonne: And to Lewis the 6.
41. Lewis the 7. called the young his sonne: And to him
42. Philip the 2. surnamed Augustus, his sonne: And to Philip the 2.
43. Lewis the 8. his sonne, father to the King Saint Lewis, the most ordinary marke of his name: And to Lewis the eight
44. Lewis the 9. honoured by the name of Saint, for his singuler pietie and vertue: to whom succeeded
45. Philip the 3. his sonne, surnamed the Hardy: and to him
46. Philip the 4. called the Faire, his sonne, who was also King of Nauarre by his wife Ioane: And to him succeeded
47. Lewis the 10. called Hutin, his sonne, also King of Nauarre by his Mother, hee had one Sonne borne after his death called Ian enterre, but not numbred among the Kings, for that he dyed in the Cradle: so by the lawe of State

48. Philip

## A generall Diagramme.

48. Philip the 5. called the Long, sonne to Philip the Faire, succeeded his brother Lewis Hutin, he died without issue Male: who left the Crowne to
49. Charles the 4. called the Faire, his Brother, who also dying without issue Male, the Crowne came by right of inheritance: to
50. Philip of Valois, the 6. of that name, first Prince of the blood, and first King of the royall line of Valois: to whome succeeded
51. John his sonne, onely of that name, unfortunate: to him succeeded
52. Charles the 5. surnamed the Wise, who preserued the State, during a horrible combustion: to him succeeded
53. Charles the 6. his sonne, called the welbeloued, and yet too well noted by his long and unhappie reign: a wide of the furies of ciuill warres bred in his minority, and increased in his frenzie, so as a strange King was crowned King of France, and became Maister of the greatest part of the Realme: to Charles the 6. succeeded
54. Charles the 7. his sonne, who established the Realme in expelling the Stranger: and to him succeeded
55. Lewis the 11. his sonne, who hauing incorporated Bourgogne and Prouence to the Crowne, and purged the Leuen of intestine diuision, left the Realme rich and peaceable: to
56. Charles the 8. his sonne, who dying without Males, left the Realme according to the law of State: to
57. Lewis the 12. Duke of Orleans, first Prince of the blood, who likewise dyed without issue Male, leauing the Crowne: to
58. Francis the 1. of that name, first Prince of the blood, Duke of Angoulesme, and he to
59. Henry the 2. his sonne, and Henry to
60. Francis the 2. his sonne, who dying without Male: left it to
61. Charles the 9. his brother, who dying without issue lawfully begotten: left it to
62. Henry the 3. his brother, the last of the royal race of Valois, who being slaine by a Iacobin, and dying without issue, by the same right of the fundamental law of State, left the Realme intangled in diuerse confusions: to
63. Henry the 4. then King of Nawar, first Prince of the blood, and first King of the royall race of Bourbon.

A Prince indued with vertues fit to restore a State, but successor to much trouble, wearing a Crowne not all of gold, but intermixt with Thornes, wreathed with infinite difficulties, gouerning a body extreamly weakned with a long and dangerous disease, surcharged with Melancholy and diuerse humours, fed with the fury of the people, bewitched by the practises of strangers, who had crept so farre into the bosome of our miserable Country, as they were ready to dispossesse the lawfull heires, and to inuest a new King, if God, the Gardian and Protector of this Realme, had not opposed a good and speedy remedy, to their force (in shew triumphant) by the valour and clemency of our Henry, incountring his enemies with the one, and by the other reducing his subiects (strangely distracted) to their duties, who noe doubt had left a most happy and most flourishing Estate, if the hand of an accursed murderer had not brought him to an vntimely end, leauing his estate to his Sonne.

64. Lewis the thirteenth.

Rome. 3.

*There is no power but from God, and all powers in an estate are ordeyned of God.*

## THE FIRST RACE OF THE KINGS OF FRANCE CALLED Merouingiens of Merouec, the third King of the French, the most famous founder of the French Monarchy.

DANIEL 4. verse. 14.

*The Soueraigne Lord rules ouer the Kingdomes of men.  
And giues them to whome he pleaseth.  
He putteth downe and sets up Kings at his pleasure.*

A particular Chronologie of the Races from  
the yeare foure hundred and twenty, to seauen  
hundred and fifty.

The yeare of grace.	Kings.	
		<b>P</b> haramond reigned 11. yeares.
		Clodion the heiry. 20. yeares.
420	1	Meroueé the great Architect of this Estate, and in this regard the most
430	2	famous Siem of this race, y signed 10. yeares.
450	3	Chilperic or Childeric the first, the sonne of Meroueé, 24. yeares.
		Clouis the first 30. yeares, the first Christian King,
459	4	The foure sonnes of Clouis, to whome he diuided
484	5	the whole Realme; that is.
		Childebert King of Paris.
		Clotaire King of Soissons.
514	6	Clodamire King of Orleans.
		Thierri King of Metz reigned together 42. yeares, and
		Clotaire the 1. reigned alone eight yeares.
		Cherebert King of Paris.
558	7	Chilperic King of Soissons.
564	8	Gontran King of Orleans.
		Segebert King of Metz reigne together 25. yeares.
		Chilperic the second in the end reigned alone 8. yeares.
		Clotaire the second 37. yeares.
578	9	Dagobert the first, 16. yeares.
586	10	Clouis the second, 18. yeares.
632	11	Clotaire the third 4. yeares.
647	12	Chilperic the third, and
666	13	Thierri 19. yeares.
670	14	Clouis the third, 4. yeares.
	15	Childebert the second, 17. yeares.
689	16	Dagobert the second, 5. yeares.
693	17	Chilperic the 4. called Daniel by his first name, 5. yeares.
710	18	Thierri 20. yeares.
715	19	Chilperic or Childeric the 5. the last of the race of the Meroueeens, hee
720	20	liued with the title of a king ten yeares, being degraded from the king-
740	21	dome, he dyed a Monke, and left the Crowne to
		Charles Martel Maire of the Palace, who (without taking the name of
		King, but inuioung it in effect,) left the Monarchie hereditary to his po-
750	22	sterity, the date of his reigne being set vnder the name of Chilperic,
		vnto the decease of Martel.

So this race hath reigned in France 320. yeares.

PHARAMOND, the first  
King of France.



**D** Pharamond the sonne of Marcomir, is held for the first King of France, by the consent of all our writers. Hee began his reigne the yeare of Christ 420. A date very remarkable to describe the first beginning of the French Monarchie. At that time Honorius and Arcadius, brethren, (sonnes to Theodosius the Great) held the Romaine Empire, inuaded so by strange nations, as it was not onely dismembred into diuers parts, but euen Rome was spoyled and sackt by Alaric King of Goths. Amidst these confusions, the French Monarchie had her beginning vpon the ruines of the Empire. The French inuited by them of Treues, for the aboue named occasion, first seized on the City, and from thence extended them-selues to the neighbour countries; they name Tongrie for their first habitation, which the learned hold to bee the country of Brabant, and about Liege. This conquest was not made at one instant but augmented by degrees, and the nearest Prouinces were first surprised. The French comming from beyond the Rhin, it seemes they did first seize on that part which then lay nearest vnto them, as the countries betwixt the Rhin, the Escaut and the Meuse; and from thence extended them-selues euen to the riuer of Loyre. They hold for certaine, that this happy exploit of the French, was vnder the name and authority of Pharamond their King, who departed not from his native country, but sending forth his troope, as a swarme of Bees, he reaped the honour and fruite of the conquest, as the Soueraigne head. Hee is commended to haue established good lawes, to haue framed and inured the French to a ciuill and well gouerned kinde of life, and to haue laid the first stone of the foundation of this great Monarchie in Gaule: he reduced into one body, and expounded more plainly, the ancient lawes of the French called Saliques: augmented them, & shewed the vse, as wel for the gouernment of the estate, as for priuate persons: and therefore he is called the author of those Lawes, although he receiued the from his ancestors. He reigned xi. yeares, leauing Clodion his son for

The fundamētall date of the French Monarchie. In the yeere of grace. 420.

Estate of the Empire at the beginning of it.

His policie.

422.  
The time of  
of his raigne.  
422.

his successor with a good taste of his integrity noted in his name: for *VVaramond* or *Pharamond* (according to the common pronunciation) in the old French language (that is to say) in *Germaine*, signifies a true mouth: a vertue in truth worthy of a Prince, and necessary for the conduct of humane society.

This is all that may be certainly written of the originall of the French Monarchie: yet *Gregory of Tours* (a very ancient author) makes no mention of *Pharamond*, and sets downe the beginning of this estate in grosse, as a thing vncertaine. What certainty then may we looke for of more ancient times? Wee finde in the Romaine histories, some apparent steps to guide vs to the knowledge of our beginning. These goodly Prouinces of *Gaule*, were courted by all their neighbours: the Romaines vnder colour of conueniency, seized on that which lay nearest vnto them; by meanes whereof, they sought to become maisters of the rest, but they wanted no competitors. The *Heluetians* (since called *Suisses*,) and likewise the *Germanis* would haue lodged there, if *Cesar* had not withstood them. His successors were encountered with the like difficulties, but in the end they preyailed to whome God had determined the possession, that is to the French, issued doubtlesse out of *Germany*, and gouerned by Kings. We read in the liues of the last Emperours, the names of *Nelobaudes*, *Richimer*, *Marcomir*, *Berther*, *Sunno*, *Pharabert*, *Theodemir* and *Dagobert*: but hercof we cannot with reason beleue all that the Registers of *Hunibauld*, and *Tribemius* do comment, touching these ancient Kings. Let vs therefore leaue these subtilties to such as haue leisure to refine their wittes, and lay before our eyes the light of a more sound and profitable truth: let vs obserue the estate of the Church, when as this Monarchy began to appeare, for hereafter the Church shall be her principall gemme, although the French Kings were Infidels in these first beginnings.

The estate of  
the Church,

*Saint Jerome*, *Chrysostome*, *Ambrose*, and *Augustine*, liued in those times, spectators of the dissipation of the Empire, wherein the Church suffered much. *Damasus*, *Ciricius*, *Anastatius*, *Innocentius*, *Sosimus*, and *Bonifacius*, Bishoppes of Rome liued there, one after another (men renowned for their piety, learning and dexterity,) amidst the confusions of the Empire, and euen at Rome whereas the Emperours were feldome seene; so as the absence of the Emperours (troubled to withstand the Barbarians, and the miserable estate of the time, which forced Christians to flye to their Bishop, for counsell and comfort to their confused afflictions) laid the foundation of their authority, then small, being tyed to their charges, and subiect to the Emperours command: but it grew by degrees, vntill it came to the height of this soueraigne and absolute power, so as in the end they haue prescribed lawes to Emperors, Kings, and Christian Princes. A necessary obseruation, both for the truth and order of this History, to vnderstand rightly both the times, and meanes of their rising. In the first age, the Bishops of Rome durst not shew them selues (being persecuted, imprisoned, and martired by the Emperors.) Since *Constantine* the Great, their authoritie began: in the dissipation of the Empire, it increased, and this Realme did fortifie and augment it. Our first Kings knew them not: their next successors maintayned and aduanced them as, *Charles Martell*, *Pepin* and *Charlemaigne*, to whome they are indebted; for the greatest support and increase of their cheefe authority.

## Fundamentall Rules or Maximes of

the State of France.



Before wee proceed any further in this Theater, reason and order commands vs to set downe the soueraigne Maximes of our Monarchy, as goodly Pillers in the first front of this great building: to the end we may not dispute, eyther of the ancient forme of gouernement in the first age of our Ancestors, or of the fundamentall lawes of the estate. It is necessary that our mindes (euen in our infancy) be seasoned with this common beleefe, being the bond and vnion of the naturall obedience we owe vnto our Kings. Without doubt, it is neyther true, nor likely, that

The first Maxime.

## I. King of France.

3

A that our Predecessors, (taking possession of this goodly inheritance) made any question of that which had bene concluded amongst them from father to sonne. The most ancient histories (whose authority is without controll,) testifie, that the French nation was gouerned by Kings, and experience ioyned with reason doth shew, that the French cannot be otherwise commanded, then by a royalty. Whereto then serues this question amongst the French, touching the forme of gouernement, when as *Gaule* was first possessed by them? And to what end should these goodly painted speeches be vttered by our ancient warriours, who made so great profession to doe well, as they neglected eloquent words.

423.  
The French  
cannot indure  
any other go-  
uernment than  
a Royalty.

This Maxime thus laid, as the ground of the Estate of France, the truth of that which hath passed in ancient times, doth plainly shew, what the forme of this royalty hath bene: for who doth not see, by the names of the Kings of France, (as they haue commanded in this realme, amidst so many alterations of the State, in the change of the three Races, where we may note the succession from father to sonne, from brother to brother, and from cousine to the nearest kinsman of the bloud Royall,) that it was hereditary from all antiquity? This is the law, the vse whereof is so worthily regarded in all commands, the force whereof defends the State amidst the strangest confusions, yea sucking babes haue enioyed it without any dispute or contradiction. At the very name of an infant King, Armies haue marched vnder the commanded of a woman (otherwise very odious by reason of her vices) and yet so respected (being the Kings mother) as the French haue grown desperate in most perilous battails, returning with bloody victories, thrust forward with this onely resolution, to preserve the estate of their young King, lying in his swaddling clothes. By the force of this law, the French (after the decaide of their lawfull Kings, leauing their wiues with childe) hauing reuerenced the wombe of their Queene, expecting her deliuey: being a sonne, he was nourished, bred vp, and honoured as their King: And if he dyed in his first infancy, they haue performed his obsequies, with the like respect and reuerence, as to a King in his maiory.

2  
The royalty  
of France, is  
successiue.

The efficacy  
of a successiue  
Royalty.

A Royalty is  
the best forme  
of gouern-  
ment.

To conclude: reason, authority, and experience, do plainly shew, that a succeeding royalty is better, then that which depends vpon the peoples choyce and election: for what is a Royalty, but the Image of a fathers command: the loue, honour, and obedience which children beare towards their parents, bee the effects of the lawe of nature figured in their hearts. A father commands ouer many children, who although they be planted in diuers parts (as we see in the peopling of great families,) yet all returne to the cheefe stocke or stemme: all acknowledge and honor the father, all obey him while he liues, by a more voluntary obedience, for that it is meere naturall. Behold the patterne of a ciuill gouernement. To apply it to our subiect: it appeares, the first man had this naturall authority, euen as we see it at this day. As mankind multiplied into diuers families, so this multitude had neede of a greater gouernement. Man cannot liue alone: society consists in commandement and obedience. From this fountaine a royalty springs. Look what is done in a family, the like is in a state, by the same force of nature: one commands and is obeyed. There this naturall respect is the bond of lawfull obedience. So here in like sort, whereas the commandement of one giues law to all, for that the law of nature hath power ouer all, it doth authorize this respect in the hearts of subiects, by a voluntary obedience to their Kings as to their fathers. And as wee need not bee taught to honour father and mother: So, who is so vnkinde that will make any question to honour the Prince vnder whome hee is borne. It is that which the originall of the first truth doth teach vs, Honour father and mother, not only to rye vs to them that gaue vs life, but to those that make vs to liue happily in the common society of mankind: that is, to the father in the house, and to the King in the state, as the father of our fathers. Thus Royalty is the most ancient and best forme of gouernement, when as the King is father of his people, according to the ordinance of nature, as wee shall shew elsewhere at better leysure. I hope this small digression shall bee excused for the necessity of the subiect.

How it ap-  
peares by rea-  
son.

A Royalty then is the image of a fathers authority. How can a father then (whom God hath giuen by the course of nature) be chosen by his children? If to liue well according to

A successiue  
Royalty is  
the best  
nature.

B 2

By authority.

By experience.

In old time, at the reception of a new king they used to carry him upon a target in a publick assembly.

The prerogative of a king is nothing impaired by the peoples consent at his first reception.

nature, and by consequence, that which proceeds from nature, bee the best, who doubts, A  
but a Royaltie (the which God hath giuen vs by the law of state, the soueraigne law of so-  
cietie, wherein wee are borne,) is without doubt better then that which depends on the  
tumultuous factions of people? Thus much for reason. Now let vs see what Authority  
saies, which speaks plainly and in the goodliest estate of the world, which was the comon  
weale of *Israel*, wherein God had planted his church, as his most pretious iewel. Truly,  
the lawful Royaltie of the house of *Dauid*, hath bin hereditarie, & successiue from father to  
sonne, and from Cousin to the nearest kinsman, a paterne whereby to frame a perfect  
estate, farre better then the common weale of *Plato*: who notwithstanding hath respected  
the bloud Royall in the race of Kings, with great prerogative, moued thereunto by the  
force of nature, to acknowledge the best forme of gouernment in an hereditary successi-  
on, whereas one is borne to commaund, an other to obey. I will dilate no more of so  
rich and ample a subiect, hauing onely coated that which is necessary for the circum-  
stance of my purpose. But what shall we say of Experience, the mistres of fooles? What  
is hee, but may thereby feele the visible proofs of this truth? Doubtles those Countries  
& States, which haue kept this libertie to choose their Kings, do often feele (to their costs)  
the tumultuous fruites of their elections, struiuing with much paine to maintaine this pri-  
uilege against the lawes of nature, posling from nation to nation, with much toyle, and  
small profit, searching for that a farre off, which they might easily finde at home: and for  
the voiding of tumults (which might grow among equall Competitors) they procure  
vnto themselves infinite troubles, the which they might auoide, in receiuing of him will-  
ingly whome God should cause to be borne among them, with a lawfull authority. But  
some will object, that which we cannot deny to haue bene practised in two Races, That  
the *French* had in former times authority to place and displace their Kings: as appeares,  
the Kings chosen by Parliament, which were borne vpon targets: as also by  
the famous examples of *Pepin*, and *Hughe Capet*. Wherevnto the answer is true and  
plaine, that this consent was but the settle of the naturall prerogative due to the race of  
our lawfull Kings: and their disallowing, a declaration of their base slouthfulnesse, vn-  
worthy of that naturall prerogative, wherewith they were honored in their birth, and  
from which they did degenerate in liuing ill.

And as wee see in the succession of Kings, the nearest allied holds the other by  
the hand: so in these two alterations, when as necessitie forced the *French* to change  
their King, (as when the like necessitie constraineth the children to giue their furi-  
ous father a tutor) wee may obserue that they haue alwayes made choise of men near-  
est to the blood royall, preferring vertue before a maske of Authoritie corrupted with  
vice, the publique good before the priuate interest of a vitious man, retheyning nothing  
but the name of his noble race. They haue preferred (as much as they could) their natu-  
rall respect to the bloud royall. The law made the king: that is his birth. But the law of  
nature, followed by the law of nations, and the free consent of the people, hath not bene  
the cause, but the very effect of this naturall authority. So this royall authoritie is limited  
and ruled by the souereigne law of State: which doth so aduance the head aboue all the  
members of the body, as they may not be separated. For what is a king without subiects  
but a head without members? the King preferres his estate, as the head doth the body.  
But, as the head (from whence life proceeds to the body) liues with the body, so the king  
(who preferres the estate by his authority) is preferred in the estate, by the consent of his  
subiects.

In this inseparable vnion, hee doth fortifie his power by theirs, and his command  
with their voluntary obedience. *Plato* saies, that *Authoritie is not subiect to controul-  
ment, is pernicious to him that commaunds, and to them that are commaunded*. It is a law-  
full and profitable restraint for kings, and the necessary counterpoise of their authori-  
tie. This law will haue euery member to hold his place, in the bodie of a State:  
And by consequence, that the subiects consent, (who offer their goods and liues to  
their king) be respected in their degree. This hinders no more the hereditary prerogative  
of a Royaltie, then the diuerse ministerie of the members doe the soueraigne authority of  
the head, ouer the whole body. And as in the beginning, or in the rising, or infancy of

A of an estate, vertue ministers occasion for the people to choose such as should command  
ouer them successiue, leauing as it were in sacred guard, in the hands of their best men,  
what they hold most precious, and so to their successors, who by all reasonable coniect-  
ure, must be good and vertuous, being borne of good parents: euen so in the end, vice  
makes them to hate such as abuse this prerogative: and in like manner the same vertue  
makes them to flye to others, whome they hold more worthy to command, in that  
they are obedient vnto reason. This *Maxime* then stands firme, that the authority of the  
States not being incomparable with the soueraignty of a King, the royalty of France is,  
and hath alwayes bene meere hereditary, without any exception, nor can it otherwise  
B subsist and stand, all well considered. And who so thinkes or speaks otherwise, imagining  
popular common-weales in France, he is ignorant of the disposition of the French, and  
feedes him-selfe with a dangerous vanity.

But this law of a succeeding royalty is limited by a third *Maxime*: That the right of the  
Crowne is tied to the heirs male: whereas in many nations, for want of males, the soue-  
raigne authority of a royalty falls to the females of the royall race. And this law recei-  
ued by the approbation of the subiect people, is happily put in practise. The president  
is very memorable and remarkable in the Realme of England, whereas *Queene Eliza-  
berth* alone, hath surpassed the happinesse of the greatest Kings her predecessors, ruling a  
long time with great authority in peace: So as hauing gotten most famous victories ouer  
her enemies, shee hath erected, through peace, the goodlyest trophies that euer King of  
England could haue planted there. So great is the force of the law in the society of  
mankind, the which God will haue inuioable vnder the gage of faith and publique or-  
der. But the royalty of France is holy restrayned to the males, the fundamentall law of  
state (being called the *Salique law*) not admitting the females. For this soueraigne law  
is set downe in these wordes: *In the Salique land, let no portion of the inheritance come to the  
female: but let the male haue the possession*. That is to say, the males onely are capable of  
the Crowne of France: the females being wholly excluded, and by consequence their is-  
sue, the which can pretend no more interest then their mothers, neyther haue they any  
portion in the reuenues of the Crowne, which cannot bee alienated. So as it is giuen  
D them but for terme of life, by assignation of dowrie at the Kings good pleasure.

This fundamentall law is called *Salique*, by excellency, although the *Salique lawes* con-  
teyne the rights of priuate men: but amongst them, that which concernes the Malestie of  
the prince, is the principall, and for this cause is knowne by this worthy obseruation. The  
practise of this fundamentall law is apparent, in the first race, where the cheefe prooffe of  
antiquity must be made in the daughters of *Childbert*, sonne to the first *Clouis*: In the  
daughters of *Cherebert* sonne to *Clotaire* the first, in the daughters of *Gontran*, sonne  
of the same *Clotaire*, all which are excluded from the Crowne, and in their places the nearest  
Princes of the blood admitted by the consent of all the French. The second race hath no  
examples of this law in the particular circumstance of women. The third hath very nota-  
E ble ones: *Edward* King of England was excluded by iudgement of the States, from the  
right he pretended to this Crowne, being sonne to one of the daughters of France, the  
only daughter of *Philip* the faire, *Philip* of Valois, was preferred before his Neece, daugh-  
ter to *Lewis Hutin*. And of late memorie, *Francis* the first of that name, Duke of *Angou-  
lesme*, before the two daughters of *Lewis* the twelfth, without any contradiction.

This law was obserued among the French before *Pharamond* was borne: and by vertue  
of this law, he reigned as Successor to his Ancestors, *Marcomir*, *Canno*, *Melobaudes*, and  
others. And as he was appointed by the wise prouidence of God, to bee the first Archi-  
tector of this Monarchie, so was hee indued with singular graces fit for so excellent a  
worke, in the which the law should fortifie the valour of this fierce and warlike nation.  
F Thus *Pharamond* is renowned for his wisdom and iudgement, who did countenance and  
authorize the *Salique lawes*, and that especially which was the cheefe, to take away all  
future debate from his Successors. And for the better strengthening of his lawes, hee as-  
sembled his Captains, whereof the Councillors of our ancient Kings were chosen. They  
name among the cheefe of them *Widogast*, *Sabogast*, *Wisogast*, and *Bogast*: the which our  
fabulous curiosities do transforme into some great Orators, without any apprehension

The third.  
The male on-  
ly capable of  
the Crowne,  
the female ex-  
cluded in  
France.

The French  
were often  
called *Salique*,  
of the Riuier  
*Salin* Franco-  
nia, and the  
French lawes  
termed *salique*  
lawes.

The funda-  
mentall lawe  
called *Salique*  
The practise  
thereof.  
The Author  
himselfe  
writes that  
these Kings  
died without  
issue.

Here the Au-  
thor would  
haue a fained  
supposition to  
be taken for  
an vndoubted  
truth.

of truth. These were good Warriors, and yet wise men, and iudicious. But who can beleeue that they were great Rhetoriciens? So *Pharamond* was not the Author, but the beaufier of the Salique lawes, as *Iustinian* of the ciuill lawes of the Romaines.

Of the word  
Salique.

What the Sa-  
liques were.

An autentike  
French Au-  
thor writes  
that it is but  
an obseruation  
& no law.

Etimologie of  
the word Sa-  
lique.

To search out the originall of the word, neyther my stile, nor my humor will suffer me to dispute thereof: every one hath his iudgement free. But this is my opinion: as words be the Images of things, so are they inuented to represent the nature of the thing whereunto they are applied. It appeares that among the French, the Saliens were those that held the cheef degrees, and gaue the name to the whole Nation. So as all Frenchmen are often times called Saliens. The Salique lawes theretofore are the French lawes appointed to rule, and gouerne the French. It was the ancient name continued with the most ancient lawes, the which the honour of the Nation, and the reuerence of so sacred a thing, hath forbidden in any sort to alter. So the Salique law hath continued time out of mind the Soueraigne law of State, vnder the which the French haue liued: and so haue continued from father to sonne, without any alteration, eyther in the substance, or the word, maiestical in the hearts and tongues of all French men. What apparence is there then, that *Philip* of Valois hath borrowed the name of *Pharamond*, in the inuention of this law, to make it serue his turne? How much vnlikely is it, that so important a law being the ground of the Estate, should be vknowne to the French? What a drowsinesse had it beene in so wise and circumspect a nation, to suffer them-selues to be abused by a new-come Prince, and by so grosse a pollicie, to draw them-selues into apparent combustion, which hung ouer their heads, in preferring the French before the English, who had then so good a portion in France, where hee possessed the goodliest, and richest Prouinces? How vnfound is this pollicie, to imagine, that a poore Prince, Earle of Valois, hauing to do with a rich King of England, who encountred the Frenchmens mindes with an intestine force, by the golden vertue of his Angels, could haue abused such as were kept in their obedience, by the force of right and reason, for the preseruation of the Crowne of France, their Country? Who sees not, but it had bene the ouerthrow of *Philip* of Valois cause, to say that he had forged a law at his pleasure, to exclude the lawfull heire, and her offspring, from her right? Truly the good cause of *Philip* of Valois made him victorious against the forces of *Edward* King of England; and the ancient reuerence to him, authorized by a continuall vse, and receiued by the common consent of the French, reiectd gold, to respect the order of right, for the benefit of the lawfull heire.

These French lawes were called Saliques, of the riuer Sal which is in Franconie, or East France: It ioynes with Mein, and is not yet dried vp. It is neyther new, nor extraordinary, for people to deriue their names from Mountaines, or Riuers: and to shew an example, springing from the same thing, by noting the Riuers. The country where the city of Paris is seated (not onely the cheife of this great Realme, but the Theater of the whole world, if by a happy peace she may recover her ancient beauty) is called the Ile of France, for the concourse of diuers riuers, which ioynes with Sein: and to this end, the ship (the armes of our cheife city) shewes the conueniency of these goodly Riuers. Who can with reason obiect the apparency of this likelihood? That as our Ancestors remaying alongst the riuer of Sal, were called Saliens, so the name hath continued to posterity: the which for the like reason are called Ripuaires, as made for the commodity and vse of the dwellers vpon that banke, the which they likewise called Ripuaires, or Ribberots. Truly long time after, *Conrad* of Franconie, the Emperour, was called *Salique*, to make his beginning in that country by the ancient name. Thus much for the word. But the inuolable Maximes and Principles of the State of France, the consent of all the true and ancient Writers, the prescription of so many ages, the generall approbation of all the French nation, should make vs hold this Salique lawe, for certaine without seeking for new opinions, not onely weake and vnprofitable, but insupportable in the state, where the old prouerbe must stand for an oracle, *remoue not the stone well layed*. Thus hauing breefly set downe the principall lawes of the state of France, I will retorne to the course of my history.

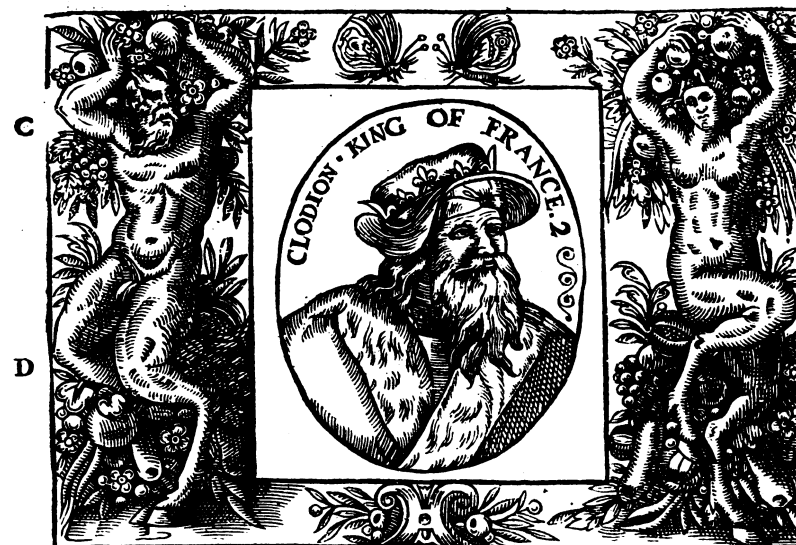
Death of *Pharamond*.

Thus he reigned, thus he liued, and thus dyed *Pharamond*, the first King of France, leauing for hereditary successor of his Realme; his sonne *Clodion* according to the right

A right of lawe: and king in effect, by consent of the French. This age was the fincke of Babarous nations, by whom God would iustly punish the vniust pride of the Romaines. The greatest part came out of Asia, staying first in Germany, and from thence like Caterpillers or Grasshoppers spread them-selues ouer Gaule, Italie, and Spaine: that is to say, the Gothes or Getes, Alans, Hunnes, Sueues, and others: and from the North the Bourguignons, Normans and Lombards. Wee must know the change of these nations, for the vse of this history. But it sufficeth to touch them briefly in their places, without cloying our chiefe subiect with a cumbersome discourse.

B

## CLODION, or CLOION the hairy, the 2. King of France.



E



*CLODION*, the sonne of *Pharamond*, succeeded his father in the yeare 431. and reigned one and twenty yeares. He laboured to follow his fathers course, and to settle himselfe in Gaule: but hauing transported certaine troupes, which made a happy beginning, passing to the Countries of Cambresie and Tournay, betwixt the riuers of Somme and Escout, behold a furious multitude of diuers nations assembled together, Vandales, Alans, Sueues, and Burguignons (iealous to see this great and warlike people follow their steps, in the conquest of a land not onely set to sale, but abandoned in the disorders of the Romaine Empire,) opposed them-selues against them. The French not able to withstand so great vnited forces, retired them-selues into their Country of Franconia. To this ialousie, was added the pride of *Stillic*, Lieutenant general to *Honorius* Emperour of the West, who easily ingaged these Nations (seeking for worke) against the French, laboured by all meanes to crosse them, and to possesse himself of Gaule: yet the successe did not fit his designe: for being preuented by *Honorius* his maister, he was slaine, with his son *Eucherius*, whom hee had appointed absolute heire of that goodly portion. But the prouidence of God had left it in prey to these great & victorious nations, being come from diuers parts of the world to diuide the Empire. Thus confusion

The first at-  
tempt of  
*Clodion*.



440. confusion prevailed by his authority, who had most interest in the practices of *Stillicio*, A (who in taking Gaule for himselfe) retained still the Romaine name, being overthrowne by *Honorius*. The deluge of these barbarous nations overflowed all Gaule, which from yeare to yeare was replenished with new guests. The Bourguignons had already seized on a great part, with the title of a kingdome, whereof Arles was the chiefe City. The Goths possessed Gaule Narbonnoise, even by the Emperours consent, who granted what he could not take from them, with promise to passe no further. So this victorious nation, dispersed in diuerse places, as in Italy, Gaule and Spaine, were called by sundry names, *Wisigoths*, and *Ostrogoths*, according to the places where they were planted, by their great multitudes and valour. Such was the disorder of the Romans, who in their B seasons had subdued the whole world, by their victorious armes. These tempests and stormes raigned during the Empires of the two brethren, *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, the one commanding in the East, and the other in the West: of *Theodosius* the second, son to *Arcadius*, and in the beginning of *Valentinian* the third, a vitious & unhappy Prince. The reign of *Clodion* fell out in those times not greatly memorable, but to obserue his resolutions and manly endeouours, to settle and increase the conquests of his father, but with no successe. Thus great and heroically enterprises haue often staies and lets in the beginning, or such difficult crosses, as they seeme quite suppressed.

The estate of  
the Empire.

*Atius* a Romaine borne, succeeded *Stillicio* for the Emperour, in that which remained in Gaule: he opposed himselfe violently against the French, who at diuerse times endeououred to passe the Rhin, and to returne into France. *Clodion* fortifying himselfe courageously against this storme, fainted not for all these first difficulties. In the end, he resolved to hazard all vpon this last cast: and to this effect he raised a mighty army, with an intent to go in person to the conquest of this goodly kingdome. But God had resolved to giue it to the French: yet by an other hand then that of *Clodion*, for hee died in this voyage, being on the banks of Rhin, with an intent to passe it, in the yeare of grace 451, leaving *Merouee* heire of his designe and valour.

Law for wea-  
ring long  
haire,

Hee was called *Le Chemelu*, or hairy, for that hee made a law, that none but Kings and their children, with the Princes of the blood, should weare long haire, in token of command: after the Romaine manner, who shaued the heads of their slaues and seruants, D and left the Periwig onely to the Patricians, and the head bare. This custome, confirmed by the law of *Clodion*, hath bene long time obserued in France: so as by this marke, *Clodamyre* the sonne of *Clonis* (beinge slaine in a battaile by the Bourguignons) was knowne among the dead: and in token of a degrading or dishonouring, they shaued such as they degraded from the royall dignity: as it appeares by infinite examples: amongst the which our History makes mention of one very memorable, of Queene *Clotilde*, who chose rather to cut off the heads of her yong sonnes, then to haue their haire pold or shauen: that is to say, she preferred an honest death before the dishonor of her children: for in cutting off their haire (the marke of their naturall dignity) they were deprived of all hope to enioy their degree, and were confined into a base estate, vnworthy of their great- E nesse, to die continually with heart-breaking reproch and infamy.

The estate of  
the Church.

*Genferic* King of the Vandales, at that time seized vpon Affricke, and euen when as he besieged Hippone (which at this day they call Bonne, famous for the fishing of corall) Saint *Augustine* died the third month of the siege, the fourth yeare of his ministry, in that City, and the 76. of his age; hauing both seene and felt those tragicall ruines in the desolate estate of the Church, afflicted then in diuers parts of the world by these Barbarians. *Theodosius* the second, the sonne of *Arcadius*, a good and a wise Prince, did his best endeouour to stop the course of this last shipwrack, but hee preuailed not. The insolency of *Valentinian* the third (a Prince extremely vitious) thrust it headlong, and the ill government of his seruants, namely of *Bonifacius* gouernour of Affricke, and of *Atius* gouernour of Gaule (called in the Barbarians, to the subuersion of the Empire: who to bee reuenged one of another, being capitall enemies, for the ielousie of their greatnesse) did what they could to ruine their maister.

MEROVEE

A  
MEROVEE the third King of France  
who gaue the name and  
greatest grace to this first race.



451. MEROVEE, son, or the nearest kinsman to *Clodion*, succeeded to the Crowne, as well by vertue of the fundamentall law of state, as by the free Election of the French, in the yeare 451.

Hee was farre more happy then *Clodion*: for hee not onely effected his designe in passing the Rhin, and taking footing in Gaul: but did happily extend the limits of his new Kingdome. And the same *Atius* in his which crossed *Clodion*, made the way easie for *Merouee* viuares, for the execution of his enterprise, by this occasion: *Atius* fell in disgrace with *Honorius* his E maister, being greued to see the great successe of the Gothes, Vandales, and other barbarous nations in the Empire, imputing the fault vnto his seruants and officers. Thus growing ielous, hee calls him from his gouernement of Gaule, and sends *Castrinus* in his place, who was not onely acquainted with the estate of the Gaules, but was also discontented with *Bonifacius* Gouernour of Affricke, with whome he had commandement to ioyne his forces, to oppose against the common enemies of the Romans. During those actions, *Honorius* died, leauing *Theodosius* in the East, and *Valentinian* in the West, two young Princes of diuers humors.

Merouee les  
sees gaining  
France.

*Merouee* embracing this occasion with great dexterity, foundes the hearts of his neighbours the Gaulois; and findes them disposed to his deuotion. He raiseth an army, passeth the Rhine, takes Treues at his first approach, and then Argentin, (which is now called Strasbourg) with the Countreies adioyning to it. Hee extends euen to Cambresie, and Tournay, and proceeding farther into Gaule, hee seized on the best Citties of Champagne, with so great expedition, as no Romaine appeared to stop the course of his victory: *Valentinian* aduertised of this successe, called backe *Atius*, to quench this fire, sending

452. sending him into Gaule with an army against the French: but there was otherworke A  
 The French  
 ioined with  
 the Romaines  
 and Gothes.  
 prepared for him, for *Attila* King of the Huns, (who named himself the Scourge of God, to chastise the Empire) having assembled an incredible number of men in the desarts of *Asia* (being five hundred thousand fouldiers) fallies downe like a furious deluge, spoiling all the Countries where hee passed: and hauing crossed through Poland into Germany, and passed the Rhine, hee threatned to inuade France, a Country desired by all these nations, for her fertility and beauty. *Attila* had no shorter course, nor better meanes to auoide this storme, then to become friends with the French, and with all the other possessors of Gaule, who were threatened by this common storme: so as in steed of warre, he made a peace with *Merouee*, vpon this extremity.

*Attila* entred Gaule, and aduanced so farre, that hee besieged Orleans (where *Anian* B  
 liued then, a most famous Bishop, who did greatly comfort the besieged by his piety and wisdom) whilest that the forces of their confederate friends assembled, by the meanes of *Attila*, Romaines, French, Gothes and Bourguignons. Orleans being at the point to yeeld, *Thierry* king of the Goths arriues so happily, as hee forceth *Attila* to raise his siege, and to take another course. *Attila* marching away with this vaste body of an army, he was pursued speedily by *Attila* and his confederates, who ouer-tooke him in the fields of Catalaunia, the which is diuersly taken, either for the country about Chalons, or about Tholouse. A battaile was giuen, and the combate was furious, but the check fel vpon the Huns, who lost (as it is constantly written) 180000. fighting men, and the victory remained in common to the Romaines, French and Goths: but the triumph and honour C  
 to *Merouee* and his men, who fought very valiantly. *Thierry* king of the Goths, was slaine very happily, to make the way easie for *Merouee*.

*Attila* ouer-  
 throwne, but  
 not quite  
 vanquished.

It was propounded in councell, to pursue *Attila*, but *Attila* would not yeeld therunto, so as *Attila* saued himselfe, being beaten, but not vanquished: for with the same forces he seized vpon a great part of Pannonia the happy, whence in the end came the name of Hongarie, although after the death of *Attila*, who did but lay the leuain, and his posterity finished what he had begun. A question is made, what moued *Attila* to leaue *Attila* halfe vanquished. The reliques of his discomfited army were not small, after so great a losse: so as it seemed best not to force him to despaire, seeing there is but one only helpe D  
 for the vanquished, not to hope for helpe. *Attila* might also haue giuen this aduise, by reason of his ialousie against the French, who should haue reaped an ouerplus of greatness by the absolute ouerthrow of this Barbarian. But with what intention soeuer he did it, it succeeded ill for himselfe, for *Valentinian* his maister was so discontented with him, as he caused him to be slaine, depriving himselfe of a sufficient and faithfull seruant: and (as one reproched it vnto him) he had cut off his right hand with his left. In the mean time *Merouee* affaires succeeded well in all places: he had wonne much reputation: he was feared of the Romaines, honoured of the Gaules, and respected and beloued of all men. *Thierry* King of the Goths, gaue him place by his death, with whom the Romaines might haue ioined: and his greatest opposition, was the wisdom and valour of *Attila*, E  
 the which did no more checke him.

Thus the prouidence of God (which meant to vse him for the building of this Monarchie) made way for him euery where. He likewise knew how to imbrace all these opportunities with such dexterity, that taking hold of all occasions, hee entred the Country, taking possession of Paris, Sens, Orleans, and the neighbour Prouinces, with the consent of the inhabitants: and ioining these with the rest, he won the Gaules, with so good vantage, as he was held worthy to command ouer them: and so without any contention, he began to frame the body of an estate, calling France (by the name of his ancient country) the country of the Gaules, being newly brought vnder his obedience. Hereby we may see, whether it be likely that *Valentinian* gaue the French their liberty, for recompence of this notable seruice: and that from thence they began to be called Frenchmen, that is to say, F  
 Franc and free, as some write, not well obseruing the Romaine History, whence these Romaine obseruations should with reason be drawne. Such was the valour, wisdom and happinesse of this great and worthy Prince, who with great reason gaue his name to this first race, called *Merouingians*, to aduow him the principall pillar of their settled estate.

He

A He beganne to raigne the yeare 451. and ruled tenne yeares onely, not omitting one 460.  
 The happy  
 raigne of  
 Merouee.  
 he beganne  
 the  
 raigne of  
 Merouee.  
 one houre to do well. In his time there chanced notable accidents in the Church. As on the one side the Barbarians dismembred the State, so the heretikes troubled the Church by their monstrous innouations, sprung vp against the truth of the ancient and Catholike doctrine: and their chiefe practises were against the sonne of God. *Nestorius* diuided the Natures: *Eutiches* did confound them: *Theodosius* the second, assembled a generall Councell at *Ephesus*, against *Nestorius* and *Martian* his successor: another at *Chalcedon* against *Eutiches*. There were likewise Synods at Orange, Valence, Carpentras, Arles, Tours, and Venice, for diuers necessities of the Church, the which order and discipline might remedy. *Cyrillus* and *Theodore* liued in those times, great personages, and worthy defenders of the truth.

CHILDERIC, or CHILPERIC, first King  
 of that name, the 4. King of France,  
 In some Copies HILPERIC.



He French and the Gaules being thus vnited, they choose *Chilperic* the sonne of *Merouee* for their King, with great solemnity, being the first assembly of this new people, consisting of two nations, and installed him, according to their ancient manner (raising him vpon a Target) they carried him about the assembly. Hee beganne to rule in the yeare 461. and reigned thirty yeares. A Prince noted in diuerse examples, both in his life and government: for in the beginning hee was vitious and vnfortunate, but being reclaimed by affliction (having changed his life) happinesse did accompany him in the end of his daies. At his comming to the Crowne, hee did greatly abuse his authority, in oppressing of his subiects, with excessive taxes, raising the wiues, and daughters of the French: who seeing themselves ill intreated in their goods and honours, they assemble, and resolute to expell *Chilperic*, as vnworthy to reigne, and to call in *Gillon* a Romaine for their king, who gouerned in Gaule for the Romaines, and held his seat at Soissons. The hate and contempt of subiects against their kings, is a great



461.

great meanes to blemish their authority. The vices of *Chilperic* bred this discontent in the French, and the scourge was ready to chastice him, though not to ruine him.

*Chilperic expelled for his vice.*

*Chilperic* (not able to oppose himselfe against this common consent) giues place, by the Councell of *Guyemans* a man of great account, who promised him to be his faithfull friend in his affliction, and to vse his best endeouours to pacifie the French, being incensed against him, and to cause him to bee recalled. To this end, he takes a token from *Guyemans*, for the more secret treating in his absence. The token was a peece of a gold ring, whereof either of them tooke a moitie. This done *Chilperic*, retires himselfe into *Turinge*, to king *Basin* his deere friend and kinsman, expecting better fortune. *Guyemans* proceeds with such dexterity, as creeping into fauour with this new king, and keeping his credit with the French, he makes himselfe fit to effect his purpose, both by the one and the other. The issue answereth the proiect. Having plausible audience with *Gillon*, he aduiseeth him, that to get authoritie among his subiects, he must inure them to obedience: and therefore he must not forbear to lay publike charges vpon them, else they would contemne him, and in the end insult ouer him, if in time hee did not accustom them to beare the yoke of his new authority. According to this aduise, the King (vnacquainted with the humour of the French) imposeth taxes contrary to custome, and doubles charge vpon charge. The same fire which had inflamed the French against *Chilperic*, incensed them presently against *Gillon*. For (say they) to what end should this new maister become a tirant? We can dispossesse him with the like facilitie, that we haue made him. Thus they generally complaine, euery one (according to the credit hee hath with the people) cries out, that they must preuent this mischief. Such as were the moitiues and instruments to expell *Chilperic*, are not the last to complaine. *Guyemans* doth secretly aduertise *Gillon*, that the means to auoid the danger which *Chilperic* fell into, was to preuent this practise in the breeding, & to put the principall authors thereof to death, as the ringleaders of rebellion. *Gillon* entertaines this aduise: he puts them to death that were the instruments of *Chilperics* disgrace. And so with one stone giues two strokes. He takes them away that might frustrate his designe, and disposeth the Frenchmens hearts to desire their King.

*Chilperic called home chasticed by affliction.*

And thus he makes the way for *Chilperics* returne, by a very happy dexterity, and the euent was answerable. *Gillon* (having put these aforesaid to death) became very odious to the French. *Guyemans* abandons *Gillon*, and cunningly embraceth this occasion, in fauor of *Chilperic*. He blames the French for their lightnesse, to haue expelled their naturall Lord, and receiued a stranger farre more insupportable. Thus he makes them resolute to call home *Chilperic*: who vnderstanding their desire, and seeing the peece of gold (the token of his returne) sent by his faithfull friend, returnes confidently into France: hee is receiued by the French, and by their aide forceth *Gillon* to resigne him the place, and to retire himselfe to *Soissons*. Such was the first part of *Chilperics* life. The last was of another temper: for being taught by himselfe, he was so addicted to do good, as he got the good will of the French, of whom he was beloued, honoured, and obeyed all the rest of his life. So as to good mindes capable of reason, affliction serues as a chastisement, and not for a ruine: for an instruction, and not a destruction. He did fight happily against *Odoacre* King of the *Saxons*, subdued the Germans, and wonne a great country along the Rhine. He added to this State the Country of *Aniou*, hauing forced the City of *Angiers*: and to make his happinesse absolute, he had one sonne, who augmented and assured his Realme. They only obserue one notable error committed after his returne, in taking *Basine* to wife, being the wife of *Basin* King of *Turinge*, who had courteously entertained him in his distresse, violating the sacred lawes of hospitality, suffering himselfe to be abused with the loue of a woman, accounted a witch: for they say, this woman (who had forsaken her husband for him) made him to see a vision the first night of their vnlawful marriage, the which did represent the state of the succeeding kingdom, by Lions, Vnicornes, Leopards, the which appeared first in this vision, then by Beares, and Wolves: and lastly by Cats, Dogs, and other small beasts, the which did teare one another in sunder. You must pardon these fables of antiquity (bred as it seemes long after) by the which she would represent the estate of the three races, according to their diuerse currents.

A currents. *Chilperic* hauing liued thus, and reigned thirty yeares, he left *Clovis* his sonne for successor and heire of one of the goodliest and beautifullest pillars of the French Monarchie: as shall appeare by the following discourse.

485.

### CLOVIS the first, the first King of France, and the 1. Christian King.



L O V I S, succeeding his father *Chilperic*, was installed in the Royaltie, by the French, according to their ancient custome, borne vpon a target in open assembly. He began to reigne the yeare 485. and reigned thirty yeares. He had scarce attained to the age of fifteene yeares, when as he mounted to the royall throne. A yong man of great hope, borne for the setting of this monarchie. His forefathers had laied the foundation, but hee did build vpon these goodly beginnings with so great valour, wisdom, and good fortune, as he is to be held for one of the greatest Architects of this estate, hauing had the honour to be first King of France that receiued the Christian religion, the greatest beauty of this Crowne: and a priuilege so carefully planted by his successors, as they haue purchased the title of most Christian, as a marke of their chiefest greatnesse. The progresse of the History will shew both his vertues, and vices. But at this entrie, his minde being guided to so great a worke (whereunto the wise prouidence of Almighty God had appointed him) fortifieth it selfe, the first 5. yeares of his raigne (being the time of his apprenticeship) before he vndertooke any thing, the which he did manage so discreetly, embracing all occasions that were offered, as in the end he thought himself able to subdue all Gaule, if God had not staied the ambitious course of his vnlimited desires. F signes to let great men vnderstand, that he reserues a Soueraigne prerogatiue ouer all their enterprises.

We haue sayd before, that in the dissipation of the Empire, the Gaules had many vsurpers, Bourguignons, Goths, and Frenchmen: the Romaines had the least part, for hardly could they keepe *Soissons*, *Compiègne*, *Senlis*, and other small townes thereabouts. The Bourguignons enjoyed a great country, the two Bourguognes, the Duchie and the Earledome,

485.

Earledome, Saüy, Lyonnois, Forests, Beauuiois, Daulphine, and Prouince, Arles being A  
the Metropolitane City of the Realme. The Goths possessed all Gaule Narbonnoise,  
to the which they gaue the name, and al Guyenne with the appurtenances. The French  
had the best part, from the Rhine vnto Loire, imbracing al the rich Prouinces of the low  
Countries vnto the Ocean, the countries of Heynault, Cambresie, Picardy, Normandy,  
the Isle of France, Maine, Aniou, Touraine, Vandomois, the prouince of Orleans, Beausse,  
Hurepois, Gaftrinois, Sologne, Berry, and the neighbour countries, although these great  
and large territories had particular Lords: amongst the which the King was acknowl-  
edged for Sovereigne, such was the estate of Gaule, when as *Clouis* vnderooke the helme  
of this French Monarchy. To become absolute Maister of this goodly country, which  
was set to sale to the mightiest: he begins with the weakest, the neerest, and him with  
whom he had the most apparent shew of quarrell: which was the Romaine, who held  
nothing of this great name, but the shew and pride, in a weaknesse altogether contemp-  
tible. *Siagrius* sonne to that *Gyles* of whom we haue spoken, commanded at Soissons for  
the Romans. *Clouis* had an hereditary quarrell against him, hauing sought to vsurpe his  
estate; irreconcilable quarrels among Princes. Hauing so goodly a shew to demand rea-  
son for so notable a wrong, he defies him. They assemble their forces: *Clouis* calles  
to his aide *Ragnachaire*, the petty King of Cambray, and *Chararic* of Amyens: the first as-  
sists him, the other excuseth, being desirous to keepe the stakes, and to be a looker on,  
and then to ioyne with the stronger. *Siagrius* is ouercome in bataille. In this buerthrow  
he leaues his estate to *Clouis*, and flies to *Alaric* King of the Goths, being at Tholouse. C  
*Clouis* not content with *Siagrius* goods, demands his person of *Alaric*, and obtaines it.  
*Siagrius* is sent vnto him, his hands and feet bound. Hauing him in his power, he makes  
him taste the griefe of his misery, reproching him that he had basely lost his gouernment  
and deserued capitall punishment, and so he cuts off his head; and afterwards he suppres-  
seth *Chararic*, and *Ragnachaire*, ypon diuerse occasions. Hauing seized vpon all that be-  
longed to the Romaine name, he turned his resolutions against the Bourguignons and  
the Goths: but with an industry fitting so politike a head, seeking some colour of iustice;  
he makes a league of peace with the two nations, to pick a cause of quarrell, hauing some  
contouerfie with their Kings, for some title in shew lawfull: The issue is answerable to  
his designe, for he knew so well how to obserue times, watch for occurrences, and creepe D,  
so cunningly into their affaires, as in the end he dispossessed them both.

Clouis aspires  
to the Monar-  
chy of all  
Gaule.

The first roo-  
ting out of  
the Romanes.

In the house of Bourgondy there were foure brethren, *Gondebault*, *Gondegefil*, *Chil-  
peric* and *Gothemar*, the children of *Gondioch*. The ieaousie of their portions thrusts  
them into choller, and the fury of couetousnesse polluted the hands of *Gondebault* the el-  
der with the parricide of his yonger brother *Chilperic*, and of his wife, but God preferred  
*Clotilde* from the cruelty of this man, being the daughter of *Chilperic*, to be the meanes  
of this murderers misery. She was exceeding faire: this quality bred a desire in *Clouis*;  
but especially to get footing in Bourgondy, and some interest to deale with the affaires  
of that estate: for which reason *Gondebault* would by no meanes like of that alliance:  
yet not daring to shew the true cause, he made the pretext of his refusal to be the diuer-  
sity of religion, which could not agree with these vnequall marriages. *Clouis* preuented  
it with great policy, for hauing promised *Clotilde* that she should haue libertie of consci-  
ence, he remooues the let wherewith *Gondebault* did crosse him: so as the marriage was  
concluded. And although *Clouis* were a Pagan by profession, yet was he no enemy to  
the Christians, fitting himselfe to the humour of the Gaulois, who generally followed  
the Christian religion. He suffered his wife likewise to baptise her children: and three a  
wife Princeesse insinuating with her husband, desired nothing more then to winne him  
vnto God, the which chanced in this sort. *Clouis* did succour the Sicambriens his allies,  
(which be the inhabitants of Gueldres and Iuliers) against the Germans. Being in the  
bataille, he found himselfe ingaged in the midst of his enemies troupes and in great  
danger of his life. He then makes a vow vnto God, that if he would giue him the victo-  
ry, he would presently submit himselfe to the Christian Church, and be baptised. God  
heard him. He obtaines the victory, and being returned, he resolues to performe his vow.  
His wife *Clotilde* infinitely glad of this holy resolution, sends for Saint Remy Bishop of  
Rheims,

Clouis be-  
comes a  
Christian.

15

500.

A Rheims (a man of great pietie and eloquence) to instruct him in the true doctrine, where-  
in he was very ignorant, as a man that had made profession of armes all his life, borne and  
bred in superstition, and neuer had discoursed of Christian religion, but like a souldiar. It  
was necessary he should be instructed by a discreet man, that in leauing the vanity of the  
Pagans, he were not infected with the errors of the Arrians, which then were dispersed in  
diuerse places. And euen his owne sister *Lamie* was infected therewith.

The preaching of Saint Remy had great efficacy with *Clouis*: and the example of *Clouis*  
with all his men of warre. In this action, these goodly sayings are worthy to be noted.  
*Bend thy neck to the yoke in mildenesse* (saith Saint Remy to *Clouis*) *worship that which thou  
hast burnt, and burne that which thou hast worshipped.* And he answereth, *I worship the true  
God which is the father, the sonne and the holy Ghost, the Creator of heauen and earth.* So, be-  
ing baptised, he exhorts his men to the same beleefe. They cry all ioyntly. *We leaue our  
mortal Gods, and are ready to follow the immortal.* So *Clouis* was baptised at Rheims by  
Saint Remy, with great solemnity, and with him three thousand of his souldiars, to the in-  
credible ioy of the Gaulois, greatly affected to Christian religion: hoping by this con-  
uersion to haue better vsage in time to come.

This act is very remarkable, hauing consecrated our Kings to Christian religion, the  
which hath preferred this realme vnto this day from most horrible confusions. *Armonius*  
saith: that a doue brought a viall full of oile in her bill, at that instant, with the which our  
Kings are annointed, when they are installed. But *Gregory* of Tours, a more ancient Au-  
thor, writes onely, that *Clouis* was baptised. They likewise hold, that *Clouis* did at that  
time change the royall armes, and that for three toades, or as the learned say, three dia-  
demes gueules, in a field argent, he tooke the floures de-lis without number. Many mo-  
numents of our Kings in the first and second race, iustifie this change of armes, made by  
*Clouis*, as we see them in the most ancient Temple. Without dilating any more thereof,  
*Charles* the sixth, in the Scutcheon of France, reduced the floures de-lis to three.

This publique profession of Christianity wonne the hearts of all the Gauls vnto  
*Clouis*, and did perfect the vniõ betwixt them and the French, making their yoke easie,  
and them tractable. He fortified his command with this bond of religion, and layed a  
foundation for the absolute greatnesse of this Monarchy, which euen then beganne to  
take place, throughout all Gaule: Thus Gaule (with more solemnity then vnder *Mero-  
uee*) was called France, by the common consent of all nations: the Gaulois were no  
more grieved to serue the French, being victors: hauing willingly suffered themselves to  
be conquered, and hauing one faith and one law; they could not but with the good of  
their common country: so much may religion preuaile to vniõ mens hearts in a com-  
monweale. In this beginning *Clouis* shewed an excellent fruite of his baptism, exceeding  
all his conquests. By his last victory he had subdued the Germans, and to accustom them  
to obedience, had imposed great and rigorous burthens. But now he doth relieue them:  
sends home their hostages, and moderates their yoke, shewing thereby that he is grown  
milder. This humanity was approued as a second victory, and more honorable then the  
first. Truly it is as great a victory in a great Prince, to conquer by clemency, as it is a  
profitable policy to winne mens hearts by reason. The Conquerour that pardons, beau-  
tifies his triumph, adding to their conquered bodies their hearts, admiring his vertue no  
lesse victorious then his forces.

*Clouis* was ill affected to the Visigoths, who held a great & large country in Gaule, ob-  
scuring the French Monarchy, the which he desired to settle: but he must finde some ho-  
nest pretext to make warre. Although in effect the right of conueniency was his greatest  
interest, as it is often the most lawfull title of Princes: yet hee seeks a quarrell against  
*Alaric* King of the Visigoths, vpon the alliance he had made with him, the which (hee  
faies) had bene broken, for that the banished men, and malefactors of France, had found  
a free and assured refuge in his dominions: wherevnto he added a complaint of their  
bounds, in the division whereof he would resolutely haue the advantage. But to giue  
a better colour to this quarrell of State, he ioynes religion: For (saith he to his people)  
to what end should these Arrians haue so good a part among the Christians? Yet before he  
would come to open force, hee talks of a friendly conference.

Religion the  
only true  
bond of af-  
fections.

Gaule called  
France.

Humanity  
victorious.

503.

The two Kings appoint a day and a place for an enterview, to parlee of their affaires. A But this meeting increased their hatred: for being both vpon the place, some confident seruants to *Clouis*, gaue him notice, that *Alaric* had laide an ambushe to surprize him in their parle. *Clouis* was much moued herewith and resolues to make warre against *Alaric*: he raiseth an army, and being ready to march towards Guyenne, behold a new occasion, which makes him turne his forces towards Bourgongne.

Warres in  
Bourgongne,  
and vniuers.

We haue shewed, how that *Gondebault* King of Bourgongne, slue his brother *Chilperic*, father to *Clotilde*, vpon the first diuision of their portions, after their fathers death. He had two brethren remaining, *Gondemar* and *Gondegesil*, of whom he desired infinitely to bee freed, hauing too many bretheren, and too little land, according to his vnstatable desire. Their debate was for Prouence and Daulphine, which they demanded for their portions. *Gondebault* enioyed the chiefe Cities, except Vienne, which the brethren held. *Clouis* his Army ouercomes that of *Gondebault*, marching victoriously through the countries of Venaifon, where the battaile was fought. *Gondebault* saues himselfe with great difficulty in Auignon, and is presently besieged by *Clouis*, who yet grants him an honourable composition, and labours to reconcile him with his bretheren: which done, he returnes into France, and *Gondemar* and *Gondegesil* retire into Vienne, dreaming of nothing lesse then to haue their elder brother for an enemy. But Vienne must be the pitfall of their misery, to swallow them both vp, one after an other: for behold, *Gondebault* is with a strong army at the gates of Vienne: and his brethren are reduced to that extremity, as hauing no meanes to defend themselves, nor to get reliefe from their friends, the City is easily taken, and euery man seekes to saue himselfe as he can. *Gondemar* flies into a Tower, where he is besieged, assailed, and burnt, with all his troupe. *Gondegesil*, is taken aliue after this tragick feare: but being alone, he slips away, and flies to *Clouis*, whom he found in Armes ready to march vpon this new accident.

*Clouis* takes new aduise. The ancient hatred he bare to *Gondebault*: (who had crossed him in his marriage,) the iniustice, and more then barbarous cruelty: the complaint of this poore Prince his allie, who cast himselfe into his armes, had much power to perswade him to the voyage of Bourgongne. But that which made him resolute, was for that *Gondebault* prepared to succour *Alaric*, against whom *Clouis* did now march with his forces. Thus the iust iudgement of God provided a scourge for his murderer, who addes rashnesse, and insolency to his first disorders. *Clouis* enters with an armie into Bourgongne. Feare doth not onely surprize the country, but also the peoples iust hatred of this tyrant, being infamous with so many parricides: so as in few daies the principall Cities yeeld vnto *Clouis*, and the rest are ready to submit themselves into his hands, as to their deliuerer.

*Clouis* con-  
quests in  
Bourgongne.

*Gondebault* persued by God and men, faintes, being insolent in prosperity, and daunted in aduersity. All things conspired to his ruine. But as God doth not alwaies take sinners at the bound, he staied the blow by meanes of *Clotilde*, who greuing to see her house decay, to the ouerthrow of the estate of Bourgongne, makes sute to her husband, for her vnle and his country, and preuailes so with him, through her intercession, as shee perswades him to passe no further, but to leaue the rest to her vnle *Gondebault*, with a reasonable peace, whereof she drew the articles. Thus *Clouis* dismisseth his army, hauing onely provided for the gard of Vienne, Mascon, Chaalon and other townes taken from *Gondebault*, and he giues the charge of them to *Gondegesil*.

A treache-  
rous attempt  
of *Gondebault*.

This is all that *Gondebault* could hope for in so great a danger: but he would needes perishe, when as he sees himselfe without any enemy by *Clouis* departure, he marcheth so secretly with his forces, as in one night he surpriseth Vienne, by the Conduit heads, guided by him that had them in charge, being cast out off the Citie, with the scumme of vnprofitable people. Vienne must be the Sepulchre of *Gondegesil*, as it was of *Gondemar*: for in this vnexpected surprize, as hee, and the Bishop sought meanes to saue themselves in the temple of Saint Mory, amazement giues an easie entrie vnto *Gondebault*, who being maister thereof, doth massacre both *Gondegesil*, his brother, and the Bishop, without any respect.

*Clouis* moued with this treacherous attempt, returnes with his army, and besieged *Gondebault*,

A *Gondebault*, who vnable to resist, escapes by night, and saues himselfe in Italy, with *Thierry*, King of the Ostrogoths, his friend and confederate. There being tormented in conscience, without all hope of reliefe, he falls into horrible dispaire, and dies, hatefull euen to those that had receiued him: leauing a notable example to all men, that man is the cause of his owne misery; that he deceiueth himselfe, when as ouerruled by his owne passions, he thinkes to mocke God freely, who sleepest not, when as men are most secure in their wickednesse. But after a long patience, God paies both the principall, and the interest, and he that seekes an other mans goods, doth often loose his owne; the halfe being better then the whole, for to liue quietly with content. This was the end of *Gondebault*, and the beginning of the title which the Kings of France pretended to Bourgongne. The States of Prouence, Daulphine, and Sauoy were dependances on this crowne. *Clouis* reteyning Daulphine and the countries adioyning vnto Bourgongne, he left Sauoy, and Prouence to *Sigismund*, and *Gondemar* the children of *Gondebault*, ioyning equity and mildnesse to his iust victory.

The first win-  
ning of Bour-  
gongne,  
Daulphine  
and Prou-  
ence.

B Hauing thus settled the affaires of Bourgongne, he marcheth presently with his victorious armie into Languedoc, against *Alaric* King of the Visigoths, who held not onely that goodly Prouence, but all the Country from the Pirenean mountaines, euen to the bankes of Rofne and Loire, as we haue said. *Clouis* hauing assembled his army at Tours, marcheth into Poictou, where *Alaric* attends him with his forces, meaning to fight with him at his entrie.

C The battaile is giuen, and much blood shed on either side, but the absolute victory remaines to *Clouis*: as the bodies, the field, and the head of *Alaric*, whom he slew with his owne hand: an accident very remarkable, that one Prince should kill another in the fury of the fight. This happened in the yeare of our Lord 509. The fruit of this notable victory was so great, as all yeelded to *Clouis*, where he marched. Those of Angoulême made shew of resistance: but a great part of the wall being fallen (as it were miraculously) not onely the City yeelded, but all the country (being terrified) offered their voluntary obedience vnto *Clouis*: as if God (holding him by the hand) had put him into the possession of all that Prouence, as the lawfull heire. *Auvergne* makes some shew to resist, but in the end it yeelds with all the townes of the Prouence: In this generall reuolt against the Visigoths, *Almaric*, the sonne of *Alaric*, getters a new head in the countries of his obedience, with wonderfull speed. *Clouis* seekes him out, and finds him nere to Bourdeaux. The battaile is fought, and the slaughter great on either side: the one army fights for honour, and the other for life, and goods. But *Clouis* remaines conquerour, who in detestation of his enemy, calles the place the Arrien field; which name continues vnto this day. *Almaric* flies to *Thierry* his confederate, King of the Ostrogoths in Italy, with an intent to returne speedily to be reuenged of *Clouis*. All the country remaines peaceable to *Clouis*: yea Tholouse the capitall city of the Goths kingdome. And thus he returnes, leauing a part of his army in garrison in the townes of his new conquest, vnder his sonnes command: and in his Standard (as a trophæ) he carried for a deuice, *Veni, vidi, vici*, I came, and saw, and ouercame, like vnto *Cæsar*. This great conquest gotten with incredible celerity, and admirable successe, is a worthy prooffe of Gods providence, who disposeth of States according to his wise, and iust pleasure, pulling downe one, and raising vp another.

*Alaric* slaine  
by the hand  
of *Clouis*.

D Thus *Clouis* hauing expelled the remainder of the Romaines, seized on the Bourgongnons estate, and of the Visigoths: remaining in a manner absolute Lord of the Gaules; vnder the title of the Realme of France. He desired much to liue at Tours (as indeed it is the goodly garden of France: but seeking to giue a perfect forme to this new estate, (as one head hath but one body) he choseth Paris for his capitall City, being seated in the Isle of France, and the true mansion of Kings, as well for the fertile beauty of the country thereabout, as for the concurse of riuers, which bring infinite commodities from all parts, by the channell of the riuier of Seine, into the which all the rest fall, as the common store-house of all commodities. Thus Paris from small beginnings (as may be noted by the low buildings and narrow streets of the Isle, being the first plot) is growne to a wonderfull greatnesse, being the head City of all the Realme.

C 3

The

504.  
The Empe-  
rour sends  
Ambassadors  
to Clouis.

The brute of *Clouis* force, published all ouer, with a great renoune of his valour, moued *Anastasi*us Emperour of the East, to desire his friendship: although he had more reason to be his enemy, hauing dispossessed him of his ancient inheritance. Thus the Empire declined, flattering his most dangerous enemies, against whom he should oppose himselfe. Hee salutes him with a very honourable Ambassage, sends him a Senators roabe, the priuilege of a Patrician and Citizen of Rome, and the dignity of a Consull: in signe of the honour his successors should haue, to be Emperours, and to preserue the reliques of the Empire from a generall shipwrack. *Clouis* entertained *Anastasi*us Ambassadors with honour and bounty, desirous to ouercome them with curtesie, as well as by the valour of his victorious armes.

*Clouis* being  
conquerour  
is conquered.

The violent course of *Clouis* victories seemed vnresistable: but behold an vnexpected enemy, not onely staies him foderly, but takes from him the greatest part of his new conquests, defeats his Army, and draws him into danger neuer to performe any thing worthily. The nation of the Gothes was then very great, being dispersed in diuerse parts: in Gaule, Italy and Spaine, so as one people issued from the same beginning (as we haue said) was distinguished by diuerse names, to marke the places of their seuerall abodes. The Wisigoths or rather Westgoths, were they that dwelt in the West, that is to say in Gaule, West to Italy: the Ostrogoths or Eastgoths possessed Italy, by consequence East to Gaule. These Eastgoths had done great and notable exploits in Italy, taken and sackt Rome, and hauing seized on the goodliest countries of Italy, had there established a king-  
dome vnder their name, the which was ruined by the Lombards, and the Lombards by the French, as we shall see in the continuance of this history.

These Goths (named Getes by the Greekes) an ancient people of Asia) scattered themselves first along the riuer of Danuby, entring the Countrey nere to Constantinople, as well on the maine land, as in the Taurique Cherfonse, nere to this quarter. And so extending their limits, did possesse Valachier and Hongarie, and in the end Scandia, and the Countrey which lies nere the Riuer of Vistula, in the Countrey of Sueden towards the Baltique Sea: where they made their last retreat, after many losses, receiued in diuers places, seeking of their fortunes. The Realme of Gothland carries their name euen vnto this day. I thought good by the way, to note the estate of the Gothes being fit for  
this subiect.

Thus the successe of the French forces, and the alliance so carefully sought by the Emperour, (a capitall enemie to the Gothike name) did easily moue *Thierry* King of the East-goths, to succour his kinsman *Almarick*, a Prince spoiled of his possessions: whose example did sollicit all the Goths to preuent the danger, which did threaten them very nere. So as from Italie, Sicile, Sclauonia, and Dalmatia, by his owne means, and the credit of his friends, he gathers together fourescore thousand fighting men, the which he giues to *Ibba* to lead against *Clouis*; and he himselfe remaines in Italy, to make head against the Emperours designes, least he should cause some diuision in fauour of *Clouis* his confederate. The Gothike army enters by Piedmont, takes Grace and Anti-  
bou, and in short time, all Prouence obeyes him.

A great losse  
both of Pro-  
vincies and  
men.

The people of Languedoc (louing their old maisters, and not able to indure the infolencie of a new) yeeld easily to the stronger. Prouence remaines thus to the East-goths, and Languedoc returns to the Vuisigoths: *Clouis* being brought a sleepe with the imagination of a generall triumph, awakes at this brute: he armes, and marcheth speedily against the enemie: he is beaten, and loofeth 30000. men, at this encounter: whereby it appeared, that he held not victories at his girdle, nor they proceeded not from his valour. *Clouis* who vanquished euery where, finding himselfe beaten, and not able presently to make head against a victorious enemy, returns into France, rather madde then transported with furious choller, tossing in his braines how to be reuenged of so notable a disgrace. The Goths giue him leaue to runne and take cold, being content to haue recovered their owne. After this he attempted no more against them, and the greatest part of Bourgongne returned to the children of *Gondebauls*. But in the end, both Prouence and Bourgongne shall be incorporated to the Crowne, by diuerse accidents, the which we will note in diuerse places.

*Clouis*

*Clouis* suruiued five yeares after all these losses, remaying commonly at Paris, hauing no heroick mind, to attempt any great conquests, yet of a cruell disposition, which made him dye with desire of other mens goods: He employed all his wits to put his kinsmen to death, hauing some seignories included within the compasse of his great monarchy, with an imagination to leaue his children a great estate vnited. In this dessein, he puts to death *Chararic*, to haue *Amiens*: *Ragnachaire*, to become maister of Cambray: and *Sigibert*, to haue no companion at Mets, although he were acknowledged in all these places for soueraigne. This rauishing of other mens goods was vnexcusable, but his tragically proceedings to haue it, was more detestable. I tremble to represent the horror of these execrable crimes:

510.  
*Clouis* cruell  
practises to  
become great.

you may read them in the original of *Gregory* of *Tours*. The truth of the History requires they should be registred, but reason would haue the memory of so dangerous examples buried in obliuion. I desire to be dispensed withall, if I discourse not of these monstrous enormities. A modest tragedy goares not the scaffold with the blood of *Iphigenia*, being content to report by a messenger, that she was slaine by her fathers command, drawing a curtaine to hide the blood. But if any one will vrge me with the debt which a history doth owe, I will say that *Clouis* caused *Chararic* to be slaine, hauing seized on him and his sonne, and condemned them to a monastery. As they were cutting of their haire, the son seeing his father weepe bitterly, he said: *These greene branches will grow againe*: meaning the haire they cut off: *for the stocke is not dead: but God wil suffer him to perishe that causeth them to be cut off.* *Clouis* aduertised of this free speech. They complaine for the losse of their haire: (sayes he) *let their heads be cut off.* And so they were put to death. To get *Ragnachaire* (who had faithfully serued him both against *Siagrius*, and in all his other enterpri-  
ses) he corrupted some of his domesticall seruants, with promise of great rewards, in token whereof he sent them bracelets of latten guilt. These traytors bring him *Ranachaire* and his brother with their hands and feet bound: Who beholding them: *Outcasts (saith he) of our race, unworthy of the blood of Merouee, are you not ashamed to suffer your selues to be thus bound? you are unworthy to liue: repay the dishonour you haue done to our blood with your bloods:* and so he strooke either of them with a Battle-Axe which he held in his hand, and slew them both, in the presence of his Captaines and Councell. But when as the Trai-  
tors demanded their reward, and complained of his Bracelets: *Auant (saith he) Traytors, is it not enough that I suffer you to liue? I loue the treason, but I hate traytors.* But the last exceeds the rest. Hee perswades the sonne of *Sigibert* to kill his father. This infamous parricide murders him, and returns to *Clouis*, to put him in possession of his treasures, whom hee had thus massacred: who being in the chamber, and bending downe into a Chest, to draw forth bagges full of gold, hee caused his braines to be beat out, and being the stronger, seized on Mets, making a good shew to the people, as ignorant of this murder.

Horrible  
murders  
committed  
by *Clouis*.

Thus *Clouis* liued: thus hee reigned, and thus hee dyed, in the yeare of our Lord 514: of the age of forty five, the thirtieth yeare of his reign, in the flower of his enterprises, in the City of Paris. A Prince whom wee must put in ballance, to counterpoise his vertues with his vices: valiant, politick, colde, wise, temperate, diligent in execution, of admirable authority, and indued with excellent politicke vertues, fitte for an estate. Contrarywise, hee was extremely couetous, ambitious, wilfull, cruell, bloody, infinitely giuen to the world, immortalizing his good hap in this mortall life, by his many enterprises, the which hee feared not to execute with the losse of other mens goods and liues. Wee must not wonder, if wee read of confusions in the following reignes: wherein wee shall first see bloud for bloud, and the robber robbed, spoiled, dispossessed, according to the trueth of Oracles. *Woe to thee that robbest, for thou shalt be robbed: that killest, for thou shalt be killed: the same measure thou measurest, shall be measured to thee againe.*

The death of  
*Clouis*.

His vertues &  
vices.

Vnder his reign the Romane Empire vanished quite in the West. Spaine, Gaule, Italy, and Germany, were seized on by strange nations, retaining no markes of the Romaine name. The East had yet some shewes of the Empire, whereof *Constantinople* was the seat. *Leo*, *Zeno*, *Anastasi*us Emperours liued in those dayes, with many enemies, shame and losse. The Pope of Rome thrust himselfe forward amidst these confusions and ruines, to recoue.

The estate of  
the church,  
recoue.

514. recouering that which the Emperours had lost. *Leo, Hilarie, Simplicius, Felix, Gelasius, A* lived in those times, learned men. The counsell was held againe at Chalcedone, against *Eutiches* and *Dioscorus*.

## The sixth raigne vnder the foure sonnes of CLOVIS.

*Childebert. Clotaire.  
Clodimir. Thierry.*

*who raigned together forty and two yeares, as Kings of France, yet with a particular title vnder this generall: but in the end Clotaire remained King alone; and therefore their raignes are distinguisbed.*

To this coniunction of foure brethren some giue the sixth degree in the number of Kings, and *Childebert* as the eldest, beares the title.

## CHILDEBERT the sixth King of France.



**C**LOVIS his designe was to rule alone in a great vnited Kingdome, but he sees his resolutions frustrate: for this vaste body, compounded of many peeces, is scarce vnited, but it is disioyned againe, yea in his life time: and the rest is diuided into foure parts to his children, according to the lawes of nature, but to the visible preiudice of the Estate, incompatible of so many maisters, as the following discourse will shew. A lesson both for great and small, and a notable president of the vanity of humane enterprises:

**A** enterprises: where the end is not alwaies answerable to the beginning. They take great paines to settle a firme estate, which shalbe soone dismembred, either by law or force, and that shalbe dispersed sodeinly, which was gathered together too hastily.

Let euery one consider, what he leaues to his Children, for the which there is no warrantable caution, but a good tide. These foure sonnes diuide the realme into foure Kingdomes. *Childebert* was King of Paris, and vnder this realme was comprehended the Prouinces of Poitou, Maine, Touraine, Champagne, Aniou, Guyenne and Auvergne. *Clotaire* King of Soissons: and the dependances of this realme were Vermandois, Picardy, Flaunders and Normandy. *Clodomyr* King of Orleans: and the estates of this realme, were, all the Duchy of Orleans, Bourgongne, Lionois, Daulphine, and Prouence. *Thierry* was King of Metz: and to his realme were subiect, the country of Lorraine, and all the countie from Rheims vnto the Rhine, and beyond it all Germany, which was the ancient parrimony of the Kings of France. He was receiued in this royall portion with his brethren, although he were a bastard, the which hath bene likewise practiced by others in the first race. And as euery one of these foure Kings called himselfe King of France, so they also added the name of their principall City where there they held their Court. Thus they called them by special title, Kings of the City where they had their residence. And in truth euery one carried himselfe as King in the countries vnder his obedience, not acknowledging the elder, but by mouth only.

**B** As the plurality of Maisters is a plague in an estate, so is it miraculous that the realme had not bene ruined by so many Kings: especially amidst such monstrous confusions, which then reigned, full of treacheries, cruelties, and parricides. I tremble to enter into this labyrinth, the which I will but passe ouer, measuring the Readers sorrow by my griefe, in writing and reading these tragicall confusions. But let vs obserue things by order. After these foure brethren had peaceably made their diuisions, and taken lawes of their owne accord (in the yeare 515. according to the most approued calculation) they marry their sister *Clotilde* to *Almarie*, sonne to *Alarie*, King of the Visigoths, who had recouered a good part of Languedoc, the which *Clouis* had taken from his father, and by this marriage they yeeld vnto him the City of Toulouse. But this alliance was the cause of great diuisions, and ruine. Ambition and Couetousnesse (good Counsellors of State) made euery one to conceiue as great a Kingdome for himselfe as that of his father, perswading them to attempt any thing to be great. Bourgongne was quietly returned into the possession of *Gondebaulds* children, *Sigismond* had the name of King, as the elder, and *Gondemar* a portion.

**C** *Clodomyr* King of Orleans, as nearest neighbour, casts his eyes vpon this goodly country, although he had no cause of pretension, but onely conueniency. Yet he finds a colour to beginne this quarrell. The rights pretended by his mother *Clotilde*, issued from the house of Bourgongne, and the zeale of Iustice, to chastise *Sigismond*; for that he had slaine his eldest sonne, to please his second wife and her Children. He enters into Bourgongne with a mighty army, seizeth on *Sigismond*, his wife and children, brings them to Orleans, and there castes them all into a well. Thus God punished the cruelty of *Sigismond*, an vnkinde father, by a cruell and disloyall hand. *Clodomyr* presumed, that he had conquered all, hauing slaine the King of Bourgongne. But the Bourguignons, incensed with this cruelty, confirme *Gondemar* in his brothers seat, and leauy an army to defend him against *Clodomyr*.

**D** The armies ioyne. *Clodomyr* putt vp with this first successe, promysing vnto himselfe a second triumph, who thrusting himselfe rashly into his enemies troupes, is slaine with a Lance, and is knowne by his long haire, the marke of Kings; and Princes of the bloud, as we haue said. The Bourguignons cut off his head, perch it on the top of a Lance, and make shew thereof to the French, in derision: who retire themselues after the death of their Generall. But *Childebert* and *Clotaire* his brethren, returne into Bourgongne with a strong army, and force *Gondemar* to flie into Spaine, leauing them free possession of the realme, the which was their proiect, rather then the reueng of their brothers death. Bourgongne was diuided among the brethren, as a common prey, all the realme of Bourgongne is therein comprehended. *Thierry* King of Metz had his part, but the poore children of

*Clodomyr*  
Cruelty of  
brethren.



520.  
Cruelty of  
brethren.

*Clodomir* are not only excluded, but two of them are barbarously slaine by the cruel commaundement of their vnnatural Vncles: and they say that *Clotaire* slew one of them with his owne hands, in the presence of *Childebert*: the other was thrust into a monastery. This confusion was followed by two others. *Thierry* King of *Metz*, making warre against them of *Turinge*, called his brother *Clotaire* to his aide: being repulsd at the first by the force of that nation; but assisted by his brother, he preuailes, and the vanquished stand at the mercy of the conquering bretheren: but behold they fall to quarrell for the spoile.

Warre be-  
twixt the bre-  
thren

An admirable  
reconcile-  
ment.

Thus the ende of a forein warre was the beginning of a ciuill dissention betwixt them. They leauy forces, with intent to ruine one another. *Childebert* ioynes with his brother *Thierry*, against *Clotaire*. Such was the good gouernment of these bretheren, as desire and ambition did counsell them. They are in armes ready to murder one another. As their armies stood in field ready to ioine, behold a goodly cleere day ouercast sodenly with such darkenesse, that all breakes out into lightening, thunder and violent stormes; so as the armies were forced to leaue the place, and by this aduertisement (as it were from heauen,) these Kings, assembled to shed blood, change their mindes, and turne their furious hatred into brotherly concord. Thus God (the protector of this estate) hath watchd ouer it, to preferre it, euen when as they sought to ruine it, and that men hastened to their owne destructions. But from thence the vnited bretheren passe in to *Languedoc*, against *Almaric* King of the *Visigoths* their brother in law. The cause of their quarrell came from their sister *Clotilde*, married to this *Gothie*, as we haue said: so as shee, which should be the vnitng of their loues, was the cause of their bloody dissention. She was a Christian, and hee an Arrian. This difference in religion was cause of the ill vsage shee receiued from her husband, and his subiects. These bretheren, incensed by the complaint and calling of their sister, enter into *Almarics* Country, with their forces: who hauing no meanes to resist, seekes to saue him-selfe: but he is taken and brought before his bretheren in law, by whose commaundement he was slaine.

Thus *Childebert* and *Thierry*, hauing spoyled the treasure, and wasted the Country of their confederates, returne into *France*, accompanied with their sister: but she died by the way, inioying little the fruite of her vnkind impatience; although shadowed with the cloake of inconsiderate zeale. *Thierry* dies soone after, leauing *Theodebert* his sonne, heir both of his Realme, and of his turbulent and ambitious humour. A part of *Bourgongne* was giuen him with the title of a King, the which he left to his sonne, and as a chiefe legacy, the hatred hee did beare to his brother *Clotaire* King of *Soissons*. As soone as hee sees him-selfe King by the decease of his father, he takes part with his Vncle *Childebert* King of *Paris*, against *Clotaire* his other Vncle, but by chance they were reconciled. *Theodebert* impatient of rest, seeking wher to imploy his forces, findes that the Danes (a people of the North,) did scoure along the Sea coast, to the great hinderance of the French Marchants: he marcheth against them, being resolute to fight with them. These forces were better employed then against his brother: so the successe was more happy, for he chased away the Danes, hauing defeated a great number, and purged the Ocean from pirates. This exployte wonne him great reputation in all places, so as hee is sought vnto by the *Ostrogths* in *Italy*, being pressed by *Belisarius* Lieutenant Generall for the Emperour *Iustinian*, and a very great captaine, who had recouered *Sicile*, *Naples*, and *Pouille* from them, and in the end the City of *Rome*, which he fortified. As the *Goths* estate declined daily in *Italy*, *Theodas* their king reiectd, & *Vitiges* chosen in his place, *Theodebert* comes into *Italy*, putt vp with his victory: he takes footing, and makes head against *Belisarius*: but forced with sicknesse, he retires to his owne house, leauing three chiefe Captaines for the gard of the places conquerd. In his absence the *Goths* are defeated, and *Vitiges* slaine. *Totila*, succeddes him, who (hauing taken and sackt *Rome*) did so restore the *Goths* estate in *Italy*, as he became fearefull to the *Romaines*.

A good and a  
happy warre.

But the chance turned against him: his army was defeated, and him-selfe slaine: and to increase the mischiefe, those great Captaines left by *Theodebert* were slaine one after another, so as the *Goths* being chased out of *Italy*, by *Narses*, all *Theodeberts* great hopes vanished: yet he laboured to attempt some great enterprife against the Emperour *Iustinian*, and drew much people to it: but hauing made this goodly shew, and put him-

A himselfe and his friends to great expences, he was forced to returne out of *Italy*, without effecting of any thing: leauing a goodly example to Princes, not to attempt lightly an vnecessary warre, least they buy losse and shame at too high a rate. In the end *Theodebert* (who thought to haue vanquished the mightiest enemies,) was slaine by a wild Bull, going a hunting: and his great enterprises were interred with him in the same graue, hauing hunted after vanity, and found death at the end of his immortall desseignes.

*Theodebert* left *Theobald* heire of the great estates of *Austrasia*, *Bourgongne*, and *Turinge*, the which hee did not long enioy, dying without children, and almost without any memory that hee had liued: but onely that hee had by will, left his Vncle *Clotaire* heire of all his goods, whereby there sprung vp a new warre. *Childebert* indured this testament impatiently; as well for that hee was excluded, as also for that his brother was made more mighty by his Nephewes estate: so couetousnesse and enuie giue him aduise to crosse him. *Clotaire* had one bastard sonne called *Grans*, a sufficient man, but very wicked and audacious, who (for his insolencies) was in disgrace with his father. *Childebert* resolues to oppesse this sonne against the father, and to vse him in the execution of his malicious intent. Thus abusing the absence of *Clotaire*, (who was busied in warre against the *Saxons*,) hee goes to field with a great armie, supposing to haue to doe but with young men and irresolute: and the more to amaze them, hee gaue it out that *Clotaire* was dead. This report was coloured with such cunning (as men doe often beleeue that which they feare) that these young Princes (seeing them-selues ouer-charged with great forces) yeeld to a preiudiciall peace with their Vncle. This heart-burning seemed to extend further, when as death surpriseth *Childebert*, who dyes the yeare 549. without any children, and leaues his enemy *Clotaire* for successor, being vnable to carry his realme with him.

A horrible  
punishment  
of a rebellious  
sonne.

*Clotaire* returnes out of *Saxonie*, being offended with his bastard. Hee pursues him into *Britanie*, whether hee was fled; and by a wonderfull accident (guided by the Iustice of God, the reuenger of the sonnes rebellion against the Father,) *Clotaire* findes his sonne with his wife in a peasants house, where (transported with fury) he burnes them aliue, (yet not extinguishing the memory of his rebellion) to terrifie rebellious children by so memorable a president. Thus there passed forty five yeares in the barbarous and vnhappy raignes of these foure soueraigne Maisters, children to the great *Clouis*: in the which there is nothing memorable; but the remembrance of Gods iust iudgement, against those that suffer them-selues to bee transported by their passions: for all these vitious raignes were vnhappy, passed with much paine, and ended with much misery: represented to the perpetuall infamy of the vnkinde cruelties of their Kings.

CLOTAIRE.

# CLOTAIRE the first, the seventh King of France.



**C**LOTAIRE remained sole King of France by the death of his brethren for their children were dead, and *Childbert* the eldest died without issue. Behold the fruit of so great paines; after their diuisions, to erect great Monarchies. *Clotaire* reigned five yeares alone: hee had by two wiues, five sonnes and one daughter, that is, *Cherebert*; *Chilperic*, *Sigebert*, *Gontran*, *Gautier* and *Clofinde*: not reckoning *Granus*, whom he had by a Concubine. His raigne was short and wretched. He sought to extort the thirds of all Ecclesiasticall liuings for his priuate affaires: but the Clergie opposed themselves against him, so as his threats preuailed not. In the beginning he subdued the Saxons, subiects to the French: but the Turingiens being vp in armes, & he about to suppress them, the Saxons ioyne with them, to withstand him with their common forces. Yet these mutinous nations (seeing themselves encountred by too strong a party) craue pardon, and promise him obedience. *Clotaire* refusing to accept it, forceth them to make defence: the which they performed so desperately, as they defeated the French: and *Clotaire* with great difficulty, saued himselfe.

It is an indication for a Prince to thrust his subiects into despaire.

An example for Princes, not to thrust their subiects into despaire: but to imbrace all occasions wisely, that may purchase a willing obedience, and not to seeke it by extremities. After this defeat, he returns into France, and being at Compiègne, he desires to goe a hunting. Being old and decayed, he heats himselfe, falls into a quotidian and dies, the yeare 567. He was much grieued in his sicknesse, hauing liued too too ill: but he protested, that he hoped in the mercies of God. As our histories report.

Before that he ruled as King alone, he erected the little realme of Yuetot, vpon this occasion. On good Friday he slew *Gautier* of Yuetot his seruant, in the Chappell whereas he heard seruice. They report the cause diuersely. The greatest part hold, that the King had rauished his wife, lodging in his house, so as he that was beaten suffered the punishment. Pope *Engenius* displeased with this infamous murder, condemned him to

repaire

A repaire the fault, vpon paine of excommunication. *Clotaire* for satisfaction ordeynes that from thenceforth the Lords of Yuetot should be free from all homage, service, and obedience due to the King, for the land of Yuetot in the Country of Normandy. And so this small seigniury hath continued long with the title and prerogative of a Realme, vntill that this title of a realme was changed into a Principality, the which the house of *Bellay* doth now enjoy. This was the life and raigne of *Clotaire* the first of that name, vitious, and vnsortunate, followed with a confused and horrible tragedy in his children, whom we must marke distinctly in the front of this tumultuous reigne, thereby to walke more safely in the blinde maze of these obscure gouernments.

## CLOTAIRE the first of that name, had foure sonnes.

*Cherebert* King of France.

*Gontran* King of Orleans, or Bourgong.

*Chilperic* King of Soissons.

*Sigebert* King of Metz, or Austrasia.

All which reigned together fiftene yeares: but in this eight raigne they giue the ranke and name of King to *Cherebert*, as to the eldest, although each of them called himselfe King of France, and commanded absolutely ouer the Countries vnder their obedience.

## CHEREBERT, the eight King of France.



**V**e have seene the Strange gouernment of the foure sonnes of great *Clotaire*: let vs now view the rest of this table, in the children of *Clotaire*: who suruiuing his brethren, and their children, obtained the realme alone: but presently to bee diuided into 4. parts. Of 5. sons lawfully begotten, 4. suruiued him: *Cherebert* the eldest, *Chilperic*, *Sigebert*, and *Gontran*. His body was scarce interred, when as the fire of diuision kindled

D

among

567.  
Division of  
portions cau-  
seth a diuision  
of the arts.

among the brethren, about the diuiding of the Realme. *Chilperic*, a crafty and proud A man, finds meanes to seize on his fathers treasure, and labours to become maister of the City of Paris. But not able to effect it, he was forced by his bretheren (supported by the the chiefe Noblemen of the Court) to come to a diuision, euery one according to his order. *Cherebert*, as the eldest of the house of France, hath *Paris* for his part. *Gontran*, Orleans, and Bourgoingne. *Chilperic*, Soissons: *Sigibert*, Metz, or Austrasia: euery portion with his dependances. After this diuision of parts, their wills were so diuided, as it is strang the realme had not bene vtterly ruined amidst these horrible confusions, in so feeble beginnings.

Prouince, by consent of the brethren, was giuen to *Gontran* King of Orleans, and Bourgoingne. But notwithstanding this accord, *Sigibert*, King of one part of Bourgoingne, and of Austrasia, contends for it with his brother, and sows diuision among the Prouenfalls, doubtfull to whome they should yeeld obedience in this contention. It had bene woone and lost by *Clouis*, (as we haue shewed) but soone after the death of *Clouis*, *Thierry* the Ostrogoth (who had wonne it) lost it againe, through the inclination of the prouenfalls, who willingly came to the antient obedience of the Crowne of France. And the Emperour *Iustin* the second, liking it better in the Frenchmens hands, then in the Ostrogoths, leaues them that which he cannot take from them. In this respect, he added his consent by his deed onely. After the death of *Cherebert*, his brethren contend for his spoyle, with irreconciliable hatred. *Gontran* was the most temperate and tractable, desiring that this discord for parts, might bee determined by the French Clergy, as iudges competent, and without passion. But his aduise was not allowed. *Chilperic* and *Sigibert*, ambitious and turbulent men, would carry it by force, yet was it agreed by common consent, that none of them should enter Paris, before this Question were decided, touching their portions. But there fell out other accidents vpon this Theater, where as cunning, malice, impudencie, and fury haue caused both men and women to play a long and tragike Scanne, being the Authors and enders of these miseries. I tremble at those confusions, whereas *Brunehault* and *Fredegond* two renowned women in our France, for their notable wickednesse, shall appeare in diuerse scenes of this tragedy, *Brunehault* was daughter to *Anaharide* King of Visigoths, the wife of *Sigibert* King of Metz, or of Austrasia. *Fredegond* first was concubine, and after wife to *Chilperic* King of Soissons. By the pollicies and impudency of these furious heads, it cannot bee spoken, how much misery France suffered during their raignes. But let vs view euery thing in order, if any order may bee found in the most horrible Chaos of infernall confusions. *Sigibert* was much troubled in his territories of Germany, to defend them against the Hunnes. *Chilperic* embracing this occasion against his brother, enters his country, with a great army, and takes from him the City of Rheims. This surprise awakes *Sigibert*: and for that hee would not loose the Principall, to keepe the accessary, he leaues Germany, and speeds into France, wonderfully greeued with the wrong hee had receiued from his brother: pursuing his reuenge with such vehemency, that hee takes Soissons, the capitall city of his Realme, with his sonne *Theodebert*, forcing him to retire with *Fredegond* to Tournay, being ashamed of his cowardly desseigne. Thus *Sigibert* comes a Conqueror to Paris, where he is receiued by common consent: and so all the cities belonging vnto *Cherebert*, yeeld him obedience. But as he thought himselfe a peaceable King, mounted to the top of his desires, hauing nothing to crosse him, but wallowing in his delights, behold two young fouldiours (suborned by *Fredegond*) came to his Court, enter freely into the hall, and approach so neere him, and with such opportunity, as either of them stabs him with his dagger, and hee falls downe dead in the place. These murderers were soderly torne in peeces, so as they could not be knowne, nor declare by whose commandement they had committed this murthre: yet was it generally thought, that this was the practise of *Fredegond*, to free her husband, and to make the way more easie for her affaires, by the death of this brother who crossed her most. In truth, the death of *Sigibert* changed the countenance of the Court: euery one runnes after *Chilpericks* fortune, who was receiued King of France, in the place of his elder brother, and hee entertaines all those with fauour that offer him seruice.

*Chilperic*

Horrible confusions be-  
cav x bre-  
thren.

By their vices

One brother  
makes warre  
againt ano-  
ther.

## CHILPERIC the first, the ninth King of France.



Hus *Chilperic*, began to reigne in the yeare 578. and raigned, 14. yeares at Paris and Soissons, while that *Childebert*, the sonne of *Sigibert*, reigned in Austrasia, and *Gontran* at Orleans, and Bourgoingne. He found *Brunehault* the widow of *Sigibert* at Paris, a woman of a subtil and audacious spirit: so as fearing least she should animate his sonne against him, hee confined her to Rouan, whether hee likewise sent his sonne *Merouee*, to take possession of the City: but in steed of taking the City, he was surprised by the beauty of *Brunehault*, who could so cunningly gaine the loue of the inhabitants, as the Bishoppe him-selfe allowed of this marriage, although she were his Aunt. *Chilperic* moved with the same of this loue, which proceeded vnto marriage, came to Rouan and according to the Ecclesiasticall discipline, degraded and banished this Bishoppe: and by his absolute authority, puts *Merouee* into a Cloyster: But hee stayed not long there: for after the departure of *Chilperic*, a certaine friend of his called *Boson*, drew him forth, being set on by *Fredegond*, hauing brought with him three hundred men (too small a number to fight, and too many to fly.) And so it happened to *Merouee*, for being pursued and taken by his father *Chilperic*, he was slaine by his commandement. And least *Andouere* his mother, (a vertuous Princeesse) and *Clouis* her other son, should seeke meanes of reuenge, hee reiects his wife, and causeth *Clouis* his other sonne to be secretly slaine, being brother germane to *Merouee*. These disorders could not be done without the complaint of the Nobility against *Fredegond*, who held not yet the degree of a wife with *Chilperic*, although she had free access both to his Court and bed, from the which she had dispossessed his lawfull wife. *Chilperic* (to pacifie these complaints) pretends some reasons for this diuorfe: and disguising the murders cunningly, he takes *Galsonde* to wife, the daughter of *Ashanagilde* King of Spaine. But the impatiency of *Fredegond*, doth soone dissolue the bonds of this bashfull respect, thrusting *Chilperic* into such a fury against this second

The father  
kills his sons  
by the practi-  
ces of a wo-  
man.

D 2

wife



601. wife, as he strangles her, and maries *Fredegonde* publicly: who possessed her husband so absolutely, as she commanded imperiously, vnder the cloake of his authority.

He opposeth  
his subiects.

The punish-  
ment of these  
crimes.

From these domestickall crimes, insolvency rageth against the poore people, by taxes, impositions, and insupportable exactions: and report imputes all to the deuils of the same workewoman. Complaints found out in all places: but absolute authority had so preuailed, as they could find no remedy: the people being weake, and such as else might haue had meanes to countenance the ancient French liberty, were either terrified or in-chaunted by this *Proserpina*. But *Chilperic* must beare the punishment of his execrable wickednesse, by the malice of her, who had made him an instrument to massacre brother, children, and wife, and to consume by degrees his poore subiects. Whilest that *Chilperic* loued her exceedingly, she affected a noble man in Court called *Landry de la Tour* (who by her fauour had obtained two of the greatest offices of the crowne, that is of Duke of France, and Maire of the Pallace) to whom she most vildly afforded the best place in the Kings bed. This villanous and detestable loue, was cunningly cloaked with the deuils of this strumpet: who hauing a sonne by *Chilperic*, as a new gage of loue, she purchased daily more credit with him. But this was a short comfort for *Chilperic*, for foure moneths after the birth of this sonne, whom he named *Clotayre*, he was vnhappy slain by her and *Landry*, when he least expected death: this was the occasion. One morning as *Chilperic* (ready to goe to hunting) came booted into his wiues chamber to salute her, he found her combing of her head, with her haire ouer her face: drawing nere vnto her without speaking, he toucheth her in iest, with his riding wand on the hinder part of the head: she supposing it to be her adulterer *Landry*, accustomed to come secretly vnto her at all houres, saith vnto him; *In my iudgement Landry, a good Knight should alwaies strike before, and not behind*. The King vnderstanding by halfe a word, more then he desired to know, departs amazed, takes horse and goes a hunting, not with any intent to kill the beast, but deuising how he might be freed of *Fredegonde* and *Landry*. But he had to doe with a woman of too subtile and wily a spirit, who hauing passed her apprenticeship in so many other murders, could soone resolue to deprive her husband of his life, to saue her owne. Without any further delay she sends for *Landry*, reports to him the history, concludes with him to kill the King her husband in his comming from hunting, and finds ministers to execute this designe: the which succeeded as they had plotted against *Chilperic*, suffering in the end (by the same hand, which he had caused to shed so much blood) the horrible paine of his miserable massacres: for as hee came melancholicke from the chase, accompanied onely with one Page, he was sodenly set vpon by these murderers, who slew him with his Page, so commodiously, as they returne vnderfied to the troupe, as if they had neuer dreamt thereon.

The King is found dead: euery one cries it, euery one runnes vp and downe, and those first of all that had done the deed. But it was giuen out, that the murderers were fled into Lorraine, from whence assuredly they were come by *Childeberts* command. The Court is filled with teares, especially *Fredegonde*s chamber, who continued in passions with her *Landry*, and could not be comforted: the one calling for her good husband, the other for his good maister: but the quick sighted held them for Crocodiles teares. Thus liued, and thus died *Chilperic*, hated and detested euen then, and of the posterity, for prooffe that a wicked life will haue a wicked end: and that God ruines the wicked by themselves, euen when they promise vnto themselves all impunity. They adde impiety to his execrable wickednesse: for he denied the truth of the three persons in one Deity, and the incarnation of the sonne of God, wherein consists the hope of our saluation. But admonished by the French Church, he protested to leaue his error. A monstrous reigne, vnder a monstrous King: where Potentates may see, that misery is the true reward of sinne: And that horrible crimes, are punished with extraordinarie paines euen in this life. This Tragickall end of *Chilperic*, a wicked and vnfortunate Prince, happened in the year of our Lord 588.

CLOTAYRE

Impiety the  
spring of euil.

## CLOTAYRE the second, the tenth King of France,

*A memorable reigne in confusion.*



**T**He beginning, midst, and end of this reigne is remarkable, being apparent, that God is the true gardian of this realme, without whom it must needs haue perished in these strange confusions. *Clotaire* a yong child of foure moneths, gouerned by his mother, a most wicked woman, being come to yeares, he finds himselfe incumbered with many warres, yea ciuill wars against his owne kinsmen, and blood. Vnho will not then confesse the issue of his reigne, (being peaceable and well gouerned,) to be a singular testimony of the prouidence of God, towards this estate. This yong childe, the sonne of bad parents, was notwithstanding receiued for lawfull King by the French, by vertue of the fundamentall law, which had appointed this realme to be hereditary. Whereby is shewed, how farre the election of our Kings extend euen in this first race.

But to conceiue well the diuerse occurrents of this reigne, we must remember, that *Clotaire* the first, had foure sons, *Cherebert* King of Paris, who is reckoned the eight King of France, and died without children: *Sigebert* King of Metz, slaine by *Fredegonde*: and *Gontran* King of Orleans, who suruiued all his brethren, a good, and a wise Prince, and died without children. *Sigebert* King of Metz left for heire *Childebert* his sonne, with his wife *Brunchault*, a subtile, and a wicked woman. This ground being laid, I will returne to the course of my history. *Gontran* King of Orleans, vncke by the father to this yong king, was his nearest, and most assured kinsman, so as by a generall consent of the French, he was called to be Regent of the King, and realme. And now they talked of an assemblie: *Fredegonde* (flying the light and liberty of publique assemblies, fearing not onely to be reiectd from the gouernment, but to be accused for the murder of her husband) preuents the States from the challing of *Gontran*, the first Prince of the blood, and the Kings vncke: as they should haue done, if leisure had suffered them to assemblie, and to speake in an

Efficacy of  
the law of  
State.

Notable sub-  
tlety of a  
woman.

588.

vnited body, with publike authority. Thus she gaynes time, beseeching the cheefe of the A Councell, to provide for the Conuocation of the Estates: and in the meane time, to giue order, that *Gontran* may come to Paris, both to informe of the execrable murder, and alio to take vpon him the charge of her son, and the gouernment of the common weale. This discourse was farre from her thoughts, but she supposed to make an euasion by this goodly shew. And in the meane time she practised to kill *Gontran*. She did write vnto him in all humility, holding him as a father to the King her sonne, and the support of her widowhood, *Gontran* foreseeing the pollicy of *Fredegonde*: provided so wisely, that being arriued at Paris, he was receiued by a generall consent, Regent of the Realme. He made no shew of discontent to *Fredegonde*, who notwithstanding (hauing a guilty conscience) B packs vp her baggage, being ready to fly vpon the least shew that *Gontran* would call her into question. But it was not his meaning: his only proiect was to bring vp his yong nephew, and to preferue him, with his realme, wherein he was borne, supposing this milde manner of proceeding to be the best, both for the King and the Realme.

Thus without any alteration, he wisely dissembles all the actions of *Fredegonde*, he respects her as the Kings mother, and imployes her in the education of her sonne. And knowing how much the presence of the Prince workes in the subjects, to haue him acknowledged for King, he makes a progresse throughout the Realme, leading with him this yong infant, with the mother, receiuing in all places, the oth of fidelty, and obedience. Being returned to Paris, he giues him in gard to the mother, and applyed himselfe wholly to the gouernment of the Realme. As the affaires were managed with this good order, two great difficulties crosse *Gontran*, almost at one instant: for *Childebert* King of Metz, (iealous of his vnckles Authority,) requires to be associated in the Regency, the which he pretended to appertaine vnto him, with the same right it did to *Gontran*; and *Fredegonde*: for the punishing of whom he complained much, both of the foulness of the fact, which should not remaine unpunished, and of *Gontrons* sufferance, which was too palpable. For the which *Gontran* provided, stopping *Childeberts* entrance into Paris, and causing *Fredegonde* to retire her selfe quietly to Rouan, by reason of the peoples hatred, reuiued by *Childeberts* complaint. And for that he would not seeme to haue altogether neglected the punishing of *Chilperis* murder, he caused information to be made against D a Chamberlaine of the Kings, called *Cherulphe*, who being found guilty, he caused him to be slaine in the Temple, whither he was fled. And so proceeded no farther in this search, least *Fredegonde* should be found too farre engaged. Besides this crosse, there happened a second, for one named *Gondebault*, hauing termed himselfe a long time to be the sonne of the great *Clotayre*, and kept in a Cloyster: in the end he escaped, and was openly maintained by *Childebert*, who fought but a colour of trole, and inuouation. He is followed by a part of the Nobility, and Clergy, and seizeth on many good Townes in *Guienne*. And hauing written his letters to all the Prouinces, he carries himselfe for lawfull heire of the Realme, with better right (said he) then this yong child, the sonne of a strumpet: And by consequence a doubtfull heire to the Crowne.

That which was most to be feared in this new accident, was the spirit and force of *Childebert*: but *Gontran* preuented it with iudgement. For seeing himselfe old, and without Children, and knowing his Nephewes humor, he doth institute him his heir, and by that meanes makes him to abandon *Gondebault*. So this supposed King left by *Childebert*, was soone abandoned by al the rest, and by them was deliuered into the hands of *Gontran*, who presently put him to death. And hauing assembled the Clergy of the realme, he caused the Bishoppes to be condemned, who had so rashly followed the frensie of this bold Impostor. *Gontran* hauing with such dexterity preuented these dangerous difficulties, and performed those good offices to the King his Nephew, in his infancy, he retires himselfe to Chaacons, where soone after he died without Children, leauing his estate to *Childebert*, and the realme of his poore pupill (who had scarce attained the age of ten F yeares) to the mercy of the waues and tempests of all sorts of miseries incident vnto states.

*Gontran* was no sooner dead, but the ambitious desire of *Childebert*, grown great by the new estates of Orleans and Bourgongne, inflamed him against yong *Clotayre*, conceiuing an

592.

A an assured victory in his ouerweening braine, imagining soone to suppress a yong child and a woman ill beloued. But the God of victories had otherwise disposed: for *Childebert* hauing brought a mighty army to field, and entered into the heart of France: behold *Fredegonde* (armed with more then a manly courage, and wisdom, encounters him with another army, being fortified more by her exhortations, and the presence of the yong King, (whom she shewed openly to the French) then by the number of men of warre. The battaile was giuen, and the imagined Conquerour was vanquished by a child and a woman, beeing surprised with so happy a celerity by *Fredegonde*, as he could hardly beleue, she had bene parted from Paris, when as he sees his whole army defeated. He lost in this conflict 20000 men, his honour, and his life: for hauing recovered his Country with much a doe, he died of melancholy, leauing an memorable example to Princes, never to attempt a warre to take from another without iust occasion.

B He left two sonnes, *Theodebert* and *Thierry*: The first had for his portion the realme of Austrasia: the second had Bourgongne. *Brunchault* his mother suruiued him, and kept as Metz with the eldest: she presently stirred vp these two Princes (ouer whom she had great authority as their grandmother,) to pursue *Clotayre*, for the shame and death of their father. Behold suddenly an army of Austrasians and Bourgongnons, marcheth into France, led by these two yong Princes. *Clotayre* accustomed to these sports, opposeth himselfe in person, and gets the victory, with such successe, as they say the course of the river of Aurance (where the battaile was fought) was staid by the dead bodies of the conquered. *Fredegonde* leapt for ioy of this second triumph, by reason of *Brunchault*, who was her chiefe obiect: but her ioy was presently converted into her owne funerall, for she died soone after C to teach reuenging spirits, that their hatreds which they would haue perpetuall, are mortall, and at the least wife end with their deaths.

Thus *Fredegonde* died in her bed, and was intured neare to *Chilperie*, whom shee had caused to be slaine: so as in this peaceable death, we may consider the patience of God, which doth often attend those it respects to his last iudgement. But *Brunchault* (who thought her selfe a conquerresse, by the death of *Fredegonde*) her capitall enemy, incensed *Theodebert* and *Thierry* her grand-children anew against *Clotayre*. They raise another army, vnder the conduct of *Bernold*, not willing any more to hazard their persons, being D taught by the successe of two great defeats. *Bernold* is slaine in this battaile, and yet the victory remaines to his men, with great losse to the French: so as it seemed the war would grow more violent betwixt these Princes, who now beganne to see a part of their reueng against their cousin *Clotayre*. But the malice of *Brunchault*, who had banded the cousins, must now diuide the brethren.

This old bitch, euen in the fury of warre, found still meanes to follow her beastly lust, and then had she got a yong courtier called *Protade*, for a stallion: whom she entertained in view and knowledge of the whole Court, and aduanced him beyond duty or desert. The dislike of this vnchast conuersation (offensiu to the whole world) doth in the end force E *Theodebert* to finde a meanes to withdraw his mother from the view of the multitude, who were eye witnesss of the filthinesse of this shamelesse old woman, and of the ignominy of his house. He supposed to send her away with pollicie: perswading her shee should doe best to retire her selfe into some goodly monasterie, there to lead a godly life, and to seeke for rest besitting her age. This admonition caused her to leaue the Court, and State of *Theodebert*, but not to change her minde. Shee retires then from Metz, and comes into Bourgongne to her other sonne, full of choller: and finding *Thierry* ill affected against his brother, she presently kindles the vnfortunate fire of disention betwixt them, which consumed them both, and finally her selfe. That posterities may note in this tragicke, the examples of Gods iust iudgement, who punisheth one sin F by another, and the sinner by his owne sinne.

This lewd woman perswades *Thierry*, that *Theodebert* was a bastard, the son of a Gardiner, and that he had lawfull cause to make warre against him, as an vsurper of that which belonged vnto him by right. *Thierry* being exceeding couetous, embraceth this occasion, prepares an armie against *Theodebert*, and imployes this *Protade* in the principall charge, who was a kindler of warre in the spirit of this yong Prince: The chiefe Nobles men

An imaginative King.

A King in his cradle a Conquerer.

Tragicall practices of two women.

*Fredegonde* dies with her victory.

God attend those it respects to his last iudgement.

*Brunchault* incensed one brother against the other.

599 men of Bougongne infinitely grieved with these disorders, not daring directly to charge *Bruneault*, they set upon her Minion and kil him. By this meanes they draw *Thierry* to an accord with his brother *Theodebert*: & so either of them sends back his troupes. Thus this fire seemed to be wholly quenched, the which kindled soone after in another place, and by the practises of the same worke-woman, *Thierry* had remained long unmarried, entretyning change of women, by the counsell of this bitch, who daily prouided him store of fine stuffe: but solicited by the continuall perswasions, and prayers of his Councell, he takes to wife, *Ademburgue* the daughter of *Dataric*, King of Spaine, louing her with that honest affection, that a man ought to loue his wife. *Bruneault* ialous of this lawful loue, fearing to be dispossessed of her authority & credit, if a lawful wife possessed her husbands heart, she workes by her charmes, reducing *Thierry* to that extremity, that he was not able to accompany with his wife; and for a bait to his adultery, shee furnissheth other women (whom he might freely vie) as she loathed him of this poore Princeesse, causing him to send her home to her father *Dataric*, as vnable to beare children: who infinitely grieved with this disgrace, done him in the person of his daughter, resolues to reuenge. Hee complains of this iniury, both to *Clotayre*, and *Theodebert*, whom he knew to be enemies to *Thierry*, and all together resolue to make warre against him.

The husband  
againt the  
wife.

The brother  
kills the  
brother.

She herselfe  
kills her son.

*Bruneault* seeing this great storme ready to fall upon *Thierry*, she perswades him to compound with his brother *Theodebert*, at what price soeuer, whose humor she knew well. This accord was sold by *Theodebert* to *Thierry* at a deere rate: (for he had the Countries of Champagne, Touraine, Artois and many other places) but it cost him selfe much dearer: for by this composition, all the army was disperied, and euery one retired home. *Thierry* (who by the aduise of his mother, stood upon his guard) surpriseth his brother *Theodebert*, with such aduantage, that not onely he recouers all that he had giuen him, but by the Councell of this *Proserpine*, he embrewes his hands in his blood, murdering him most barbarously. *Theodebert* had but one onely daughter, whom *Thierry* would take to wife, to haue some honest pretext to seize upon all his Estates. But *Bruneault*, (who desired greatly to see him maister, but not to haue a companion in this absolute authority) dissuades him from this marriage, inferring (to couer her hidden intent) that it was not lawfull to marry his neece. *Thierry* blinded with passion (who by a iust iudgement of God, sought to die by payson of this viper, by whose meanes he had done so much mischief) replies, that the daughter of *Theodebert* was none of his Neece, seeing that *Theodebert* was not his brother, being begotten by another father: reproching *Bruneault*, that he knew no more then she had taught him. And that upon this occasion she had encouraged him to kill him. And as they grew hot in words, he threatened to kill her. *Bruneault* (seeing her selfe taken by the nose, and measured by the same measure shee had measured to others,) resolues to preuent *Thierry*, and to murder him. She therefore giues him a morsell mixt with a languishing poison, which caused him to consume of a bloody fluxe: that as he had spilt the blood of others, so he might die in blood: & that the same wretched counsell which had bene the sepulchre of his brother, should likewise be his owne: for a memorable example to posterity, that God suffreth nothing unpunished, and doth often punish the wicked by themselves, and by their owne practises. Such was the tragike end of the troublesome life of *Thierry*. But what shall become of *Bruneault*? The Iustice of God goes slowly, but he recompenceth the slownes with the grieuousnesse of the punishment. Let vs then heare the continuance of our history. *Bruneault* carries a good countenance after the death of *Thierry*. She makes him a stately funerall like a tourney: and of foure bastard sonnes which *Thierry* had left, she chooseth him that pleasest her best, to install him King in his fathers place: and in the meane time she continewes the government of the realme, and calles herselfe *Regent*. To conclude, she doth promise vnto herselfe, in all her courses, farre better successe then *Fredogonde*, presuming that she exceeded her in iudgement and experience, no man remaying to controule her actions: but her discourses were vaine imaginations, and her foolish hopes the snares of her owne ruine. The Nobility of Bougongne (infinitely grieved with the horrible wickednesse of this woman, resolute not to endure the new tiranny which she practised) had recourse vnto *Clotayre*, as to their true and lawfull Lord. *Bruneault* plaies the resolute

B

C

D

E

F

A Solute: she prepares to warre, sends diuerse Ambassadors into Germanie: the chiefe was *Farnare* Maire of the Pallace of Austrasia, a man of great authority both at home and with strangers.

588.

Having sent him for succours to some Princes of Germany, shee growes ialous of him without cause, and sends a trustie seruant of hers named *Aibon*, to finde meanes to kill him. *Aibon* hauing read those deadly letters, teares them: but vnawares hee lets fall the peeces of this letter: the which are gathered vp and carried to *Farnare*: who upon this new accident, takes a new aduise. He resolues to crosse the practises of this murderesse (so well knowne and hatefull to all men,) who likewise would make away her best seruants, who had bene too faithfull vnto her, in the execution of her wicked designs. *Farnare* doth treat so politickly in Germany, as hee with-drawes their hearts and forces from *Bruneault*, and wins them vnto *Clotayre*. This Counter-battery thus made, hee returns into Bougongne. His returne bred an vnexpected change, for she, who had alwaies deceiued, and in the end fell into the snare which she had made for another. *Farnare* did not seeme to know what she had designed: whereby hee had meanes to counterminie all *Bruneaults* policies, with so wise a dissimulation, by his great authority, as he games all the chiefe men for *Clotayre*: deliues into his hands the children aforesaid, pretended to be heires; and by this meanes giues him an easie victory ouer *Bruneaults* troupes: who yielding vnto *Clotayre*, deliuer vp this wicked woman, the cause of all their miseries. So at length the Wolfe is taken vnwares. *Clotayre* a victor, was receiued by common consent of the Austrasians and Bourguignons, and by that meanes (being absolute maister of that great inheritance of *Clouis* his grand-father) beganne his reigne by a worthy act of memorable Iustice. Hauing in his power the chiefe motiue of all these mischiefes, he caused *Bruneaults* processe to be made by the greatest personages he could chooseth in all his dominions: that in so notable an assembly, the sentence might be irreprochable. By their censures, *Bruneault* was found culpable of infinite and horrible crimes, and was condemned to die, by a terrible and extraordinary punishment: for she was tied to the taile of a wild mare, and drawne through a stony and rough Country, so as (being torne into diuerse peeces) she died at diuerse times most iustly, as she had cruelly caused many others to die. A notable example, to shew, that the greatest cannot auoide the soueraigne Iustice of God, who punisheth in this world, when it please him: and when he spareth them, it is a signe, that he reserues the punishment to his last Iudgement. Thus died *Bruneault*, onely commended in histories, to haue built many temples, and giuen great reuenues for the mainteynance thereof, whilst that she wallowed in her pleasures. Saint *Gregory* hath set downe certaine letters of his to *Bruneault*, wherein hee commends her highly for her piety and singular wisdom. *Clotayre* seeing himselfe King of so great a monarchy, after a long & horrible confusion of intestine warres, imploied all his care to pacifie the realme, leauing notable examples to Princes to cure the wounds of an Estate, after ciuill warres, by mildenesse. He doth publicly proclaim pardon of all iniuries both generall, and particular, to abolish the memory to come, making his example a law of perpetuall forgetfulnesse. This moderation, more victorious then any great and seuer chastisement, won him the loue and obedience of his subiects, and confirmed a true and no counterfeit concord amongst the subiects themselves. He gouerned them after their owne humours, vsing his authority with mildenesse. And for that they had liued in the Court of Kings, from whom they receiued aduancements and honours, the which they could not doe by their annuall offices (as then the governments were) he erected perpetuall magistrates, with such authority, as it might well be termed, the true patterne of a royaltie.

*Bruneault*  
put to a horrible  
death.

*Mildnes* a  
good remedy  
to cure a de-  
cayed estate.

He then augmented the great authority of the Maires of the Palace, who controlled the Kings house, and not of the realme. A notable president for Princes, in the settling of an estate, not so to communicate their authority to their seruants, whom they desire to gratifie, as they may haue meanes to become maisters. *Clotayre* layed the first stone in the change which shall happen to his posterity. Hee had one onely sonne, whose name was *Dagobert*. It was his greatest care to haue him well instructed, committing him

The greatnes  
of the seruant  
is a blemish to  
the Maister.

631. him to *Arnon* bishop of Metz, a learned man, and of a good life, and likewise to *Sadragessille* his gouernour. But *Dagobert* discovered euen then his bad disposition, intreating his gouernour *Sadragessille* vnworthily. Wherewith *Clotayre* the King was wonderfully moued against his sonne, who shewed afterwards that this was but a preparatiue to that he would attempt against his owne father, forcing him in his life time to giue him the realme of Austrasia for his portion. This kinde of rebellion was the fruite of *Clotayres* too great lenity: as also of priuate quarells, which bred great disorders in the Court.

To great facility hurtfull to an estate.

Thus we see, there is nothing absolutely perfect in this world. *Clotayre* dies in the yeare of Christ 631. hauing gouerned 44. yeares, from his cradle, and passed happily through many perillous difficulties. A happy and a wise Prince. But as humane things are subiect vnto change, so we may say, that the French Monarchy reuiued and died in him. And at his death sprong vp the soueraigne authority of the Maires of the Pallace, the which grew to that greatnesse, as they disposed this race of the Crowne. It was *Clotayres* intent to gratifie his subiects, and to ease the succeeding Kings: but in effect it was a meanes to haue many Kings, and to make the lawfull contemptible, setting the seruant in the Masters place. In truth, as it is most dangerous in an Estate to giue too much Authority to a seruant, so is it most certaine, that the slothfulness and dissoluteness, of these last Kings was a ladder, whereby our Maires mounted to this greatnesse and to their ruines. The which succeeded by degrees, vnder the respect of the Kings name, for from that time of *Clotayre*, vnto the last King of this race, are 120. yeares. *Pepin* grandfather to that *Pepin*, who was the first King of the second race, was Maire of the Pallace, and began first to deale absolutely in the gouernment of the realme.

The lenity of *Clotayre* is also noted by another error: for hee tooke so great liberty to doe what he list without order, as his subiects would doe the like. And by this contempt of the law, the King grew contemptible, being not wel obeyed in his age, the which bred great quarrells betwixt great and small, who shewed no great respect, neither to King nor Iustice. In this Estate died

*Clotayre*, leauing *Dagobert* for his successor, the yeare. 632.

### D A G O B E R T the first, the eleauenth King of France.



D A G O B E R T



**D**AGOBERT the first of that name, tooke possession of this great Monarchie, without any controuersie. Some write, that he had a brother called *Arbert*, to whom he gaue for his portion all the Country on this side Loire: but dying without children, it returned to him againe. At his comming to the crowne, he found great difficulties among his subiects, being bred vp without Iustice, vnder the long liberty of ciuill warres, and the lenity of *Clotayre*: for the which he provided wisely, reducing Iustice, fortifying it by his authority, with so good a moderation, as no man was offended at his too great severity, neither durst any man attempt against the lawes, seeing both the reine and the rod in the hands of their lawfull Prince. Thus he purchased the commendation of a good and wise King, and peace to his people, by their obedience to Iustice. To this good order he added prohibition to longholly things: and the better to confirme this opinion in his subiects mindes, he built and enriched many Temples, especially that of Saint Denis, the which since hath bene the sepulchre of our Kings.

There were great numbers of Iewes in France, the which were hurtfull to the Realme: he banished them by a perpetuall Edict, out of the territories that were vnder his obedience. But this zeale of religion, was polluted with the foule blot of Adultery, which made him infamous both to subiects and strangers. *Amond* Bishop of Paris admonished him of his fault: but *Dagoberts* impatient thereof, banished him. *Pepin* his Maire continued so in this reprehension, that although *Dagoberts* were moued, and threatned to banish him, yet in the end he yeelded to reason, by the vertuous constancie of *Pepin*: and hauing dismissed many of his lewd followers, he calls home *Amond*. An example of Princes and seruants for the one to continue firme in their duties, for the other to yeeld to reason. *Dagobert* subdued the Gascons that were revolted: brought the Brittons to obedience, suppressed the Sclauons, setled the Realme of Austrasia, and gaue seasonable succours to the King of Spaine against the Saracens. This is the sum of his ames, led by *Pepin*, whilest that hee liued at his pleasure, in his chamber, amongst his women, or in his monastery at his deuotion. He had two sonnes, *Sigebert* and *Clouis*. Hauing assembled the Estates in great solemnity, he declared, that he had ordeined *Sigebert* to be King of Austrasia, and *Clouis* King of France, preferring the yonger before the elder without any controuersie. Hee gaue them likewise gouernours, by reason of their young yeares. And so he died in the yeare of grace 645. hauing reigned 14. yeares without any trouble. A Prince to be numbred amongst the most worthy, but for this blemish of incontinency. Thus vpon the facility of *Clotayre*, the voluptuousnesse of *Dagoberts* laied another dangerous stone in the foundation of a new royaltie, the which vnadvisedly they built for their seruants, to their Childrens cost.

Clouis

## CL OVIS the Second, the twelfth, King of France.

*The first of the idle Kings.*



Now we take the declining of the hill, to seeke the last of these Kings beneath in the valley, who had nothing royall but the race, the name, and the habiliments, having resigned their Maiesty, authority and power into the hands of their Maires. It shall be sufficient to set downe their names, the dates of their reignes, and the continuance of their race, vntill a more vigorous royalty come to take their turne.

The manners  
of these idle  
Kings.

Hereafter in this first race, you shall see our Kings but once a yeare, the first day of May, in their Chariots deckt with flowres, and Greene, and drawne by foure oxen. Who so hath occasion to treat with them, let him seeke them in their chambers, amidst their delights. Let him talke of any matters of State, he shall be sent to the Maire, who deales with all that concerns the State: he opens packets, makes answeres without any counsel, but his owne. He heares the complaints of subiects, and giues audience to Ambassadors of foraine Princes. He ordereth all as it pleaseth him. He giues, reuokes, dischargeth, contracts, ordeines, makes Edicts, and disannuls them. To conclude, he frees his Maister from all trouble, to impose it on himselfe. But we shall see to what end he labours thus, and why he hath taken vpon him the authority and purse of his maister. Let vs now speake something of our Clouis.

Clouis then remaines in France, a peaceable King; and Sigebert his elder brother retires himselfe to his Realme of Austrasia, according to Dagobert their fathers decree. This accord was embraced by two brethren of a good and mild disposition, and was maintained wisely by their mother Nanside, and their Tutors. A notable example of rare loue betwixt two brethren, especially in great diuisions: and the iealousie of mothers, who do often support one child against another.

Clouis had married a gentlewoman of Saxony, named Bandour, a woman of a good and holy life, and much giuen to deuotion, as the Abbay of Shelles, Saint Bandour, with other foundations doe witnesse. Whilest that she busied her selfe in her deuotion, and to build

A build monasteries; Clouis laboured to confound his minde, drowning it in the flood of his voluptuousnesse. Yet they obserue one thing in him, which shewes that he was not wholly deprived of iudgement: the which happened in a time of a great dearth. To releue the poore people, he suffered them to take the siluer, wherewith the Temple of Saint Denis had bene couered by Dagobert. Doubtlesse, the care of the poore, is a worke worthy of a great Prince. Bountie is better then sacrifice: and Christian soules be the true stones of a spirituall Temple, where God dwels, as in his proper mansion. So as to nourish and support the poore, the precious members of the Church, is to build a goodly Temple.

Sigibert King of Austrasia (hauing no children, nor hope of any) was so sollicit by Grimoald Maire of his pallace, as he adopted his sonne Childebert, and soone after he himselfe had a sonne, and died, leaving him heire generall of all his realme. But Grimoald, vnder colour of this adoption, desirous to establish his sonne in the possession of Sigiberts estate, takes his yong sonne, and sends him to be brought vp in a monastery of Scotland. In effect, he had seized on all the realme, if Ersembault, Maire of the palace of France, had not valiantly opposed himselfe against this his cruell vsurpation, hauing defeated and taken both him and his sonne, and punished them both by a sollemne sentence at Paris. A notable example for many considerations: but especially a singular prooffe, that God is the Protector of Orphelins, and a iudge of the vsurpers of an others right. Clouis had three sonnes by Bandour, Clotayre, Childeric and Thierry. All three shall be Kings successiue: but Childeric was presently King of Austrasia, left without any lawfull heire, after the death of the sonne of Sigibert. He reigned sixteene yeares, and died in the yeare 692. hauing left his Realme in great peace, without any enemy.

## CL OTAYRE the third, the thirteenth King of France.



LOTAYRE, the eldest sonne of Clouis, was King of France, first vnder the gouernment of Erich, and then of Ebroin Maire of the Palace: a wicked and cruell man, who shall minister occasion to talke of his life, in the succession of these latter Kings. Vnder his reigne, he made great exactions vpon all the people, who (as he said) liued too plentifully, and forgot themselves



666. themselves by the inioying of too happy a peace. *Clotayre* reigned foure yeares, and died A without name and without children, in the yeare 666. of whom we may say, as of the rest that succeeded him: That they haue left nothing memorable, but that they left no memory.

**CHILDERIC OR CHILPERIC**  
the second, the foureteenth  
King of France.



**C** **H**ILDERIC the second sonne of *Clouis* was already in possession of the realme of Austrasia; but a greater drawes him into France, where he finds important difficulties, for *Ebroin* doubting (if *Childeric* should reigne) he would take from him the dignity of Maire, and giue it vnto *Would* Maire of Austrasia, who was his trusty seruant, perswades *Thierry*, the younger sonne of France, to seize vpon the realme, and causeth him to be crowned King. But *Childeric* comes with a strong army, being fauored by the French, who hated *Ebroin*, and (in respect of him *Thierry*) were well affected to the elder: so as he seizeth vpon *Thierry* and *Ebroin*. He did only shauie *Thierry* and put him into the Monastery of Saint Denis: and he sent *Ebroin* to Luson in Bourgogne. To small a punishment for so foule a fact: nay rather, a perpetuall prison, and insupportable torments had bene more meete for his ambitious spirit.

*Childeric* then was recited of all the French, to whom soone after he made a bad recompence: for he grew so proud and cruell, as there appeared in all places signes of his tyranny and cruelty. One amongst the rest cost him deere: for hauing caused a Gentleman called *Bodille* to be whipped, he gaue him a iust occasion to seeke his ruine. The French, wearied with his infencencies, take this barbarous act very disdainfully: so as *Bodille* had an easie meanes for reuenge vpon *Childeric*, although he were a King: he resolues to kill him, and wants no friends to accompany him in this execution. The match is made to surprise him a hunting, at their best aduantage. *Childeric* being there, hee is eniured by *Bodille* and his Companions, who increase still: and hee being ill attended by his followers,

A followers, is slaine by *Bodille*: who followed by his confederates, goes presently to a neere Castle, whereas *Blutsilde* the Queene remained great with child: being entred he slew her with her child, leauing a memorable example to Princes, neuer to thrust their subjects into dispaire; nor to abuse their authority to the dishonour, and contempt of their Nobility, which is their right arme.

Thus died *Childeric*, hauing raigned but two yeares. Leauing an odious memory to his posterity, to haue begun well, and ended ill: cleane contrary to *Childeric* the first, his Predecessor, who began ill and ended well.

**THIERRY the first, the 15**  
King of France.



**E** *Childeric* being thus slaine, the French (not able to liue without a King, and desiring none, but one of the bloud royall) post to S. Denis, draw forth *Thierry*, and establish him in the Realme, from the which they had deposed him, for his elder brother: and make *Landregesil* the Sonne of *Arohem-bault* Mayre of the Pallace, with whom they were well pleased, during his Mairalty. A notable example, both of the peoples consent gouerned by reason, and the efficacy of the Soueraigne law, the which is the soule of an Estate, and the ground of a lawfull Empire.

The Realme was very peacefull in this beginning, when as *Ebroin* (perswaded by some discontented Noblemen) leaues his Cloister, and raiseth an army, in the beginning but small, but it so increased, by the Kings contempt and his Mayres; as he remaines a Victor, with an incredible celerity. *Ebroin* seizeth on the Kings person, intreats him with all reuence, and respect, and protests to require nothing, but to bee held his most faithfull seruant, as he had bene in his first raigne. *Landregesil* was then absent: who seeing the King taken, and all the fauour of the French turned to *Ebroin*, being victor, he willingly giues eare vnto him, and vpon his faith and promise of good vsage, puts him selfe into his hands, by whom he is treacherously

693.

roully and cruelly slaine. *Ebroin* having begun this course, continues his cruelty, to satisfie A his reuenging minde, vntill that he (after that he had murdered many good men, contrarie to his oth, amongst the rest, *Leger* Bishop of Autun, hauing admonished him of his dutie, and *Martin* Maire of the Palace of Austrasia, to whom he had giuen his faith with a sollemne oth) in the end thrust himselfe vnaduisedly into the hands of *Ermansfroy*, a French gendeman, his capitall enemy, who slue him when he least feared it, hauing now an imagination to be mounted to the top of his greatnesse, and to tast the sweete liquor of his insatiable reuenge.

A notable obseruation for treacherous and reuenging spirits, who are then vanquished, when they thinke to be Conquerours. *Thierry* a King in shew, is a spectator of these Tragedies, as of a game at tables, of his diuers Maires, which play at leuell coile, vntill that *Pepin* gets it, and enioyes it onely, with the souereigne gouernment of the French Monarchie. B

*Pepin* during the confusions of these reignes had beene in Austrasia, and purchased great credit with all men: so as he was held worthy of this great charge, the which he gouerned with so great wisdom and valour, as hauing settled France in a peacefull Estate, he had purchased more credit, and authority among the French, then the King himselfe. In the end *Thierry* dies, in the yeare 693. hauing reigned nineteene yeares, leauing *Clouis* and *Childebert*, his Children, for a witnesse, that he had liued: but in effect *Pepin*, and his, for the true heires of the realme.

### CLOVIS the third, the sixteenth King of France.



Being the eldest sonne of *Thierry*; he reigned foure yeares, and dies without name, and without children: to whom succeeds his brother.

CHILDEBERT

A

41

718.

### CHILDEBERT the second, the 17. King of France.



Who reigned seuentene yeares, and dies in the yeare 718. hauing left two Sonnes, *Dagobert* and *Clotaire*, of like humour to himselfe.

E 3

DAGOBERT

# D A G O B E R T the second, the 18. King of France.



**H**E reigned foure yeares, and left two Children, *Chilperic* and *Thierry*, with no better memory then the rest. So there passed forty and foure years, during which time *Pepin* had good meanes to fortifie his authority, the which was in effect absolute, by the negligence, or rather idleness of these Kings, who made a necessary way to new designs, by their voluntary suffrance to inroach vpon their authority. *Pepin* well acquainted with the humour of the French, (naturally bent to loue their Princes) did not openly despise his masters: but excused their weake dispositions, not capable of much paine, representing the heavy burthen of a great Estate, and that the honour to gouerne it, is a trouble which costes deere. He setled an impression in the Frenchmens mindes, that those onely were worthy to bee Kings, that knew how to gouerne.

So without any insinuating speech, the ordinary seruices he did to the realme, maintaining it in peace, his great profession to loue Religion, Iustice and the people, (whose ease he was wonderfull carefull of) did recommend him to all men: and the good turnes he did to all persons, by reason of his charge, did daylie purchase him many friends and seruants. Doubtlesse, as it is as great policy to be a good man, so is there no small dexterity in the taking of Cities and Countries by the hearts of men. Thus *Pepin* laied the foundation, and his successors finished the perfect building of a new gouernment.

A lesson for our Kings, to haue a care how they referre the charge of affaires to their seruants, and to whom they trust, and how. This example doth verifie, that they were better to be more carefull, and to take more paines, then to disroabe themselues of this great authority, the which makes them not onely eminent aboue all men, but carries (as it were) a type of the Maiesty of God, in the gouernment of the world, whereof they must yeeld him an account, and not loose that by base cowardlinesse, which they should maintaine by vertue. But let vs returne to *Pepin*, he made great shew to loue Religion, and vpon this cause he makes warre against *Rabod* Duke of Frise a Pagan, whom he conquered and forced

Read and  
Judge O yee  
Kings.

A

B

C

D

F

A to receiue the Christian religion with all his subiects. He restored *Lambert* Bishop of Vtrecht to his dignity, being expelled by *Ebroin*, and confined into a Monastery: finally, he infinitely fauored all that tended to the seruice of God: and one of his chiefest cares was to aduance them that had charge ouer the Church: whose loues he had so purchased by this good viage, as they soone requited him, causing the people to loue him, with whome such as rule their consciences haue great authority.

This was a point of state, as much as of deuotion. He also made prooue of his valour in diuers forts, reducing the people of Germany on either side the Rhine, to the obedience of the French, who began to mutine, and so restored the beauty of the realme of Austrasia. He was carefull to maintaine iustice, and imbraced the people, no waies oppressing them with any new impositions. In the meane time he was not carelesse of him-selfe and his Children. He commaunded absolutely, being armed with the authority of his Soueraigne, neither was there any appeale from him vnto the King.

He had two sonnes by *Plectrude*, *Drogon* and *Grimoald*: he gaue Champagne to *Drogon*, and after his death he caused his sonne to succede him with the title of a Duke. In the beginning he gaue the offices of great Master, and general of the Treasure, to *Norbert* his deere friend: but after his death he inuested his own son *Grimoald* in those places. But as the vanity of man transports it selfe beyond the limits of respect, it chanced in the end, that *Pepin* forgot himselfe in his prosperity: for not satisfied with *Plectrude* his lawfull wife, hee fell in loue with a gentlewoman named *Alpaide*, by whome he had one Bastard, (which shalbe very famous in the course of this history, vnder the name of *Charles Martel*): and as the mischiefe encreased, he puts away *Plectrude* and marries *Alpaide*. *Lambert* Bishoppe of Vtrecht admonished him of this fault: but he suffered *Alpaide* to cause him to be slaine by her brother *Dodon*, who soone after felt the punishment of this blood, for being strooke with a disease of wormes, not able to endure his owne stench, he cast himselfe headlong into the riuer of Meuze. *Grimoald* the sonne of *Pepin*, following his fathers example, abandoned him-selfe to strange women, disdayning his wife. But this adultery was deere to them both: for *Grimoald* (too familiar with one named *Rangere*, sonne in law to *Rabod* Duke of Frise,) was slaine with him, by a iust iudgement of God, hauing taught him so filthy a trade, to abandon him-selfe to strumpets, and to reiect his wife. *Pepin* was so perplexed for the death of his sonne, as hee died for griefe and choller against *Rabod*, the author of this murder. Thus both he and his sonne reaped the fruits of their adultery.

Vpon his death-bed he ordained *Charles* (his Bastard) to succede him in the gouernment of the realme: but *Plectrude* imbracing this occasion, vpon the death of her husband, and well supported by her kinsfolkes, causeth *Charles* to be taken and put in prison at Cologne, and advanceth *Thybauld* the sonne of *Drogon*, her owne sonne and *Pepin*'s, to the gouernment, although in effect she vnder his name gouerned all the affaires of state. This gouernment of a woman (which is visually imperious and without reason) offended the most resolute among the French: so as weary to be commanded by a distaste (*Dagobert* dying, during these alterations) they tooke a Prince of the blood called *Daniel* forth of a cloister, who had bin a Monke the greatest part of his youth. Him they crowne King, vnder the name of *Chilperic* the second, to haue a royall name to countenance his actions: and they giue him a Nobleman of France called *Rainsfroy*, to be his Mayre: who hauing leauied an army, defeated *Thybauld* and his grand-mother *Plectrude* with small fight. But when as *Rainsfroy* thought himselfe voide of all his enemies, he findes a strong Competitor: for *Charles Martel* being freed from prison, could politickly embrace the occasion, and get authority by the perplexity of *Plectrude*, to whome he offers him-selfe with all his meanes. The decree of *Pepin* did import much: but the dexterity and valour of *Charles* could be no more concealed, then a goodly light in darkenesse. Hee entertaynes such as were affected to *Plectrude*, and her sonne, in such sort as (seeing them selues abandoned) they receiue him for Mayre, according to the will of *Pepin*, whose image *Charles* did carry in his forehead, and his memory liued yet in the hartes of the French.

*Charles* being receiued and installed Mayre of France, first assured him-selfe of the children of King *Dagobert*, causing them to bee gently brought vp in a Monastery, and afterwards (not pursuing his reuenges as *Ebroin* had done) hee made a publike declaration, that

*Pepin* incommen-  
tinent.

*Charles Martel* bastard to  
*Pepin*.



724

that his onely intention was, to free the Realme from the confusions which were so visible to all men, and restore it to the ancient dignity: neither would he attempt any thing, but by the consent and aduice of the French. And indeed, he began to manage the affaires, to the great content of all men. He established an old Prince of the blood, named *Clotayre*, with a Counsell of state, vnder whose name and authority he gouerned as Mayre and chiefe of the Counsell: and therefore some writers reckon this *Clotayre* among the Kings of France, although he were no King. *Rainfroy* with his *Chilperic* (finding him-selfe too weake for such an enemy) had recourse to *Rabod* duke of Freeze, a capital enemy to the house of *Pepin*, with whose aide he letties an army, incounters *Charles*, and ouerthrowes him at the first charge. But *Charles* nothing amazed at this checke, rallies his forces, and knowing that the enemy pult vp with this victory, marched in disorder, he charged their confused troupes with such aduantage, as he defeats them quite, neere vnto *Cambray*: so as *Chilperic* and *Rainfroy* could hardly escape with a finall traine. And so *Charles* proceeds with his victory: for being aduertised that *Plectrude* was at *Cologne*, where he is receiued by the inhabitants, and hauing *Plectrude* and her son *Thibauld* in his power, he inflicts no other punishment, but iniouynes them to liue in quiet, and to attempt nothing without his liking. A worthy reuenge of a generous minde to pardon the vanquished. *Eudon* succors him; but being vanquished by *Charles*, he submits himselfe with the pretended *Chilperic*, to his discretion: and so did *Rainfroy*, relying vpon the Conquerours faith: *Charles* vseth the victory modestly, pardons *Rainfroy*, and giues him the gouernment of *Aniou*, and suffers *Eudon* to enioy his liuing, vnder the obedience of the Crowne. And to settle the Realme in good order, he degrades *Chilperic*, being aduanced against Law, and causeth the eldest sonne of *Dagobert* to be chosen King, named *Chilperic*, as the true and lawfull heire. So he reigned vnder the gouernment of his Mayre.

CHILPERIC the third, the  
19. King of France.



A Prince

A



Prince of no valour, simple and voluptuous. In his time the *Suenes*, *Saxons*, and *Banarians* (disdaining to liue vnder a simple and effeminate King) sought to withdraw them-selues from the French obedience: but *Charles* reduced them to the yoke, reaping repentance for their rebellion. *Plectrude* was wearie of ease: who abusing the mildnesse of *Charles*, retires to *Vlmes*, with her daughter *Sanachilde*, the lawfull childe of *Pepin*, and seekes to draw the people of *Danubie* into rebellion against *Charles*: who hauing intelligence of her practises; posts thether with a running Campe, pacifies the *Germaines*, and puts her in prison: but we read not how he disposed of her, nor of her sonne *Thibauld*. Thus hee confirmed his authority in all places. In the meane time *Chilperic* dies, hauing reigned fise yeares, and in his place his Brother was Crowned King.

729

THIERRY the Second, the 20  
King of France.

C



D

E



He reigned ten yeares, and dying, left his sonne *Childeric*, the last King of this first race of *Merouingiens*. This is all that is memorable in these two reignes, whilst that the second race prepares to come in place and to take possession of the crowne, and scepter of the French Monarchie. *Charles Martell*, from *Mayre of the Palace* is chosen *Duke*, or *Prince of the French*. He laies the foundations of a new raigne for his posterity, and in this respect is numbred among the Kings, the 22.

F

Now our discourse must be of that great *Charles*, surnamed *Martel*, by reason of the force, both of his body, and minde: shewing breefely according to our stile, what meanes he had to aduance his race to royall Throane.

As things succeeded in this manner: *Charles Martel*, who knew what force an interest purchased by good order hath in an Estate, informs his friends priuately (which were many) how

730.

Multiplicity  
of matters is  
a reason to an  
estate.

how much it did import (considering the apparent weakenesse of their King, and the necessity of the realme) to haue one Commander, whom all the rest might obey: for when the King speaks not, euery one (holding himselfe as great as his companion) will play the King, & so by consequence many mischiefs grow daylie, a multitude of Maisters beeing a ruine to an Estate. That the authority of a Maire was not great enough to that effect: and although it might be extended vpon necessity, yet was it not conuenient: seeing that which concerns the good & quiet of all, ought to be approued by al and settled by a free & general consent. Hauing thus disposed the mindes of such as might rule in matters of great import, hee makes a conuocation, which he calls a Parliament, in the which it is concluded: That seeing *Charles Martel* had by many proofes shewed himselfe worthy of a great command, hauing well vsed his authority of Maire, and that vrgent necessity required a speedy and conuenient remedy: therefore the absolute gouernment should be deliuered into his hands. And to the end his authority should be knowne, and obeyed with more respect, hereafter he should be called Prince, or Duke of Frenchmen. This decree did greatly countenance the authority of *Charles Martel*, beeing confirmed by such an assembly, and by so affectionate a consent: but his vertues made him to be held most worthy of so honorable a charge: occasion made prooffe of his vertue, and the successe was a foretelling that the Realme was appointed to his posterity. Soone after there fell out this notable occasion.

Wee haue made mention of *Eudon*, the pretended Duke of Guienne. *Martel* hauing vanquished him, suffered him to enioy his liuing, vnder the obedience of the Crowne. This accord pleased not *Eudon*, who not able to bee reuenged of *Martel*, practised such meanes as ambition and couetousnesse did prescribe him. The Sarazins (a Turkish nation) had passed out of Asia into Affrike and Spaine, and had possessed those goodly and great Prouinces vnder the command of their King *Abderamen*. *Eudon* solicits them to come into France, and promisseth a free passage. The Sarazins willingly imbrace the offer of so easie an entrie, and resolute to people France with a great Colony of their nation. They enter Guienne with an army of foure hundred thousand fighting men. A fearefull number at this day, but plainly set downe by the common consent of all writers. *Charles Martel* seeing this great storme ready to fall vpon France, resolues first to take away the cause of their coming, and as *Eudon*'s discontent had drawne them in, so hee labours to be reconciled vnto him.

He concludes a peace with *Eudon*, taught by the horrible spoile of Guienne, what it is to see such men to worke. In the end he disposeth all things to stop the violence of so rauishing an enemy, assembling all the forces he could, to make a body able to incounter them: but he armed himselfe chiefly with resolution and courage, fit instruments in necessity, vnder the prouidence of the God of armes and victories. The Sarazin was already aduanced as farre as Touraine, within vew of Tours, nere to the riuer of Loire, where *Martel* resolved to attend him, as well to ingage him in a Country farre from retreat, and to make *Eudon* and his men more resolute, in whose Countie it was to be tried, as also to haue France ready in case of necessity. *Abderamen*: trusting in the multitude of his souldiars both of horse and foot, resolues to compass in the French: and to this end had dispersed his battailions, euery one a part, making shew of a great army, appointing his horse mingled with Camels, and furnished with sundry new kinds of armes, to ioyne the battailions one to another. The order and countenance of this army was fearefull to men, neuer wonted to behold such an huge inundation of strangers.

*Martel* (who fought more with courage and valour in a good cause, then with numbers) hauing assembled the body of his army, he confirms their resolutions before the combat, wishing them to haue no hope but in God, and in themselves, shewing that they had their enemies before, and the riuer of Loire behind, that hee had commanded them of Tours not to open the gates, but to the Conqueror, and had appointed troupes of horse vpon the wings of his army, to kill such as fled, as enemies. To conclude they had no other France, but where they were, in the which they must either conquer or die. *Eudon* with his Guennois made their army apart, not farre from *Martel*, and with his consent.

The battailes being aranged, and euery Commander hauing perswaded his men to doe their best endeouours, the Sarazin giues the charge, supposing to compass in the French easily, as with a net: but of all sides he finds men courageous in their defence. The incounter was

great,

732.

A great, and the combat furious. In the heat of the conflict *Eudon* disbands, and violently chargeth the Sarazins campe, being full of women, children, and baggage, and with a small guard, he forceth the defences, and enters it, cuts in peeces, and kills all he encounters without difference of age or sex. The Barbarian not accustomed to the readinesse of the French, who encountered his sundry Battailions in grosse, as they presented themselves, turning after the manner of their discipline; seeing many of his men slaine, and for a second mischiefe, hearing the cries and shriekings of women, and children, massacred in the campe, began to be amazed, and to wauer. *Martel* (discouering their countenance, and that their battailions grew thin) cries out mainly to his souldiars. Courage my friends. God hath set vp his banner, he fights for vs: let vs charge these miscreants. The souldiars (encouraged at this voice, & at the visible successe of their armes,) very victory victory. The Sarazin not knowing which way to turne him, being charged on all sides, breakes his battailions, abandons his ranks, and casts away his armes. All are dispersed, the multitude oppresseth them. Hereupon *Martel* and *Eudon* ioyne together, after the spoile of the campe: vpon this disorder they charge valiantly through these dismembred troupes, as into a thicke haruest, without any resistance: all ouerflowes with bloud, they are weary with killing. The remainder which fled is small, the prisoners lesse: all die by the sword, or are beaten downe with battle-axes: the victorious French (inraged with the sight of these vanquished Barbarians, seeking to dispossesse them, their wiues and children, of their habitations) made them the subiects of their choller. King *Abderamen* is found dead, in a heape of carcases, not wounded, but smothered by the multitude that fled. Histories assure, there were slaine vpon the place three hundred seuentie five thousand men, and of the French fiftene hundred, amongst the which were many of the Nobility and men of account. Thus God did ouerthrow the greater number by the lesse, and by his force the multitude was an incumber to the enemy. But aboue all, this deliuerance was remarkable, for that God not only freed France from the slavery of Infidels, but also the rest of Europe, the which this deluge had almost ouerflowne, as it had done Asia and Affrike already. So thanks were giuen vnto God, in all Christian Kingdomes, and the name of *Martel* generally renowned, as a chiefe instrument of the singular deliuerance of all Christendome. After this defeat, he diuided the spoiles amongst the souldiars, and the better to reward the Nobility, he remitted them the tenths and tithes for certaine yeares, with the consent of the Clergie, to whom he promised satisfaction.

This memorable defeat was a scale of the new dignity granted vnto *Martel* by the fauour of the French, confirmed by his owne valour, or rather by the bounty of God, the essentiall cause of his happy successe. This battaile was called the battaile of Tours: it happened in the yeare 730. but the end of this warre was the beginning of an other, and almost from the same spring, and by the same current. Wee haue shewed *Eudon*'s deeds at the battaile of Tours. For this great seruice he expected some notable recompence: But *Martel* excusing himselfe, that he could not alienate the reuenues of the Crowne, nor doe any thing to the preiudice of his Master, left *Eudon* no more aduanced then before the warres, and very ill satisfied: but he died soone after, leauing *Hunault* and *Issroy* his children, heires of his discontent.

After their fathers decease, they seeke all possible meanes to trouble the quiet of France. Their chiefe strength was in Guienne: they had likewise some in Prouence, through the fauour of *Maurice*, Gouernour of the Country, and Earle of Marseilles; but especially in Languedoc; whence they were issued, as I haue said, being descended from the Visigoths, whose memory with their name liues still throughout all that Prouince, although they all depend vpon the Crowne of France. Thus they assemble all the people they can, either by friends or credit, and fortifie good Townes against the French, attending to make warre with all violence. But finding all these meanes too feeble for so great a project, they proceed farther. The Sarazins remayning in Spaine were much grieved at so great a losse of their men, being a generall dishonour to all their nation. They are easily drawne into this League, to be reuenged of the French: and the better to fortifie their partie, they ioyne with the *Varidales*, *Ostrogots*, and *Alans*, which remained yet in Spaine, not friends amongst themselves, yet common enemies to the French.

King

The Sarazins  
invade France  
with 400000  
men.

The Sarazin  
trusts in the  
multitude of  
his men.

*Martel* inco-  
rporates his  
men.

A memorable  
defeat of *Ab-  
deramen*, and  
his death.

The battaile  
of Tours.

A famous war  
in Languedoc.

783.

King *Athin* led the Sarazins troupes: *Hunault* and *Ieffroy* brethren commanded those that were assembled in the Prouinces on this side Loire. Besides their forces they had intelligence within Lions, and the best Cities of Bourgongne, assuring themselves to seize vpon Daulphine, as well for the necessity of Languedoc (where they had a great partie) as also by means of *Maurice* the Prouenfall, and the credit they had with the principall of the Country. Thus they make a great party, to vndermine and ruine the State of France, and did manage their practises with such secrecie, as their army was sooner in field then *Martell* could haue intelligence of their preparations. The body of this army assembled in Languedoc, passeth the Rofne, entreteth into Daulphine, and goes through it with such celerity and ease, as (the Citties of Pierrelate, Saint Pol, Montlimar, Liuron, Valence, Romans, and other Townes bordering vpon the Rofne, (hauing yeelded at the first brute) they surpriseth the Citie of Lions, by means of their intelligence. Vienne alone held firme for the Kings seruice, in this deluge of Goths and Sarazins. They passed from Lions by Sauoy, and the countries on either side of the mount Iura, and in the end seized on many of the best Cities of Bourgongne, Chaaon, Mafcon, Dijon, and Auxerre, by means of their intelligences and the generall amazement. *Martel* slept not in this confusion: but to preuent this vnexpected storme, he assurth the Cities, and leuies men with all expedition. The towne of Sens (through the resolute counsell of their bishop *Otho*) sallies forth so fitly vpon the Sarazin army, as (hauing slaine a great number) they force them to raise the siege with shame. Other towns by their example grow resolute, vnder the assurance of their commanders, whom they finde carefull of their preleruation. Thus this army halfe victorious, (feearing a second skirmish of Tours, by the waighty blowes of *Martel*, loth to ingage themselves farther in France) retires into the Countries of their allies, leauing garrisons in the townes they had surpriseth. One part passeth into Languedoc, and lodgeth in friend townes: an other seizeth on Auignon (then a City of Prouence) by the means of *Maurice* gouernor of the country: Arles holds firme for the Kings seruice: Amidest these confusions and the treachery of *Maurice*, *Hunault* and *Ieffroy* returne into their Country of Guionne, to preuent the designs of *Martel*, and to retaine their townes in obedience. Hauing thus disposed of their affaires, they send ioyntly into Spaine for new forces, whilest that *Martel* labours to settle that which they had disordered in many places. And in truth they had prouided worke for him, the which he preuented in this sort.

Hee sends *Childebert* presently into Prouence with a meane army, as well to assure the townes that stood firme, as to keepe the enemy at a bay, and to crosse their designs. Hee himselfe remains in Bourgongne with a great army, to recouer such townes as were held by the enemy. Both worke according to their proiects, but not with like successe. *Childebert* besiegeth Auignon, but with much toyle, losse of time, and small hope of successe, so as he was shamefully forced to raise the siege: but then comes *Martel* with his army, hauing recouered the Cities of Bourgongne, Lions and the rest of Daulphine, with the like facility as they had beene lost: punishing the rebels in all places. Being incamped before Auignon, he so presseth the siege, as in few daies hee takes the towne, and cuts the Sarazins in peeces: yet their King *Athin* saued himselfe in Languedoc, by the riuer of Rofne, and retired to Narbonne to his other troupes. *Martel* (hauing releued the Citie of Arles with a new garrison) passeth into Languedoc, and besiegeth Narbonne, being then a very strong City and of great importance for the whole Prouince. And as this siege grew long, behold a new army of Sarazins comes out of Spaine, vnder the conduct of *Amore*, an other pettie Sarazin King. *Martel* fearing least they of Guienne should come, and those within the Citie issue forth, and all being vnited make one body of an army, he resolues to fight with them apart, vsing this stratageme which succeeded happily. Hee leaues a part of his army before the Citie, with the same countenance as if it had beene whole, rising without found of drumme or trumpet: and surpriseth this new army of Sarazins with such celerity, as he defeats them.

*Athin* frustrate of hope of any succors, saues himselfe by sea, with a small troupe, and abandons Narbonne, and the whole Country, to the mercy of *Charles Martel*, then a Conquerour. This was the end of that perillous warre bred by *Hunault* and *Ieffroy* the sonnes of *Eudon*: and the fruit of all these broyles in Languedoc, was that they brought those Cities which

The fidelity of the Vienne.

The courage of a Bishop.

New attempts of the League.

A new army of Sarazins in France.

A which had followed them, to extremity, whom *Martel* punished seuerely for their rashnesse and rebellion. The histories name Narbonne, Nismes, Beziers and Agde, the which he caused to be sackt and burnt. It is likely that the ancient walles of Nismes were then pulled downe, whereof we now see the ruines of an admirable greatnesse, vndoubtfull signes of the ancient beauty and wealth of that goodly city: the which in the time of the Romaine Empire, being free in Gaule Narbonoise, did enioye the priuileges of Italy, hauing had the honour to furnish Rome with an Emperour.

*Hunault* and *Ieffroy* (being authors of this warre) remained yet unpunished. *Martel* was diuined by the warre he made against the Frisians, whom he vanquished and forced to become Christians, and to that end he sends them Doctors. A pardonable zeale in a warrior, for in truth mens soules cannot be wonne by the sword, nor religion forced, but must be planted in the heart by reason. The punishment of these turbulent men, was reserved vnto *Pepin*, who knew well how to effect it, as we shall see. At this time King *Thierry* died, hauing reigned six and twenty yeares in conceit: and left *Childebert* his sonne, not heire of the realme, but of his idleness, to make the last releafe of the crowne, and consigne it into a better hand.

741. Languedoc seuerely punished by Martel.

### CHILDERIC the fifth, the 21. King of France, and the last of the first race.



F was King in shew nine yeares, five vnder the authority of *Charles Martel*, and foure vnder *Pepin*, who dispossessed him, made him a Monke, and seated himselfe in his place, as we shall see in order. But let vs obserue what remaines of *Martel*. The care and toyle of great affaires, with his old age, hauing soare broken him, he resolues to dispose of things in time, and to leaue a peace to his children. He had

F

foure

742.  
The disposition,  
children,  
and death of  
Martel.

four sons, *Caroloman*, *Pepin*, *Giles*, and *Griffon*, all of diuers humors. *Caroloman* and *Giles* more modest, & of a milder spirit, *Pepin* & *Griffon*, more rough and ambitious. Whilest he liued, he greatly honored the kings person, neither did he in open shew meddle with that maine point of royaltie: but in effect, diuiding his authority to his Children with the title of gouernments. He purchased them an interest by his vertue, & in time the possession of the realme. To his eldest son *Caroloman* he left Austrasia, to *Pepin* (whom he knew to be of a more quicke & hardy spirit) France, as the body of the Estate. And seeing *Giles* vnfit for armes & giuen to deuotion he made him Archbishop of Rouan. To bridle the turbulent spirit of *Griffon*; and to take fro him al occasiō of debate, he would not giue him any certaine portion, but the good wil of his elder bretheren: being taught by the experience of former raines, that many commanding bretheren are dangerous to an estate: shewing himselfe more wise & happy therein then *Clouis*.

Thus *Charles Martel* (hauing liued fifty five yeares) died in the yeare of grace 741. hauing commanded absolutely in France twenty and five yeares, as Mayre or Prince of the French, vnder the raignes of *Chilperic*, *Thierry* and *Childeric*. One of the worthiest men that euer liued, either in this Monarchy or in any forraigne Estate. He was religious, wise, iust, valiant, modest in prosperity, resolute in aduersity, temperate in authority, not passionate nor reuengfull, diligent and fortunate. By these excellent vertues hee did quietly purchase this great degree, whereby his posterity hath mounted to the royall throne, although he had but the paine to get it, and the honour to preferue the realme from ship-wrake in the weaknesse of these Kings, and the stormes of many confusions. His Children (according to the diuersity of their humors) had diuers euents. *Caroloman* wanted no valour, but hauing accompanied his Brother *Pepin* in diuers exploits, in the end he resignes him all his authority, becomes a Monke, and dies so at Vienne. *Giles* full of ambitious heat, not pleased with the wise resolution of his father, did all he could to crosse his brother *Pepin*, although hee had giuen him a sufficient portion in Normandy. Transported with this spleene, he surses vp the Saxons, Bawarians, and those of Guienne, against him at diuers times. In the end (being suppressed in all places) he vndertakes a voiage into Italy, to attempt some thing against his brother: but hee was slaine by the way, by a gentleman of Bourgongne, as a man of no valour nor quality. This fire was thus quenched, and *Giles* died vnworthily, leauing this lesson to posterity, *That ambition hastens ruine, and contrariwise, that the one halfe is better then the whole.*

*Forerunnings or preparatiues to the raigne of Pepin.*

*Pepin*, seeing himselfe alone in great authority, vnderpropt by the merriits of his Grandfather, resoluēd so to behaue himselfe, as his owne deserts should not onely confirme this reputation left him by inheritance, but also perswaded the French that hee was worthy of a greater command, and by their free consents, hold him capable of the Crowne. Hee knew the humor of the French, who loue & honor their king with an especial deuotion, and cannot be induced to doe otherwise, but by great & vrgent reasons. He manageth this desseigne with such dexterity, as he effectuēd it, and the meanes (which the providence of God did minister vnto him) did as it were guide him by the hand: for to him we must attribute the principall cause of this notable change. The Sarazins infinitely greeued with these two defeats, prepare another army: *Jeffroy* was also of this party, & it seemed this third League did threaten France with a greater storme. *Pepin* remembering that his father had bene surprized, sends forth his spies, and being speedily aduertised of their desseigne he assembles all the forces he could, with an incredible celerity: finding himselfe first in armes, he enters into Guyenne, and seizeth on the passages of the Pyrenean mountaines. *Jeffroy* being thus surprized, sets a good face on it, promising obediēce to *Pepin*: & is a mediator for the Sarazins, vndertaking that they should renounce their interest, and neuer enter more into France. *Pepin* obtaining his desire (being glad to haue preuented this storme, and forced so redoubted enemies to receiue a law from him) applied himselfe to the peoples humor. He dismisseth his army, busying himself in repairing of the churches which the Sarazins had ruined: to ease the citties that were spoyled, & in giuing them meanes to recouer themselves: to establish iustice, to vnburthen the subiects of publike carges, & to let the French vnderstand that he was as fit for peace as war. The church of Rome was then in great reputation; and the Popes did only busie themselves with the seruice of God & to maintaine Princes in concord, the which purchased them great credit, for the respect Christian people bare to religion. *Zachary* held then the Pontificall seat, and had the Lombards for a subiect of continual feare, being his irreconcilable enemies: against whom

Estate of the  
Church.

A whom hee could not haue more assured and speedy helpe then in France, and by *Pepin* meanes, who held the foueraigne authority. *Martel* had already auoided a most dangerous warre, through the amity he had with *Luitprand* King of the Lombards, after whose death, *Rachyfe* Duke of Friul, chosen in his place, threatens the Pope openly: for all the Lombards faire shewes, and his large protestations of friendship, were but foretellings of the breach of his faith. For this reason *Zachary* entertained *Pepin* carefully, the which did helpe him much to compass his desire. And although his ambitious humour made him sometimes to speake too peremptorily of his victories and ordinary defects, yet could he containe himself in greatest occasions: and behaued himselfe in such sort, as he seemed not to aspire vnto the crowne, but that necessity and the common consent of all the French, did (as it were) force him therevnto. The most remarkable thing in all the course of this history, is the order he held to compass a desseigne of so great importance.

As he discouered couerly of his intention, and openly of the vrgent necessity to prouide speedily for the estate of the Realme: he had sed men to preach forth his praises, and the disgraces of *Childeric*, being as visible in the one, as remarkable in the other: reason giuing due praise to vertue, and dishonour to vice. In the one they see a simple stupidity, in the other a stayed grauity; in the one a brutish fury; and in the other a moderate and temperate spirit: in the one a beastly carelesnes, in the other an actiue diligence; in the one a dissolute intemperancy, and in the other a well grounded continency. So as in the one was all good, and in the other all bad; in the one all pleased, in the other all displeased; and their actions were the table of their contrary dispositions. *Childeric* loued no man, neither did any man loue him. *Pepin* loued all, and was beloued of all, tying all vnto him by all occasions and good offices, and all to his masters losse. The common people loued *Pepin* intirely, as the Protector of their liberty: and hated *Childeric* as one that regarded not the common good, in respect of his foolish and beastly voluptuousnes: being neither willing nor able to doe well.

So the one being contemned and hated, was held vnworthy to raigne; the other prayed and beloued, was esteemed most worthy to be a King. The friends of *Pepin* failed not to proclaim his meriits in all places, and the people embraced it with all content. But there were many difficulties in the execution of this generall desire: Religion (much respected by the French): the naturall reuerence and deuotion they bare to their Kings, and the remembrance of the meriits of old *Clouis*, were strong lets to stay the violent desires of the most affectionate. But *Pepin* could well preuent all this by an admirable and happy dexterity. To the remembrance of *Clouis* vertues, he opposed the memory of horrible disgraces, and infamies, wherewith his posterity had bene polluted: and withall, the carelesnesse of these latter Kings, noting all in ranke from father to sonne. And contrary-wise, hee did represent vnto them, the liuely remembrance of the great meriits of *Pepin* his grand father, of *Martel* his father, and his owne, and from experience past, he concludes of the future hope. As for the reuerence of the French to their Kings: hee shewed that it was vowed to true Kings, and not to Kings in imagination, painted and disguised: and that the oth of allegiance tyed them to a religious King, being valiant, iust, mercifull, vpright, diligent, practised in affaires, fit to withstand his enemies, to punish the wicked, to defend the good, and to protect the Christian law, according to the expresse words of the solleinne oth which the French giue their King at his coronation. Why should they then be bound to a vicious King, negligent and carelesse of himselfe and his subiects, vnder the colour of a Crowne and Scepter? to conclude, the contract was limited, and the French were bound to obey that King that was a lawfull King, who (being endued with royall vertues) performed the office of a true King. These reasons were plaine, and easily receiued of all men, finding this change to be very necessary for the common good: neither was there any one but expected some profit in his owne particular, and sought to purchase the fauour of *Pepin*.

But yet there remained a scruple of religion, for the dispensing of their oth. This article must be decided at Rome, where *Pepin* (assuring himselfe of his good friends, who were necessarily to vse him) hoped for a good end, seeing the principall was determined by the consent of the French. He therefore sends *Bruchard* Bishop of Bourges, and *Folrad* his Chaplaine vnto Rome, (men pleasing to all, and faithfull to himselfe,) to represent the Estate of France

646.

*Pepin* comes  
to make him-  
selfe King.

746. France, and the generall desire of the French, to Pope *Zacharie*. The Pope (duly informed A of the weaknesse of *Childeric*, being hated, and contemned of all men, without any support, and of the generall resolution of the French to receiue *Pepin*, but chiefly moued with hope, to draw great helps from him against the Lombards his capitall enemies) dispensed the French from their oath of obedience to *Childeric*, and to all his race.

*Now shall that race be dispossessed, and this decree shall be the last act of the Merovingiens Tragedy.*

## THE SECOND RACE OF THE KINGS OF FRANCE,

called *Carolingiens*, either of *Charles Martel*, or of *Charlemagne*, the chiefe pillars of this race,

### Oracles to iudge rightly of the estate of this second race.

*God is Judge, he puts downe one, and sets up another. Man walkes as a shadow: he striues in vaine: he gathers goods, and knowes not who shall enioy them. O Lord what is man, that thou shouldst be mindfull of him? or the sonne of man, that thou shouldst regard him? Man is like unto nothing: his daies are like a shadow that vanisbeth, the sonnes of men are as nothing: and great men are but as a lye. If they were all together put in ballance, they would be found more light then vanity. It is he notwithstanding, that preserveth Kings:*

### CHARLES MARTEL.



## A particular Chronology of the second Race.

From the year 741. unto the year 988.

CHARLES MARTEL.

Years of the Race	Number of Kings	
741.	22.	The stem of this second Race, is numbred among the Kings, the 22. for hee reigned in effect during the life of the Idle Kings, and so was buried among the Kings. After the royal gouernment of 25. yeares, he left it to his sonne.
750.	23.	<i>Pepin</i> , the bricke of <i>Spain</i> , who was crowned King, <i>Chilperic</i> 4. being degraded in the year 750. and left the crowne peaceable to his sonne.
844.	24.	<i>Charlemagne</i> , great in name and in effect, who remaining absolute Monarke of the realme of France and Austrasia, with all the dependances Northward: hee added to this great masse, all Italy, and the greatest part of Spaine, and so possessing the territories of the Empire in the west, he was receiued and installed Emp. of the West, hauing reigned 40. yeares.
840.	25.	<i>Lewis his sonne</i> , surnamed the Gentle, succeeded him, and reigned King and Emperour 27. yeares, and to him succeeded,
878.	26.	<i>Charles the 2. called the Bald King and Emperour</i> , who reigned 33. yeares: and to <i>Charles the 2. succeeded</i>
879.	27.	<i>Lewis the 2. his sonne</i> , called the Stuttering, King and Emperour, who reigned but a yeare and six months
		At his death he left his wife with child, who being borne, was acknowledged for lawful King, and called <i>Charles the Simple</i> : his minority lasted 22. yeares. Many Tutors, and many confusions. These Regents are crowned Kings, and (acknowledged by that name) doe hold the ranke among Kings, and so we must diuide, these 22. yeares, to euery Regent according to his raigne.
881.	28.	<i>Lewis the 3. and Caroloman, bastard of Lewis the Stuttering</i> , raigne as Regents five yeares.
889.	29.	<i>Charles the 3. a Prince of the blood</i> , called the grosse, as Regent, hee reigned 7. yeares, being both King and Emperour: he was put from them both.
896.	30.	<i>Eudes or Odon sonne to Rob. Duke of Aniou</i> , as Regent he reigned 10. yeares. In the confusion of these last Maisters the royall authority being greatly weakened, many countries freed themselves from the obedience of the French Monarchy: So fell out
		THE ECLIPSE OF THE EMPIRE, Both in Germany and Italy. The body of the Empire remained in Germany, being afterwards gouerned by an Emperour, chosen by the Princes Electors. And Italy was dismembred into diuers Principalities, vnto diuers Potentates. In the end, after this minority of 22. yeares.
899.	31.	<i>Charles the 4. called the Simple</i> , sonne to <i>Lewis the Stuttering</i> , was crowned as lawfull King and reigned 25. yeares. But <i>Raoul of Bourgoigne</i> , A Prince of the blood, was called by the league, to put downe King <i>Charles</i> , called the Simple: being imprisoned by them, and forced to renounce the crowne. <i>Charles</i> dying with griefe, <i>Raoul</i> reigned 13. yeares, but in the end was expelled from this usurpation.
923.	32.	<i>Lewis the 4. called d'Outremer</i> , or beyond the sea, sonne to <i>Charles the Simple</i> , being called out of England, (whether his mother had carried him to preserve him from the League) was acknowledged King and reigned 29. yeares.
936.	33.	<i>Lothaire his sonne</i> succeeded him, who reigned thirty and three yeares.
954.	34.	<i>Lewis the 5. sonne to Lothaire</i> , reigned about two yeares, and dying without issue, interred with him the race of <i>Charles Martel</i> , as his Ancestors had of long time obscured his vertues, and that of the valiant <i>Charlemagne</i> , unfortunate in their successors.
986.	35.	Thus the second race called <i>Carolingiens</i> , hauing reigned 230. yeares, ended in <i>Lewis the 5. and gaue place to the third race</i> , which raignes at this day.



**PEPIN the short, the 23. King  
of France: and first of the  
second race.**



THE French thus freed by the Popes dispensation, from their oath of obedience, assemble the Generall Estates: and to auoyde confusion in the Realme, apparently growne by the negligence of their Kings, they concluded to reiect *Childeric*, and to choose *Pepin*: the one vnworthy to raigne, by reason of his vices, and the other most worthy to be King, for his royall vertues.

And to the end, the fundamental law of state should not be directly infringed in this new election, they bring *Pepin* from the race of great *Clovis*, of whome they said he should be acknowledged for the next heire, seeing that (vertue and his race being duely weighed) he approached nearest to him in vertue. *Pepin* himselfe would not assist at this assembly: that the offer of this dignity (being made without his apparent seeking it) might be the more honorable. Being called to heare the Generall conclusion of the Parliament, and the common desire of all the French, he presents himselfe, being pleasing to all men, in more then an ordinarie sort: little of body, but shewing in his countenance the greatnesse of his spirit: amiable by his mild and modest behauiour, and admirable for his graue pleasing Maiesty.

The Assembly lets him vnderstand by *Boniface* Archbishop of Mayence or Mentz, that the French (in regard of his vertues, and their future hope) had by a free and generall consent, chosen him King of France. And for execution of the said decree, he was instantly (in the presence of them all) installed King, the royall crowne was set vpon his head by the said Archbishop, and then he was rayed vpon a target, and carried about the assembly, after the ancient ceremony of the French. And by vertue of the same decree, *Childeric* was chalenged as vnworthy of the crowne, degraded, shauen, and confined into a Monastery, there to passe the remainder of his daies. This notable change happened in the yeare 750. in the City

*Pepin chosen  
King by the  
Parliament,  
and Childeric  
reiected.*

A of Soissons, but with so resolute a consent of all the French nation, as there appeared not any one that made shew to dislike thereof. A most assured testimony, that God had so determined, hauing reserved to himselfe the souereigne authority ouer Kings, to place and displace, gird and vngird, raise and cast downe, according to his good pleasure, alwaies iust, and alwaies wise. To him we must ascribe the principall and souereigne cause of all changes: For God is the gouernour, as he is the Creator: It being a necessary consequence, that hee gouernes that which he hath created, and by his prouidence watcheth especially ouer mankinde, for whom he hath made the world. If we shall otherwise seeke the nearest causes of this alteration, we may iustly say, that vice dispossessed *Childeric*, and vertue set *Pepin* in possession of the crowne: loue and the reuerence of subiects, being the support of publike authority: hate and contempt the ruine thereof. To the end that Princes by so worthy an example, may learne to banish vice which (making them hatefull and contemptible) thrusts them from their thrones, and to plant vertue, which causing them to be respected and honored, makes them to reigne ouer nations.

Now we beginne a new gouernment, vnder new Kings, and in a new race. In the beginning we shall see two great Princes, vnder whom good order shall make an alteration of affaires, with an abundance of all blessings, both spirituall and temporall. Iustice, wisdom, pollicy, armes, valour, large limits of territories, abundance of peace, and the excellent knowledge of learning, to raise this estate to the greatest happinesse that euer it enioyed, and scarce any other kingdome whatsoeuer, let forraigne nations say what they please. But the happinesse of these two Kings shall not be hereditary in their posterity, who beginning soone to degenerate, shall decline by degrees, vntill that vice depriving them of the crowne, vertue shall giue it to another, who shall shew himselfe a more lawfull successor, and right heire to *Charlemagne*, hauing a better part in his vertues. This second race shall enioy the kingdome 237. yeares, beginning to reigne in the yeare 750. and ending in the yeare 987. hauing begun by vertue, and ended by vice. A goodly lesson for Potentates: that bounty, wisdom and valour, are no hereditary possessions to be left vnto their children, but they are the gifts of God, the author of all good, and their souereigne Prince, to whom they owe homage for their greatnesse, as to him of whom depends absolutely all the kingdomes of the earth, and whose prouidence is the infallible rule of the changes which we see incident to mankinde, the which the ignorant without reason, attribute to blind fortune.

*Pepin* seeing himselfe seated in the throne of the French Monarchy, by the honorable fauour of the French: hee resolues to satisfie their hopes by the effects of his actions: and beginnes to confirme in their mindes the true and firme bond of obedience, the which is vnited with these two strings, loue, and the peoples respect to their superiours. No thing being more naturall, then to loue him from whom we receiue, or hope for good, and to respect him whom we hold sufficient to make vs to liue peaceably, and in quiet, especially when he hath power and command in the common-weale, without the which the particular cannot subsist.

Thus *Pepin* assembles the generall estates, meaning to lay a good foundation in time for the affaires of the realme, by the aduice of such as had called him: and according to his Fathers stile, he names this assembly a Parliament, wherevnto he calles the Clergy, the Nobility, the Iudges of the land, and the common people: that with one consent they might resolue what was necessary for the whole estate, consisting of these goodly parts. During these alterations, the Saxons (as farthest from their Masters) had shaken off the yoke of the French obedience: and by their example and practises, had drawne other people of Germany (subiect to this Crowne) to the like reuolt. *Pepin* armes presently, and goes with such expedition, as he ouerthrowes them at the passage of the riuer of Vistula: but the Popes distresse giues him presently a new cause to imploy his forces: for *Zacharie* being dead, *Stephen* the second (a Romaine borne) succeeds both in place and troubles: being forced to defend himselfe against the Lombardes, the Capitall enemies of the Romaine sea. *Astolpho* was then their King, who made great preparatiues against this new Pope, although he made no shew of open hatred. *Stephen* well informed of the Lombards humour and intent, resolues, not to attend the stroake, but to fortifie himselfe in time, and seeking first to *Constantine* Emperour of the East, without

751.  
Souereigne  
causes of this  
change.

The estate of  
this second  
race.

Instruction  
for great men.

*Pepin* strives  
to win their  
loues by good  
deeds.

An assembly  
of the generall  
estates.

The Saxons  
rebel and are  
subdued.

751.  
Pepin pro-  
u des for the  
affaires of  
Italy.

A wife pro-  
ceeding of  
Pepin in vn-  
dertaking a  
warre.

Asfolpho  
breaks his  
faith and be-  
siegeth Rome.

The Lom-  
bard besiegeth  
Rome, and is  
forced to re-  
tire and to lea-  
ue for a peace.

Of an ill life  
an unhappy  
end.

any successe, he intreats *Pepin* to succour him: from whom hauing receiued a fauourable A  
anwere, the better to obtaine the remedy he expected, he resolues to goe into France:  
where being honourably entertained by *Pepin*, he doth againe Crowne him King of France,  
in Saint Denis Church in a great and solemne assembly, and makes miserable *Childeeric* a  
Monke, assigning him the Cloister for a perpetuall prison, and a Friars frock for an igno-  
minious punishment, without any hope of returne. Then he imploied all his wits to per-  
swade *Pepin*, to vndertake the voyage of Italy against the Lombards, and drew him easily  
thercvnto. But *Asfolpho* (fearing the Pope) imploied *Caroloman* (the brother of *Pepin*) to di-  
uert him from this enterprise. This *Caroloman* was a Monke, and in great reputation of pie-  
ty, but he could not dissuade *Pepin* from this designe: yet would he not attempt any thing B  
rashly, but first try mildnesse before force. He therefore sends his Ambassadors to the Lom-  
bard, to summon him to yeeld Rauenna, and all the townes of the sixe gouernours to the  
Pope. *Asfolpho* vseth great temperance in his answers, to shew the reuerence he bare to the  
Church of Rome, and to *Pepin*'s intercession: but he resolued neuer to yeeld any thing. *Pepin*  
finding the Lombards euasions, and policie (who sought but to auoide this storme) as-  
sembles a Parliament: and laies before them both duty and necessity, to succour the Pope.  
To this end he resolues to leauy an Army against the Lombard. Winter being spent in  
these treaties, and in the preparations for warre: in the spring he enters Italy with a strong  
and mighty army, which marcheth victoriously in all places, taking townes, and spoiling  
the country of *Asfolpho*, and then he went to besiege Pavia, the chiefe City of Lombardy.  
*Asfolpho* foreseeing his ruine, flies to humble intreaties, both to the Pope and *Pepin*. C  
The Pope lulled asleepe with the Lombards faire promises, not greatly louing the French, but  
by constraint: suffers himselfe first to be abused, and then he perswades *Pepin* to returne back  
into France.

*Asfolpho* promised to yeeld vp both Rauenna, and all that he detained from the Church,  
the which he could not performe in so great a defolation of his country, being surcharged  
with such an enemy. *Stephen* was well satisfied with this promise, forgetting the Lombards  
humour, so well knowne vnto him. *Pepin* glad to see the Pope satisfied (hauing no other  
obiet but to giue him satisfaction) returns presently into France, to his own affaires. But he  
had scarce passed the Alpes, when as *Asfolpho* assembles all his subiects (being mad with rage D  
for their great losses, & infinitely incensed against the Pope, who had drawn in the French)  
and enters the territories of the Church in hostile manner, sackes and spoiles all with a fu-  
rious cruelty, and sodenly besiegeth Rome, where the Pope was resident. *Stephen* amazed at  
this v unexpected violence, sends back to *Pepin*, implores his aide, laments his credulity, and  
detests the treachery of the Lombards: he beseecheth him to make hast, if he will preferue  
his old age from the cruell hand of this disloyall, and the whole Church from a horrible de-  
folation, exceeding that of the Vandales or Ostrogoths.

*Pepin* moued with the Popes intreaties, and the apparent danger, assembles his forces,  
with a wondrefull celerity: and although *Constantine* by a most affectionate message laboured  
to diuert him, yet he brings backe his army into Italy. The fruite of his returne was  
both sodaine and great: for *Asfolpho* at the brute thereof raiseth the siege from before Rome,  
and retires to Pavia, the chiefe City of his realme. *Pepin* besiegeth him and forceth him to E  
accept of such conditions of peace, as he would prescribe. viz. That *Asfolpho* should presently  
deliuer up all that he held of the Church, and giue hostages: and *Pepin* should remaine in  
Italy at the Lombards charge, until he had performed all things. *Asfolpho* sends in forty  
hostages, yeelds Rauenna, with the Cities of the sixe Gouernours, and those he held in Ro-  
magnia: but when there remained no more to deliuer vp, but the Cities of Ferrara and  
Faenza, the Lombard did cunningly delay the full accomplishment of his promise, to finde  
some meanes to send back so rude an officer as the French, lying vpon his country in gar-  
rison, and spoiling it, and so to deceiue both the Pope and *Pepin*: but behold a strange ac-  
cident befalls him. Being a hunting, chasing more after his fantasies then the beast, his horse F  
casts him downe a rocke and breakes his neck.

Thus the subtil Lombard thinking to deceiue, was deceiued: he ended his subtilty with his  
life, and the warre begonne by him without reason, by a iust death. The Pope recouers his  
places, and *Pepin* returnes into France, taking nothing in Italy, but leauing the realme of  
Lombardy

A Lombardie in the same estate he found it, without any alteration. This Kindome ended  
not with *Asfolpho*, for *Didier* Duke of Hetruria his nere kinsman, seizeth presently thereon,  
by meanes of his intelligences: but *Rachise* brother to *Asfolpho* (who was lately became a  
Monke) leaues his flock to enioy his fathers kingdom: yet for that he was the weaker with  
this iust title, the Pope compounds this controuersie in fauor of *Didier*, who remained King  
of Lombardy, vpon condition that the Cities of Ferrara and Faenza should be yeelded to  
the Church. But let vs returne to *Pepin*: his absence, with two yeares continuall warres,  
had broken the vsuall custome to call a Parliament, and bred many disorders within the  
realme: so as being returned into France, he presently called a solemne Parliament, where-  
in he established lawes according to the inconueniences that were to be redrest: as good  
lawes doe commonly proceed from bad manners. In this assembly he gaue audience to the  
Ambassadors of the Emperor *Constantine*, who demanded a confirmation of the amity and  
alliance which the Emperour had with the house of France: and receiues the new homage  
of *Tassillon* Duke of Bauaria. So referring all matters of importance to the iudgement  
of the Estates, honouring them that had honoured him, he doubled his subiects deuotion,  
and made good lawes within his realme. But knowing the humour of the French, im-  
patient of rest, he found how difficult it was to retaine them long in peace, without some  
forraigne imploiment: and necessary presents him two occasions, one in Guienne, and  
the other in Saxony, Countries subiect to the Crowne of France, but both impatient of  
the French command. The Saxons beganne first: with whom *Tassillon* Duke of Bauiera,  
(who as we said did homage to the King) ioynes, contrary to his oth. This warre seemed to  
be of some difficulty, drawing to it all the other Germanes subiect to this Crowne: but  
*Pepin* preuented it with such speed, as hauing suppressed the Saxons, he forced them to a  
new obedience, charging them to bring him yearly three hundred good horses for an ho-  
mage, that they should vndergoe the censurè of the Estates, & to be enemies to the enemies  
of the King and realme.

Hauing thus pacified Saxony, he makes a generall assembly at Wormes, to settle the af-  
fares of Austrasia: from thence he marcheth with his victorious army, against *Jeffroy* Duke  
of Guienne, according to the resolution of the Estates, being leuiued for that occasion. We  
haue said, that *Eudon*, father to *Jeffroy*, had much troubled and anoyed France, and left his  
children heires of his discontent: but *Martel* withdrawne by some new difficulties, could not  
finish that which he had begun. *Jeffroy* remaines sole Duke of Guienne, by the death of his  
brother: he growes daily more insolent, bandies all his subiects of Guienne openly against  
France, and afflicts the Clergy infinitely in their liues and liuings. *Pepin* begins with ad-  
monitions and threats: but *Jeffroy* growes more obstinate in contemning his Kings com-  
mand, so as they must come to open force, and *Jeffroy* must pay the interests of his long de-  
laies. *Pepin* enters Guienne with an army, and *Jeffroy* seeing his resolution, sends his deputies  
to auoide this storme, beseeching him with all humility to pardon what was past, promising  
obedience. *Pepin* (hauing commanded him to make restitution to the Clergy) returnes into  
France and dismisseth his army, supposing Guienne to be quiet. *Jeffroy* seeking his owne ru-  
ine by his furious rashnesse, goes to field with such forces as he could leuy among his sub-  
iects, and hauing passed Loire, he enters Bourgogne in hostile manner, hoping to surpris  
*Chaslons*. The King held then a Parliament at Orleans, when this intelligence came vnto  
him, he sends them presently to *Neuers*: assembles his forces, and marcheth against  
*Jeffroy*, who sodenly repasseth the riuier, and with great marches recouers Bourdeaux, as  
the City of his greatest safety, being as much confused in his defence, as he was rash in his  
attempt. *Pepin* pursues him, and in his passage all the Townes of Guienne yeeld without  
any difficulty, as to him whom they acknowledge for their lawfull King. *Jeffroy* forsaken  
of all men, pursued criminally by his Prince, is slaine by one of his houthould seruants, and  
is interred like a beast, in a marish nere to Bourdeaux. In detestation of his memory, the  
place is called the Tombe of *Caiphas* vnto this day: Thus was the vniust and rash rebel-  
lion of *Jeffroy* punished: and by his death the warre died in Guienne: and the wise valour  
of *Pepin* was so much the more commended, for that his iust pursute was accompanied with  
patience and mildnesse. But *Pepin* was mortall: the toile of so great warres, and the care of  
publike affaires, had much broken him, so as his old age might bee more profitably  
employed

754.

*Pepin* con-  
firmes his au-  
thority by a  
Parliament.

He makes a  
forraigne war-  
re to auoide a  
cruell.

Warre in  
Guienne.

*Jeffroy* piti-  
fully slaine,  
interred like a  
beast.  
A foolish life,  
a filthy end.

768.  
Pepin resigns  
the Crowne  
to Charles.

employed in the maintenance of Iustice and peace, then in warre, the burthen whereof he might without danger lay vpon his eldest sonne *Charles*, a wife and a valiant yong Prince, of whose modesty and obedience he was well assured.

Pepin leaues  
his children to  
the discretion  
of the Estates.

Thus resoluing to passe the rest of his daies in quiet, but not idly, he retires to Paris, but soone after he was surpris'd with a sicknesse, whereof he died, and so went to heauen, there to find rest which he could not enioy on earth: it was in the yeare 768. and of his reign the eighteenth. By his wife *Berthe* with the great foote, he left two sonnes, *Charles* and *Caroloman*: recommending them to the Estates, to giue them portions at their pleasures: So great was the assurance of this good Prince in the loue of his subiects, whom as he had made the most assured gard of his Person and State, so at his death he left his children to their faithfull discretion. He had seuen daughters, *Berthe* the wife of *Milon* Earle of Mans, mother to that great *Roland*, *Hiltrude* wife to *Rene* Earle of Genes, mother to that renowned *Oliver*, *Roharde*, *Adeline*, *Laubergue*, *Ode* and *Alix*. He had the happinesse to enioy his owne father; vntill he came to the age of man: the like good hap continued in his children: and for the perfecting of his happinesse, he had a sonne, one of the greatest and most excellent Princes that euer weare crowne. Thus *Pepin* the first of that race, mounted the royall throne of France: thus he reigned, thus he liued, and thus he died, leauing to his posterity a happy taste of his name. A religious Prince, wife, moderate, valiant, louing his subiects, and beloued of them, happy in father, in children, and in his gouernment, an excellent patterne for excellent Princes, who by his example hold it for a resolute maxime, That the strongest fortresse for a Prince is the loue of his subiects, and the surest bond of their authority, a respect gotten and preferred by vertue.

#### Estate of the Empire and of the Church.

The Empire  
in the West.

In Gaule.

In Spaine.

In Italy.

But before we enter the reigne of *Charlemagne*, we must briefly represent the Estate of the Romane Empire, the which was happily vnited to the French Monarchy, and of the Church of Rome, by reason whereof there happened great and notable exploits vnder his reigne. The Empire of Rome had nothing remaining in the West, as we haue shewed. Gaule was possessed by the French, with the best part of Germanie: and since the beginning of their Monarchy, vnto the time we now describe, it hath bene greatly enlarged, not only in compasse of territories, and obedience of people, but also in reputation of ciuility, mildnesse, iustice, wisdom, and valour, as well by the happy successe of their victorious armies, as by the modest vsage of their victories, towards such as they subdued. Spaine was apporportioned to diuers nations, Vandales, Goths, Sarazins, pel mel, some here, some there. Italy was in miserable estate. Rome (sometimes the head of the world) was then the sinke of all confusion, the Rendezuous of all furious nations, as if they had vndertaken the ruine thereof by taske, hauing sackt it three times: for vnder the Empire of *Honorius*, in the yeare of grace 414. the Goths, by their King *Alaric*, tooke it after two yeares siege, and sackt it, without demanteling thereof. Forty five yeares after, vnder the Empire of *Martian*, in the yeare 459. the Vandales vnder the conduct of *Genfericke* their King, take it againe, sacke it, spoile it, and disgrace it, leading the widow of the Emperour *Valentinian* the third, basely in triumph. In the time of *Iustinian* the Emperour, the Goths vnder the command of *Totila*, hauing vndermined it with a long siege, tooke it, sackt it, and demantel'd it. Thus Rome was no more Rome, but a horrible confusion, after so many ruines, retaining nothing of her ancient beauty, but onely the traces of her old buildings, and the punishment of her tyranny, hauing endured that which she had caused other Cities to suffer.

Italy desolate  
by the Goths.

Behold Italy wasted, infinitely tormented by sundrie enemies, who had vniustly afflicted all the nations of the earth. The Goths had first seized thereon, and enioyed it long, but as vnder the Empire of *Iustinian* in the yeare of Christ 552. they were expelled by the valour of *Narfer*, an excellent captaine, who defeated their army, slew their King *Totila*, and repossessed Rome: so soone after, the Lombards comming out of Germany, lodged in their place, as if they had played at leuell coyle, being drawne thither by *Narfer* himselfe, being discontented with the ill vsage he had received from *Iustinian* his maister. The Lombards held Italy about two hundred yeares, vntill that *Charlemagne* expelled them. At the same time the sixe Gouernours for the Empire of Rome, held Rauenna and some other Cities depending, (thus was the greatnesse of the Romaine Empire restrained) but with such

couetousnesse

A couetousnesse and insolvency, as it tyred them no lesse then forraigne foes. That gouernment of sixe ended by the Lombards, and the Lombards by the French, (as the sequell will shew) who purchased credit euery where by comparing of the barbarous and confused inuasions of these warlike nations, they adding to the valour & good successe of their armes, iustice, piety, temperance and clemency: this reputation of vertue, winning them as many hearts as their swords did Cities.

During these confused and obscure times, there passed about foure hundred years, from the first sack of Rome, vntill that *Charlemagne* (expelling the Lombards) became absolute maister of Italy, and was made Emperour at Rome. All this passed vnder the Empires of *Theodosius*, sonne to *Arcadius*, of *Valentinian* the third, *Martian*, *Leo* the second, *Zenon*, *Anastasius*, *Iustino* the first, *Iustinian* the first, *Iustin* the second, *Tiberius*, *Mauritius*, *Phocas*, *Heraclius*, *Constantin* the second, *Iustinian* the second, *Philipicus*, *Artemius*, *Leo* the third, *Constantin* the third, *Leo* the fourth, *Ireneus*, *Nicephorus*, vnder whom by a publicke and sollemne contract, the distinction of the Easterne and Westerne Empires was made.

The command of the West is left, as it were, in garde with *Charlemagne*, and the French nation. But the East was in a bad plight, although the name and seate of the Empire were yet at Constantinople: for besides the dissipation of the State, (to increase their misery) a new sect sprung vp, forged by *Mahomet* an Arabian borne, vnder a colour of liberty, by the mixture of sundry doctrines, and after a mould of carnall felicity. With this charme he corrupted infinite numbers of people, and erected a new Kingdome in the East, from whence he vtterly expelled the Romaine name, with all the dignity of the Empire. This was in the time of the Emperour *Heraclius*, in the yeare of grace 623. an infamous date, to note the beginning of *Mahomet's* blasphemies. He began in Arabia, hauing wonne credit with the Sarazins, who were Arabian souldiars, desperate aduenturers, and discontented with the Romaines: and by the first beginning of his new doctrine, hee got so great reputation, as hee assembled an infinite number of men, armed with an incredible celerity, vnder the ensigne of liberty. So as hee marched as a conquerour in all places, hauing not onely subdued (by the force of these tumultuous troupes) Arabia (where he was borne) but also Persia, Palestina, Iudea, Egypt, and Affrike, and then ranging ouer Asia the lesse, hee came to the gates of Constantinople, in lesse then thirte yeares.

But the providence of God, caring for the preferuation of his Church, opposed the French Monarchie, against the violent rage of *Mahomet*, which else had ouerflowne all Europe, into the which he had already made a breach by Spaine, had gotten a great country, and was ready to inuade France, if *Charles Martel* had not stopt his course at Tours, as we haue sayd. During these confusions in the Empire, the Bishop of Rome grew great by these ruines. The Goths and Vandales were more enemies to the State, then to religion: for although for the most part they were Arrians, yet did they aduow themselves Christians, and held the common signe of Christianity, so as in the taking and sacking of the City of Rome, the Bishop was somewhat respected, and in his fauour the people built vpon the foundation of the ruined houses: and many of the Country finding more safety at Rome, then in other Cities of Italie, retired themselves thither, and peopled the city. So by this occasion new Rome (the seat of the Popes iurisdiction) succeeding the Emperours, hath bene built within old Rome, amidst the Pallaces, Walkes, Basiliques, Colizces, Amphitheatres, and other ancient buildings.

But about all, the credit and authority of the Bishop of Rome (by these new occurrents) crept in by degrees, vntill he aduanced himselfe above the Emperours, Kings, and Princes of Christendome: yet he of Constantinople held himselfe the superior, being in the proper seat of the Empire, and in the light of the Imperiall Court. Thus they fall to debate, and the cause of their dissensions was the preheminance of their seas, and the authority of the vniuersall Bishop. This contention bred infinite confusions in the church, and in an vnseasonable time, which inuited men to sacke and spoile. So as Saint *Gregory* Bishop of Rome (a man of singular piety and learning) hauing courageously opposed himselfe against *Iohn* Bishop of Constantinople, who affected this title of vniuersall Bishop, and detesting so vnreasonable and vnseasonable an ambition, cries out. *Oh times, oh manners, the whole world is*

769.  
The which  
are expelled  
by the French.

Estate of the  
East.

The begin-  
ning of Ma-  
homet's sect.

The Estate of  
the Church  
of Rome.

Contention  
for the Pri-  
macy.

set

770.  
A worthy  
speech of S.  
Gregory.

*set on fire with warre. Christians are euery where massacred by Idolaters, cities and Temples razed by Barbarians, and yet the pastors of the church (as it were treading vnder foot the common-law of Gods people) dare vsurpe names of vanity, and braue it with those prophane titles.*

He that takes  
on him the  
title of vniuersal  
Bishop is  
the fore-runner  
of Antichrist

The reader (curious to vnderstand the Estates of those times, and to note the degrees and authority of this vniuersall Bishop, established in the Church) may read the Epistles of this good father, great in name, and in effect, without troubling my selfe to set them downe in particular whose intention was to shew; That who so taketh vpon him the authority and title of vniuersall Bishop in the Church, and to haue any Souereigne preheminance, presumeth about Iesus Christ, the only head of the sacred body of the Church, and by consequence he doth affirme that he is the forerunner of Antichrist. And yet after these graue and serious admonitions of Saint Gregory the great, within ten yeares after Boniface the third obtained from Phocas the Emperor the title of vniuersall Bishop, with authority ouer the vniuersall Church, as *Platina* the Popes Secretary doth report.

Dispute for  
Images.

To this quarrell for the supremacy, was added the controuersie for images, which caused infinite confusions: the Emperours and Bishops were banded one against another, and by their dissensions the people were stirred vp to seditious reuolts, the which after many Tragical cuents, were a meane to ruine the Empire in the East. It was a popular custome to erect images to those whom they would honour, as hauing deserved well of the Common-weale. Christians desiring to honour the memorie of holy men, began to set vp images euen for them also, following this ciuill custome, and did erect them in Temples, as places consecrated to deuotion. Some Bishops fauoured this new deuice in the Church, and others did impugn it. *Epphanius* did teare a picture in peeces, and *Serenus* did beate downe an image, the one in the East, the other in the West. The Christians borne and bred in this ancient doctrine of the Apostles, *My children beware of Images*, maintained in the Catholike Church, by succession from father to sonne, could not digest this innoation: no more could the Emperours.

Images as the  
suit a poltike  
innoation.

Hence grew the dissention, the greatest part of the Bishops holding the contrary; That it was a part of the seruice of God, & a bond to retaine mens soules in deuotion with reuerence. This contention grew in the time of the Emperour *Philipicus* called *Bardanes*, who by an Edict caused them to be throwne downe, in the yeare of grace 713. the which continued to 782. vnder *Constantine* the second, called *Copronymus*, an enemy to images, who commanded them to be cast downe, contrary to the liking of his mother *Irene*, who not onely maintained them with violence, but also caused them to be confirmed by a Councel held at *Nice* a City in Bithinia, seeing that at Constantinople (where she had made the conuocation of this Ecclesiasticall Assembly) the people were resolute to withstand them. Hence grew an execrable Tragedy in the Imperiall Court. *Irene* seeing her sonne resolute against her defence of Images, was so transported, as (hauing seized on him in his chamber) she caused his eyes to bee put out, so as dying with griefe, she vsurps the Empire. Through this bad government, confusion so increased in the East, as in the end necessity made the way for *Charlemagne*, to take vpon him the dignity and title of the Emperour of the West, and to preserue the Prouinces in those parts from the disorders of the Greeke Emperours, as wee may see in the continuance of this History.

Tragical cru-  
elty of a mo-  
ther against  
her sonne.

I am bound to obserue these so notable occurrents, in those times, as belonging to the subiect of my History, to represent truly both the Estate of the Empire and of the Church, when as *Charlemagne* vnderooke the government of the Empire, and vnited it happily to the French Monarchy. The wise reader may verifie more plainly in the Originalls, (from whence I haue drawne this Inuentory) what I haue briefly set downe here touching the occurrents of those ages, wherein the Oracle of holy antiquity was verified by the end of these strange Tragedies. *The truth is lost by contending*. The first simplicity of the Catholike Church, being rich in her pouerty by the abundance of truth, continued since the golden age of the Apostles, and their Disciples, was changed into rich and stately pompe: the Crownes of martirdome wherewith the first Bishops of Rome had beene honored, into a triple Crowne, which not onely hath and doth giue lawes to Emperours, Kings and Princes of the earth, but doth tread them vnder foote, dispossesse them of their estates, and declares them incapable of rule when they obey him not: and for a mark of this souereigne authority,

Extrict of his  
ancient  
church.

Insolency of  
Popes at this  
day.

A authority, he makes them to kisse his feet, in token of the homage of deuotion, and spirituall reuerence, as hauing power ouer soules, to iudge of all men, and all things souereignly, and not to be iudged by any, as the circumstances of our History wil shew in diuerse places.

768.

*This was the Estate both of the Empire and of the Church vnto the death of Pepin the Short, the first King of the second race, in the yeare 750. or thereabouts.*

## CHARLES the Great, or CHARLEMAGNE the 24. King of France.

From the yeare 768. vnto the yeare 814.



He Estates of France assemble after the death of *Pepin*, and by their consents and aduice, *Charles*, and *Caroloman*, his formes, diuide the realme betwixt them by equall portions. *Charles* was crowned at *Wormes*, *Caroloman* at *Soissons*: Writers agree not in the declaration of their portions, for that by the death of *Caroloman*, the whole realme came to *Charles*, three yeares after the death of their Father, Brothers of diuers humours, who in the end had ruined each other by this equalitie of power, which proues often an vniust and dangerous ballance in an Estate. But Gods will was to preserue so great a Monarchie in Europe, to bee a harbour for his Church, by chosing a great Prince, to vnite in him alone the power which is dismembred by the command of many Maisters.

*Pepins children diuide the realme.*

*Charles* was endued with singular gifts, both of body and minde, whereunto (by the wise care of his father *Pepin*) was added (as a seale) the instructions of a vertuous conuersation, learning and armes. For the ground of all vertues, he was carefully instructed in religion, the which he loued and honored with great reuerence all his life time; and likewise the Churches and Pastors. *Charitie*, temperance, equitie, care of Iustice, and of order, to releue the people, to keepe his faith both to friend & foe, and to vse a victory modestly, were

*Charles the  
patrone of a  
great King.  
His manners.*



768.  
His studies.

the notable effects of this excellent knowledge, as remarkable in him, as in any Prince that A euer liued. He loued learning by nature, and learned men, *Paul* of Pisa instructed him in the Greeke, and Latin tongues, and *Aymon* in Philosophie and the Mathematikes. He called these humane sciences his pastimes, and the companions of his sword, and sometimes did recreate himselfe therein. He tooke a delight in poetry, as some of his writings do witness: but especially in Histories, wherein he was exceeding well read.

His armes.

The vniuersities of Paris and Pisa, (built or enriched by him) witness the loue and honor he bare to learning. In armes he had his father *Pepin* for his chiefe schoolemaster, and experience doth testifie how much he profited. Before his father left him, he had great commands, and discharged them with such reputation, as the continuance of his armes, when he B was King, shew plainly, that there was neuer a souldiar that carried sword with more valour, nor great Captaine that commanded with more obedience, nor performed any thing with greater fortune, nor vsed his victories with more mildnesse, and iudgement; neither did euer King or Prince reigne with more authority, nor was more reuerently obeyed then our *Charlemagne*, well deseruing the name of great for his vertues. He was of a liuely disposition, quicke, actiue, and vehement: but modestie, and wisdom did season this viuacity, and vehemency with so good a grace, as if the one could not bee without the other: and this moderation of diuers humors, made him as admirable for his Iudgement, as venerable in his countenance, and person.

The successe  
of his reigne.

There appeared in him a graue sweet Maiesty, in a goodly personage, great, strong, and C patient of labour, a quicke spirit, cleere, and sound, both in apprehension, memory, and iudgement: resolution neuer failed him in difficulties, nor reply in discours: terrible to some, amiable to others, according to the cause, persons and occurrents; Vertues which purchased him so great credit, as he was beloued, respected, and feared of all men: with such obedience, as the effects of his reigne doe shew: for hauing receiued a great Kingdome from his father, he enlarged it with a wonderfull successe, God hauing raised vp these three great Princes, one after an other, *Charles Martel*, *Pepin*, and this great *Charles*, to preserue the Christian name in a great Monarchy, amidst the deluge of barbarous nations and the ruine of the Empire. I haue coated these his singular vertues in the beginning, to giue a D tast to the obseruation of his great and admirable actions, where there wants nothing but order, to relate them fully in so great a diuersity, the which hath ministred occasion to the obscure writers of those times, to be too breefe, or too tedious, and ofte-times to report matters very vnlkely for the greatnesse of things which they haue handled in a fabulous manner: and indeed the euents are almost incredible, and more miraculous then ordinary. Doubtlesse I could gather out of the most confident authors, and that according to the order of times, as euery thing hath changed, and answerable to the greatnesse of the subiect, that which cannot well be represented without some direction.

All the deeds of *Charlemagne* must be referred to that which he hath done either whilest he was King alone of France, or when he was Emperour, and had vniited the Empire to his royaltie. And in those times, there is first to be obserued what he did in the life of *Caroloman* in Guienne, and after his death in Italy, Spaine and Saxony, where he had great E matters to decide. This is the designe of our relation.

### The deeds of Charlemagne in the life of his brother Caroloman.



**C**AROLOMAN was infinitely ielous of his brothers greatnesse, whom with greefe he did see beloued, honored, and obeyed of all the French, for his singular vertues, both of body and minde. This ielousie (too ordinary F a Counsellor to Princes) made him to seeke all meanes to countermince and ouerthrow the affaires of *Charlemagne*, who had his eyes fixed vpon Italy, as the goodly and most beautifull theatre of his valour, the true subiect to maintaine his authority, and power amongst Christians: and *Caroloman* did all he could to crosse his designs. And this was the estate of Rome and Italy.

Presently

A Presently after the decease of *Pepin*, the Church of Rome fell into great confusions, by the practises of *Didier* King of Lombardie, a sworne and capitall enemy, hauing corrupted some of the Cleargie: hee caused *Constantin* brother to *Toten* Duke of Neptzo (his vassall and trusty friend) to be chosen Pope, with such violence, as hee made *Philippus* (being already Canonically chosen) to be degraded. This better party, seeing themselves contemned by the Lombard, assemblé together, and by one common consent choole *Stephen* the third, a Sicilian, for Pope, who resolues to call in the King of France, and to oppose him against his enemies desseignes. *Charles* solicited by the Pope, sends twelue Prelats speedily to Rome, to fortifie their party, against the other: meaning at greater need to apply a greater remedy. The matter succeeded according to their desire that had intreated him, for the Counsell beeing assembled at Latran, they confirme *Stephen* lawfully chosen, and depose *Constantin* raised by disorder and violence. But *Didier* would not bee controuled with this repulse, and seeing that force had not succeeded, hee resolues to trye policie, and to vndermine *Stephen* with a good shew. Hee sends to congratulate his election, purgeth himselfe of the Anti-pope *Constantin* degraded: accuseth both him and his brother of ambition, protesting to liue with him in amity: and for prooffe of this his good meaning, hee desires him to be pleased with his repaire to Rome, there to conferre with him in priuate. The Pope (who neuer flies to the French but in necessity) was easily perswaded by *Didier*: who came to Rome, conferres with the Pope, and makes great protestation of his obedience. But this good shew continued not long.

T troubles at  
Rome.The Lom-  
bards diffi-  
cultation.The Lom-  
bards pre-  
sumption  
hanging the  
Popes Secre-  
taries.

There was a gouernor at Rome for the Emperour, called *Paul Ephialte*. *Didier* corrupted this Grecian: and as the execution of Iustice was in his hands, hee makes vse of him so cunningly, as in the presence of Pope *Stephen*, hee causeth him to seize vpon two of his chiefe Secretaries, *Christopher*, and *Sergius*, (accused by him of supposed crimes) and to hang them infamously. Their greatest offence, was to haue fauoured the French. This presumption proceeded farther, for he caused all the principall Citizens to bee banished, whom he noted to bee of the French faction: that hauing taken away all lets, he might be maister of Rome in despite of the Pope. *Stephen* discovering the Lombards practise, to his preiudice, flies to *Charlemaine*, beseeching him to prepare an armie against his force that did ruine him by his apparent mildenesse. *Charlemagne* was fully resolved: but *Didier* had provided D a remedy in France, by the meanes of *Caroloman*, to stoppe *Charles* his passage into Italy, making worke for him in *Guienne*, where there grewe a perillous warre vpon this occasion.

Rebellion in  
Guienne by  
Hunnault.

Wee haue said before, that although the Country of *Guienne* depended of the Crowne of France, yet were there many tumults through the practises of some Noblemen of the Country, who stirred vp the people (beeing mutinous of them-selues) to rebellion. The cause of these reuolts was the abuse of the Kings bounty, who suffered such people as they had conquered, to inioy their priuileges, and liberties, intreating them with all fauour. *Eudon* began first vnder *Martell*: *Jeffroy* and *Hunnault* his children, and heires of his discontent, had continued it vnder *Pepin*: *Jeffroy* being dead, *Hunnault* succeeds him with the like hatred, the which *Caroloman* entertained to imploy him against his brother *Charles*. And as ielousie, and ambition thrust him on to attempt against him, so did hee make his profit of the couctous ambition of *Hunnault*, feeding him with the hope of the Siegneurie of *Guienne*, seeing his humour was to bee a Duke, supposing to haue credit inough with the people, if hee were fauoured by one of the Kings of France against the other. *Guienne* was a part of *Charles* his portion: *Hunnault* layes the foundation of his desseigne, to with-draw him-selfe wholly from the Crowne of France, and to make open warre against *Charlemagne*, in practising the people of *Guienne*, to bee declared Duke by their consent, according to the right which hee pretended. The countenance of *Caroloman* could doe much, but the wisdom and courage of *Charlemagne* preuailed more, for beeing aduertised of *Hunnaults* practises, and of his brothers secret desseignes, hee armed with such speed, as hee surprised the townies of *Poitiers*, *Xaintes*, and *Angoulesme*: and by that meanes all the Country adioyning. *Hunnault* (who made his account with-out *Charles*) finding himselfe preuented, fled to a Nobleman of the Country named *Loup*, whom hee not onely held to bee very firme to his faction, but also his trusty and affectionate friend.

G 3

Charles.



770.

Instruction  
how Princes  
should carry  
themselves in  
civill warre.

*Charlemagne* sends presently to *Loup*: he summons him to deliuer *Hunault* into his hands, A as guilty of high treason: and in the meane time he builds a fort in the midst of the Country, whereas the riuers of *Dordone* and *Lisle* doe ioine, the which he called *Fronsac*, as it were the front of the *Sarazens*, whom he had caused to feare, if these designs had succeeded. Thus getting *Hunault* with all his family, he doth punish him as a rebell: he pardoned *Loup*, and all that had obeyed him: and so ends a dangerous warre without blowes: but he grants life and liberty to *Hunault*, and the enioying of all his goods: leauing a memorable example to Princes, how they ought to carry themselves in ciuill warres, preuenting a mischief by wisdom and diligence, and not to thrust their vanquished subiects into dispaire, by rigour. *Caroloman* seeing his practises against his brother to succeed ill, B vndertakes a voiage to Rome, with an intent to cause some alteration there: yet with a shew of deuotion. His Mother *Berthe* (who likewise went this voiage) was honourably receiued in her journey by *Didier* King of the Lombards, treating a marriage betwixt her sonne *Charlemagne* and *Theodora*, Sister, or Daughter to this *Didier*, one of the greatest enemies of her sonnes good fortune. Yet *Charlemagne*, to please his Mother, receiued this wife, but soone after he put her away, as vnfit for his humours, and affaires: and so that which seemed a cause of loue, bred greater hate betwixt these two Princes. *Caroloman* hauing effected nothing at Rome, but onely made shew of his foolish and malicious iealousie, too apparent in this his fained deuotion, returns into France, and there dies soone after, in the yeare of our Lord 770. C

*Caroloman*  
dies and  
leaves *Char-*  
*magne* King  
alone.

Now is *Charlemagne* alone by his brothers decease: who quietly takes possession of his Estates, and reteineth such of his seruants as he knew to haue bene most trusty to his brother, during their common iealousies, expecting the like faithfulness, hauing entertained them when there was least hope.

### The deeds of Charlemagne King of France alone, vntill hee was Emperour.



**H**ARLEMAGNE hauing put away his wife *Theodora* for suspect of incontinency, he married with *Hildegard* or *Ildegrade*, daughter to the Duke of *Sucue* his vassall, by whom he had *Charles*, *Pepin*, *Lewis* and three daughters, *Rotrud*, *Berthe*, and *Gille*, the nurcery of his Noble family. *Caroloman*'s iealousie died not with him, but suruiued in *Berthe* his wife: who (impatient of her condition, thrust head-long with a spirit of reuenge against her brother in law *Charles*) retires with her two sonnes to *Didier* King of Lombardy, as to the most bitter and irreconcilable enemy of *Charlemagne*. *Didier* entertaines her kindly with her children, hoping to effect his designe: but this was the Leuaine of his owne ruine. His practise, together with the widowes, was to procure the Pope (*Stephen* being dead and *Adrian* a Romaine gentleman succeeding him) to confirme, and crowne the sonnes of *Caroloman* for Kings of France. The Lombard had two strings to his bow, meaning both to put the Pope in disgrace with *Charlemagne* (the easier to suppress him being destitute of French succors, whereon hee chiefly relied) and likewise to set France on fire, by the setting vp of new Lords. *Didier* beseecheth the Pope to grant this confirmation, to the children of *Caroloman* for his sake. But *Adrian* (well acquainted with the Lombards humour) was so resolute in denying his request, as they fell to open hatred. *Didier* discontented with this repulse armes and enters the sixe gouernments, with all his forces, being a Seigneury vnder the Popes iurisdiction, spoiles the Country, and besiegeth *Rauenna*, the chiefe City of the Exarchie. The Pope sends his Nuncio vnto him, to expostulate the cause of this so sodaine warre against his subiects, desiring him to yeeld what hee had taken, and not to proceed in this hostile manner, without any reasonable cause, vpon paine of excommunication. F

By his owne  
practises.

At that instant there fell out a great occasion to increase the hatred betwixt *Charles* and *Didier*, for that *Hunault* (who had bene vanquished in *Guienne*) retired himselfe to *Didier*, and is not onely courtously receiued: but honoured with the charge of generall of the army,

A army, the which he had leuiued against the Pope. *Didier* suffered himselfe to be so abused with the persuasions of *Hunault*, touching the meanes to attempt against the Estate of *Charlemagne*, that holding Italy vndoubtedly his owne, he plotted a warre, and assured himselfe of a certaine victory in France. Thus pride and wickednesse hastens his ruine. The Pope hauing no other defence but his excommunication, not desensible against *Didier*'s forces, flies againe to *Charlemagne*, as to his sacred Anchor or last hope, intreating aide from him in his necessity. *Charlemagne* had great reason to arme against *Didier*, who had alwaies crossed his affaires: fed his brothers iealousies, receiued his widow and children, labored to haue them chosen Kings of France, to trouble or ruine his Estate: entertained his rebellious subiects, and with them practised to make warre against him.

The sute and summons of the Romaine Church, was a great motiue to induce him to arme, against him who professed himselfe an open enemy to Christian religion, whereof the Kings of France had alwaies shewed themselves protectors and gardiens. But not to attempt any thing rashly, he first sends his Ambassadors to the Pope, to assure him of his good will, the which should not be wanting in his necessity: but he thought it best to try mildnesse, before he used force against the Lombard. He therefore sends his Ambassadors to *Didier*, and doth summon him to restore what he had taken from the Pope, and to suffer him to liue in peace. *Didier* (who relied much vpon his policy,) giues good words to the Ambassadors, promising to performe all that *Charles* demanded: but in effect he would haue the Pope accept of conditions of peace from him, and that the children of *Caroloman* should be declared Kings of France. These demands were found vnreasonable on either side: the treaty is broken, the French Ambassadors returne, and *Didier* renewes the warre more violently then before, against the Church: and hauing spoiled all the territory of *Rauenna*, he takes *Faenza*, *Ferrara*, *Comachia*, *Campagna*, and *Romandiola*, townes of the six gouernments. *Charlemagne*'s Ambassadors informe their master, that the warre with the Lombard is ineuitable, and finde all things at their returne ready to inuade Italy: for *Charlemagne* being forced to suppress the rebellious Saxons, who (impatient of the French yoke) reuolted daylie, had leuiued a goodly army, the which was ready to be employed against the Lombard.

*Charles* opposeth himselfe against the Lombard.

D But *Charles* would not attempt any thing in a matter of so great consequence without aduice of his Estates. Yet loath to loose time, he causeth his army to march, and makes his Rendezuous at *Geneua* (a towne vnder his obedience vpon the way to Italy) and hauing diuided his army into two, hee seizeth vpon the passages of *Mont Cenis*, and *Saint Bernard*, which are the two entrees from France to Italy. The Estates hauing found the causes of warre against *Didier* King of Lombardy to be iust, *Charlemagne* causeth his army to aduance with all speed, and ioynes nere vnto *Vercell*. *Didier* attends him there, & giues him battailes: but at the first encounter, he is vanquished by *Charlemagne*. The Lombard hauing rallied and fortified his troupes, receiues a new defeate, and so great a one, as he is enforced to suffer his enemy to be master of the field. An infallible entrance to his ruine. Thus hauing tumultuously trusted vp what he could, he sends his sonne *Aldegise* to *Verona*, with the widow and children of *Caroloman*, casting himselfe into *Paui*, the which he had carefully fortified, as the dungeon and fortresse of his last fortune.

He makes warre by the aduice on the Estates.

The Lombard twice defeated by *Charles*.

*Charlemagne* pursues him at the heeles, besiegeth him with all his forces in *Paui*, and resolves to haue it at what price soeuer. And to shew his resolution, he sends for his wife and children into France, to the end the Italians (who were doubtfull) might know his minde, & without attending any new occurrences, resolves to obey the victor. Hauing coopt vp *Didier* in *Paui*, and seized vpon all the approaches, he resolves to take *Verona*, which they held the strongest place of all the Lombards estate. So leauing his vnkle *Bernard* to continue the siege at *Paui*, he marcheth with part of his army to *Verona*.

F His resolution so successful in the beginning, and this checke giuen to *Didier* (shut vp as it were in prison) gaue a great alteration to the affaires of either party, amidst these people of diuers humours. The Spoletins, the Reatins, those of *Ancona*, of *Fermo* and of *Osimo* (as it were in spight of one of the other) yeeld to *Charlemagne*, and detest the wretched State of *Didier*, as a worthy reward of his trecherous iniustice, and violence. The Venetians (being Neuters & Spectators of this tragedy, who neuer had felt in any sort with *Didier*)

G 3

offer

775. offer amity and succors to *Charlemagne*, who was desirous they should keepe the sea quiet, A least the Emperor should be an actor in this quarrell for *Didier*.

*Charlemagne* staid not long at Verona, before the City began to yeeld: *Berthe* the widow of *Caroloman*, being the chiefe instrument to draw them to composition, his forces being (as she said) verie fearefull. *Aldegise* the sonne of *Didier* finding himselfe vnable to resist to resolute a consent of the citizens, nor to releue his fathers misery, flies secretly to the Emperour of Constantinople. Thus Verona yeelds to *Charlemagne* by composition, who receiues both *Berthe* and the inhabitants to mercy, to whom he performs his promise: he inflicts no other punishment vpon *Berthe* and her children, but a gentle admonition of their vnciuill rashnesse, and inioynes them to returne into France, there to doe better, and to liue more honourably. This was about Easter, which drew *Charles* to Rome, B where he remained onely eight daies, to visit the holy places, and to conferre with Pope *Adrian*. They write wonders of the great entertainment the Pope gaue him, and of the shewes of amity of *Charlemagne*. He confirmed all that his father *Pepin* had giuen vnto the Pope, and greatly augmented it. The Pope made *Charles* a Patritian of Rome, a degree to mount vnto the Empire: from thence *Charles* came to Pauiia the which being for the space of tenne monthes pressed without by warre, and within by pestilence and famine, in the end yeelds by composition: and *Didier* (who had hated *Charles* without cause, and attempted warre rashly) falls into his hands, who shewes himselfe wise and modest, both to vnder- take a warre, and to vse the victory.

Thus *Charlemagne* hauing wisely vnderaken a iust warre, and ended it happily, he ruined C the Kingdome of the Lombards, carrying *Didier* prisoner to Lions, or to Legee, for writers speake diuersely of the place of his imprisonment. This was in the yeare of our Lord 776. A notable date to represent the tragicall end of so great a Kingdome, the which continued in Italy only two hundred and foure years, vnder Princes of diuers humors. But iniustice, tyrannie, and pride, prouoked the wrath of God against them, so as thinking to take from an other, they lost their owne: to vsurpe the liberties of others, they fell into an ignominious slavery, and their subtilty was the cause of their owne misery.

A mirror for Princes and great States, neuer to attempt an vniust and vnecessary warre, to vsurpe an other mans right, and neuer to thinke to preuaile ouer a good cause by craft and policy. *Charlemagne* vsed his victory with great moderation towards the conquered nation, to the great content of all the Italians, who held it a great gaine to haue lost their old master, and to be rightly free, being subiect to so wise a Lord: for he left them their ancient liberties, and to particular Princes (such as were vassals to *Didier*) their Seigneuries: to *Aragise*, sonne in law to *Didier*, he left the Marquitate of Beneuent. He placeth French Go- uernors in conquered Lombardy, meaning to haue them intreated with the like mildnesse, as the ancient patrimony receiued from his Predecessors. During the siege of Pauiia a Council was held at Rome by Pope *Adrian*, in fauour of *Charlemagne*, to giue him honours answerable to his merits of the Church, and namely the right to giue all benefices throughout all Christendome, was said to belong vnto him. *Charlemagne* being returned into France, *Aldegise* (the sonne of *Didier*) sought to disquiet Italie, aided by the Emperour *Constantine*, and the practises of *Rogand* to whom *Charlemagne* had giuen *Friul*, who re- uolted from his obedience: but all these rebellions were soone suppressed, by the faithfull care of the French Gouvernours, whom *Charlemagne* had left in the Country newly conquered: and *Rogand* being taken, suffered the paines of his treacherous rashnesse, being beheaded by the Kings commandement. Thus Italie remayning quiet to him and his (as conquered by a iust warre) in shalbe hereafter incorporate to the French Monarchie in this second race, being giuen in partage to the children of France, whilst that the good gouernment of our Kings maintaines the dignity of the crowne. But the end of this warre was the beginning of an other in Germany, whereof the Saxons were the chiefe, drawing vnto them (according to the diuersity of occasions) other people of Ger- many their neighbours. This warre continued thirty three years, not all successiue, but at di- uers brunts and seasons: the Saxons hauing still a desire, to crosse *Charlemagne* in his de- signe, especially being busied in many other affaires of great consequence. I will breefly re- late this warre of Saxony, reporting with one breath, what hath beene seuerally disperfed in

A memorable warre in Ger- many.

A in the whole history, without confusion of times or matter, following a stile fit for this histo- ry. In those times Germany was subiect to the crowne of France, although it had particular Estates, vassals to our Kings, whatsoeuer the Germanes say, who confesse but a part thereof.

The Saxons were subiect to our Crowne, as appeares by that aboue written, and namely vnder *Martel* and *Pepin* his sonne. The motiues of this warre were diuers, the impatency of a people desiring their ancient liberty, not able to beare an others command, and (as the Ger- maines say) the hatred and ialousie of a mighty neighbour, threatening them with seruitude, and a controuersie for the limits of their lands: but the greatest and most important cause B of these warres, was the diuersity of religion, for that the Saxons would obstinately hold the Pagan superstition, which they had receiued from their Ancestors, and *Charlemagne* vrged them to forsake their Paganisme, and to make open profession of the Christian faith: moued with zeale to the generall aduancement of the truth, and the priuat duty of a Prince to his subiects, to provide for their soules health. A thing very worthy of obseruation. *Belial* did then fight against Christ; Pagan superstition against Christian verity. But alas, by whome, and wherefore are these vnciuill warres at this day? Christians fightes against Christians, the most sacred signe of Christianity appeares on either side in Christian and French armies: Christians blood is spilt by Christians, through a blind fury, and want of vnderstanding in the fundamentall accord of the sauing truth. These are not onely different, but contrary C warres to those of *Charlemagne*: and our enraged tumults are begun, and nourished without reason, both against the good of the Estate, and Church. Vpon this controuersie of religion, the Saxons made warre eight times against *Charlemagne*: especially when they found him busied elsewhere, watching their opportunity, either to crosse him in his desseine, or to frustrate his attempts. At such time as he was in Italy they played the wild colts, not onely in reiecting the French command, but also making open war against those cities of Ger- many, which obeyed *Charlemagne*: they had taken Eresbourg from the crowne of France, euen vpon his returne, and besieged Sigisbourg, robbing, and spoiling al the country about: *Charlemagne* assembling a Parliament at Wormes, leuies a great army, to charge the Saxons in diuerse places. This councill succeeded happily: for hauing vanquished the Saxons twise D in one moneth in a pitched field, he reduced them to their ancient obedience, vsing his victory with much modesty, and wisdom, desiring rather to shew them the power of his authority, then the rigour of his force. The chiefe among them was *Widichind*, and as religion was the chiefe motiue of these ordinary rebellions, so *Charlemagne* seeking the establish- ment of Christian religion in Saxony with great zeale, happily effected it. Hauing vanqui- shed this *Widichind* by reason, and humanity, and brought him to the knowledge of the truth by his graue and wise conuersation, whome he perswaded without any violence, to leaue the Pagan superstition, which force of armes could not effect in him, nor in the Saxons: for *Mens soules are not gained by force of armes, but by reason*. By the meanes of this *Widichind*, the greatest part of the Saxons were drawne to the knowledge of the true God, and the obedience of the French monarchy: the most obstinate were forced either to obey, or to abandon the country: as in deed great numbers of the Saxons retyred them-selues into diuers E strange countries.

Thus the warre of Saxony ended (being both long and dangerous) and those which were conquered by the truth, were the true conquerers, in knowing the true God. *Charlemagne* hauing caused the Saxons to leaue their false opinions, was carefull to haue them instructed in the truth: to this end he appointed holy & learned men in all places, and gaue meanes to maintaine them: as the Germaine histories report more particularly. It sufficeth me (in de- claring this briefly) to shew his piety, compatible with his valour and happinesse, and for a president to Princes, to make religion the foueraigne end of their armes and authori- ties. This *Widichind* was a great personage both in wisdom, valour, and authority, and F by consequence very notable in the order of our subiect. From him are descended very famous races: the two *Henries*, the one called *Oiselen* or the *Fowler*, and the other of Bamberg, and the two *Oshos*, all Emperours: and like-wise the Dukes of Saxonie, the Marquis of Misnia: the Dukes of Sauoy, and also the most famous race of *Hugh Capet*, is drawne from this spring, by the common consent of learned writers, the

778.

The causes of this warre.

The difference betwixt the warres which *Charles* made, and ours this day.

He subdues the Saxons, & perswades *Widichind* to be a Christian

Care of reli- gion most worthy of Princes.

The offspring of *Widichind*.

58. the which ought to be well obserued in the continuance of this Historie.

From this warre of Saxonie sprung many other in the Northerne parts, whereof I will intreat, hauing discoursed briefly of the war of Spaine, both for that it chanced during that of Saxonie, as also (beeing very memorable) for the ouerthrow of the Sarazins, who threatened Christendome like a deluge. Histories differ much touching this warre, but I will report what is most likely, by the consent of most approued writers, whereof the studious reader may iudge by conference: I beeing but a faithfull reporter.

Warre in  
Spaine.

Estate of  
Spaine.

Warre against  
the Sarazins  
of Spaine.

Institution of  
the twelue  
Peeres.  
The tre. hery  
of Idnabala  
the Sarazin.

Pampelune  
taken.

The Sarazins  
victorie.

The motiue of this Spanish warre, was more vpon pleasure then necessitie; but the zeale of religion gaue a colour and shew of necessitie, to the heroycall desire of *Charlemagne*, seeking to enlarge the limits of the French Monarchie by armes. So this warre of Spaine was more painfull, more dangerous, and of lesse successe then that of Italy, whereunto necessitie and dutie had drawne *Charlemagne*: but his wife proceeding in the action, did warrant him from all blame. The occasion which made him bend his forces against the Sarazins in Spaine, was the assurance of his good fortune, the quiet peace of his realme, the meanes to employ his souldiars, the Spaniards hate against the Sarazins, and the generall feare of all Christians, least these Caterpillers should creepe farther into Europe. This was the estate of Spaine: the Sarazins had conquered a great part thereof, and were diuided into diuers commands, vnder the title of Kingdomes: yet these diuers Kings resolu'd to oppose their vnited forces against *Charles* their common enemy, fore-seeing then the tempest, they seeke to preuent it, and to crosse the desseignes of *Charlemagne*, which beeing discouered, they caused King *Idnabala*, a Sarazin, to insinuate into his friendship, being a man full of subtil mildnesse. This stratageme preuailed more then all their forces. *Charlemagne* was thrust forwards by *Alphonso*, furnished the Chaste, King of Nauarre, and by the Asturiens & Galiciens (Christian people of Spain) to vndertake this warre, beeing easie, profitable, and honourable, and by consequence most worthy the valiant happinesse of *Charlemagne*. Moreouer this *Idnabala* (making a shew of friendship,) laboured to hasten him to the execution of this enterprise, from the which hee knew well he should not diuert him: but in effect it was to betray him, by the discouering of his intentions: flattering his desire to get the more credit by pleasing him. *Charlemagne* then well affected of himselfe, and perswaded by others, calles a Parliament at Noyon, and there concludes a warre against the Sarazins of Spain. The armie he employed in that action was great, both for the number of men, and valour of great warriors, beeing the choice of the most worthy Captaines in Christendome. Amongst the which they number *Milon* Earle of Angers, *Rouland* the sonne of *Milon*, and *Berthe* sister to *Charlemagne*, *Renald* of Montaban, the four sons of *Aymon*, *Oger* the Dane, *Oliuer* Earle of Geneua, *Brabin*, *Arnold* of Belland, and others: the great valour of which persons hath bene fabulously reported by the writers of those obscure times, with a thousand ridiculous tales, vnworthy the valour of those heroike spirits: proofes of the ignorance of that age, beeing barren of learned wits. They say, that *Charlemagne*, to make this voyage more honourable in shew, did then institute the order of the twelue Peeres of France. Being entred into Spaine, he found no Sarazin forces in field, but their citties well fortified, hauing resolu'd to make a defensiu, rather then an offensiu warre. The most renowned Sarazin Kings were *Aigoland*, *Bellingan*, *Denises*, *Marsile*, and *Idnabala*, which be the subiect of our fabulous tales: but the last, as I haue said, made shewe of friendship with *Charlemagne*, and open hatred against the other Sarazin kings: with whome notwithstanding he had most strict correspondence to betray *Charles*. The first Cittie he attempted, was Pampelune, in the kingdom of Nauarre, the which he tooke by force, but with much paine, losse, and danger. Hauing sackt it, and slaine all the Sarazins he found, Saragoce yeelds to him by composition, with many other small townes, terrified by the example of Pampelune. This beginning incouraged him to march on, relying on his wonted fortune: but as he passed through the Prouinces of Spaine, like a victorious Prince without any difficulty, hauing giuen a part of his armie to leade to *Milon* of Angiers his brother in law, it chanced neere vnto Bayonne, that *Aigoland* a Sarazin king, (hauing in this common dispaire, thrust an armie to field, incountred *Milon* with his troupes, little dreading any enemy) tooke him at such an aduantage, as he defeated him. The losse was very great, for they report it was of forty thousand men: where *Milon* was slaine for a confirmation of the Sarazins victorie. *Charlemagne* was farre off, and not able by any diligence to preuent the losse: he pacifies this

amazement,

A amazement, least it should daunt the whole armie. He hastens thither, and gathers together the reliques of these discomfited troupes, keeping the conquered citties, & such as were friends in their obedience. But after this followes a second accident. *Aigoland* putt vp with the pride of this victorie, passeth into Gascoine, and besiegeth Agen, to diuert *Charlemagne* from his pursuit, and to draw him home to defend his owne country. So as *Charlemagne* fearing least his absence, and the Sarazins late victorie, should alter the minds of them of Guienne, being then subiects of small assurance, he returnes into France. *Aigoland* hauing continued some moneths at the siege of Agen, and preuailed little, but in ouer-running the country, the which he did freely (without any great resistance) euen vnto Xaintonge: the countrymen being retyred into the townes, expected the returne of *Charlemagne* their King. *Aigoland*s army was great and proud with the remembrance of their late victorie: so as *Charlemagne* returning with his troupes from Spaine well tyred, he maintained his countries more through his authoritie, then by present force, yet he fortified the courage of his subiects with his presence, and bridled the Sarazin, who could not be ignorant with whome he had to deale, nor where he was, being enuironed with enemies on all sides, and in an enemies country. The Sarazin seeming to incline to a peace, gaue *Charlemagne* to vnderstand, that he had first inuaded, and that his passage into France was onely to draw him out of Spaine, and to leaue to the Sarazins their conquered countries free, and therefore the treatie of an accord was easie, seeing there was no question, but to yeeld euery man his owne, and to suffer him to enioy it quietly, the world beeing wide enough for them all. But to the end this treatie might take effect, after many messages on either part, they resolute to parlee. So vpon *Charlemagne*s faith, *Aigoland* comes to the campe. *Charlemagne* either moued with zeale of religion, or making it the colour of his actions, he gaue the Sarazin to vnderstand, that he should haue his friendship, if he would leaue his Pagan superstition, be baptised, and make open profession of Christianitie. The Sarazin, although he had a goodly armie, yet not willing to hazard any thing, content with this reuenge of *Charlemagne*, desired nothing more then to returne quietly into Spaine. Being now in *Charlemagne*s campe, to maintaine his reputation, he makes no shew of feare, but talking to his owne aduantage (as if no force but onely reason should moue him) he enters into a serious and cunning discourse with *Charlemagne*, shewing, That vnecessary wars were the ruine of mankind, and that he was grieved to see so much blood spilt: That he had not begun, but followed, beeing vrged by necessitie to defend himselfe against the forces of *Charlemagne*. That he was not yet so abiect, nor his forces so weake, as to refuse the battell; but for that it were an infinite losse to hazard so many men, he desired to make triall of the right by some troupes, and he that vanquished should haue the right and true religion on his side; protesting to yeeld to that religion which should appeare the best by that triall. The condition was accepted by *Charlemagne*: the prooffe of this priuate combate was made: and the Christian troupe vanquished the Sarazin.

Thus *Aigoland* protests openly to be a Christian; but in heart he had no such meaning, and takes this occasion to breake the treatie. He findes *Charlemagne* at table, well accompanied with his chiefe followers (for then it was the custome of our Kings not to eate alone) and sees twelue poore men ill appparelled sitting by vpon the ground, neere to the table of the Noble men. He demanded, what those poore miserable creatures were which did feed apart. One answered, they were the messengers of God. He then said, their God was of small account, seeing his messengers were so miserable and contemptible: and thereupon takes occasion to retire himself, hauing lost no labour by this treatie, but qualified the force of *Charlemagne*, viewd his traine, and made shew of his courage and dexteritie, euen without an Ambassadour. *Charlemagne*, on the other side was resolute to haue his reuenge, for so notable a losse of men, and so bold an affront of the Sarazin, so as with all speed he raiseth an armie of an hundred & thirtie thousand men. A notable number for this realme and so (fraught with choler and indignation) he returnes into Spaine. His entrie was prosperous; for at the first incounter he defeated *Aigoland*s armie neere to Pampelune and for a scale of his victorie he caried away the head of his enemy *Aigoland*, slaine by the hand of *Arnold* of Belange, a noble and valiant Knight: but the sequele was not answerable to the beginning: for notwithstanding the ouerthrow of these Sarazin troupes, all the rest in Spaine were not vanquished, where there were more Kings and more men of warre, who had great correspondencie with

The Sarazin  
enter into Gas  
coine.

*Charlemagne*  
and *Aigoland*  
putt.

Conditions  
propounded  
by *Aigoland*.

Accepted by  
*Charlemagne*.

Sarazins defea  
ted in Spaine.

721. with *Amurathe* King of Babilon, which was their nursery and store-house. *Marfille* and *Bel-lingand* brethren, were the chiefe of the remainder of the Sarazin army, wherein there was a great Babilonian Giant, called *Ferragut*, of an exceeding greatnesse, who was slaine by *Rowland*, Nephew to *Charlemagne*: and this act is famous in our Histories, and is sung by our Romaines with a great fabulous shew. After the death of their brother, they gather together the reliques of their defeated troupes: they make shew of resolute men, and vow to sell this victory deere to *Charlemagne*, being fauoured by many good townes within the Countre. *Charlemagne* staies foudainly, and pursues not this victory. But God referues to himselfe a souereigne power ouer mens designes, yea ouer the greatest, and in matters of greatest consequence: to the end that all may learne to aske counsell and successe from him. It was his will that the French forces should not possesse Spaine, the which he allotted as a portion for another nation.

A treaty of  
peace with  
the Sarazin  
which they  
accept.

The reason  
of Ganelon.

Treachery of  
the Sarazins.

*Rowland* de-  
feated at  
Roncevaux.

Thus *Charles*, who should haue bene all fire after his victory, tempered his heate, which caused *Idnabala* the Sarazin, (hauing free access vnto his campe) to make some motion of peace. He was a good Secretary of his companions mindes, what shew soeuer he made to speake of himselfe. *Charlemagne* (considering by late experience, that the successe of armes was variable, and that this warre was to his subiects losse, imploying both liues and goods for the purchase of an vncertaine victory, and seeing himselfe charged with infinite great affaires in his estates, to the preservation whereof reason did summon him, rather then to seeke for new) he seemes not vnwilling to hearken to the motion of *Idnabala*, who told him plainly, that he found the Sarazins affaires to be so desperate, as they would gladly imbrace his friendship, at what rate soeuer. The Sarzains answere (reioy-  
cing at this new accord) was soone made. The treaty being begunne, the fundamentall article of religion was propounded, the which *Charlemagne* makes shew to maintaine with great vehemency: but the Sarazins being obstinate, *Charles* is content to grant them peace, paying some great summes of money, as a token they had bene vanquished. He sends a Noble man of his Court names *Ganes*, to treat with them: (the people haue since called him *Ganelon*, as an odious name) who (being corrupted by *Marfille* and *Bellingand*) promieth them meanes to send *Charlemagne* into France, and to make him receiue a notable disgrace. They agree to make a composition, being in shew very honourable for *Charles*: to whom they promise to pay (as an homage and an acknowledgment of the peace hee should grant them) what summes hee should appoint, and so should retire with his army into France, leauing such troupes in Spaine as he pleased, to maintaine the conditions agreed vpon. *Ganes* discouered vnto them the necessitie of his returne, and *Charlemagne* great desire to leaue the smallest forces he could in Spaine. The composition made, *Charlemagne* departs with his army, attending a better opportunitie to end what he had begun, leauing *Rowland* onely with twenty thousand men, for the execution of this treaty. But to make his passage the more easie, hee commands him to lodge in a place of aduantage, in the Pyrenean Mountaines, called *Roncevaux*. The French army passed, marching towards France, vnder the conduct of *Charlemagne*, who dreamt not of the affront he receiued by this meanes.

Whilest the French army remoued, *Marfille* and *Bellingand* slept not, but gathering together all the forces they could, they lodge their troupes secretly in the hollow caues of the Mountaines, being places inaccessible and vknowne but to them of the Countre. They had intelligence from *Ganes*, what forces *Charlemagne* had left in Spaine, vnder the command of *Rowland*, to whom the authority of his vnkle, and the credit of the people of Spaine in the chiefe townes, was of more esteeme then his twenty thousand men, although they were the choise of all the army. *Rowland* had no feare of any enemy, when as returning to his garrison, he is sodainly charged by the Sarazins, farre more in number then the French. Seeing himselfe thus assailed and compass in, they defend themselves valiantly against these miscreants: but still fresh troupes issue forth on all sides, in so great numbers, as in the end the French (tired with so long and painefull a combate) are oppressed by the great multitude of Sarazins.

*Rowland* performed both the duty of a good Captaine, in so extreame a danger (gather-  
ing together the peeces of his shipwrack) and of a resolute souldiar, in fighting valiantly,  
for

A for hauing beat downe a great number in the presse, in the end he slew King *Marfille* with his owne hand. But *Bellingand* holding this victory absolutely his owne, pursues the French, so as *Rowland* (not able to stand) retires him-selfe a part, where hee dies for thirst, through the long and painfull combate he had endured: and altogether tyred, he strues to breake his good sword *Durandill*: but his strength failing him, hee dies, and with him *Oliver*, and *Oger* the Dane, *Renold* of Montauban, *Arnauld* of Beland, and other great personages, whose names remaine in fabulous tales: and the fame of their singular vertues, not onely in the Originals of true Histories, but the honor of their heroycall deeds, is ingrauen in the common beleefe of all French-men.

*Rowland* dies  
for thirst.

B *Charlemagne* aduerted of this v unexpected and strange losse, returnes sodainly, and takes reuenge vpon the Sarazins, killing an infinite number vpon the places; he cauleth the traitor *Ganelon* to be drawne in peeces with foure horses (found to haue bene the author of this miserable defeat) and transported with a iust disdain for this preiudiciall affront, he resolved to passe farther into Spaine for his reuenge. But the great affaires of his other estates, called him into France, and so the warre of Spaine ended with small successe, hauing troubled *Charlemagne* at diuers times, for the space of foureteene yeares. But God had appointed the limits of his designes, as he referues to himselfe a Soueaigne power ouer all mens enterprises, yea of the greatest. *Charles* made a tounge for his nephew *Rowland*, and honored the memory of these worthy warriors, (being in the bed of honor) with monuments. I haue  
C reported this in one discourse, to represent as in a table, what hath chanced most memorable, the which can hardly be gathered without some direction in the confusion of so long & obscure reports, wherewith this history of *Charlemagne* is fraught. At his returne from Spaine, necessity bred diuers warres, to exercise the valour and diligence of *Charlemagne*, both in Italy and Germany, God fauouring him in all places. Italy (during these troubles of Spaine) had rebelled by *Adalgise* the Duke of Beneuents meanes, to represse the race of *Didier*, but it was soone suppressed by *Charlemagne*, to the cost of the Lombard rebels: but in the end, behold an other warre in Germany.

End of the  
Spanish warre

The like occasion bred a warre in Bauaria for that King *Tasillon* sonne in Law to *Didier* King of Lombardy (pressed by his wife being wondertull discontented with *Charlemagne*) shakes off the yoke, and flies to armes, but *Charles* surpriseth him with such celerity, as *Tasillon* was forced to sue for peace. *Charlemagne* grants it, imposing the yoke of the French Monarchy, but *Tasillon* not able to containe him-selfe, raiseth a new war in another place, as when we stop one breach, it opens by another vent. He stirs vp the Huns and Auars (a neighbour people of Austrasia, one of the Estates of our Monarchy) against *Charlemagne*, who suppressed them with such happy successe, as *Tasillon* vanquished by *Charlemagne*, and found guilty of rebellion, and treason, was condemned to loose his Estate according to the *Salique* law: and so the kingdome of Bauaria ended, the which was wholly incorporate to the Crowne of France.

Bauaria incor-  
porated to the  
Crown for  
rebellion.

The Huns and Auars (of whose names ioyned together, the word of Hungary hath bin deriued, and the Hungarians be issued from these vnited nations) were likewise punished by *Charlemagne*, and brought vnder the yoke of the French Monarchy. They had begun a warre in disquieting the country of Austrasia: *Charlemagne* opposed his forces, but at diuers times: so as the warre continued eight yeares, and the successe was, that all their countre obeyed him: and the Danes, the Sorabes, Abrodites, the Westfalians (all vnited in this warre of Hungary) were likewise brought vnder the same obedience of *Charlemagne*. The limits of the Northren region called Austrasia were so extended, as it was distinguished into two Kingdomes, noted in the Germaine tongue, to shew that the Originall of our Ancestors is out of Germany; and that our ancient Kings haue commanded there, seeing their possession is manifested, and that they haue not onely giuen a Germaine name to the country that is beyond the *Rhin*, but also to that on this side. I am not ignorant how much this discourse is diuersified with sundry probabilities, euery one preferring what likes him best. But, not transforming of coiectures into Oracles (as without doubt the plainest is the best) behold a true diuision of the Seigneuries which *Charlemagne* had in Germany, as the traces of names yeeld an assured testimony. The realme of Austrasia, which ioines vpo France, was called west-  
rich, that is to say the realme of the west, & that which is towards Dauby, Ostreich, that is the  
king-

The limits of  
the French  
Monarchy in  
Germany.



798. kingdom of the East, whence the name of *Austrich* is properly deriued, being then of a greater command then at this day, for it contained Hongary, Valachia, Bohemia, Transilvania, Denmarke, and Poland. Then was our Monarchy great: but all these nations haue either returned to their first beginnings, or were seized on by new Lords. It was very needefull to shew the estate, that we might obserue the declining thereof, with the motiues and seasons of these diuerse changes. Thus the French Monarchy grew great by the happy valour of *Charlemagne*, and his children grew in age and knowledge, by the wise care of their father, who framed them to affaires, meaning first to make them succeed him in his vertues, and then after in his dominions: But man purposeth, and God disposeth. France, Italy, Germany, Spaine, and Hongary made the Romaine Empire in the West. *Charles* being master of these goodly Prouinces, was in effect Emperour thereof. There wanted nothing but the sollemne declaration of this dignity, to haue the title as hee enjoyed the thing, and to bee authentically inuested by a free and publike declaration of his possession. The providence of God, who gaue him the thing, procured him the title by this meanes. *Leo* was then Pope of Rome, against whome was raised a strange sedition, by *Siluester* and *Campull*, men of great credit in the court of Rome. Vpon a sollemne day of procession they feize vpon *Leo*, before Saint *Lawrence* Church, they strip him of his Pontificall robes, cast him to the ground, tread him vnder their feete, bruse his face with their fistes, and hauing drawne him ignominiously through the dirt, they cast him into prison, but he staid not there, being freed by a groomme of his Chamber called *Albin*: and hauing recouered Saint *Peters* Church, he intreated *Vinsgise* Duke of *Spoletto*, to deliuer him from this miserable captiuitie. *Vinsgise* failed him not: he came to Rome, and carried him to *Spoletto*. Being arriued there, he presently went into France to *Charlemagne*, whome he found full of troubles: yet *Charles* neglected all other affaires to assist *Leo* in his necessity. So as he came to Rome with a goodly army, to succor the Pope: where he did speedily pacifie the confusions where-with Rome was afflicted, punishing *Leo's* enemies according to Law. They demanded audience, the which *Charles* graunted them, assembling the Clergy and people, to heare, and decide this scandalous trouersie. But when as he demanded their opinions, the Prelates told him plainly, that the Church of Rome could not be iudged by any other then by it selfe, and that the Pope ought not to vndergoe the censure of any man liuing, and that he him-selfe ought to be iudge in his owne cause.

The occasion  
why *Charle-*  
*magne* was  
proclaymed  
Emperour.

*Charlemagne* willingly leaues the iudgement seate: and then Pope *Leo* mounted vp his throne, where (after he had protested by oath to be innocent of those crimes, wherewith his enemies had charged him) he absolues him-selfe, and condemnes his enemies, according to his Cannon. The Pope is iudge of all men, and all things, and not to be iudged by any. *Charlemagne* being drawne to Rome vpon this occasion, finds all disposed to declare him Emperour of the West, seeing that with the price of his blood (opposing himselfe against the furies and incurfions of barbarous nations) he had valiantly gotten possession of the Empire.

## The beginning of the Empire of Charlemagne.

*Acknowledged, and installed Emperour, by a free  
consent of the Romaine people, in the  
yeare of grace. 800.*



*Charlemagne*  
Crowned.  
Emperour

HE Pope by this possession (acknowledging *Charles* for true Emperour.) crownes him Emperour of Rome, with a full consent of all the Romaine people, which assisted at his Coronation, crying with one generall voice *happinesse, long life, and victory* to *Charles Augustus* crowned the great and peaceable Emperour of the Romaines, alwayes happy, and victorious. This was in the yeare 800. on Christmas day, the thirtieth yeare of the raigne of *Charles*, Italy hauing suffered a horrible confusion during the space of thirty three yeares, without Emperour, without Lawes, and without order.

The

A The seate of the Romane Empire, since *Constantine* the Great, remained at Constantinople, a citie of Thrace, situate in a conuenient place for the guard of the Easterne Prouinces, all the West being full of new guests, who hauing expelled the Romaines, the name, authoritie, and force of the Empire remained in the East, where the State was in a strange confusion, the mother being banded against her sonne, and the people within themselves.

*Constantine* sonne to *Leo* the fourth, was Emperour, being gouerned from his infancie (with the Empire) by his mother *Irene*: being come to the age of twentie yeares, hee tooke vpon him the gouernement. There was then a great diuision in the East, continued from father to sonne for 80. yeares, touching Images. The Bishops would needes bring them into the Christian Church. The Emperors (with the greatest part of the people) opposed themselves. This contention had her beginning vnder *Philip Bardanes* (as wee haue said) continued vnder *Leo Isaurus*, and from him to his sonne *Constantine*, surnamed *Copronymus*: and of *Leo* the fourth sonne to the said *Constantine*. This disquieted all the East with infinite scandals.

The same fire continued in the minoritie of *Constantine*, gouerned by his mother: a woman of a violent spirit, who hauing vndertaken the protection of Images, held a Councell of many Bishops for the defence thereof: but the people growing into a mutinie expelled them *Constantinople* by force, where their assembly was held. But this woman (resolute to proceed) assembled the same Councell at *Nicea* a citie of Bithinia, honoured to haue harboured the first generall Councell vnder *Constantine* the Great, the first of that name: where it was decreed, that the Images of Saints should be planted in Christian Churches for deuotion. *Charlemagne* did not allow of this decree, and either himselfe, or some other by his commaund, did write a small treatise against this Councell: the which we see at this day, with this title, *A treatise of Charlemagnes, touching images, against the Greeke Synode*.

This cunning woman had made choice of the citie of *Nicea*, that the name of this ancient first Councell might honour this new introduction with the pretext of antiquitie, for there are some that confound the first Councell of *Nicea* with the second, and *Constantine* the 4. with the first. *Constantine* continued in the hereditarie hatred of his father and grand-father against Images, so as being of age and in absolute possession of the Estate, hee disannulled all these new decrees, and caused the Images to be beaten downe in all places: yet he made all shewes of respect vnto his mother, yielding vnto her a good part of his authoritie and command. This respect was the cause of a horrible Tragedie: for this woman transported for two causes (both by reason of her new opinion, and for despight that she had not the whole gouernement in her selfe) growes so vnkind, as she resolues to dispossesse her sonne of the Empire, and to seize on it her selfe. Thus the authoritie her sonne had left her, and the free access she had vnto his person, made way to the execution of her dessein, for hauing corrupted such as had the chiefe forces at their commaund, and wonne them with her sonnes treasure, she seized on him, put out his eyes, sends him into exile (where soone after he died for griefe) and tooke possession of the Empire. These vnaturall and Tragick furies, were practised in the East, whilst that *Charlemagne* by his great valour built an Empire in the West. *Irene* in her sonnes life would haue married him with the eldest daughter of *Charlemagne*: but this accident crossed that dessein.

The Tragical  
death of *Constantine*.

After the death of *Constantine* she sent to *Charlemagne*, to excuse her selfe of the murder, disauowing it, and laying the blame vpon such as had done it without her command. And to winne the good liking of *Charles*, she caused him to be dealt withall touching marriage (for at that time *Festruide* was dead) with promise to consent that he should be declared Emperour of the West, and to resigne vnto him the power of the East. But *Charlemagne* would not accept thereof: the Nobilitie and people of the Greeke Empire did so hate her, as hauing suffered her the space of three yeares, in the end they resolved to dispossesse her.

In this publike detestation of this woman, the murthresse of her owne childe, *Nicephorus* a great Noble man of Greece, assisted by the greatest in Court, and with the consent of the people, seizeth on the Empire, in taking of *Irene*: whome he onely banished, to giue her meanes to liue better then she had done. He afterwards treats and compounds with *Charlemagne*, that the Empire of the East continuing vnder his command, that of the West should remaine to *Charlemagne*.

*Irene* banished.  
Diuision of  
the Empire.

H

By



806.

By this transaction of *Nicephorus* and the consent of the Greeks, the possession of the Empire was ratified and confirmed to *Charlemagne*, and then beganne the diuision of the two Empires, *East* and *West*. That of the *West* began with *Charlemagne*, and continued in his race, whilst his vertues did protect it: afterwards it was transported to the Princes of Germanie, who likewise acknowledged the Germanie stemme of *Charlemagne*, borne at Wormes, crowned at Spire, and interred at *Aix*, all cities of Germanie: and the truth sheweth, that as the Originall, so the first commaund of the French, was wholly in Germanie. Hitherto we haue represented, briefly as we could (considering the greatnesse, and richnesse of the subiect) what *Charles* did whilst he was King of France onely: now we must relate with the like stile, what hath happened worthis of memorie vnder his Empire.

### His deeds while he was Emperour.



War in Italie.

In Saxonic.

At Venice, where Charlemagne had the repulse.

Charles diuides his possessions to his children

An order for their lawes.

The Danes revolt.

Charles loseth two of his best sonnes.

**C** *HARLES* liued fifteene yeares, after he had vniited the Romaine Empire to the French Monarchie. *Grimoald* Duke of Beneuent sought to disturbe Italy for the Lombard: but *Charles* preuented it in time, by the meanes of *Pepin* his sonne, a worthie and valiant Prince. *Grimoald* was thus vanquished, yet intreated with all mildnesse, so as being restored to his Estate, he became afterwards an affectionate and obedient seruant to *Charlemagne*, who was a wife Conquerour, both in his happie valour, and the wise vsing of his victorie. About the same time, the warre in Saxonic was renewed, being alwaies prone to rebellion: with the warre against the Huns, Bohemians, Sclauonians: and the second against the Sarazins. The which I haue briefly reported in their proper places: here I note them onely, to shew the course of things according to the order of times, the goodly light of truth.

He had likewise a great and dangerous warre against the Venetians, wherein he employed his sonne *Pepin*. *Obeliers* and *Becur*, great personages, were the chiefe Commanders for the Venetians. The Emperour and his Frenchmen received a great checke by the Venetians, who had this onely fruite of their victorie, that among all the people of Italy subdued by *Charlemagne* they alone were not vanquished, but had happily made head against great *Charlemagne*. They did greatly increase their name and reputation, but nothing enlarged their territories by this conquest, glad to haue defended themselves against so noble and valiant an enemy. By reason of this Venetian warre, *Charles* stayed sometime in Italy, to assure his estate. He would haue the countrie conquered from the Lombards, to be called Lombardie, with a new name, to moderate their seruile condition, by the continuance of their name, in the ruine of their Estate.

Seeing himselfe old and broken, his children great, wise, and obedient, he resolved to giue them portions, and to assigne to euery one his Estate. To *Pepin* he gaue Italy, to *Charles* Germanie, and the neighbour countries, keeping *Lewis* his eldest sonne neere about him, whome he appointed for the Empire and Realme of France. He sought to reduce all his Estates vnder one law, making choice of the Romane, both for the dignitie of the Empire, and being more ciuill: but the French loth to alter any thing of their customarie lawes, he suffered them as they desired: and those which had longer serued the Romanes, and loued best the Romane lawes, he gaue them libertie. So as Gaule Narbonnoise (which comprehends Daulphine, Languedoc and Prouence) do vse the written law (as the auncient Prouince of the Romans) and the rest of France obserue their customarie Lawes.

Denmarke (a dependance of the realme of Germanie, and part of *Charles* his portion, as wee haue said) was revolted from the obedience of the French. *Charles* by his fathers commaund prepares to subdue them: but God had otherwise decreed, for hereupon hee dies, to the great griefe of his father, and of all the French, who loued the louely qualities of this Prince, the true heire of his fathers name and vertues. *Charlemagne* mourned for his youngest sonne, when as sodainly newes came of the vniuersally death of *Pepin* his second sonne, King of Italie, a Prince of admirable hope, a true patterne of his fathers greatnesse.

Thus

814.

**A** Thus man purposeth, and God disposeth: thus the sonnes die before the father: thus the greatest cannot free themselves from the common calamitie of mankind. Thus great Kings and great Kingdomes haue their periods. *Charlemagne* lost his children, and the realme her best support: for these two Princes caried with them the fathers valour, leaving *Lewis* their brother with large territories and few vertues, to gouerne so great an estate. After the death of these two great Princes many enemies did rise against *Charles*, seeming (as it were) deprived of his two armes, the Sarazins in Spaine, the Sclauons, and the Normans, in the Northerne regions: but he vanquished them all, and brought them to obedience, old and broken as hee was. We haue shewed how that *Nicephorus* had bene made Emperour by the death of *Irene*. It chanced, that as he fought against the Bulgarians (a people which had possessed a part of *Thrace*, neere vnto *Constantinople*) he was slaine in the conflict.

**B** He had one sonne named *Siaurat*, who by reason should succeed him: but *Michel* his brother in law seizeth on this poore young man, and makes him away, and hauing corrupted the chiefe men with gifts, he vsurpes the Empire: and least that *Charlemagne* should crosse his desseignes, hee seeks to insinuate with him, not onely ratifying what *Nicephorus* had done for the diuision of the Empire, but by a new contract doth acknowledge him Emperour of the West. Thus the affaires of our *Charles* were daily confirmed, but his minde (toiled with these new losses, and the painefull difficulties he had suffered throughout the whole course of his life) required nothing but rest. All his life time he held the Church in great reuerence, and had employed his authoritie to beautifie it, and bountifullly bestowed his treasure to enrich it: but this great plentie in so happie a peace, made the churchmen to liue loosely. *Charles* well instructed in religion (knowing how much it did import, to haue doctrine and good manners to shine in them that should instruct others:) he doth call five Councelles in diuers places of his dominions, for the gouernement of the Church. At Mentz, at Rheims, at Tours, at Chaalons, and at Arles: and by the aduice of these Ecclesiasticall assemblies, he sets downe orders for the reformation of the Church, in a booke intituled *Capitula Caroli Magni*, which they reade at this day, for a venerable prooffe of the pietie of this great Prince. A worthy president for Princes, which seeke true honour by vertue, whereof the care of pietie is the chiefe foundation.

**D** He held likewise a great Councell in the cittie of Francford, (These are the very words of the Historie) of the Bishops of France, Germanie, and Italy, the which he himselfe would honour with his presence, where by a generall consent, *The false Synode of the Greekes* (I coate the very words of the Originall) *vntuly called the seventh, was condemned and reiected by all the Bishops, who subscribed to the condemnation.* But there fell out a new accident, which drew *Charles* againe to armes. *Alphonso* king of Nauarre, surnamed the Chaste, by reason of his singular temperance, did carefully aduertise him, that there was now meanes vnto subdue the Sarazins in Spaine. *Charlemagne* (who desired infinitely to finish this worke, so oft attempted without any great successe) giues eare to this aduise, leauies an armie, and marcheth into Spaine, relying on the Spaniards fauour, being Christians. *Alphonso* meant plainly, but so did not the chiefe of his Court, nor his associates, who feared his forces no lesse then the Sarazins, and euen the most confident seruants of *Alphonso* doubted to be possessed of their governments by a new Master. So they crosse *Alphonso* in countermanding of *Charles*: but the lots were cast, his armie is in field, and he resolute to passe on. He enters into Spaine, where he finds so many difficulties, as he returnes into France: and so concludes all his enterprises, embracing againe the care of religion, and of the Church, as a subiect fit for the remainder of his daies. He was threescore and eight yeares old when he left the warres: so he spent three whole yeares in his studie, reading the Bible, and the bookes of Saint *Augustin*, whome he loued aboue all the Doctors of the Church. He resided at Paris, to haue conference with the learned: where he had erected a goodly Vniuersitie, furnished with learned men, such as that time could afford, and enriched with goodly priuiledges. He had an extraordinary care to haue the seruice of the Church supplied, as a Nurserie of the holy *Munisterie*. Thence grew so many Colledges of Chanoin, with such sufficient reuenues.

**F** Thus *Charles* spent three yeares happily in the onely care of his soule, leaving a goodly example to Princes, to moderate their greatnesse with pietie, their enioying of temporall goods, with the hope of eternall, and to thinke of their departure of this life in time. Thus

H 2

foretelling

Rebellion against Charles.

The Empire confirmed to Charles.

Charles his care to rule the Church.

A good instruction for Princes to loue pietie.

New warre in Spaine etc by secret practices.

A happy conclusion of Charlemagne's life.

Learned Princes.

814. foretelling his death (whereunto he prepared himselfe by this exercise) he made his will, lea-  
 uing *Lewis* his sonne sole heire of his great Kingdomes, and bequeaths to the Church great  
 treasures, as more at large is contained in his will, set downe in the Historie. His Testament  
 was the messenger of his death, for soone after he fell sick, and continued so but eight daies:  
 dying happily vnto the Lord, in the yeare of grace 814. of his age the 71. and of his raigne  
 the 47. including 15. yeares of his Empire. He was interred at *Aix la Chapelle*, where he was  
 borne, and his memorie honoured with a goodly Epitaph, set downe in the Historie.

He was one of the greatest Princes that euer liued. His vertue is the patterne of Princes,  
 his good hap the subiect of their wishes. The greatnesse of his Monarchie is admirable, for  
 he quietly enioyed all France, Germanie, the greatest part of Hungarie, all Italy, and a part  
 of Spaine. But his vertues were greater then his Monarchie: his clemencie, wisdom, and  
 valour: his learning (yea in the holy Scripture) his vigilancie, magnanimitie, and singular  
 force, be the theater of his immortall praises. And yet his vertues were not without some blemish  
 (as the greatest are not commonly without some notable vice) for he was giuen to wo-  
 men, adding concubines to his lawfull wiues, by whome he had bastards. I haue noted else-  
 where the number of his wiues, and children. *Lewis* the weakest of them all, remained alone,  
 the sole heire of this great Monarchie of France, and the Romane Empire, but not of his no-  
 ble vertues. We are now come to the top of this great building, we shall see it decline: and  
 therein note the admirable providence of God, who amidst the confusions of this estate, hath  
 alwaies preferred the maiestie of this Crowne.

### LEWIS the Gentle, the 25. King, and Emperour of the West.



S the vertues of *Charlemagne* had raised this estate to an admirable great-  
 nesse, so the small valour, or rather the vices of his posteritie, caused the de-  
 clining, and (if God had not preuented) had bene the ruine thereof. His  
 intent was only to change the race vnworthie to raigne, but not the realm,  
 the which he hath preferred vnto this day by his providence, in the bosome  
 of one countrie, and in it his Church: for the which he maintaines, both  
 the

A the estates where it remaines, and the whole world, which cannot subsist but in regard of it.

Thus the French Monarchie beeing come to the height of her greatnesse, the law im-  
 posed upon all humane things, would haue it decline, that oflier peeces other estates might be  
 built. Not long after the death of *Charlemagne*, it began to decline. The foolish lenitie of  
*Lewis* his sonne, was the beginning, the which was continued by the disordered confusions  
 of his successors, who (in spite of one another) hastened the ruine of their house, making  
 the way by their vices and misfortunes. This is the substance of all the Kings remaining in this  
 second race: the which we cannot represent, but in noting faithfully the order of those con-  
 fused times, during the which this barke hath bene in a manner guided without a Pilore, and  
 without helme, by the wisdom of God, who hath miraculously preferred it, amidst so  
 many tempests. And therefore without any tedious discourse, beeing intricate enough of it  
 selfe, I will labour to shew (as in a table) both the continuance of this race, and the diuers mo-  
 tiues of euents to bring *Hugh Capet* vpon the stage, and carefully to shew the estate of his  
 posteritie, as the chiefe end of my desaigne.

*Lewis* was surnamed the Mecke, or Gentle, as well for his deuotion, (whereunto hee was  
 more giuen, then to gouerne his estate) as also for his great facilitie: which was the cause of  
 many miseries both to himself and his subiects. He began to raigne the yeare 815. and ruled  
 26. yeares Emperour of the West, and King of France. His father had not greatly imployed  
 him in affaires, obseruing his disposition, and had married him with *Irmengarde* the daugh-  
 ter of *Ingram* Duke of Angers, an officer of the Crowne of Fraunce, hauing giuen him the  
 Duchie of Guienne for his maintenance. By this wife *Lewis* had three sons, *Clothaire*, *Pepin*  
 and *Lewis*, who acted strange tragedies against their father.

To his second wife hee married *Indith* the daughter of *Gulphe* Duke of *Sueue*, by whom  
 hee had *Charles*, surnamed the Bald, who succeeded him in the crowne of France. *Bernard*  
 the sonne of *Pepin* was King of Italy, as *Charlemagne* had decreed. *Lewis* (more fitte to  
 bee a Monk then a King) was so giuen to deuotion, and so soft a spirit, as he made his au-  
 thority contemptible, both within and without the realme. This disposition (vnfit for a  
 great command) made the nations subiect to the Crowne, to fall from their obedience,  
 the *Saxons*, *Normans*, *Danes*, and *Brittons*: and although *Lewis* did his best to preuent it, yet  
 could he not preuayle, but made himselfe wholly contemptible, in attempting that which he  
 could not effect, and (after his vaine struing) compounding of great controuersies with vn-  
 reasonable conditions. *Bernard* a yong man, and ambitious, was perswaded by the Bishops  
 of Orleans and Milan, to attempt against his Vncle *Lewis*, and to seize vpon the realme of  
 France which belonged not vnto him. So his ambition cost him deere, and that sodenly:  
 for beeing in field to go into Fraunce against his Vncle, with an imaginarie fauour of the  
 French, to be proclaimed King, it fell out contrarie; for both he and all his Councillers were  
 taken by *Lewis* his subiects.

*Lewis* wonderfully moued with the presumption of this springall (as we often see milde  
 natures fall into extremities of choller when they are moued) hauing both his Nephew  
 and his Councillours in his power: he spoiles him of his Realme of Italy, declares him and  
 his vnworthie, confines him to a perpetuall prison, and puts out his eyes: the like he doth to  
 all the Bishops and Noblemen he could get: and after some few daies patience, he chopps  
 off their heades. This act was held very straunge, proceeding from *Lewis*, and committed a-  
 gainst such persons: it began to breede a generall dislike, the which was aggravated by a  
 domesticall dissention: all which together caused a horrible Tragedie.

*Lewis* had indiscreetly giuen portions to his children, making them companions of his  
 regall authoritie. After the decess of *Bernard*, hee gaue Italie to *Lothaire*, and did associate  
 him in the Empire; to *Pepin* he gaue Aquitaine: to *Lewis* Bauaria: and would haue them all  
 beare the name of Kings. *Lewis* good to all, was too good to his second wife *Indith*, an am-  
 bitious woman: who hauing one sonne by him, called *Charles*, had no other care but to  
 make this sonne great, to the preiudice of the rest: not foreseeing that they were of po-  
 wer, and could not patiently endure the ielousies of a mother in lawe, nor the words of  
 an olde man, beeing too much affected to the one of his children against the rest, at the  
 suggestion of a mother in lawe: an ordinarie leuaine of bitter dissention in families of the  
 second bedde.

815.  
The declining  
of this race.

Safe facilitie.

A furious cru-  
elty.

Lewis' his in-  
struction.

829. Moreouer this imperious Germane, abusing the facility of her good husband, played the A Emperesse and Queene ouer all, to the discontent of the greatest, who had no fauour with Lewis, but by the fauour of his wife: they did hate and contemne him, as beeing vnworthy to raigne, suffering him-selfe so flauishly to be gouerned by a woman. This was the generall motiue of their discontent: but there were many other particularities, which grew daily vpon diuers and sundry occasions. The Bishops were most of all incensed against Lewis, by reason of the death of those men of the Church, whome he had so cruelly caused to be slaine with Bernard. So Lothaire, Pepin and Lewis (by the aduise of these malecontents) resolute to seize vpon their Father, Mother, and young Brother, to dispossesse them of all authority, and then to gouerne the state after their owne appetites, wherein they must vse force and a publike consent. Lothaire (as ring-leader of this desseigne,) leuies a great army, and calls a Nationall Councell of the French Church at Lions, supposing sooner to suppress Lewis by this meanes then by a Parliament. Lewis appeeres: hee receiues all complaints against him-selfe, and yeelds to the Censure of the Prelats, which was to retire him-selfe into a Monastery, there to attend his deuotion, and to resigne the Empire and the realme to his children. This was put in execution. Lewis was conueied to Soissons, to the monastery of Saint Medard: his wife and sonne were confined to other places, and the whole gouernment committed to Lothaire and his brethren. Thus Lewis, so much addicted to Church-men as he purchased the name of deuout, was ill intreated by them, and receiued a poore recompence for his so humble submission. The name of a Councell (venerable of it selfe) did at the first retayne men, supposing that this ecclesiasticall iurisdiction did not extend but to admonition: but seeing this tragicall attempt of the children against the father, there was no good man but stood amazed at this presumption, and pittied their poore King, being brought to such calamity. But all power remayned in the hands of the rebellious children, and the greatest of the Church were guilty of this outrage, seeking to maintaine their decree. Thus this poore Prince (to the generall greefe of his subiects) continued in prison fife yeares: for he entred in the yeare 829. and came forth in the yeare 834. But this deliury was the beginning of a new confusion. For Lothaire hauing bin forced to yeeld vnto his father, goes to field, takes him prisoner againe and leads him to the Couent at Soissons, where he stayed not long, for the French did bandy openly against Lothaire, and his brethren did abandon him, so as he was forced to yeeld vnto his father and to craue pardon. This miserable King, thus ledde for a long time, giues portions to his Children. To Lothaire, he leaues the realme of Austrasia, from the riuer of Meuse vnto Hongary, with the title of Emperour: to Lewis Bauaria, and to Charles France: Pepin enioyed Guienne without contradiction.

Tragicall rebellion of children.

Auade in the Clergy.

Lewis imprisoned by his Children.

He is forced to giue them portions.

He dies.

### The Estate of Lewis his Children, presently after his death.



Lothaire as the eldest, and Emperour by his fathers testament, would prescribe Lawes to his brethren, and force them to a new diuision. As hee had exceeded against his father in taking him twice prisoner, and stripping him before he went to bed; so he sought to frustrate his will, as made against the right of the elder and the imperiall dignity, the realme of

Diuision among the brethren and the cause.

A of France belonging to the eldest, and the goodliest territories of the Empire to the Emperor. Thus hee quarreled with Charles King of France: and with Lewis, who had his part in the inheritances of the Empire, in Bauaria the dependances of the realme of Bourgondy (that is to say Prouence and Daulphine) and in Italy. This was the Leuaine of these tragicall dissensions among the bretheren (as Nitard a writer of approued credit, learned, and a Prince, (for he was sonne to Angelibert the sonne of Berth daughter to Charlemagne, and employed to compound these quarrells) doth particularly describe. Behold the direction to a longer discorsie, whereof I owe but an abridgement, noted with the principall circumstances. Lothaire then armed with authority, force, malice, policy, and boldnesse, thinkes to giue his bretheren their portions: and there were great presumptions hee should preuaile, ioyning his force with the intelligences he had in the dominions of Charles and Lewis.

840.

This common interest to defend them-selues against a common enemy, made them to ioyne together, resolute for their generall perseruation. Lothaire seekes by secret treaties to diuide them, but not able to make any breach in their vnion, he prepares force and policy. Lewis was in Bauaria, of whome hee kept good gard that hee should not passe the Rhine, to ioyne with his brother: he likewise leuies an army to surprise Charles in France. This preparation of warre did awake the vnitd bretheren, who assemble their forces, and ioyne not withstanding all Lothaires oppositions. Lothaires army was at Auxerre, meaning to passe into the heart of France. The vnitd bretheren (hauing assembled their forces neere vnto Paris, Saint Denis and Saint Germain) approach, to haue a better meanes either to treat with him, or to incounter him. First with great humility, they offer to performe what should be held reasonable, beseeching him to remember the condition of bretheren: the holy peace of the Church, and the quiet of Gods people, suffering them to inioy what their father had bequeathed, or else they would diuide France equally, and he should choofe what part hee pleased. Lothaire refusing nothing flatly, fed them with delayes, expecting forces out of Guienne, led by Pepin, and in the meane time he diuided the cities by his practises, meaning to assaile his bretheren both within and without, and to surprise them by authority and force, as he had done heretofore his poore father, presuming of the like meanes.

But the subtil was taken in his owne snare, for as Lothaire (finding him-selfe the stronger) refused these conditions of peace, laying openly, this his bretheren would neuer be wise vntill he had corrected them, behold the armies lying neere to Fontenay (after these vaine parles of peace) Lewis and Charles charge Lothaires army (already a conqueror in conceit) with such aduantage, as he was not onely put to rout, but also ouerthrowne with a notable slaughter, noted vnto this day, by the place where the battaile was fought, the which for this occasion is called Chaplay, and the straight is called by the victors name, the valley of Charles, to continue the memory of so bloody a victory, where euen the conquerours had cause to weepe, hauing shed their owne blood, although forced to fight.

Lothaire thinking to surpris his bretheren, is surprisid and defeated.

It is not now that France begins to bee indiscreet, banding against it selfe, and digging in her owne bowels, by these domestick and vnciuil dissensions. Lothaire after this defeat changed his humor with his estate, for hardly could he retire with his shame to saue his dominions. He inioyed the titulary maske of the Empire with Austrasia, yet very much curtailed and diuided to his three sonnes, Lewis Charles, and Lothaire. Of these great inheritances, there remains nothing cleere but Lorraine, of the name of Lothaire. And so the great discorsie of him whome the whole earth could not satisfie, without taking from father, and brethren, were buried in a cloister: for Lothaire (hauing remorse of conscience for attempting against his father and brethren, and to beare rule) lost the honor hee had fought with such eagernes, and (to suffer the paines hee had inflicted vpon his father) he professeth him-selfe a Monke in the Abbie of Pluuiers, and dies a Monke in the yeare eight hundred fifty and fife, taking on him the frocke, and being shauen, as the ciuill death of a King or Prince of the blood royall, according to the French opinion, which continues vnto this day, for note of the greatest paine they could suffer that were borne in this authority, to be shauen and made Monkes, and to change the crowne of France into a Monkes crowne, dead to the world.

Lothaire dies a Monke.

This

826.

This was the Catastrophe and end of this turbulent Prince, by the iust iudgement of A God, published then in the greatest assemblies, and made knowne vnto vs by open and public writings, for a notable testimony and witnesse to all men. That whosoeuer disobeies father and mother: deceiues his brethren, troubles the peace of the Church and state, in breaking the sacred lawes of God and nature, hee dismembers himselfe by peece-meale, loosing his goods, honour and quiet, for assured gages of the horrible torments which attend him in the euermlasting prisons, appointed to tame the vntamed, and to make them suffer the infinite paines of their infinit wickednesse.

An accord  
betwixt  
Charles and  
Lewis.

Charles and Lewis were well satisfied to haue preuented their brothers designs, without any further pursuit of their victory. They seeke to confirme true concord by the settling of their Estates. Having stayed sometime vpon the place where the battaile was fought: buried the dead; released prisoners, and proclaimed a generall pardon to all that would follow their armes: they call the Bishops, to take their aduice vpon occurrents, who being solemnly assembled they exhort them vnto concord, laying plainly before them the iust iudgement of God against their brother Lothaire, least they should draw the people againe into these extremities by their dissensions. The brethren (beleeuing their good aduice) part good friends: but when as Lothaire fought to renew the quarrell, they met againe: yet this struing was in vaine: they assemble in the City of Strasbourg (then belonging to this crowne) and there make a sollemne alliance for them and their subiects, to liue together in peace and concord. The forme is double, one in the Romaine tongue, the other in Dutch, that is to say in the Germane. As for the Romaine, it seemes to be that of Langue- doc and Prouence, by the language; although there be some words which are not at this day in vse with vs, as the reader (curious of this antiquity) may see in their proper places, excusing my stile which suffers me not to dilate any further, but only to note what may be found in the originalls, touching this subiect.

This alliance made, they come to the diuiding of their parts: and to this end they appoint twelue deputies, (whereof Nitard saies hee was one) who without respect of fertility or quantity, regard that onely which was most conuenient, for the necessity and commodity of their States. I know this partition is diuersly set downe by many: and who sees not in so obscure antiquity, that it is impossible to make a true designation, seeing that in small successions there is so great diuersity? But in all this variety of opinions, it remains for certaine, that Charles the onely sonne of the second bed, (who had bene so much persecuted by the children of the first wife,) remained sole King of France: that the territories of the Empire were much decayed, nothing remayning in effect, but the name of those which lie on this side the Rhine, especially in the dependances of the Realme of Bourgogne, as Daulphine & Prouence. Daulphine doth yet cary the ancient name of the Empire, in respect of the riuer of Rofne which doth separte it from Viuaretz, a country opposite, called by an expresse name the Realme, as also for this cause Charles was called by expresse words in the designation of his portion, King of France, it confines at the one end with Lionnois, at the other with Vzege, which extends from Pont Saint Esprit, to Ville-neuue of Auignon, along the Rofne; all the said limits (being of his portion) be called by a particular name the Realme, vnto this day, especially in their leases, which retaine more plainly the traces of the ancient tongue.

An obseruation which I ought vnto my country, for the which I keepe a ranke in the Theater whereon I meane to represent the Estate of our goodly Prouinces of Gaule Narbonoise, in old time honoured with the name of a second Italy, and at this day so grossely vnknowne to strangers, as in the Theater of the world they leaue a blanke for it, like to the deserts of Affricke, although it yeelds not to any Prouince of this great and goodly Kingdome, whereof it is one of the cheefe parts, and worthiest members. So Daulphine and Prouence were left to Lewis in his partage, for the commodity of Italy, the which was given him, notwithstanding the pretensions of Bernards children.

But Lewis enioyed not long these great possessions, for the which he had so much troubled his poore father, his miserable subiects and himselfe: for he died soone after, without any issue male, leauing one onely daughter called Hermingrade, heire of all his great Estates.

Behold the last rebellious sonne of the father, and one of his scourges, dead without any

The portions  
of Charles  
and Lewis.

Lewis dies.

A any great memory, the which was likewise extinguished in his daughter and in the diuers changes happened in these Estates. Thus the children impatient to see their poore father liue, died after many fruitlesse toiles, the one in a monastery, the other without heire to carry his name, although the imagination of a famous race, and of an extraordinary reigne, had made them forget the holy lawes of nature against their father. Charles and Lewis had made profession of more then brotherly loue, as their familiarities carefully obserued by Nitard, in eating, lying, and playing together, do testifie, leauing to the wise reader to iudge, how vncertaine the loue of brethren is when as couetousnesse and ambition creepes into their counsell. Charles married his Neece Hermingrade, daughter to his brother Lewis, to B Boson Earle of Ardennes, brother to his wife Richilde. His colour was to match his Neece with a Prince of a good house, and of more vertue, and thereby to bind Boson vnto him, but his intent was other, as we shall hereafter see. Boson tooke possession of the Countries belonging to his wife as her dowry, and calls himselfe King of Arles. A point very remarkable, to vnfold many difficulties that shall follow in the foresaid countries, and especially in Prouence, where many changes haue happened, the which we will endeauour to represent in their proper places. This was the Estate of the heires of great Charlemagne, but his posterity did worse: where the most famous memory of our Kings shalbe noted by their vices, either of body or minde, one being called the stuttering, another the bald, the simple, the cruell, the Barren, with other notes of disgrace, to shew, as it were, in a goodly table, that C all the greatnesse of this world, is but meere vanity.

Hermingrade  
daughter to  
Lewis married  
to Boson King  
of Arles.

CHARLES surnamed the bald, sonne  
to Lewis the gentle, the twenty sixth King  
and Emperour.



F CHARLES called the Bald, King of France, beganne to reigne in the yeare 841. and reigned thirty eight yeares. Hee caused himselfe to be proclaimed Emperour after the death of Lewis, who surruined Lothaire, without contradiction. The greatest part of his reigne passed in the confusions before mentioned; or in the hatred and dissensions of brethren,



879.

brethren, or in combustions and open warre. But why should I encrease mine owne trouble and the readers great with the report of the particularities, vnworthy of brethren, and worthy of eternall forgetfulness?

A confused  
and vnhappy  
reigne.

A reigne of small fame, but onely to note the confusion from whence sprong the first occasion of the fall of this race: a King of small merit, hauing performed nothing praiseworthy, for in that wherein he desired to winne the reputation of doing well, he did exceedingly ill. His greatest ambition was to seeme a good vncle to the onely daughter of his brother. He married her to *Boson*, as ther *Lewis*, with whom he had made so strict a league of loue. He married her to *Boson*, as I haue said: but the euents shew that he married her with an intent to gouerne her inheritance at his pleasure. Being proclaimed Emperour, he leuies a great, and mighty army, and goes in person into Italy. His pretext was to suppress the Dukes of Spoletum and Beneuent, who fought to free themselves from the subiection of the Empire, and to become Soueraignes: but his intent was to seaze vpon the strong places of Italy, and so by consequence, of that which belonged to his Neece *Hermingrade*. But *Boson* her husband discovering her vncles intent, preuented him, ioyning with the Dukes, and fortifying the Cities of Italy with all expedition, as his wifes inheritance: and then he aduertised *Charles* entring into the Country, that it was needlesse for him to passe any farther, and to put Italy to vnnecessary charges, seeing that he himselfe could gard it sufficiently, and the foresaid Dukes did submit themselves to reason. But being easie to iudge that *Charles* hauing an army in field, and a resolute designe, would not retire without constraint, *Boson* makes factions in France, in the heart of his Estate, to diuert him. An easie matter, both for their discontents against him, and the misery of that age, nourished in the liberty of vnciuill warres. This occasion drew *Charles* from this vnjust designe, for at the first brute of rebellion, he turnes head towards France, but there chanced more to him then he expected, for hee not onely left his Neeces patrimonie, but his owne life in Italy, with a notable instruction, not to loose this life for the desire of an other mans goods. Thus died *Charles* the bald at Mantoua, the year 879. leauing the Realme to his sonne *Lewis*, the which hee sought to augment with an others right.

*Charles seeks  
to deceiue his  
Neece.*

*Charles diuer-  
ted from the  
war of Italy.*

Where hee  
dies.

## LEWIS the second called the stuttering 27. King and Emperour.



HEE

A



He reigned onely two yeares, and succeeded his father likewise in the Empire, but not without opposition, for the Princes of Italy fought to be Soueraignes, and the Germanes (bearing impatiently the forepassed confusions) desired to restore the beauty of the Imperiall dignity, being greatly decayed in Italy, by such as held the lands of the Empire. They spared not the Pope himselfe, who by little and little, vsurped the Imperiall rights in Italy. These complaints being made to *Lewis* the Emperour, *John* the third Pope of Rome came into France to redresse that which concerned the Sea of Rome. He

B was courteously receiued by the King, staid in France a whole yeare, and there held a Councell at Troies in Champagne.

The reigne of *Lewis* was very short. The Pope was scarce gone, but he was lodged in the bed of death. He had no lawfull children but two bastards, *Lewis* and *Caroloman* both men growne, whereof the one was already married to the daughter of *Boson* King of Arles. His wife was with child. In the doubtfulness of the fruite which should be borne, he must provide a Regent to gouerne the realme, if it were a sonne. And although *Lewis* loued his two bastards deere, yet would hee not haue them Regents, but made choise of *Endes* or *Odon* Duke (that is to say gouernour) of Angers, the sonne of *Robert* of the race of *Widichind* of Saxony (of whom we haue before made mention) to be Regent of the Realme, and experience taught, that his iudgement was good. Thus *Lewis* died, hauing left nothing memo-

C rable but a sonne, wherein I obserue three notable things. The efficacy of the law of State, preserving the right of the lawfull heire not yet borne: The minority of a King, subiect to many confusions and miseries, and the liberty of great men in the weakness of a yong Prince, who sh boldly in a troubled streame. In this reigne, happened the Eclipse of the Empire. The first check giuen to this second race, was by a league, which dyngain shew, made the King to die in effect, and in the end carried away the crowne, burying both the King and all his race in one tombe. This Historie is very obscure, by reason of the Regents which are numbred among the Kings, during the minority of the lawfull heire: and therefore good directions are needfull in so confused a labyrinth of diuers reignes. Behold therefore the simple and plaine truth.

*Lewis leues  
his wife with  
child.*

D *Lewis* the Stuttering being dead, the Parliament assembled to resolve for the government of the realme, vntill that God should send the Queene a happy deliury: and if it were a sonne, appoint who should be Gouernour to the King, and Regent of the realme, vntill he came to the age of government. There was no Prince that made any question to the Infants title that was to be borne: or that sought to take the aduantage of the time, to aduance himselfe vnder colour of proximity of blood: but it was concluded by common consenc, they should carefully preferre the Queenes wombe, vntill her deliury. The Kings will was plaine, for he called *Endes* (as we haue said) to be Gouernour to his child vnborne, and Regent of the realme: but *Lewis* and *Caroloman*, bastards of France, had so laboured for voyces, as they preuailed against this Testamentary decree, and were chosen Regents by the Estates, who for confirmation of this authority, decreed they should bee crowned, yet with a profitable exception for the pupils interest, the lawfull heire of the crowne.

The estates  
honour the  
Queenes  
wombe.

Regents  
crowned at  
Kings.

E A dangerous proceeding, making seruants taste the sweetness of Soueraigne command, which made the way to horrible confusion, and multiplying the authority of many masters, did greatly preiudice the lawfull heire, the which may not (without extreame danger) bee imparted but to one onely. The Queene was happily deliuered of a sonne, the which was saluted King, and was called *Charles*, of whom we shall speake hereafter. The day of his birth was the twelfth of December, in the year 881. But wee must now passe two and twenty yeares full of troubles, before our pupill come to age, so as to march safely in so obscure a labyrinth, we must distinctly note the diuers parcels of this interreigne.

A dangerous  
counle.

*Charles borne  
after his fa-  
thers death.*

The



# The Minoritie of Charles called the Simple,

*the which continued 22.yeares vnder 4: Regents,  
whom they call Kings.*



**L**ewis and Caroloman, Brothers, the Bastards of Lewis the Stuttering, chosen by the States, raigned two yeares or thereabouts, to whome they adde Lewis the idle, the soone of Caroloman, but he is not numbred among the Kings.

Charles the Grosse raigned nine yeares.  
Endes or Odon, eleuen yeares.

*Behould the 22.yeares of this minority.*

## The 28.raigne vnder LEWIS and, CAROLOMON.



Hey talke diuersly of these Kings, who in deed were no lawfull Kings, but guides to a lawfull King. A confused and obscure age, which hath left such famous persons in doubt. But we may say in their excuse, that men being weary of these confusions, haue willingly left them doubtfull, to hide the infamy of their times, or else no man durst set Pen to Paper, to represent the shamefull courses of those miseries.

Lewis and Caroloman tooke either of them a part to gouerne: Lewis the country on the other side of Loire, and Caroloman that on this side. They had the Normans, and Boson King of Arles for common enemies; and as continuall thornes in their sides, in diuers places and vpon diuers occurrents, for the ending whereof, they besiege Boson in Vienne, and resolute to take it: but presently the Normans, come to his succor. Caroloman continues the seege, & Lewis goes to incounter the Normans. But oh the vanity of humane conceptions! The Regents are frustrate of their hopes, for Lewis looseth his army, and afterwards his life, through griefe of his defeat. Caroloman on the other side takes Vienne, but not Boson: who saues himselfe in the Mountaines of Viuauez. And contrariwise, hee that hoped to haue his greatest enemy in his power, was surprised by death vnlooked for, and extraordinary, hauing ended his seege and become sole Regent by the death of his brother. But the manner of his death is diuersly obserued: some write, that running in iest after a gentle-

*Lewis de'cated  
by the Normans  
and dyes for  
griefe.*

A gentlewoman, hee was cruell vnder a gate, whether his horse had violently carried him. Others say, that he was slaine by a boare, going a hunting: or that being at the chase, he fell downe and brake his necke. But all this notes, that the manner of his death was violent and extraordinary. So the Regency of these two bastards, gotten by force against the law, was both short and vnfortunate.

Lewis succeeded to these two brethren. Men dispute with much vncertainty what he was to Caroloman, either brother or sonne, but all agree he was an idle person. It is likely hee was the nearest kinsman, hauing seized on the authority after the death of these two Regents, but in effect the French had the power in their owne hands. It chanced as they were ready to free themselves off this Lewis, that hee died, and so they called Charles the grosse, King of Bauaria, first Prince of the bloud, to this great dignity.

## CHARLES called the Grosse, or Great,

the twenty ninth King and Emperour.

*An Example from a tragicall change to a worthy person.*



CHARLES called the Grosse, beganne to reigne the yeare 885. and reigned nine yeares. His entrance was goodly, but his end tragically fowle. Hee was installed in the Regency with the same ceremonies that the other two forenamed, for he was crowned King, with promise to restore the crowne to the lawfull heire, and to gouerne according to the will of the States. He was sonne to Lewis called Germanicus, sonne to Lewis the Gentle, as we haue said. This neereneffe of bloud gaue him an interest, and to the Imperiall dignity, power, and meanes to gouerne the Realme well. So the eyes of the French were fixed on him, as the man which should restore their decayed Estate, after so many disorders and confusions. His entrance was reasonable happy (as at the first euery thing seemes goodly) being respected of all his subiects. He went into Italy, and expelled the Sarazins which threatned Rome, but being returned into France, he found a new taske,

*Great hopes  
of Charles his  
good gouerna-  
ment.*

885. for the Normans (a Northerne people, gathered together not onely from Denmarke, but also from Sweden and other neighbour Countries, as the word of Norman doth shew, signifying men of the North) were dispersed in diuerse parts vpon the sea coast of the Realme of France: and had chiefly set footing in the Countries of Arthois, Therouenne, and other low Countries, and in Neustria one of his greatest and nerrest Prouinces, taking their opportunity by the troubles so long continued among the brethren.

Neustria now  
called Nor-  
mandy.  
Charles de-  
feated by the  
Normans,  
yields to a pre-  
judicial peace.

Charles ex-  
tremely hated.

Charles de-  
feated from the  
Empire and  
exiled.

Charles dies  
poorly in a  
village.

The fruits of  
this memora-  
ble example.

This checke (although the losse were small) stroke a greater terror, and in the end caused an apparent impossibility, to recouer that Prouince from so great forces: so as he was aduised to enter into treaty with them, and to make them of enemies friends, leauing them that which he could not take from them. The which hee did absolutely of his owne authority, (being very great, vnitied in these two dignities) without the priuity of his Estates. So Charles yielded Neustria to the Normans, vpon condition they should doe homage to the Crowne of France. Then gaue they their name to the Country which they had conquered, ratified by this sollemne title, and called it Normandy. He likewise lost Friesland, and gaue *Gisela* in marriage (being the daughter of *Lothar* his cousin) to *Sigefrid* or *Liffroy* one of the cheefe of the Normans, thinking thereby to stoppe this storme. But thereby hee wrought his owne ruine, for this grant was found so exceeding strange, as the French, not onely greened that the Regent had done it without their aduice, but also that (in yeelding this goodly Country to the Normans) hee had dismembred the inheritance of the Crowne, which is inalienable by the law of State. And although necessity might inferre some consideration for Charles his excuse, yet the French for this respect conceiued so great a hatred against him, as they could not rest vntill they had degraded him. And as one mischeefe neuer comes alone, Charles finding himselfe thus disdained, fell sicke. This corporall sicknesse was accompanied with a distemperature of the minde, farre more dangerous, by an extreame ialousie he had conceiued against his Queene *Richarda*, daughter to the King of Scots, suspecting her to haue beene too prodigall of her honour. These two infirmities of body and minde made Charles altogether vnfit for his charge, which consists more in action then in contemplatiue authority, and in a season when as occasions were ministred of all sides. This difficulty and disability to serue effectually in the regencie of the Realme and Empire vnitied in one person, of whom all men expected much, and the discontent of the il government which the French and Germanes (depending of this crown) pretended, in quitting Normandie, made both the one and the other, to enter into strange alterations against Charles. At the first his great authoritie kept the boldest in awe, and his sicknesse did excuse him: but after some yeares patience, the French and Germanes by a common consent resolu'd to dispossesse Charles, and to call a more sufficient to the place, euery one according to the limits of his country. The Germanes made choise for their Emperour, of *Arnoul* sonne to *Caroloman*, the sonne of *Charles the gentle*, retayning the respect they bare to the bloud and memorie of *Charles the magnie*. Thus the Eclipse of the Empire chanced not altogether, but this change was the first motiue to alter the Imperiall dignity, whereof afterwards was framed an Estate in Germany, vnder the title of an Emperour, as we shall see. The French likewise reiect this miserable Charles, from the regency of the realme, and call *Eudes* or *Odon* Duke of Angers, named by the will of *Lewis* the stuttering.

So this poore Prince is dispossessed of all his Estates, and abandoned by euery man, reiect both from realme and Empire, hauing so ill provided for himselfe in time of prosperity, as he remained naked without a house, where to throude himselfe from the disgrace of this shipwrack: being banished from his Court, and driuen into a poore village of Suevia, where hee liued some daies in extreame want, without any meanes of his owne, or releefe from any man, in the end he died, neither pitied nor lamented of any, in a corner vnknown, but to haue beene the Theater of so extraordinary a Tragedie; That one of the greatest Monarkes of the world, should die without house, without bread, without honour, without mourning, and without memory, but the note of this end so prodigiously memorable. A notable patterne of the vanity of this world, in diuers circumstances: In Charles, in the people, and in the Chastisement. In Charles, to learne by his example, to carry them-

A themselves wisely, both in prosperity and aduersity. Hee wanted no iudgement, and had abundance of wealth: but he was neither temperate nor wise in his abundance, in the which the actions of his life shew him to haue beene Imperious and indiscreet, purchasing enemies in contemning those that had raised him to those dignities, hauing beene so confident in himselfe, and carelesse of the condition of mans life: and from this extremity he fell into another, in the time of his greatest afflictions, suffering himselfe to be carried away in the current of melancholy, and his soule to be swallowed vp in despaire. In the people, who worship him in the beginning, whom they deuoure in the end, and with an inexcusable malice, tread vnder foote the afflicted: and without due consideration of the true cause of affliction, they esteeme no crime greater then affliction it selfe, whereon they should haue pity, and detest the vice, the which they couer with the cloake of prosperity. But from Charles, the People, & the Rodde, let vs ascend to him that holds it, which is God, and learn to depend on him, both in wealth and woe, not trusting in our selues when wee abound, nor distrust in him, when wee are in greatest extreames: the which hee can easily releue. Doubtlesse greatnesse commeth neither from the East nor from the West. God raiseth one, and pulleth downe another, that weighing duly the vncertainty of this life, and profiting by the example of others, we may learne not to bee wise vnto our selues, but to stop our mouthes, and open our eares and eyes, to see what God doth, and heare what hee saith, seeking the true remedies of consolation, in him that neuer failes the afflicted which flie vnto him. So that great King and Prophet banished from his house, said, *I haue helmy peace, for thou hast done it, and The Lord is iust in all his waies*. A most reasonable warrant of Iustice, and excellent fruites of afflictions. Such was the entry and end of Charles the Grosse, at the first a King and Emperour, and in the end lesse then his most miserable subiect. After him *Eudes* came in place, thrust forward by them that had reiecte'd Charles the Grosse.

E V D E S, or O D O N named Regent by Lewis the second, called the stuttering, and receiued by the Estates, the thirtieth King of France.



894.

The race of  
Eudes from  
whence  
young Hugh  
Capet.

Duke and  
Earle, but  
titles of Offi-  
cers.

Eudes malig-  
ned in his  
Regency.

France full of  
factions.



Behold *Eudes* at last, who should haue beene in the beginning. Hee beganne to reigne, or rather to bee Regent, the yeare 894. and reigned eight yeares and some moneths, but not without difficulties. For the order of the history we must carefully obserue his race, which in the end shall gaine the highest place. Wee haue made mention of *Wichind* of Saxony, one of the most famous personages of his time. Being greatly fauoured by *Charlemagne*, hee sent a sonne of his into

France, named *Robert* or *Rupert*, who had great dignities. This *Robert* had two sonnes, *Eudes* and *Robert*, who shall soone minister matter to talke of his life. This last *Robert* was father to *Hugh* the great, and hee father to *Hugh Capet*, who in the end shall sit in the royall throne: we shall see by what degrees and meanes. But to vnfold many difficulties which appeare in the reading of this history, and in the diuersity of titles giuen those that are descended of *Eudes* race, we must obserue, that the name of Earle and Duke, were titles of gouernment, and not of inheritance, and that their gouernments were temporary, so as one and the same man (being possessed of diuers gouernments at diuers times) doth carry in diuers respects the title of Duke, and Earle of those Provinces, whereof hee hath beene gouernor: the which was vsually for a yeare, or for three. So as we finde in this house, Dukes of Angers, Paris, Guienne, and Bourgogne, according to their commands.

*Eudes* vnderooke the gouernment of the Realme, according to the decree of the Estates, when it had most need of a good Pilot. Hee was held to bee a good and a wise man, yet could he not please all the French that had called him to the Regency. They complaine that *Eudes* was well pleased to rule and to keepe the King in awe, being no more a child: and after so bad gouernment of the former Regents, such as sought to be partakers of the authoritie vnder the young King, did vehemently insist against *Eudes*, to haue him leaue the gouernment of the Realme: but necessitie did contradict it, not permitting him to abandon the helme in these tempests. In the end (after many clamors) *Eudes* authority is limited to the gouernment.

Eight yeares passed in these contentions, but now the seed of innouation was in the heart of the State, the liberty of priuate men hauing cast away all respect: all the members of the body were sicke, and the soueraigne authority shaken by a generall disorder, which in the end changed by degrees. Italy wauered, Germany was quite fallen away, as I haue said: and France was greatly troubled with diuers factions, amongst the which, the Kings part was reckoned the greater: but experience shewed it was the weakest, for *Eudes* kept them in awe. The King who had the greatest interest, thought least thereon, being ill aduised by them who sought to abuse his simple and tractable disposition, and to aduance themselves by his ruine. He solicits *Eudes* in such sort as in the end hee strips himselfe of all authority, and resignes it into the Kings hands, who knows neither how to manage it, nor how to auoide his owne misfortune, the which *Eudes* preuented whilest hee liued. It was not long before his death, that hee resigned all his authority of Regent vnto *Charles* as to the lawfull heire, the which he could not long keepe when hee was in possession thereof, according to his soueraigne desire.

CHARLES

A

CHARLES the third, called the  
simple: 31. King of France.

89

902.

B

C



D

He was crowned in the yeare 902. *Eudes* gouerning with him eight yeares from his coronation, *Charles* remayning alone after the death of his Regent in the yeare 902. reigned seuen and twenty yeares. His reigne was miserable both in the beginning, midst, and ending. Hee ratified the accord made with the Normans, by *Charles* the Grosse, and sealed it with the marriage of his Sister *Gilet* with *Rhon* or *Raoul* (he is also called *Rhoulon*) their chiefe Commander, who hauing left the Pagan superstition and embraced Christian religion, purchased a great reputation in that Country, whereof hee was first called Duke. But the Normans suite ceasing, a more violent fire is kindled by confusion. All breakes forth: A league made against the King, discovers it selfe, and takes armes without shame or respect, but being the breeding of the change of this second race, we must obserue it very distinctly, and seeke out the motives thereof.

A memora-  
ble league of  
Robert against  
King Charles  
the 3.

E

The league of Robert brother to Eudes,  
against King Charles the simple: the first stepp to the  
change of this second race.

The which lay smothered sixe and thirty yeares before it was fully discovered,  
vnder Hugh Capet, from the yeare. 923. to 976.

F



ROBERT Duke of Aniou, that is to say, gouernour by the death of his brother *Eudes*, becomes the head of this league, accompanied by many great men of France. The euent shewes that their intent was to reiect *Charles* the simple, as vnworthy to reigne, and to choose a new King. I doubt not but *Robert* affected the crowne for himselfe: but it is very likely that he couered this his designe with some goodly pretext.

The motive  
of this league.

906.

The writers of that obscure age haue concealed the motiues; but as by the effects wee A know the cause, so by the event of this league when it was strongest, wee may iudge of the intent.

Charles put from the crowne.

They aduanced a Prince of the blood for King, causing *Charles* to quit the crowne, disgracing him with the name of simple or foolish, and declaring him incapable of so great a charge. Who seeth not then the reason, that during the minority of *Charles* the simple, the diuersity of masters had bred infinit confusions in the State? and that since his coronation, things were nothing repaired, although *Eudes* had resigned him the Regency. They pretend it was necessary to furnish the realme with a more worthie Prince, who might giue an end to these miseries. But that which chiefly moued the vndertakers, was their priuate interest, the which they cloaked with the good of the common-weale. The humors of this insufficient King offended many, too milde to some, too seuerer to others, and ingratefull to such as had best serued him.

The commentary which hath beene added to the text of the Originall is not likely, that *Robert* as brother to *Eudes* pretended the crowne, as heire vnto his brother beeing lawfully chosen by the States. But wherevnto tends all this? *Eudes* had left no suspicion to pretend any interest vnto the crowne, hauing beene Regent after others, and enioying it but by suffrance, resigning it willingly or by constraint vnto the lawfull heire. Truly the French mens carefull keeping of their Queenes wombe: their acknowledging the child borne after the fathers death for King: their choosing of Regents: their placing and displacing of C one and the same Regent, doe plainly shew both the efficacy of the law, and the resolute possession of the French, the which they yeilded not easily to a man with so weake a title. What then? I should rather thinke that the peoples complaint, tired with so long calamities, was their colour to furnish the realme with a more wise and profitable guide, and that they sought a Prince (as in the end they tooke *Raoul* King of Bourgongne, the first Prince of the blood) of which league *Robert* was the ringleader, as the first in dignity and most valiant in resolution, or the most rash in so dangerous an enterprise. The memory of his brothers wife and peaceable gouernment, and his owne valour, opposit to the foolish and base disposition of *Charles*, blemished with this name of simple, (for his folly and contemptible humors) gaue a great lustre to this enterprise, with those great intelligences hee had D within the realme, and namely with the Normans his confident friends.

Robert the heire of the league and in armes.

With this assurance hee armes boldly against *Charles*, promising himselfe an vndoubted victorie, by the valour of his men, and the basenesse of his enemy. *Charles* the simple awakes at this strange reuolt, and (distrusting his owne subiects, whom he sees risen in armes, to dispossesse him of his Estate) he flies to *Henry* the Third Emperour, and prepares all hee can to calme so great a storme. As their armies approach, *Robert* (to haue some title to make a warre) causeth himselfe to be crowned King at Rheims, by *Herve* the Archbishop, who died three daies after this vnlawfull Coronation. The opinions are diuers: but for my part, I doe not hold that *Robert* caused himselfe to be crowned, with a better title then his brother *Eudes*, who was neither crowned nor reigned as King, but a Regent. But all the French complained, that they needed a better King then *Charles* the simple, who would E loose the crowne, if it were not foreseene.

Robert causeth himselfe to be crowned King

The errors of King Charles.

He had already ratified the follie of *Charles* the Groffe, in continuing the vsurpation of *Neustria* to the Normans, who with the Kings consent were seized thereon, with the title of lawfull possession: and moreouer they were much incensed, that hee had put himselfe into the protection of the Emperour *Henry*, to giue him a cause to inuest himselfe King of France, as of late daies the Germans had infranchised themselves from the French Monarchy, by the diuision of brethren which had reigned, and the minority of *Charles* who then commanded. This ielousie inflamed the hearts both of the one and the other, and serued *Robert* for a shew, meaning to fish in a troubled water.

Now they are in armes. Reason and respect of the common good fights for *Robert*. The same reason ioynd with the royall authority, armes for *Charles* against these new designs. But God, (who guides the least moment of our liues, watcheth mightily for the preservation of mankind, and disposeth of Kingdomes by his wisdom) had limited this audacious attempt,

A attempt, reseruing the change to another season, and yet for the same race of *Robert*. Euen so, the death of him that had crowned *Robert*, was a foretelling of his own. The armies lodge in the heart of France, neere vnto the great Cittie of Paris, the seazing whereof was a maine point of State: but see what happens, he that thought to vanquish, is vanquished. As the armies approach neere to Soissons, striuing (in the viewe of Paris) who should do best, they ioyne. The combat is very cruell: but *Robert* fighting in the front is slaine, leauing for that time the victorie to *Charles* the Simple: and a sonne in his house shall reuiue his desceine in his posteritie, that is, *Hughes the Great*, father to *Hugh Capet*.

908.

The death of *Robert* did not daunt his armie, but it continued firme vnder the command of *Hebert* Earle of Vermandois, sonne in law to *Robert*. And *Charles* did so ill manage his victorie, as it became a trappe for his owne ruine: for seeing these forces to stand firme, hee seeks a treatie of peace with an vnseasonable feare. *Hebert* embraceth this occasion, beseecheth *Charles* to come to Saint Quintens, to confer together. *Charles* (simple indeed) comes thither without hostages. *Hebert* hauing him in his power, takes him prisoner: and letting him vnderstand the will of the French, to haue the Realme gouerned by a more sufficient man then himselfe, he resolues to assemble the Estates of the Realme to that end, conueyes him to Chateau-Thierry, and from thence to Soissons, where he had assembled the chiefe of the Realme, chosen after his owne humor: where he makes him to resigne the Crowne to *Raoul* his god-sonne, the first Prince of the blood, by his mother *Hermingrade*, daughter to C *Lewis*, and wife of *Boson*, King of Bourgongne.

Robert defeated and slaine by Charles.

Charles taken prisoner by Hebert.

So this poore Prince is led from prison to prison, (for the space of five yeares, yet numbred in his raigne) and after he had renounced his right, he payed nature her due, oppressed with griefe, and dying of a languishing melancholy, to see himselfe so ignominiously intreated by that audacious affront, done by the trecherie of his owne vassall.

Charles dies.

He had to wife *Ogina* the daughter of *Edward* King of England, a wife and couragious Princeesse: by her he had a sonne named *Lewis*. This poore Princeesse (seeing her husband prisoner, and foreseeing the end of this Tragedie, by the strange beginning) takes her sonne *Lewis*, and flies speedily into England, to her brother *Athelstan*, who then raignd, yeelding to the time, and the violent force of her enemies. Thus *Raoul* was seated in the place of *Charles* the Simple, a Prince of apparent vertue, and so they account him.

Queene Ogina flies to England with her sonne Lewis.

RAOVL

**RAOVL** the 32. King, but in effect an  
vsuper of the Realme.



*Raoul an vsur-  
per, his raigne  
was vnfortun-  
ate.*

**H**E was proclaimed and crowned King of France at Soissons, in the yeare 923. and reigned about 13. yeares, during *Charles* his imprisonment, and after his death. This raigne was painefull and vnfortunate: Normandie, Guienne, Lorraine, and Italy, were the cause of much fruitlesse labour. He sought to suppress the Normans, and to repaire the errors of *Charles* the Grosse, and *Charles* the Simple, (who were blamed to haue suffered them to take footing in that cuntry, to the preiudice of the Crowne:) but he preuailed not, nor yet in Lorraine, nor Guienne, whether hee made voyages, with much brute and small fruite. From thence he turned his forces towards Italy, where the State was much troubled, by the decease of *Boson*, and boldnesse of the Commaunders: who held the strongest places, playing the kings, in refusing to acknowledge the Empire, but in name, and in effect, they commaunded as Soueraignes, imagining their governments to be hereditarie for their children. He performed some things worthy of commendation, in suppressing *Berenger* Duke of Friul, who hauing freed himselfe from the Empire, had vanquished *Lewis* the sonne of *Boson*, who enioyed Italy (as we haue said) as husband to the daughter of *Lewis* the Gentle. *Raoul* made a quiet end with *Hugues* Earle of Arles, who had gotten possession of that goodly Cittie as gouernour, seated in a fertile Countrey, and very conuenient: hee suffered him quietly to enioy the cittie and territories about it, holding it of the Crowne of France.

Thus passed the raigne of *Raoul*, without any great profit after so much toyle and trouble, vnder a colour to do better then the lawfull heire, wrongfully dispossed by him; Leauing no memorie but his ambition and iniustice, in a deluge of troubles and confusions, wherein the Realme was plunged after his departure to the great discontent of all the French. Hee dyed after all these broyles in the yeare 936. at Compiene. An age wonderfully disordred, wherein we may profitably obserue by what accidents and meanes great estates are ruined.

Ciui!

*Necessitie ob-  
serueth vs for  
great estates.*

**A** Ciuill warres bred the first Symptomes. As order is the health of an estate, so is disorder the ruine. The ieruant hauing tasted the sweetnesse of command, imagines himselfe to be maister, being loath to leaue the authority he had in hand, holding it as his owne by testament. In this resolution there is nothing holy, all is violated for rule, all respect is layd aside, euery one plaies the King within himselfe: For one King there are many, and where there are many maisters, there is none at all. The which we must well obserue, to vnfold many difficulties in the History of this confused age, wherein we read of many Kings, Dukes, Earles, although these titles were but temporary, hauing no other title but the sword and the confusion of times.

**B** Thus was France altered after the death of *Charles* the simple, by the praides of *Roberts* League. There was no gouernour of any Prouince throughout the realme, which held not proper to him-selfe and his heires that which was giuen vnto him but as an office. From hence sprang so many Dukedomes, Earledomes, Baronies, and Seigneuries, the which for the most part are returned to their first beginnings. Italy (giuen to an infant of France) was possessed by diuers Princes. Germany (withdrawne from the Crowne) was banded into diuers factions, so as the Empire of the West, confirmed in the person of *Charlemagne*, continued scarce a hundred years in his race: for *Lewis* the forth, the sonne of *Arnoul* (of whom we haue spoken) was the last Emperour of this blood. In his place the Germans elected *Conrade* Duke of East Franconia, the yeare of grace. 920. the Empire being then very weake. After *Conrad* was chosen *Henry* the fouler, Duke of Saxony, and after him his sonne *Ortho*, Princes adorned with great and singular vertues, fit for the time to preserve the West: for the East did runne headlong to her ruine, so as since *Nicephorus* (who liued in the time of *Charlemagne*) they did not esteeme them, but held them as abiects in regard of those great Emperours which liued before them, namely *Michel Cæropalates*, *Leo Armenien*, *Michel* the stammering, the two *Theophiles* father and sonne, *Basile* the *Macedonian*, *Leo* the Philosopher, *Alexander*, and *Constantine* a Romaine, all which had nothing of the Romaine but the name. Thus this poore sicke body languished, being torne in peeces by the infamies of these men, either of no valour, or altogether wicked, attending the last blow by the hand of the *Mahometans*, whose power they fortified by their vitious liues, vntill they had lodged them vpon their owne heads.

**D** A notable spectacle of Gods iust iudgement, who dishonours them that dishonour him, and expells them from their houses that banish him from their hearts. In these confusions of State, the authority of the Pope of Rome increased daily, by the ruines of the Empire, who thrust him-selfe into credit among Christians by many occurrents. Their dessein was to build a Monarchy in the Church, by authority, power, Seigneuries, ciuill Iurisdictions, armes, reuenues, and treasor, being growne to that greatnesse, as afterwards they sought to prescribe lawes to Emperours and Kings, who refusing it (and disputing vpon this primacie) many dissensions grew among them, and so were dispersed among the people. This is the summe of all that shall be discoursed in the future ages in Christendome, wherein we shall view the sea of Rome, the Empire and the Kingdome. I treat but of matters of State, wherevnto the subiect and the order of our dessein doth tie me, to report by degrees so long and so obscure a discourse of those ages plunged in darkenesse.

**E** *Platina* the Popes Secretary, reports a very notable accident, happened at Rome in those times, a young maid loued by a learned man (these are his words) came with him to Athens, attyred like a boy, and there profited so well in knowledge and learning, as being come to Rome, there were few equall vnto her in the Scriptures, neither did any one exceed her in knowledge: so as she had gotten so great reputation, as after the death of Pope *Leo*, she was created Pope, by a generall consent, and was called *John* the eighth. But it chanced, that hauing reapt too neere to one of her gromes, she grew with child, the which she did carefully concale. But as she went to the *Basilique* of Saint *John de Lateran*, betwixt the *Colises* and Saint *Clement*, she fell in labour, and was deliuered of this stolne birth, in a solenne procession in view of all the people. And in detestation of so fowle a fact a pillar was erected where this profane person died.

So without flattering the truth, not the Empire alone went to wracke, but also the realme and the Church, being in those daies full of confusions, in which they fell from one mischief

*Confusions  
those times.*

*In France.*

*In Italy: not  
Germany.*

*Confusion is  
the East.*

*In the Church.*

*Platina Iacobus  
de bar.*

*Pope John the  
delivered of a  
child in the  
open street.*



127. mischief to another, by the Barbarous ignorance of all good things, both in the State and Church, as the wise and vnpassionate reader may obserue in the continuance of the history plainly described. But let vs returne from the Empire and sea of Rome to France. We haue sayd, that when *Charles* the simple was first imprisoned, the Queene *Ogina* his wife had carried her sonne *Lewis* into England to *Adelstan* the King her brother. She had patiently endured all, during the furious raigne of *Raoul*, the vsurper, while the experience of diuers maisters did ripen the French-mens discontents, to make them wish for their lawfull Lord. After this death of *Raoul*, *Adelstan* King of England, (hauing drawne vnto him *William* Duke of Normandy, the sonne of *Rhou*) sends a very honorable Ambassage to the States of France, intreating them to restore his Nephew *Lewis* to his lawfull and hereditary dignity. The French with it so as without any difficulty, *Lewis* the sonne of *Charles* was called home, by the Estates of France, whether he was accompanied with a great troupe of Englishmen and Normans, as the shew of a goodly army, which might seeme to force them to that which they willingly yeelded vnto.

L E W I S the 4, surnamed from  
beyond the seas, 33. King.



Lewis a dis-  
loyall Prince.

**L**EWIS returnes into France, hauing remaind nine yeares or thereabouts in England, surnamed *Doutremer* or from beyond the seas, by reason of his stay there. He beganne to raigne in the yeare nine hundred thirty five, and raigned twenty seauen yeares. A disloyall and vnfortunate Prince, hauing made no vse of his afflictions, vnworthy the bloud of *Charlemagne*. And thus was their ruine aduanced by the default of men, the which God held backe by his patience. He found the Estate of his realme like vnto one that returnes to his house after a long and dangerous navigation. He was receaued with great ioy of all men. Those which had beene most opposit vnto him, made greatest shewes of faithfull and affectionate seruice, to insinuate into his fauour. Amongst the rest *William* Duke of Normandy, but especially *Hugues* the great, Mayre of the Pallace, whome wee haue already noted, as the sonne of *Robert* the chiefe of the

A the said League. He had employed all his meanes for the calling home of *Lewis* into France, and at his returne he spared nothing to confirme his authority. This was the meanes to lay the foundation of a greater authority for his successors.

They must begin the new government of this Prince with a wife, to haue lawfull issue. The Emperours allyance was very needfull. *Otho* held the Emperiall dignity, being the sonne of *Henry* the fowler Duke of Saxony. He had two sisters *Elrhergue* and *Maoye*. King *Lewis* married the eldest, and in signe of brotherly loue he motioned the marriage of the youngest with *Huges* the great. *Lewis* had two sonnes by *Herbergue*, *Lotharre* (who succeeded him to the crowne of France) and *Charles*, who shalbe Duke of Lorraine and contend for the Crowne, but shall loose it. *Hugues* the great was more happy then *Lewis*, for of the youngest hee had *Hugh Capet*, who shall take their place, and ascend the royall throne, to settle the French monarchy, shaken much in the confusions of these kings vnworthy to raigne, or beare any rule. And of the same marriage *Hugues* had *Otho* and *Henry*, both Dukes of Bourgonne, one after another. Behold now vpon the Stage two great and wise personages, the King and his Mayre, whome we may call a second King: they strue to circumuent each other, the which their actions will discover: but man cannot preuent that on earth, which is decreed in heaven. At this time *William* Duke of Normandy, the sonne of *Rhou*, (who had shewed himselfe so affectionate in the restoring of the King to his dignity) was traiterously murdered by the meanes of *Arnoul* Earle of Flanders his capitall enemy: leauing one sonne named *Richard*, a young man vnder government. This vncpected and extraordinary death must needs breed great troubles in Normandy, an estate which was but now beginning. It did greatly import for the good of France, to haue this Prouince quiet. *Lewis* was likewise particularly bound, for the good entertainment he had receiued of *William* in his greatest necessity, the which tied him to his sonne.

These were goodly shewes to make him embrace this cause: so as hauing intelligence of this accident, he sends expressly to *Richard* and his counsell, to assure him of his loue and succour, and followes him-selfe presently to Rouan, with a traine fitte for his royall greatness, being loth to be the weakest after so strange an alteration, where the most audacious do commonly fish in a troubled streame. The colour of his coming was to comfort *Richard* with his counsell and fauourable assistance: but in effect, it was to seaze vpon his person and estate. He sends for this yong child to his lodging, conducted by his gouernour, a Knight called *Osmond*: he doth assure him with sweet words of his fatherly loue: but when night came, he would not suffer him to depart, detaining him three daies with a carefull gard. The people incensed by them that had then charge of the young Duke, mutine, and besiege the Kings lodging.

Hauing pacified this popular fury, in deliuering them their Prince, he protests to haue no other intent, but to preserve his estate. And so in an open assembly of the Citizens, receiving him to homage, hauing giuen him a discharge of his lands and Seigneuries, he doth solemnly promise to reuenge the death of *William* against *Arnoul* Earle of Flanders, and gets the consent of the Normans, to lead their Duke with him to be instructed with his sonne *Lotharre*, a young child of the same age. He brings him to *Laon*, whether *Arnoul* the murderer of *William* repaires, in shew to purge him-selfe of the murder: but in effect, to perswade him, so to seaze on *Richards* person, as he might enioy his estate.

*Lewis* being resolute in this determination (a man disloyall by nature, and louing nothing but himselfe) hee caused this poore young Prince to be straightly garded: but this gouernour *Osmond*, retires him cunningly out of *Laon*, conducting him to *Senlis*, to *Hebert* his fathers confident friend. This is he which imprisoned *Charles* the Simple, contrary to his faith: and now hee detests *Lewis* his Soueraigne Lord, who seeks to doe the like vnto one of his vassals. But we shall soone see the iustice of God aboue all, who will punish one by another, and shew him-selfe an enemy and reuenger of all disloyalty and misdeameour, both in servant and maister, and in all other, as all are naturally subiect to this soueraigne law of integrity and faithfulnessse to all men.

*Hugues* the great, Earle of Paris, and Mayre of the Pallace, had wone great credit with the cities and men of warre: but hee was more feared then loued of *Lewis*, a treacherous and reuengfull Prince, whome hee distrusted, and opposed his authority against him

Lewis doles  
treacherously  
with the Duke  
of Normandy

942. him. *Hebert* was his confident friend: so in this Accident of this yong Prince, he comes A to Paris, and winnes him to promise fauour vnto *Richard*, or at the least makes him promise not to be his enemy.

The King likewise (knowing how much his friendship did import in these affaires) labours to winne him (such was the strangeness of that age, as the master must seeke to the seruant) the which he obtained, vpon condition to giue him a good part of Normandie. Herevpon the match was made, that *Hugues* should accompany *Lewis* to the warre of Normandy, and should enter on the one side while the King came on the other, promising to diuide their conquests according to their agreement. But this succeeded not according to their meanings, the two deceiuers were deceiued: but the greatest bare the greatest burthen. B This complot of *Lewis* and *Hugues* could not be so secret, but it came to the knowledge of *Hebert*, who gaue intelligence to *Richard* and his gouernors, *Osmond* and *Bernard* the Dane: so as they assemble at Senlis, and resolue to crosse this double dealing of *Hugues*, with the like policy. To this end *Hebert* (according to the familiarity he had with *Hugues*) goes to conferre with him, to put him in minde of his promise, of the right of a yong Prince vnto the which he was imployed by *Lewis*, and of his treacherous and disloyall disposition, who hauing im- C ploied him to worke his will, would in the end deceiue him, beseeching him to stand firme in a good cause, for his ancient and faithfull friends, and not to fortifie their common ene- my by the afflictions of another, but in defending the right vniustly set vpon, prouide for his safety and profit. *Hugues* (who thought it best to haue two strings to his bow) distrust- ing *Lewis* in his heart more then any man liuing, doth easily grant *Hebert* to assist *Richard* against *Lewis*, and doth confirme his promise by oth.

The deceiuer  
is deceiued.

*Hebert* hauing thus ingaged *Hugues*, and yet distrusting him greatly, whom he sees to play on both sides, returnes to Senlis, to *Richard* and his gouernors, where they conclude, that if *Hugues* ioynd with the King against *Richard*, they would compound with the King to his cost: and so it happened. The King goes to field with his army on the one side, and *Hugues* on the other to invade Normandy in diuers partes, when as *Bernard* the Dane, chiefe gouernor of the State for *Richard*, and *Osmond* of his person, came boldly vnto *Lewis* and said vnto him, that he had no need to attempt Normandy by force, when as hee might enjoy it by a voluntary obedience: for prooffe whereof, if it pleased him to come to Rouan, D he should be obeyed. But withall he aduised him to take heed of *Hugues* his ancient ene- my, shewing him treacherously the countenance of a friend and seruant, which hee were cir- cumuentured, but rather to accept of all Normandy with Rouan, the which offered it selfe vn- to him to receiue peace from him, and yeeld him obedience as their Souereigne Lord.

*Lewis* willingly giues eare to this aduice: he comes presently to Rouan, and is honorab- ly receiued, sending word to *Hugues*, that seeing the Prouince obeyed, there was no neede of further proceeding, and hauing not imployed him in this voluntary conquest, it was not reasonable he should participate in another mans Estate: that the publike good and reason required him to leaue *Richard* as hee was, vnder the obedience of the Crowne, without dis- membring of his Estate. *Hugues* (who pretended a good part of this rich Country) was greatly discontented with *Lewis*. Hauing dismissed his army, he retires to Paris, detesting E his infidelity. *Hebert* embracing this occasion, comes to *Hugues*, and according to the fa- miliarity of their ancient friendship, he laughs at him, in suffering himselfe to be abused by his approued enemy, abandoning his trusty friends against all right. The shame to haue failed of his word, and despite to haue bene deceiued, made *Hugues* soone resolue, not on- ly to leaue *Lewis*, but to embrace *Richards* party against him, with all his power. It was a notable stratageme, to diuide *Hugues*, and leaue him discontented with *Lewis*: but being assured of his friendship, they send into Den-marke (from whence the Normans were de- cended) to King *Agrol*, kinsman and friend to *Richard*, for succours, the which succeeded more happily then they expected.

*Lewis* opposeth  
the Normans.

*Lewis* is at Rouan, who doth not onely command there as Souereigne, but doth seize F on their goods, whom he doth any way suspect; deuising occasions, and holding it for a capitall crime to bee any way affected vnto *Richard*, fauoring his followers with the best matches in the Country, and giuing them credit and authority in the Prouince, by marria- ges: hee imposeth extraordinary charges vpon the people, already furcharged with the feeding

A feeding of to many horsemen. To conclude, he doth all a man may doe, that hath no other countellor but his greatnesse, and that seeke his owne ruine by his blind couetousnesse.

In the meane time *Agrol* armes in Denmarke, and in the end comes into Normandy with a goodly army: the King likewise brings his forces to field. *Richard*, who had the chiefe interest, is at Senlis in safety, and *Hugues* at Paris, a looker on. *Agrol* before he enters into open hostility, sends his Ambassadors to *Lewis*, to let him vnderstand, that the reason which had drawne him into Normandy with his army, was to maintaine the right of his cousin *Richard*, who had not deserued to bee spoiled of his Estate, vpon no other cause but his minority, who (although he had no father,) yet should hee not bee destitute of Kinsmen B and friends. And therefore he intreated *Lewis* (rather then to come to the doubtfull euent of armes) to suffer *Richard* to enioy Normandy, as his father and grand-father had done. And this he did to haue the right on his side.

*Lewis* bold in deceiuing, and a coward in danger, charged with the wrong hee had done vnto a pupill, seeing himselfe abandoned by *Hugues*, whom hee had discontented out of season, and not trusting much the other Noblemen that followed him, hee makes a very milde answer to *Agrol*: and after some negotiations, hee yeelds to a parlee with him, as the chiefe mediator of *Richards* rights. Being in field, and conferring together vpon this occasion, behold an vnexpected accident falls out. Hee which had bene the cause of the Earle of Flanders quarrell, and by consequence of the murdering of *William*, the father of C *Richard*, was there present with the King. Our histories say, it was *Ellorn* Earle of Montre- uill. A Dane (an old friend of *Williams*) knowes him, hee chargeth him therewith: and as they grow to choller, he kills him. Then both parties fell to armes: the French charge the Danes, but they finde themselves too weake: all are disperfed, and with this vprore the Kings breake off their parlee. *Lewis* goes to horse, the which being strong-headed, carries him among the thickest of the Danes. Behold hee is now prisoner in the hands of some souldiers: but as in this tumult the guard was neglected, he escapes: yet in the end he is taken againe, and led in triumph to Rouan. Thus the murder supported by *Lewis*, was the cause of his imprisonment: and hee seeking to wrong a pupill, did releue him with his owne person, in exchange that he had restrained him against all right.

*Lewis* taken  
prisoner, at a  
parlee.

D The Queene *Gerberge* greatly troubled for her husbands imprisonment; flies to *Otho* the Emperour her brother, who (preuented by *Hugues* his other brother in law; and seeing the wrong *Lewis* did, to disquiet a yong Prince in the possession of his estate) refuseth to helpe him: so as necessitie inforced *Gerberge* to vse *Hugues* (to her great griefe) to be a me- diator for the deliuey of the King her husband. *Hugues* intreated by the Queene his sister in law, deales at length in this accord, but vpon good termes; that the King should yeeld to Duke *Richard* all the Duchie of Normandy, and for a surplussage that of Britanie, to hold them freely without retention of souereignty or homage: the which was much more then the pupill required, who would willingly haue done homage to the King, as to his souereigne Lord, and haue yeelded him faithfull obedience. Behold the issue of *Lewis* his deceite, being deceiued by a poore yong man, whom hee thought to circumuent; ve- E rifying by a notable example, that whosoever seekes to take away an other mans right, loo- seth his owne.

Enlarged vpon  
conditions.

Behold *Richard* restored to his Estate, where hee carrieth himselfe with such equity and moderation, by the wise aduise of *Bernard* and *Osmond* his Gouernours, as hee winnes the loue of his subiects, and by their counsell, he takes to wife *Agnes* or *Emmet*, the daughter of *Hugues* the great, for a requitall of the good office hee had receiued from him in his ne- cessity. This alliance of *Hugues* with *Richard*, increased *Lewis* his iealousie against him, so as he resolued to imploy all his forces to suppress him. He goes to the Emperour *Otho* his brother in law, informing him, that *Hugues* practised to depriue him of the realme: and that he would speedily attempt it, if he were not preuented: with whom he so preuailed, through F this common iealousie of Princes (who impatiently doe see any other to grow great by them) as hee leuiued a great army, the which ioynd with that of France, and besieged Rouan: but with such vnhappy successe, as the Emperour (hauing lost both his Nephew and a great number of his men) aduised the King to compound with *Hugues* his brother in law, and to leaue *Richard* Normandy in peace, according to their former treaties.

*Richard* mar-  
ries the  
daughter of  
*Hugues* the  
great.

*Lewis* seeks  
to ouercome  
*Hugues* his bro-  
ther in law.

955. So hauing labored to reconcile these brothers in law, hee returned into Germany. This A counterfeit reconciliation, was but a breathing of the peoples miseries, which they suffered by the dissention of Princes: but there was no firme friendship, for *Hugues* trusted not *Lewis*, but kept aloofe in his great City of Paris, leauing the King at Laon, beeing then the chiefe seat of his royall abode.

*Hugues*, by this cunning proceeding, kept himselfe out of *Lewis* his hands, who on the other side dissembled: and seeing that force could not preuaile, he watched all oportunities to surpris his enemies: amongst the which he hated none so much as *Hebert* Earle of Vermandois, both for that which hee had done against his father, and his late proceedings against himselfe. Hee gouerned this dislike so wisely, as in the end *Hebert* was hanged, and this was the meanes: *Lewis* pretending to loue *Hugues*, shewed a good countenance to all B such as were affected vnto him, especially to this Cont *Hebert*, whom hee fauored extraordinarily, protesting to trust him in all things: the successe was answerable to his plot. He calls an assembly of his vassalls at Laon, and fortifies himselfe to bee the strongest: thether he calls Cont *Hebert*, of whose counsell (in shew) he made great esteeme, and writes his letters vnto him, that he would vse him. *Hebert* growne familiar with *Lewis*, and sent for by him, comes to the assembly, fearing no enemy. *Lewis* beeing master of the City, reading a letter after diner in the great hall, he cried out. *It is truly sayd, that English men are not very wise.* The Noblemen about him desirous to know the cause of this speech: hee fained, that the King of England had demanded his aduice by this letter: What hee should doe to C a subiect that had called his Lord into his house, vnder colour of good cheere, had seized on him, and caused him to die shamefully: *Hebert* answereth with the rest: That hee must die infamously. The King replies vnto him presently. Thou hast condemned thy selfe by thine owne mouth, thou wicked seruant, thou didst inuite my father to thy house, with a shew of loue: being there, thou didst detaine him and cause him to die cruelly. The company stood in shew amazed, but in effect ready to execute the Kings pleasure, not able to contradict so manifest a truth: for the information of the death of King *Charles* the simple, was notorious to the world, so as presently, by *Lewis* absolute command, *Hebert* was taken away, deliuered to the executioner, and hanged in view of all the world, the place being neere vnto Laon, (noted by so memorable an execution) is called Mont *Hebert* vnto this day. D And thus the treachery of *Hebert* (after a long delay, when he least suspected) was punished by the treachery of *Lewis*: and hee himselfe after all these exploits died at Rheims, in the yeare 955. hated and detested of the French, leauing to *Lothaire* his sonne a crowne neere the ruine, and to *Charles* his yongest, the fauour of his elder brother, for a poore portion, as we shall declare hereafter.

Treachery  
punished with  
treachery.

Cont *Hebert*  
hanged.

*Lewis* dies  
hated of his  
subiects.

LOTHAIRE

LOTHAIRE the 34. King  
of France.



E began to reigne in the yeare 956. and reigned thirty one yeares, performing nothing that was memorable, but that hee was heire to his fathers treachery and misfortune, and the last but one of his race. Hee was a forerunner of the change, which happened to his posterity. He renewed a league with the Emperour *Otho* the second, who had succeeded his father *Otho* the first, with an intent to reuiue the enterprise of his father *Lewis*, against *Richard* Duke of Normandie, either by policy, or else by open force. He sought twice to surpris *Richard*, a good and a wise Prince, with a shew of good meaning: but hauing attempted all in vaine, in the end he vsed open force, and was shamefully repulsed and beaten. Thus hee spent some yeares vnprofitably in this wilfull passion against the Normans, bringing infinit confusions into France, both by his owne forces, and by theirs, against whom he vndertooke this voluntary warre.

These miseries are set forth at large, by those writers which liued in that age. This breefe will serue for the matter, according to our stile, to shew, that these calamities, bred E onely by the passion of an ill-advised King, thrust the subiects into furie and dispaire, and then into hatred against him, beeing vnworthy to bee respected, hauing so little regard of publike peace. The generall Estates assemble for the redresse thereof. The Normans suffering as well as the French, demand nothing more then peace, and Duke *Richard*, notwithstanding his treaty with *Lewis* the fourth, offered to hold of the crowne of France, so as his subiects might liue in quiet.

These honest, profitable and necessary offers, augmented their hate against *Lothaire*, who sought warre without any cause, although he were vnfortunate, alwaies mutinous, and alwaies beaten. To this phreneticall passion of his fruitlesse quarrells against the Normans, a new fantasie possessed *Lothaire*, to breake the league with the Emperour, and to make warre with the Germaines, for the possession of Lorraine, (anciently called Austrasia) the which he sayd belonged vnto him by right, time out of minde. Hee sought by ill government to repossesse that which lay farre off, being vnable to keepe that which he had in his possession. Hee engaged *Regnier* and *Lambert*, the sonnes of the Earle of Mons in this

*Lothaire* a  
treacherous  
King.

He attempts  
warre against  
*Richard* of  
Normandie,  
but in vaine.

964.

Lothaire  
makes warre  
againt the  
Emperour.Lorraine given  
to the Bishops of  
France by the  
Emperour.

action, promising to diuide the conquest: and did so contemne his brother *Charles* (whom A his father had recommended vnto him) leauing him no portion but his fauour, hoping this liberty should breed more loue in him, and also the reuerence of a brother tyed to his eldest, should make him respectiue to the publike authority) as he fled to the Emperour *Otho* for helpe. *Otho* (embracing this occasion) determines the sute which *Lothaire* would commence against him, in respect of *Lorraine*: inuesting *Charles* therein, who soughte relesce of him for his brothers discontent: but *Otho* restoring *Lorraine* vnto him, took from it great Seigneuries giuen to the Bishops of *Cologne* and *Liege*, with condition also that the same should depend of the Empire. Hereof grew great jarres betwixt the French and the Germanes, with so violent a rage, and passion, as they were rather furious robberies, then iust and well gouerned warres, *Charles* the brother of *Lothaire*, carried himselte very indifferently, as if he had beene no Frenchman but a Germane, and was wedded to the Emperours passion with such vehemencie, as if all his good fortune had depended thereon, and had vtterly renounced France as a capitall enemye. Moreover, the ordinary traffick from France to Germanie, was a daily cause of discontent to the French: to whom *Lorraine* was an ordinary passage for their commerce: so as diuerse persons receiuing daily, and vpon diuerse occasions, discourtesies from *Charles* Duke of *Lorraine*, the French conceiued a hatred in their hearts against him, which burst out in a seasonable time, for the vtter ouerthrow of all the good hap where-vnto God had called him, the which hee could not gouerne by his indiscretion and cruelty.

But the prouidence of God, making way for his decrees, would expell them from the C Crowne, which had banished all faith, valour, humanitie, iustice, and other royall vertues, and disposed the people to these changes, by their default, who had the principall interest to entertaine their loues by equity and good vsage: *Lothaire* hated of all men, dyed in the yeare 964. leauing behind him an execrable memory of his actions, and *Lewis* his sonne for a finall conclusion of his race, as an outcast of great *Charlemagne*.

Lothaire dyes  
deserted of all  
men.

Lewis the 5. the 35. King, and the last  
of this second race.



E

F

HE

A



E rained one yeare onely, and dyed without heire, without friends, and without memorie, leauing his place voide in time of need, in troubles of State, and confusion of times horribly corrupted. Hee was likewise called idle, hauing done nothing worthy of memory, but in leauing the place to a better Prince, and more worthy then himselte, whom God, the protector of the Crowne of France, had reserved for this estate, in so great necessitie: for as God had decreed, that out of the house of *Hugues* the B great, should issue a great King, which should reparaire the errors of this bastard race of *Charlemagne*, so likewise hee had prepared the meanes, both for the father to lay the foundation; and for his sonne *Hugh Capet* (appointed for this dignity) to finish this goodly building, as it appears in the following discourse.

964.

The last kin  
of the race of  
Lothaire.God the dis  
poser of King  
domes and  
States.

*The end of the second Race.*

## THE THIRD RACE OF THE KINGS OF FRANCE:

Called *Capets* or *Capeuingiens*, of the name of *Hugh Capet*,  
Father to the Kings which raigne happily  
to this day.

*I haue made the earth with a stretched-out arme, and  
dispose of the estates of men at  
my pleasure.  
By mee Kings doe raigne.*

K 3

A parti.

## A particular Chronologie of the third Race.

Yeares of grace	Kings	From the yeare 988. unto the yeare 1610.
988.	36.	<i>Hugues, or Hugh Capet,</i> The first of that race, who settled the Estate of the French Monarchie, much shaken by the confusion of ciuill warres, and the multiplicity of maisters. Hereckons twenty and eight Kings issued from him successiueley from father to sonne, or from branch to branch, according to the order of the fundamentall Law of the State of France. Hauiug raigned nine yeares, he leaues
996.	37.	<i>Robert</i> his sonne, alone of that name, a peaceable King, who raignes 32. yeares, and to him succeeds,
1018.	38.	<i>Henry</i> the first of that name, his sonne, who raignes 33. yeares, and to him
1061.	39.	<i>Philip</i> the 1. his sonne, who raigned 49. yeares, and to him
1109.	40.	<i>Lewis</i> the 6. called the grosse, his sonne, who raignes 29. yeares, and to him
1137.	41.	<i>Lewis</i> the 7. called the yong, who raigned 44. yeares, and to him succeeded
1181.	42.	<i>Philip Augustus</i> the 2. surnamed <i>Deodatus</i> , or giuen of God, his sonne, who raigned 44. yeares, and to him succeeded his sonne
1223.	43.	<i>Lewis</i> the 8. called the father of <i>Saint Lewis</i> , who raigned 3. yeares, and to him
1227.	44.	<i>Lewis</i> the 9. called <i>Saint Lewis</i> , a great and famous Prince: hee reignes 44. yeares, and to him his sonne
1271.	45.	<i>Philip</i> the 3. surnamed the hardy, who raigned 15. yeares, and to him his sonne
1286.	46.	<i>Philip</i> the 4. called the faire, who raigned 29. yeares, and to him his sonne
1315.	47.	<i>Lewis</i> the 10. surnamed <i>Hutin</i> : hauiug raigned 2. yeares, he leaues the Crowne to his brother
1317.	48.	<i>Philip</i> the 5. called the long, who raigned 6. yeares, and leaues the Scepter to his brother
1322.	49.	<i>Charles</i> the 4. called the faire, who raigned 6. yeares: And by the law of State, for want of sonnes or brother, the Estates of France, notwithstanding the pretensions of <i>Edward</i> King of <i>England</i> , the sonne of the onely daughter of <i>Philip</i> the faire, placed in the royall throne
1328.	50.	<i>Philip</i> of <i>Valois</i> , the 5. sonne of <i>Charles</i> of <i>Valois</i> , and second sonne to <i>Philip</i> the 3. and by consequence, the neereft kinsman to the three former Kings.
1350.	51.	He raignes 23. yeares, & to him succeeds his sonne <i>John</i> alone of that name. Vnder him began a confusion in the Realme, the which continued neere a hundred yeares, with much miserie: that is from this <i>John</i> , vntill the warre of the common-weale, vnder <i>Lewis</i> the 11. So wee reckon 5. very troublesome raignes, vnder <i>John</i> , <i>Charles</i> 5. <i>Charles</i> 6. <i>Charles</i> the 7. and <i>Lewis</i> the 11. who settled and augmented the Estate of the realme, beeing greatly decayed by the continuance of ciuill warres, <i>John</i> hauiug reigned 14. yeares, leaues the realme to
1364.	52.	<i>Charles</i> the 5. his sonne, called the wife, who raigned 18. yeares, and to him succeeded
1382.	53.	<i>Charles</i> the 6. his sonne, who raigned with much paine 42. yeares, and to him
1424.	54.	<i>Charles</i> the 7. his sonne, Who expelled the English out of France, and settled the Crowne, seized on by the King of England, who was Crowned and proclaimed King in Paris, hauiug raigned 39. yeares. Hee leaues the royall scepter to
1463.	55.	<i>Lewis</i> the 11. his sonne,

Who

Yeares Kings.  
of grace  
1483.

65.

Who vniued *Bourgogne* and *Prouence* to the Crowne, and thereby took away all occasions of trouble, leauing the royall scepter to his sonne

*Charles* the 8. with peace.

The which continued without any disturbance, about an hundred yeares, from the yeare 1462. vnto the yeare 1562. vnder the raignes of *Lewis* 12. *Francis* 1. and *Henry* 2. *Charles* 8. hauiug raigned 14. yeares, dying without children, the Realme was transported to

1498.

57.

*Lewis* the 12. Duke of *Orleance*, who raigned 18. yeares, and for want of heires male, remits the Crowne to

1515.

58.

*Francis* the 1. of that name, Duke of *Angoulesme*, who raigned 32. yeares.

An excellent Prince, who after the long ignorance of obscure ages, caused the knowledge of learning to flourish, hauiug beautified his Vniuersitie of *Paris* with excellent men, learned in the tongues and sciences, the which were dispersed ouer all Europe: and to him succeeded his sonne

1547.

59.

*Henry* the 2. of that name, who raigned 12. yeares, and to him succeeded

1559.

60.

*Francis* the 2. his sonne, who dying without children, there succeeded him his brother

61.

*Charles* the 9. who dying without Children, left the Crowne to

62.

*Henry* the 3. his brother, the last of the royall race of *Valois*, who beeing slain by a *Iacobin*, and dying without children, there succeeded in the lawfull masculine line

63.

*Henry* the 4. before King of *Nauarre*, and the first King of the royall line of *Bourbon*, who attained vnto the Crowne (after many painefull difficulties) by his owne valour and wildome, hauiug raigned neere 21. yeares, very happily, beeing beloued, obeyed, and respected both of subiects and strangers, was in the end traiterously murdered by a villaine, beeing in his coach, leauing the Crowne to his sonne

*Lewis* the 13. a young Prince not full nine yeares old.

*The Genealogie of King Lewis the 13. now raigning, according to the order of succession, is at the end of the royall branch of Valois.*



HUGUES, or Hugh Capet, the 36. King.  
and the first of the third race: the  
which raignes at this day under.  
Lewis the 13.



Charles Duke  
of Lorraine  
here pre-  
sented, re-  
jected from  
the crowne,  
and,  
Hugh Capet  
chosen King  
of France.

The date of  
this change  
vnto the third  
Race.

**T**HE royall throne of France (remaying void, by the death of Lewis the 5.) did visibly call Charles Duke of Lorraine to the Crowne (of whom we have before made mention) as the first Prince of the bloud royall, to whom I say the fundamentall law did adiuage the Crowne, for want of heires males, lawfull sonnes of Kings. Charles was son to Lewis the forth, brother to Lothaire, Vncle to Lewis the fift the last King. But it chanced otherwise, for Hugh Capet, sonne to Hugues the great, Mayre of the Pallace, Earle of Paris and also Prince of the French, carried it from Charles, being advanced to the crowne by the free election of the French, assembled in Parliament, according to the ancient and inuolable customes of France. By whose decree Hugh Capet, was chosen king, and Charles Duke of Lorraine rejected from the crowne. This election being confirmed by the blessing of God, who had maintayned the possession (thus made lawfull by the consent of French nation) in the successiue posterity of Capet, who happily preferred the French Monarchie vnto this day, against the sundry violences of strangers.

This change happened in the yeare 987. in the moneth of Iuly. But as this action was one of the worthiest that euer chanced in this Realme, being an estate vnder which our Ancestors haue liued, and we do liue at this day, so this gouernment hath continued 619. years. Yet all this is handled, by our ordinary writers, with such obscure breuery, as if Hugh Capet had fallen out of the clouds, or bene suddenly bred in one night, like vnto a mushrome. The wise reader, which seekes the truth, must giue me leaue to dilate my stile, to shew him by degrees, the breeding, continuance and feeling of this new royalty, in the house of France, transplanted into the house of Capet, as I could collect it by the curious search of the Originalls, and as the traces of truth could direct me in so crooked a Labyrinth, ynknewne to the greatest part of our French nation. What I haue here described, is faithfully drawne out of diuers authors which liued in those times. I haue only fitted my report to be the more intelligible, and will simply represent what passed in this change, not giuing my censure, but leauing it free to the vnpartial reader.

Wcc

**A** We haue said in the second race, that Lewis the fift sonne to Lothaire, dying without heires males, had buried the royaltie with him: for Charles Duke of Lorraine, (whome the lawe of state preferred to this dignitie) had by his actions made himselfe vnworthie of this great honour. He had recourse to the Emperour Otto, and had taken the oath of fealtie and allegiance to be inuelted in the Duchie of Lorraine. So by this homage he had renounced all the interest he could pretend to the Crowne of France. Moreover, he had aggravated this error by an irreconcilable hatred: for (being Duke of Lorraine) he had shewed himselfe a passionate enemy to the French, in maintaining the Germanie faction against them, who had not long before withdrawn themselves from the obedience of our Monarchie. It is also likely, that many priuate men were moued with the interest of this generall quarrell, by reason of the situation of Lorraine, the ordinarie passage from Fraunce into Germanie, Prouinces of mutuall commerce.

The reason  
why Charles  
was rejected.

These priuate iniuries, bred in the end a generall discontent, the which was increased by such as had a priuate interest in the wrongs they pretended to haue receiued. The feeling of these bad practises, acted so lately by Charles against France, both in generall and particular, did incense the French against him. But the example and cries of them of Lorraine, added to their experience, confirmed their resolution, to stop his entrance to the Crowne: for Charles (being rash & a wicked man, bearing a Kings mind vnder a Dukes title) did infinitely oppress his subiects of Lorraine, for the supplying of his prodigall expences: hauing as little iudgement and temperance to intreat the of Lorraine mildly, as he had reason to gouern himselfe.

**C** The president of these newe subiects (whome hee enioyed but by sufferance,) preuailed much with the French in this new accident: for what could they with reason conclude of his vsage against them, who should be his naturall and necessarie subiects? being yet terrified with the memorie of that which they had suffered vnder Lothaire his brother.

This was the preparatiue of Charles his downfall, wrought by himselfe, to deprive him of that authoritie wherunto God had called him. These were the causes which made the French resolute to withstand Charles of Lorraine with all their force, in his pretention to the Crowne of France. But how then? Charles being rejected, the realme had need of a King, vnable to subsist without one, no more then a bodie can without a head.

**D** Thus the end of the one is the beginning of the other, and necessitie gaue the people this first aduice to change, thrust forward with the onely consideration of their quiet and profit. But the Nobilitie growne great by the disorders of troubles past, had yet more interest in this change, for the preservation of their goods and honours. They could not liue all equall. This equall command is a plague to the French: they had deuoured one another without a great commander respected of them all, for, so many Prouinces, so many petty Kings, which had neuer yeilded one to another without a Controuler.

Equality of  
command, the  
ruine of an e-  
state.

In this estate they could haue no recourse but to Hugh Capet, being accompanied with all the commendable vertues that might make a man worthie of a great command: with authoritie, power, vnderstanding, courage, wisdom, equitie, mildnesse, dexteritie, valour, and credit, both within and without the realme.

Hugh Capet  
held not vn-  
worthie of the  
Crowne.

**E** We haue before spoken of his father Hugues the Great, the sonne of Robert Duke of Angers, who was the head of the League against Charles the Simple: shewing, that he not only maintained himselfe after the death of his father Robert, but also built his designes vpon the same foundation, vnder the reignes of Lewis the 4. and Lothaire, Princes hard to be circumvented. They feared him more then they loued him: yet he vsed their authorities to his owne good, and did so wisely prevent the practises of these two malicious and reuengefull Princes, as he maintained his authoritie firmly by the means of his great commands. Being Duke of the French, he had the command of armes: as Mayor of the Pallace, he held the helme of the affaires of State: and being Earle of Paris, he had the chiefe credit with the people, who had their greatest trade in the Capitall Cittie of the Realme. This was the fruite which the respect of these offices brought him, being well gouerned by his wife dexteritie. And although these Kings loued him not, yet the alliance he had with them, as brother in lawe, but especially vertue countenanced by his so great credit, was the cause they not onely made shewe to loue him as their allye, but also to respect him as one of the chiefe pillars of the State.

The wise pro-  
ceeding of  
Hugues the  
Great his fa-  
ther.

But

987.

But to these offices and dignities, he added the friendship of the chiefe Noblemen of the Realme, beeing very carefull to entertaine their loues. *Richard* Duke of Normandie was one of his most confident friends, whom he had gratified, maintaining him in the possession of his estate. He receiued requirall of this good office with interest, in the person of *Hugh* his sonne, to seate him in the royall throne, as our Historie shall declare. But all these aduantages, were not onely crowned with a goodly and great offspring, but also with a sonne endowed with singular graces both of bodie and mind. Hee had sixe sonnes and two daughters, with such successe, as he made perfect the worke his father had begun.

The offspring  
of *Hughes* the  
Great.

He was called  
*Capetus*.

He was named *Hughes*, and by surname *Capet*, either for that he had a great head, or that beeing young he was accustomed to catch at his companions cappes, as a preface of that he should do to Kings: *Otho* and *Henry*, two other sonnes of *Hughes*, were Dukes of Bourgoigne one after another: his other sonnes were aduanced to Ecclesiasticall dignities, the one Archbishop of Tholouse, the other of Rouan, and the third dyed young. One of his daughters was married to the Duke of Normandie, the other to *Fredericke* Earle of Metz. He had taken his first wife from England, the daughter of King *Edward*, and sister to queene *Ogina*, the wife of *Charles* the Simple, mother to *Lewis* the fourth: and although he had no children by her, yet did he carefully preferue the friendship of this allyance, and before his death he chose a wife out of this great house, for *Hugh Capet* his eldest sonne, the which was *Adelais* the daughter of King *Edward*.

Thus he fortified his greatnesse by all meanes, the which raised his posteritie to the royall throne, purchasing credit both within and without the Realme, by all meanes fit to establish a great family. These were the ordinarie proceedings which humane policie (beeing the gift of God, and a branch of his wisdome in those that he will blesse, leauing the wretched plunged in their wretchednesse, by their owne indiscretion) doth vsually prescribe to wise and carefull men. But *Hughes* the Great had another aduantage, which surmounted all these his great meanes, or the force of his friendships and alliances, hauing a sonne capable of iudgement for great attempts, fit for the time, brought vp, and instructed by himselfe.

To conclude, all things were so disposed in France, as they must necessarily receiue him for King. Necessitie, the generall consent both of great and small, and a meanes to preferue the Crowne from ruine, the which he alone could effect. But if the French were forward in seeking to him, *Hughes* was so much the more encouraged to embrace so great and famous a dignitie. And in the execution of this generous desseigne, he carried himselfe with so great wisdome, moderation, and dexterity, as we may well say, that God called him, as it were from heauen. There remained nothing but an orderly proceeding to that which reason presented vnto them.

*Hugh Capet*  
proceeding to  
assume the  
Crowne.

A Parlement  
called at *Noyon*  
for the  
election of  
*Hugh Capet*.

*Hughes* beganne with the greatest, who had a speciall interest to preferue what they held. He treated mildly with them for the common necessitie. The condition was, To leaue them all that by inheritance, which they held of the Crowne by title of office, and they to do homage, and acknowledge him for their lawfull King. Thus was the accord made betwixt the Nobilitie of France, and *Hugh Capet*, profitable for great men, necessarie for the people, honourable for *Hughes*, and beneficial for the Realme: for by this meanes the realme was maintained in one bodie, vnder the authoritie of one absolute Commaunder. *Hughes* was well furnished, hauing a sonne capable of the realme which was hereditarie. The better sort had what they could desire for them or theirs, and the people remayned in peace after so many miseries. Things beeing thus disposed of all sides, the Parliament assembles at *Noyon*, whither they runne from all parts: and both necessitie and desire to winne his fauour, to whome reason should assigne the Realme brought all the cities, and made such hast thither as they sought to settle their priuate estates by this publike authoritie. *Hugh* failes not likewise to call all his friendes, to reape the fruite so long sought for with so great paine and trauaile, both by himselfe and his father, and now to employ them as in a day of battaile.

The assembly was great, by the concourse of all the Prouinces and Citties of the Realme, which repaired thither. It was the more famous, for that in shew the French offered the Realme to *Capet*, as if hee had not affected it. As things passe in this sort, *Charles* Duke of

of

987.

A of Lorraine, well aduertised of the Frenchmens intent, and the desseignes of *Hugh*, labours to prevent him: and being resolu'd to employ all his forces, he begins first by admonitions, but so ill seasoned, as it made the way more easie for *Capet*: for hee sends his Ambassadors to the assembly of the States, not to intreate them to receiue him into their fauours, and so to the Crowne, according to his hereditary right, but to summon them, That if they did not speedily obey, hee would reduce them to obedience by force. The French already incensed against *Charles*, and hauing placed their hopes in *Hugh* (being present, and soliciting for himselfe, assisted with his best friends) fell into so great a rage against *Charles*, by his rough and importune speeches, as hardly could the law of Nations restraîne them from doing some affront vnto his Ambassadors, for their indiscretion.

*Charles* sends  
his Ambassa-  
dors to the  
States, and

B Then the Estates inact by a sollemne decree, That for as much as *Charles* had shewed himselfe a friend to the enemy of France, and a sworne enemy to the French, so likewise did the French renounce his friendship, declaring him incapable of the benefit of the Law, both for that hee gaue the first cause, as also not being bound to acknowledge him for King, that is an enemy to the State, (their oth binding them to a King which is a father, iust, wise, milde, and temperate.) And therefore, betwene God and their consciences, without any alteration of the fundamentall law, they renounce him, and declare that their intention is to choose a King which should provide for the quiet of France.

Is reiecte  
from the  
crowne.

C They deliuer this declaration to *Charles* his Ambassadors, commanding them to auoide the Realme presently. Thus *Charles* his reiectiō, was the raising of *Hugh Capet*, for presently the generall estates (assembled in one body, and representing all the Prouinces of the Realme) declare by an authentike and sollemne decree, That being necessary to choose a King for the preferuation of the Crowne of France, destitute as well by the death of *Lewis* the first, as by the apparent treachery of *Charles* Duke of Lorraine, That in equity, according to God and their consciences, the Estates did choose *Hugh Capet* for King, promising to obey him, and his, as their lawfull King, according to the law of State. This is the ground of *Hugh Capet*'s royaltie. There was no need of any Preachers to perswade the people, nor to send to Rome for the Popes dispensation, as *Pepin* did. The people were fully perswaded in their mindes, and a fitt occasion was offered, that without any iniurious change (as that was in the person of *Chilperis*) they might supply the place (beeing voyde) with a better King, and more profitable for the common-weale. This Acte was made at *Noyon*, in the moneth of May, in the year 987. and to giue more authority to this famous decree, the same Assembly goes to assist at the Coronation of *Hugh*, who was annointed and crowned King the third of Iuly, after his election.

*Hugh Capet*  
chosen King  
of France.

Crowned at  
Rheims.

*Hugh Capet* being thus chosen and crowned King, hee studied by all meanes to let the French vnderstand by the effects, that they had made a good choise, as the successe of his raigne, and of his posterities will shew in the following discourses. From Rheims hee went to Paris, well accompanied, where hee makes his entry, to the great applause of all the people. Hee employes his first endeauours, to send them all home well satisfied, who had giuen him so notable a prooue of their affection. But euery one being returned to his house: behold *Charles* of Lorraine reiecte'd, assembles forces, and with part of them begins to ouerrunne Champagne, dooing all acts of hostility: and within few moneths after, hee himselfe comes to field with a great armie of Germanes, Lorraines, and Bourguignons: and hauing taken Rheims at his first approach, hee passed on towards Paris, as to the head or heart of the Estate, and enters into Picardy, where hee seizeth on the townes of Soissons and Laon, all by the practises of *Arnulphe* the bastard sonne of King *Lothaire*, and Archbishop of Rheims: a man both cunning and head-strong: from thence hee runnes euen to the gates of Paris, filling all the country with fire and feare.

*Charles* of Lorraine begins  
war and sur-  
prieth townes.

F *Hugh* sleepees not, but knowing how much it did import to possesse the people with a good conceit of him, and to stoppe the courses and spoyles of *Charles*, (who of purpose tormented the Parisiens, to breed some innouation) hee gathereth together what troupes hee can, attending the rest which hee had sent for, and with them hee goes presently to field: but it chanced that *Charles* (being fatte stronger then *Capet*) did easily defeat him: so as hauing cut his troupes in peeces, hee had almost surpris'd *Hugh* in the sight of Paris, where hee saued himselfe with much paine and danger. These beginnings did as much amaze the people

*Hugh Capet*  
defeated at  
the first, & in  
great danger.

988.

Charles upon  
the throne,  
the happy  
reign.

people ( who had so cheerefully chosen *Hugh* ) as it putt vp *Charles* already a conquerour, A  
and a peacefull King in his owne conceit : who being retired to *Laon* in great triumph, sends  
new letters to all the Prouinces of France, perfwading them to acknowledge him for their  
lawfull King, vaunting of this happy beginning, as a gage of the felicity which did attend him  
in his reigne. But he had not cast vp his accounts with him who holds the euents of things  
in hand, for the contrary fell out to that he had conceiued.

*Hugh* is nothing dismayde at this first repulse, these summonings of *Charles* make him to  
use all hast, and prickes them forward with whome he had diuided the Realme, hauing a par-  
ticular interest in his reigne, according to their election: All men fly vnto him: *Charles* (sup-  
posing that *Hugh* ment to yeeld, and that these assemblies were made to haue the better  
conditions) had disperfed his army about *Laon*, and retained the least part within the city: B  
and with this assurance, that all necessities should abound, hee had no care to make vse of  
his victory, when as sodainly *Hugh* appeares with his army before *Laon*: and (hauing stoppt  
all the passages) he beseegeth it: all the Lorraines smal troupes which were found disperfed in  
the villages thereabouts, were easily taken & disarmed, and the city was presently summo-  
ned to yeeld in the Kings name, and to deliuer vp *Charles* of Lorraine, guilty of high treason,  
and enemy to the French, vpon paine of fire and sword.

*Charles* flies to intreates and teares. The inhabitants complayning of him, as the cause  
of their misery, resolute (with the aduice of *Anselme* their Bishoppe) to obey *Hugh Capet*, as  
their lawfull King, and to deliuer *Charles* into his hands. The which they did with his wife C  
and children. This happened in the yeare. 991. and so the controuersie bewixt *Hugh*, and  
*Charles* of Lorraine for the crowne was decided in lesse then foure yeares: *Hugh* being a  
conqueror goes to Orleans, and leades *Charles* with him, and the remainder of his miserable  
family, inflicting no greater punishment on him, then perpetuall imprisonment, where he  
was well kept with his wife, vnto his dying day, in the which he had both sonnes and daugh-  
ters. There are diuers opinions vpon this point. Some say they died all there, others say,  
that they reepled the State of Lorraine, and transplanted their race vnto the Princes that  
rule there at this present.

But howsoeuer, as the Romaines had expelled the Gaules, and they them-selues were af-  
terwards driuen out by diuers nations: and the race of *Pharamond* ( which had dispossessed D  
them ) was displaced by *Pepin*; so *Hugh Capet* expelled that of *Pepin*, with a better title then  
*Pepin*, being lawfully called by them which had the right: and the presumptiue heire was  
iustly degraded for his fault: so as no man can with reason say, That *Hugh Capet* was an  
usurper, seeing he had so sollemne and lawfull a calling, by a decree of the generall Estates of the  
Realme, to whome the application of the Soueraigne Lawe belongs, as *Nangius* an auncient  
writer doth testifie. For what auails it the legitimation of his royalty, to say, that *Hugh*  
*Capet* came of the race of *Charlemagne* by his Mother *Anoie*, daughter to *Otho* Duke of Sax-  
ony and Emperor. In this regard she could not be of *Charlemagnes* race (the which without  
doubt, sayled in *Lewis* the forth, the sonne of *Arnoul*) neither would it auile him anything  
to bee the sonne of a daughter of France, seeing the Distaffe may not lawfully succeede. This  
victory added an incredible reputation to *Hugh Capets* vertue, the which was without doubt E  
in great extremity, and made him an easie way to purchase obedience in his new Kingdome.  
He began by homage, as the seale of authority, to that end, he calls all Dukes, Earles, Barons,  
Noblemen and Gentlemen, to come and take the oath of aleageance. They runne of all  
hands, only the Earle of Flanders (that *Arnould* which had bene the first brand of those wars  
in Normandy) plays the mutine. *Hugh* hauing called him to doe homage, and noted his  
contumacy, goes to field with his forces, to compell him thereunto. Having seized on the  
greatest part of his country, the Earle flies to humility, and by the mediation of *Richard* duke  
of Normandy (whome he had so much wronged in his youth) makes his peace with *Hugh*,  
yeelding him the homage which hee had denied, with promise to obey him.

Hauing thus fortified the authority of his Soueraigne command, he passed vnto the go-  
uernment of the realme, and to make this voluntary obedience (so well begun) more pleasing  
to his new subiects, he calls an assembly of the cheefe of the Realme, and giues them all to  
vnderstand that his desire was to haue their aduice, for the well gouerning of the State. Ne-  
cessary spake, and his proceeding did winne the most violent. Hauing renewed their homages,  
he

Charles taken  
in Lyon, and  
caried to Or-  
leans, where  
he died in  
prison.

*Hugh's* Capet  
no usurper.  
Necessity *Hugh*  
regnum iustior  
aut usurpator  
aliqua parte est  
indicandus quod  
regni proceres  
elegant, saith  
Nangius.

The subiects  
do homage  
vnto *Hugh*.

He forceth  
the Earle of  
Flanders to  
his obedience

A he sets downe the order of the twelue Peeres of France, and protests vnto them all, that he  
will not doe any thing of importance either in peace or warre without their aduice. So as  
in yeelding, he did aduance himselfe with a wife and victorious modesty. By the most ancient  
institutiō, the cheefe charge ouer armes, belonged to the Mayre of the Pallace, to the which  
Martel added the authority of Duke of France. But these two great charges, gaue a suffi-  
cient testimony, how much this great authority did import, to counter-balance and checke  
the soueraigne authority of Kings: and *Hugh* him-selke was both a witnessse and iudge of  
that which he had done in the execution of this charge, being in a manner royall. He there-  
fore resolues to suppress it, and to bury it in an honorable tombe. He fees many competi-  
tors, and takes thereby an occasion to discover his intent, declaring to the greatest of his no-  
bility, how happy he was in his raigne, hauing the choise of so many persons worthy of this  
great dignity: but finding himselfe bound to all, he knew not to whom he was most indebted:  
and was so affected vnto them all, as he could not say, to whome he wished best. And there-  
fore to satisfie all his good friends, he had bethought him-selke of an expedient. That his  
sonne (whome nature had giuen him, and France had nourished and brought vp for her fer-  
uice) should be the person, to content all his friendes in the execution of this charge, which  
should be with the title of a royalty.

All the Noblemen (which would haue endured it of an other impatiently) embraced this  
speech willingly, the which preuented all ialousie, and cured the cheefe sore. So with one  
consent it was decreed, that Robert sonne to *Hugh Capet*, should bee his Lieutenant general, C  
and to that end should be anointed and crowned King: as he was at Rheims in the yeare 991.  
three yeares after his fathers election. A wise Prince, and of a temperate disposition, a well  
seasoned plant for the fruitfull continuance of this latter raigne, of whome it is said, that he  
was a sonne without forwardnesse, a companion without ialousie, and a King without ambition.  
So *Hugh* effected, 3. things by this wise proceeding. Hee tooke away the breeding of fu-  
ture dangers, by restraining of so great a power: he suppressed all ialousie, and assured his  
owne estate in the person of his sonne.

But in burying thus honorably the name and apparent shew of this dignity, he confirmed  
an other, to reape the same frute: for it is a resolute maxime, that in a royalty, the first mo-  
uer of an estate, must be fortified with some neere instruments, with whome he may commu-  
nicate some beames of his authority, to impart them to other inferiour motions, according D  
to their order. The Constable in old times, had no command but ouer the horse, either as great  
maister, or as generall vnder the charge of the Maior, as the name doth signifie. *Hugh* am-  
plified this dignity, & in suppressing the name of Mayre, he gaue that authority to the other,  
for the which the Mayraltie had bene in old time instituted, referuing the frute, and prefer-  
uing France both from danger and feare of so great power, which might aduance the ser-  
uant aboue the master: yet this authority of Constable is very great, soueraigne ouer armes,  
vnder the Kings good pleasure, to command the men of warre, to take knowledge of their  
faults, and either to punish, or to pardon offences at his pleasure, to order battailes, to dispose  
of all things that concerne the souldier: and finally he keeps the Kings sword, for which the  
Constable doth him homage. Moreouer vnder this dignity *Hugh* appointed Marshalls to  
execute the Constables commands, as cheefe hands, and so by these two goodly institutions,  
the charge ouer armes continued in great credit, vnder the great light of the royall Maiesty.  
He likewise fortified by new decrees the royall homages of *Baron* and *Arrierbaron*, instituted by  
*Charlemagne*: and to conclude, he made all those military orders, wherein France surpasseth  
all other nations, to be reduced to their ancient institution and right vfe. And as good lawes  
spring from bad manners, so *Hugh* (hauing carefully obserued the errors of former raignes)  
endeouored to redresse them, and to prevent the like inconueniences. The most dangerous  
error had bene the multiplicity of many soueraigne maisters, one King being sufficient for  
F a whole Realme, as one Sunne is for all the world. He therefore decrees, that hereafter the  
title of King should not be giuen but to the eldest, who should haue soueraigne power, and com-  
maunde ouer his brethren, and they should respect him as their Lord and father, hauing no por-  
tions but his good fauour, as for the lands which their elder should assigne vnto them for their por-  
tions, they should hold them of the Crowne, to do homage, and to be augmented and diminished as  
the Kings good pleasure. The aduancements of Kings bastards had much interested the State,  
L hauing

Hee doth  
statute the  
Peeres of  
France.

Hee figureth  
the Mayre of  
the Pallace.

Crowning his  
sonne for  
King.

Robert ver-  
tuous.

The consta-  
ble succede  
the Mayre.

Marshalls.  
A proclama-  
tion to call all  
Gentlemen to  
publique  
hold land of  
the Crowne,  
for marshall  
affaires.  
*Hugh* decrees  
that the elder  
should raigne  
alone amongst  
his brethren.  
Hee supplieth  
the Maie-  
sty of the  
Pallace.

993. hauing beene allowed and apportioned with the lawfull children, yea euen raised to the roy- A  
all throne, as we haue seene. Therefore *Hugh* decreed, *That hereafter bastards should not*  
*onely be resicted from the crowne, but also from the surname of France, the which was before al-*  
*lowed them.* To him like-wise are due the goodly ordinances of Iustice, and of the treasor,  
wherein without doubt France excels, so as they be well executed, according to the instituti-  
ons of that golden age. Thus by these wise decrees, he preuailed more then all the armes of  
his Predecessors, in preserving a great Monarchy vnto this day: supported with these good-  
ly Lawes and ordinances, wherein (without flattering the truth) we may see by the effects  
that which the most learned Academicke doth represent but in discourse, touching the true  
and perfect pattern of a well gouerned State, vnder the fatherly authority of a King, reueren B  
ced by the hereditary Law of his race, with the free consent of the people, confirmed by the  
Estates, counterballanced by the authority royall, determined by the liberty of those which  
owe him voluntary obedience. The continuance of ciuill warres had bred such disorders in  
all parts of the realme, as it was not without cause, (if men which liued in these miseries) said  
that God had sent *Hugh* to restore the French Monarchy, and they auouch predictions, and  
prophecies of this raigne, as Oracles. Doubtlesse this masse of building, was too huge to  
continue long against so great a storme. God made vse of it for a time, as he had wisely  
decreed, that is to say, to deliuer the west from the blasphemies and furies of *Mahomet*, and  
there to preserve his Church. But it was necessary this power should be limited within his  
bounds, to the end it might be well gouerned, and in the end, giue some rest vnto Christen- C  
dome. This happened in his raigne, as if the building had then taken a firme and sure  
foundation.

Warre had raigned too long, and ruined the poore subiects to enrich men of warre, who  
being seized of the strongest places, had without doubt deuoured one an another, and rui-  
ned the realme, if a greater authority had not shewed it selfe to maintaine euery one in peace  
vnder the reuenance of the Lawes, in the bosome of one common country. This confused  
warrelike season, had more need of a wise man to saue what was gotten, then of a valiant  
man and active to make new conquests. Such was *Hugh Capet*, a wise Prince, aduised, ex-  
perienced, resolute, neither dull, nor a coward, (as he made prooue in the beginning of his  
raigne against the rebels.) And whereas he parted with the Crowne-lands so easily, to such D  
as were seized thereon, seeming thereby to haue blemished the greatnesse of his State, it was  
like vnto one which had much land lying wast, and had let it to farmers at an easie rent, yet  
remaining alwaies master thereof with power to seaze on it againe at his pleasure: else al had  
bin lost for want of good husbandry, in so great and confused an abundance: for *Hugh Capet*  
leauing to the possessors that which he could not take from them, assured the Crowne lands  
by certaine homages, and preserved the royall authority throughout the Realme. And that  
which was profitable and necessary for the State, proued the most easie, for the gouernours  
of the provinces and strong places, hoping to hold that which they had in hand, desired ra-  
ther to obey a King with any title auailable to them and theirs, then to play the petty kings  
at their pleasures, & commaund absolutely alone for a while, and ouer few, and be in danger E  
to lose all as vsurpers. A notable prooue of the Frenchmens humors, borne to obey a king,  
& not able to subsist but vnder a royalty. The French had no lesse power then the Germaines,  
to make an electiue common weale, as they had done, but their humor forced with an heredi-  
tary royalty, without the which they could not subsist. Thus *Hugh Capet* had settled his raigne  
with so great wisdom and authority, and was so fortunate in the successe, as we may iustly  
say, he restored the Realme of France, when it was almost ruined, hee raigned nine yeares,  
four alone, and five with his sonne *Robert*, in great peace, beloued and honoured of all men.  
France (as after a long and tedious winter) puts on the new face of a pleasant spring. All  
men honoured him, as the meanes of their assured rest. His most vsuall retreat was to Paris,  
the which was greatly augmented and beautified in his raigne, whereas other Kings before F  
him remained in diuerse places, at Aix la Chapelle, Compiene, Laon, Soissons and else-  
where, according to occurrents and their humors.

We haue sayd, that *Arnulphe* bastard to *Lothaire*, was the onely man which had fauored  
*Charles* of Lorraine against *Hugh Capet*. The history notes this man to be peruerse, and dis-  
loyall, hauing deceiued both *Charles* of Lorraine, and *Hugh Capet*, who had giuen him the  
Archbishop-

The French  
royalty.

the chief  
of reli-  
gion.

A Archbishopricke of Rouan, in recompence of the seruice he promised him against *Charles*, 995.  
to whom notwithstanding (contrarie to his faith) he gaue meanes to cease vpon the citties  
of Rheims, Laon, and Soissons. *Hugh* taking this presumption for a preiudice to come, lear-  
ning by what had passed, how much the name of a bastard of France might import, for a co-  
lour to disquiet the State, and what danger there was of trouble, in the beginning of his new  
raigne, not yet well settled, he therefore resolues to suppress *Arnulphe*: but respecting his  
qualitie, he assembled a nationall Councell of the French Church, in the Cittie of Rheims.  
This assembly deposeth *Arnulphe*, as guiltie of treason, and a troubler of the publicke quiet,  
and they substitute *Gilbert* in his place, who had beene Schoolemaster vnto *Robert*.  
B Afterwards *Hugh* confines him to Orleans with *Charles*, there to end his daies in rest.  
Pope *John* the 12. very ill satisfied with *Hugh*, for that he had not appealed to him for his co-  
firmation in this new royalty, disanuls this decree of the Councell at Rheims, excommuni-  
cates the Bishops which had assisted, restores *Arnulphe*, and depriues *Gilbert* from the Arch-  
bishopricke of Rouan, and to temper this sharpe and rough proceeding with some sweetnes,  
he doth inuest *Gilbert* in the Archbishopricke of Rauenna. But we shall presently see, that  
this was a meanes to raise him to the dignitie of Pope. *Hugh* doth not for all this contend  
with Pope *John*, but hauing restored *Arnulphe*, he tooke from him all meanes of troubling  
the State to his preiudice. It is that Pope *John*, of whom *Platina* writes so plainly, as the  
wise reader may finde in the originall it selfe: where he shall reade with admiration, not only  
the depraued manners of that man, raised to so great a dignitie, whome he disgraceth as a  
C monster, tearing him most lewd, most wicked and most pernicious. These are his verie  
words: but also the confusions which rained in those times: for we reade of nothing but  
partialities and factions, one to expell another, and all to ouerthrow the authoritie of the  
Emperour of Rome. All these practises were not made without bitter and long contentions:  
as the historie shall note the occurrents: and this my Inuentorie shall be but a simple directi-  
on to the Originalls, whereas (the pure truth speaking more freely) the reader may peruse it  
without passion.

Here beganne the great iarres and contentions betwixt the Emperours and Popes. The  
ancient custome of the Catholike Church, practised from *Constantine* the Great, the first  
D Christian Emperour, was, *That the Emperour should be President in the election of all bishops,*  
*euen of the Bishop of Rome.* The Popes would not allow the Emperour should hold this pre-  
rogative ouer them, since the time that *Boniface* the 3. tooke vpon him the name and prehe-  
minence of Vniuersall Bishop: but were chosen without licence from the Emperour. *John*  
had held the Pontificall sea by vnlawfull meanes, and did leade a dissolute life, to the discon-  
tent of many: for the redresse whereof the Emperour *Otho* comes to Rome, and vpon com-  
plaints, (hauing laboured to reclaim this man to his dutie whom he found incorrigible) in  
the end he calles a Councell within Rome, where by a decree of this Assembly *John* the 12.  
was deposed, and *Leo* 8. substituted in his place. But the Emperour is scarce gone out of  
Rome, when as behold new factions. *Leo* the 8. being chosen by his order, is expelled by dis-  
order, and *Benedict* the 5. seated in his place. *Otho* returns and restoreth *Leo*, who vpon this  
E occasion made a decree: That in executing the ancient rule of discipline, which giues the elec-  
tion to the people and Clergie, *The power to choose and consecrate the Pope, and to rule things*  
*belonging to the Apostolike sea, and confirme the Bishops, should belong vnto the Emperour,* as the  
head and first moderator of discipline. So the remedie was well expounded, but not well ap-  
plied: for after the restitution of *Leo*, they number seuen Popes, *John* the 14. *Benedict* 6. *Donus*  
2. *Boniface* 7. *Benedict* 7. *Gregory* 5. and *John* 15. which were one after another placed and dis-  
placed by feditiion, either expelled, or imprisoned or strangled: vntill that *Gilbert* Arch-  
bishop of Rauenna (of whome we haue spoken) came to be Pope, being named *Siluester* the  
2. He was brought in after so strange a manner, as I haue horror to reade *Platina*, who saies,  
F it was by deuillish arts. But the wise reader may view the rest of this troublesome report in  
the author himselfe, altogether vnreproueable, being a confident seruant to the Popes: and  
so may ease vs of this tedious toyle. Such was the Empire and the sea of Rome, amidst these  
horrible confusions, whilst that our *Capet* labored to repaire the breaches of this new king-  
dome. Hauing raigned peaceably nine yeares, he died the 22. of Nouember in the yeare 996.  
Leauing his sonne *Robert*, not onely successor to the Crowne, but also of his vertues, his hap-  
pinesse

*Hugh's* proce-  
ding against  
*Arnulphe* ba-  
stard to *Lo-*  
*thaire*, who is  
deposed from  
his Bishopricke.

The manner  
of Pope *John*  
the 12.

The Estate of  
the Church  
and Empire.

The Pope  
confirmed by  
the Emperour.

Seditious ele-  
ction of Popes

In the life of  
*Siluester* the 2.

*Hugh Capet*  
dies.

996. pinesse and his credit, in the deuout loue of the French. He had him by *Adelars* the daughter A of *Edward* King of England in whome he was so happie, as not onely to see him of age, but also crowned King, and well married. He raigned both alone and accompanied with his son, beloued and honoured of him and his subiects, if euer father and Prince were. A patterne of a great Statesman, comming to the last fit of a desperate disease, whereunto he applied such seasonable remedies, as he might well be called the *Restorer of the French Monarchie*. But from him we must ascend to God, the true gardien of this estate, meaning to preserue it by his care and wisdom, who gouernes changes by his wise prouidence, and giues vertues and succeffe at his pleasure.

The Monar-  
che of France  
of greater con-  
tinuance then  
euer any.

Now we begin a new raigne, a wiser, more happie, and longer, then the two precedent, B whereof the one continued but three hundred and twentie yeares, and the other two hundred thirtie eight: and this vnto *Lewis* the 13. now rainging, hath continued 623. yeares, so counting the date of it, first beginning from the yeare 420. making of all these particulars one grosse summe, from the yeare of our Redeemers comming into the world, we shall find in all 1610. yeares inclsuue. A terme which no State euer attained vnto. It is true, that the bounds of this Monarchie shall not be so large, as vnder *Charlemagne*, yet better limited: and although it seemes that *Hugh Capet* (in yeelding the propertie of the Crowne lands vnto the Gouernours of places) did diminish it: yet in effect he did augment it, in assuring the Crown by this good husbandrie, beeing extraordinarie, yet very conuenient in such extreame necessitie; and since, all that which seemed to be dismembred, is returned from whence it came. C We must therefore set before our eyes, all this great Monarchie, imparted to diuers Lords, and the royall authoritie ouer all, as the head ouer the whole bodie, which hath diuers members: giuing life and force to euery part, to exercise his proper function: we shall see in order (as things haue fallen out) the greatest part of those Prouinces which were made hereditarie by this conuention of *Capet*, returne to the Crowne againe. The which I will labour to effect, so long as the light shall guide me in the diuersitie of these changes.

We shall now enter into a more temperate raigne then the two former. We shall not see so many armies in field, so many victories, nor so many conquests; neither shall we see so many audacious and infamous outrages, so many murders and parricides; so many vnnaturall cruelties of children against the father; of brethren against brethren, of husbands against D their wiues, and of wiues against their husbands: we may well note and obserue diseases, but neither so dangerous nor so tedious, as haue beene played on the theater of horrible tragedies in former raignes. Doubtlesse as the bodie and mind haue their proper diseases, so hath the estate of mankind. Man cannot be alwaies sound, nor alwaies pleasant: his bodie and mind haue their passions in their seasons, according to the degrees which God hath prescribed them by the course of nature. Likewise the changes are remarkable in all this Monarchie: but this raigne iudiciously considered, we may admire the notable proofes of Gods prouidence, who would fortifie this estate, for the preseruatiō of his Church in Europe, whereof France is a notable member, and doth import much to all other nations. The Historie therefore of this third raigne is most worthie of memorie: for the vse whereof we may obserue three famous parts, to helpe the iudgement and memorie. The first from *Hugh Capet* E to *Philip* of Valois: where began the controuersie of the English against the French, long and lamentable for the pretension to the Crowne of France. The second from that raigne, to *Henry* the third, the last King of that branch of Valois. The third begins at *Henry* the 4. the first of the most noble race of Bourbon. This Inuentorie shall faithfully and briefly quote the particularities of these last raignes, to send the Reader to the whole Historie, to the which we leaue him.

An order for  
the vse of this  
third raigne.

THE

## THE FIRST PARCELL OF THE THIRD ROYALL RACE, CALLED CAPETS.

Containing thirteene kings, from *Hugh Capet*  
to *Charles* the fourth, called the Faire.

### The names of thirteene kings, of the first Royall branch of CAPETS. Placing

HUGH CAPET,

For the stemme and foundation of the third Royall Race,  
which raigne at this day.

ROBERT  
PHILIP the 1.  
LEWIS the 7. called the Long.  
LEWIS the 8.  
PHILIP the 3. called the Hardie.  
LEWIS the 10. called HVTIN.

HENRY.  
LEWIS the 6. called the Grosse.  
PHILIP the 2. called AVGVSTVS.  
LEWIS the 9. called S. LEWIS.  
PHILIP the 4. called the Faire.  
PHILIP the 5. surnamed the Long.

CHARLES the 4. called the Faire, the  
last of this branch.

From the yeare nine hundred ninetie sixe, vnto a thousand  
three hundred twenty and eight.

L 3

ROBERT



ROBERT alone of that name, the 37.  
King of France.



The Raigne of  
Robert long &  
hipple.



ROBERT began to raigne alone, in the yeare 996. and raigned 33. yeeres. He had three sonnes, *Hugh*, *Robert*, and *Henry*, by his wife *Constance*, the Daughter of *William* Earle of Arles. Following the example of his father *Hugh*, he desired to assure the Crowne in his house, installing his heire in the right purchased to him and his, by a decree of the States. So he crowned *Hugh* his eldest sonne at Compeigne, in the yeare 1028. But God (who was wiser then *Robert*) determined to call *Hugh* to a better crowne, for soone after he dyed: being dead, *Robert* continued in the same desseigne, to assure his estate in his house: and ob- serving a more royall disposition in the younger, then in the elder, he preferred vertue before the prerogative of elderhip: causing *Henry* the younger to be crowned in his life time: de- creeing by his will, that *Robert* should content himselfe with the Duchie of Bourgogne, do- ing homage for it to the Crowne of France.

Robert prefers  
Henry his you-  
nger sonne to  
the Crowne  
before the el-  
der.

Robert dies,  
his disposition

So having happily disposed of his affaires, and raigned with the generall content of his subiects, he dyed in the yeare 1031. beeing threescore yeares old. A Prince very fitte for the time, being wise, resolute, peaceable, and continent. But Pietie was the Crowne of all his vertues, and the knowledge of Diuinitie seasoned with learning one of the flowers of this goodly Crowne: for he is commended to haue bene very deuout, and to haue loued both Diuinitie and Humanitie. They sing hymnes of his inuention, and namely, that which is to the honour of holy Martyrs, which begins, *O constantia Martyrum mirabilis*, the which bearing resemblance with the name of his wife *Constance*, he was wonderfully pleased with the humor she had to be honoured with his writings, beeing then greatly esteemed throughout the world.

Wise Kings  
and of long  
life happy for  
an estate.

There is nothing more dangerous in an Estate then the change of diuers masters: as ex- perience hath taught in former raignes. So God, who meant to confirme the Monarchie in this Race, gaue a long and a happie life to their first Kings, issued from *Capet*, without any sudden

A sudden change from reigne to reigne. For *Robert* reigned three and thirty yeares: *Henry* his sonne as much, *Philip* his sonne nine and forty yeares, *Lewis* the seuenth forty foure, *Le- wis* the ninth called *Saint Lewis* as much. All wise Princes, moderate, valiant, peaceable and happy. As good houses are settled, euen so Kingdomes are confirmed. As when one good husband succeeds an other, adding wealth to wealth, new vpon old, houses then grow great: euen so the long life of these good and wise Princes, was continued with much hap- py successe, as we shall see in euery reigne.

1010.

This in particular is remarkable in the reigne of *Robert*. We haue sayd, the realme was diuided, as it were to many masters. As there is small respect amongst equals, who seeth in France? But *Robert* did so firmly gouerne the helme of this great barke in the midst of the tempestuous seas of French humors, as hee controulled all such as sought to free them- selves from the crowne: whose authority by this meanes was great, by the obedience which he forced all them to yeeld that would plaie the mutines. He entertained the amity his fa- ther had with *Richard* Duke of Normandy, confirmed by alliance, and for that there was iea- lousie betwixt him and *Otho* Earle of Chartres, hee could wisely make his profit of them both. In the beginning of his reigne one *Gautier* gouernour of Melun told the place to the Earle of Chartres about named, according to the manner of confused times. At the complaint of *Bourchard* (to whom the towne belonged,) the King commanded *Otho* to re- store it vnto him, who refused to obey. *Robert* sets the Normand against him, who han- dles him in such sort, as in the end the Earle humbles himselfe vnto the King, and deliue- rs vp both the place and marchant, who was hanged.

Robert main-  
tains his  
royall autho-  
rity.

He suppress-  
eth the sediti-  
ous.

*Henry* brother to *Hugh Capet* was Duke of Bourgogne, by the deccasse of his brother *Otho*. *Henry* then died, and so Bourgogne returned to the crowne. But passion perfwad- ing *Landry* Earle of Neuers to make a benefit of his right of neighbour-hood, and time in- uiting him to imbrace this occasion to fish in a troubled water, hee seized on *Auxerre* by in- telligence. But he was decciued, to thinke this a time wherein all things were lawfull: for *Robert* goes presently to field with his army, and besiegeth *Auxerre*, where this ill-aduited *Landry* was: but the Inhabitants open their gates to the King, and deliuer *Landry* into his hands. All the *Auxerrois* obey, except *Auallon*, which after a few daies yeelds, and in the end all Bourgogne. *Landry* guilty of treason, suffers an easie punishment for his rash- nesse. Having confessed his fault, hee obtainer pardon of *Robert*, promising all future obedience.

Thus *Robert* beeing master of Bourgogne, hee giues it to *Robert* his eldest sonne. But *Robert* doubly interessed (his younger being preferred, and hee hauing a very small part in the State) was not pleased with this portion. Bourgogne, was then distinguished into a Duchie and County, whereof the County belonged to the Empire, and the Duchie to the Realme, according to the diuision made by the Children of *Lewis* the gentle. At that time *Henry* the second Duke of Bauaria, surnamed the holy, held the Empire. *Lorraine* was the ordinary cause of debate betwixt France and Germany. *Robert* (to end this contro- uersie) meetes with *Henry* at a place called Enol, vpon the riuer of Cher, and made an ac- cord with him, the which continues to this day. At that time *Goshelon* brother to the Earle of Ardenne held *Lorraine*.

Robert giues  
Bou gongne  
to Robert his  
eldest sonne.

Agreement  
with the Em-  
perour for  
Lorraine.

Herevpon the hatred betwixt the Duke of Normandy and the Earle of Chartres kind- led in such sort (by the yeelding vp of Melun) as they assembled their friends on all sides. The Normand calls his farthest friends to his succors, *Logman* King of Sweden and *Olane* King of Norway his kinsmen. But *Robert* pacified this quarrell in time, by his wisdom, shewing by the effect, how much authority imploied in time may preuaile, and that wee must speedily quench a small fire, the which neglected burnes a whole forest. There were great peronages in all Prouinces with hereditary power, according to the grant made by *Hugh Capet*. In Normandy *Richard* the third, in Aniou *Jeffroy Grisegonelle*, in Guienne *William*, of the race of *Pepin* sonne to *Lewis* the Gentle, in Languedoc *Cont Mathew*, in Champagne and Touraine *Odo*, all great and valiant men, with other worthy peronages throughout the Realme: all which were rash men and of high attempts, but the name and roiall authority of *Robert*, contained all these great and courageous spirits within the bounds

Robert recon-  
ciles the Duke  
of Normandy  
and the Earle  
of Chartres.

1031.  
A noble  
reigne.

bounds of their duty & publike respect. And so this reigne passed quietly without any great tumults. Leaving a lesson for Princes, to ioyne wisdom with authority, and valour with mildnesse: it being as great a conquest to preferue his owne, as to get an other mans, and to vanquish mens mindes by reason, as by force. A patterne in these two reignes, of the meanes to restore an Estate, dismembred by the disorders of ciuill warres.

## HENRY the first, the 38. King of France.



Henries reign.



HENRY, being in possession of the realme during the life of his father, succeeded him in the year, 1031. and reigned 33. yeares. He had two sonnes, *Philip* and *Hugh*, by *Anne* the daughter of *George*, or *Gautier* the Sclauon King of the Russians, & one daughter, the which was married to *Robert* Duke of Normandy, sonne to that *Richard* of whom we haue discoursed.

The beginning of his reigne, was rough & vnquiet, and the end more milde and successful. But *Henry* in the preservation of this Estate, did nothing degenerate from the wisdom & dexterity of his father. The cause of this hard entry, was the brothers portion, apparently vnequall and preiudiciall, although a wise father had so decreed it. *Queene Constance*, mother to these two Princes brethren, nourished this dislike, supporting *Robert* against *Henry*, that is to say, the elder against the yongest, as oftentimes mothers haue the like humours, to loue one more then an other. The cause was plausible, that it was against the law, use, and customes of France, that the yonger should be preferred before the elder in a royalty. The parties were great for *Robert*, *Constance* mother to the King, *Baldwin* Earle of Flanders, and *Odo* Earle of Champagne, a buisie man and rash. For the King, the royall maiesty, the will of his father, the forces of the Realme, and (amongst all) those of *Robert* Duke of Normandy. The armies approach ready to fight, when as behold *Robert* (for whose interest the question was) beeing a Prince of a milde and quiet disposition, giues his mother and friends (who had brought forces to his aide) to vnderstand, that hee would not bee the

cause

Contention  
betweene the  
brethren.

*Robert* yee'ds  
vnto his bre-  
ther.

A cause to shed Frenchmens blood: and that *Bourgongne* should suffice him, seeing his father had so decreed. Vpon this declaration of *Robert*, *Queene Constance* changeth her minde, and sends backe her troupes, imbracing peace with her children. The armies were dismissed, and an agreement ratified betwixt *Henry* and *Robert*, who liued like brethren and good friends: That *Bourgongne* should remaine to *Robert* and his successors, with the title of a fealty to France, (which they call *Peere*) and to be Deane among the *Peeres*. Thus *Robert* of France enioyed *Bourgongne*, and left it hereditary to his heires successiue, vntil the reigne of *John*, in the year 1360.

But the Countries of *Bourgongne* and *Normandy* were the cause of much trouble in those times, during the which he kept the stakes, not onely as a spectator, but as an vsurper. This *Odo* Earle of *Champagne* (who had incensed his brother against him) lookt for a good part in *Bourgongne*, & had already won *Robert* to promise him the towne of *Sens*, who euen vpon the accord making had seized thereon: but being easily expelled by the Kings authority, he runnes an other course, to loose both himself and what he had, supposing to vsurpe an other mans Estate.

He held vnder the Crowne, *Champagne*, *Touraine* and the County of *Chartres*. He had two sonnes, *Stephen* and *Thibault*: yet he sought to ioyne *Bourgongne* to his other Estates, which was the cause of great troubles. We haue before made mention of *Boson* the husband of *Hermingrade*, daughter to *Lewis* the sonne of *Lewis* the Gentle, who had the Realme of *Bourgongne* and *Italy*. He had two sonnes, *Ralph* and *Lewis*. *Lewis* was ouerthrowne by *Beranger* Duke of *Friul*, who easily seized on that, which remained in *Italy*, and of *Prouence*; as lying nere, and of easie access: *Ralph* had the rest of *Bourgongne*, the County, *Sauoy* and *Daulphine*, for the Duchy of *Bourgongne* remained to the Crowne of France. From this *Ralph*, sprong *Lewis*; and from *Lewis* another *Ralph*, who liued during the reigne of *Henry*, being old, without children, and ill obied of his subiects.

He had two sisters, the one married to *Conrade* surnamed the *Salique*, Duke of *Francony*, who was Emperor: and another to the Earle of *Champagne*, father to this *Odo*, who seekes to perswade *Ralph* his vnkle to make him his heire, as sonne to his eldest sister: and imploies the fauour of many subiects, who desired rather a neighbour then a stranger to be their Prince. But *Ralph* preferred *Conrade* before *Odo*, and sent him his testament, his crown, and Scepter, instituting *Henry* his sonne and his Nephew his heire generall. *Conrade* made warre in *Hongary*. *Odo* imbraceth this occasion, and (seeing him thus busied) he enters into *Bourgongne*, where he takes certaine cities: the rest hold at *Conrades* deuotion, being called to the inheritance: but these designs were soone cut off. For behold the Emperor *Conrad* returns with a goodly and victorious army, who not onely recouers againe the Cities of *Bourgongne* that were lost, but also takes some in *Champagne*, so as *Odo* doth with great difficulty hold *Troies*: he is forced to seeke by humble petitions to his vnkle, who giues him his owne, and forbids him to take from another. The Earle being thus suppressed, *Conrad* parles with King *Henry*, and ratifies the ancient accords, for the diuiding of *Bourgongne*, whereof we haue spoken.

*Odo* Earle of  
*Champagne*,  
seekes to seize  
vpon the  
County of  
*Bourgongne*.

From that time, the *Germanie* Emperours challenged the right and title of the realme of *Arles*, which the Emperor *Charles* the first shall alienate; and shall be soone diuided into sundry principalities, as wee shall shew in their places. Thus the Realme of *Bourgongne* had an end in the posterity of *Boson*, the Emperor *Conrade* being forced to goe into *Italy*; after all these treaties, to redresse the confusions which grew dayly. Behold *Odo* reuiues the warre more furiously then before, and enters *Lorraine* with a strong army, but his enterprise fell vpon his owne head. For *Gothelon* Duke of *Lorraine* (confirmed by the Emperor) defeats him, burying his ambition and his life in one graue, and thus much for *Bourgongne*.

*Normandy* gaue no lesse cause of employment to *Henry*; *Robert* Duke of *Normandy* had mainteyned the hereditary loue of his father with the King, greatly relying vpon his friendship. Having resolved a long and dangerous voiage to the holy Land, he intreated him to affect the protection of *William* his bastard sonne, whom he had made his heire, excluding his lawfull children. This testament seemed vnreasonable to all men: but *Robert* had settled his Estate before his departure, appointing him good Governours, and putting the strongest places, and treasure into their hands: so as *William* remained Conueror after his death which,

*Robert* Duke  
of *Normandy*  
prefers his bas-  
tard before  
his lawfull  
children.

1061. which happened in this long voiage beyond the seas. But this was not without great difficulties, in the which *Henry* kept the stakes, ballancing both parties with his authority. *William* remaining the stronger, Normandy had some rest, beeing freed from men of warre by this occurrent. A gallant troupe of warriors, weary to liue at home; and desirous to see the world, led by *Robert* and *Guscard* valient Gentlemen, seeking their fortunes, came into Italy: where they are imploied in priuate quarrells, and there get so great reputation, as by their example, they drew many to the same voiage: and an other notable swarme of braue fouldiers are led thither by *Tancred*, a man very famous for this aneigne, the partialities of Italy giue them occasions and meanes to feize vpon Pouille, Calabria, and Sicilia, as the history describes at large, this briefly may suffice to note the Estate of this reigne. Thus *Henry* passeth his reigne amidst these troubles, beeing too light to shake the body of an Estate, following the example of his Grandfather, and Father, hee causeth *Philip* his sonne to bee crowned King, beeing but seuen yeares old: and gaue him *Baldwin* Earle of Flanders for Tutor and regent of the Realme. He liued little after his Coronation, the which he hastened by reason of his indisposition, and so hee died siue and fifty yeares old, in the yeare 1061. Beloued and lamented of all his subiects, whom hee intreated with much mildnesse some yeares before his death: the beginning of his reigne being disquieted with the feare of ciuill dissention, and the end crowned with a plentiful rest.

Happy success of the Norman in Italy.

Robert dies.

### PHILIP the first, the 39 King of France.



Baldwin Regent in Philip's minority.



According to King *Henry*'s decree, *Baldwin* Earle of Flanders, tooke vpon him the gouernment of young King *Philip*'s person, (already confirmed by his coronation,) and of the affaires of the realme with quietnesse: hauing the reputation of a good and wise man, although hee were not pleasing to them all. For certaine Noblemen of Gascony did crosse him, charging him with ambition, as if he would make himselfe a King, like to other Regents, whereof the memory was yet fresh in all Frenchmens mindes. But

But

A But his integrity and wisdom (preserving his credit with the greatest part of the French) gaue him meanes to subdue the rebellious Gascons, who made this their pretence, to fish in a troubled streame, during the minority of the yong King.

*Baldwin* doth not winke at this repulse, neither doth he suffer it to passe unpunished, hee armes wisely, with a shew to goe against the Sarazins, which sometimes did ouer-run the frontiers of France, bordering vpon Spaine. This zeale hauing moued many to accompanie him, hee punished the rebels in Gascony, and prevented many which beganne to mutine in sundry places of the realme, as shall appeare in the future reignes. It is the ordinary ebbing and flowing of worldly things, in the impatience of the French, neuer to liue

B long in one estate. Wee haue now passed about seuentie yeares in peace, in these three reignes: this Prince shall adde forty nine more of great tranquility to this realme. But setting before our eyes the horrible confusions in other parts, it doth shew vs plainly the occasions, whereby the disease grew in the State, which in the end bred to long and dangerous a feauer by ciuill warre. For why doth a history represent vnto vs the effect knowne vnto all men, if it touch not the causes and motiues of these great euents, the which succeed not presently, but by degrees, as a clocke which carried by contrary motions strikes the houre at the time appointed amongst all the minutes. This iudgement is necessary for the right vse of what we reade. The Kings minority passed quietly by the wise gouernment of *Baldwin*, who hauing accompanied his pupill to the age of fifteene yeares, leaves

C him his temporall realme in peace, and seeks an eternall crowne in heauen: being greatly lamented of the good, leauing a memorable example of a good tutor to a King, and a wise Regent of a realme. *Philip* takes in hand the helme of the Estate, beholding from a safe harbour the stormes of other nations, which exceed in pernicious furies, not foreseeing the seeds cast by himselfe in the bosome of his owne realme, and that his example giues liberties to his subiects to the like disorder.

A wise Prince, but disloyall, taking couetousnesse and ambition for his Councillors, seeking onely his owne profit, and contemning that plaine simplicitie, which had purchased so much happinesse to his father and grand-fathers, and to himselfe a respectiue credit with all the French, and immortall praise to his posterity. A looking glasse for Kings and Princes

D without any deceit, wherein they may view the true causes of the happinesse of their Estates. Flanders, England and Italy, began first before that France entred, who shall act a long and tedious part vpon this stage. *Baldwin* of whom we haue made mention, left two sonnes, *Baldwin* and *Robert*, with their mother *Richilde*. Their vncke *Robert* the Frison pretended the inheritance to belong vnto him: or at the least the gardianship of his Nephews. *Richilde* and the States opposed to both his demands; so as they grew to words, and then to warre. King *Philip* (as their soueraigne) ought to be Iudge to compound their quarrells, but he labors to kindle them, seeking his owne profit in these garboiles. *Robert* the Frison procures him with promises to do what he pleased. He winnes him and gets a promise to be succoured against the right of his Nephews. But *Richilde* mother to these pupills, knowing the Kings humour, goes vnto him to crosse *Robert*'s designs, who brought nothing but words. This woman brought money with her good behauiour, and wonne him against

E *Robert*, who discontent with the King, assembles his other meanes, goes to field with his army, and gets part of the Country: *Richilde* flies to *Philip*, who comes himselfe with a very great army, and enters Flanders. His meaning was to make a benefit of their common quarrell. But it fell out otherwise, by his prouidence who doth pul downe one and raise vp another, alwaies iustly, although the causes bee vnknowne vnto vs. *Robert* defeats the King and his Nephews. After this victory hee is receiued Earle of Flanders without any discontent of the King for the distressed pupills: who relying no more on him, fled for succor to *Thierry* Bishop of Liege: who makes an accord. That *Robert* the Frison should haue

F the Earldome of Flanders, and giue his Nephews some recompence. After this peaceable possession of the Earldome of Flanders, *Philip* became a deere friend to *Robert*, forgetting the good offices hee had receiued from his tutor; measuring friendship by profit. Such was then the State of Flanders. England had a greater change: wee haue sayd that *Robert* Duke of Normandy had instituted *William* his bastard sonne his heire; and that hee had gotten possession of the Duchy, but behold a greater happinesse attends him. Edward

King

1061.

Philip the first, the 39 King of France.

Philip the first, the 39 King of France.

The dispute between Philip and Robert.

Philip the first, the 39 King of France.

Philip the first, the 39 King of France.

1261. King of England hauing receaued much kindnesse from him, and knowing him fit for the gouernment of the realme, names him his heire by his testament, by vertue whereof (notwithstanding all the policy and force, that *Harould*, brother to the Queene could vie) *William* is receaued King of England, and crowned in a sollemne assembly of the English, homage is done vnto him, as to their lawfull Lord: and this great dignity continued in his posterity. *Phillip* sees this new increafe of power impatiently, yet can he not prevent it, for God hath prepared it as a rod to correct this realme, by the three sons which *William* left to succeed in his Estates, *Robert*, *William* and *Henry*. Ambition is the Lewaine of these warres, it shewed it selfe soone after the birth of this new power growen to the Dukes of Normandy, (whose first breeding wee haue seene in the second race) by the increafe of the realme of England.

*Philip discontented at Williams aduancement to the crowne of England.*

The Lewaine of dissention betwixt France and England.

The English enter into Guenne.

Contentions in Italy betwixt the Emperour and Popes.

The Popes usurpation.

Strange contentions betwixt the Emperour and Pope.

*Robert* and *Henry* the sonnes of *William*, come to the King at Conflans vpon Oise. As they play at Chess with *Lewis* the sonne of King *Phillip*, there fell some contention among these young Princes, and from iniurious words, they fell to blowes: *Lewis* called *Henry* the sonne of a Bastard, *Henry* struck at him with the Chess-board, and had slaine him if *Robert* had not itayed him. This blow being giuen, *Robert* and *Henry* made all hast to saue them-selues in Normandy: where they incensed both heauen and earth with their complaints. From this light beginning, grew all the troubles which disquieted these two Estates during foure hundred yeares, vpon diuers occasions. *Robert* and *Henry* being escaped, the fathers so embrace the quarrell for their children, as they fall to armes. *Phillip* goes to field, and takes *Vernon* depending of Normandy. *Robert* goes out of Normandy and doth seaze vpon Beauuois. King *William* parts from England, and lands in France, with a great and mighty power, and inuades Xaintonge and Poitou. Behold the first checke of a dangerous game. *Phillip* moued with these losses, enters into Normandy with a great and mighty army: but hee cures not one wound in making of another. *William* on the other side, ouer-runnes and spoyles all the Country, euen vnto the gates of Paris, where hee entred not then, but his posterity did after him. Hee dyes soone after, but the quarrell suruiued in his children, who augmented this hereditary hatred in many sorts.

While they beganto weaue this web, Italy was in no better estate, being full of horrible combutions, and the cause was so much the more lamentable, for that the mischief came from them, from whome all good was to be expected. Wee haue formerly spoken of the diuisions growne betwixt the Emperours and the Popes of Rome, for their prehem-nences. In all ancient times the Popes were subiect and to bee summoned before the Emperour, who had authority to create them, and to depose them that were vnworthy of their charges: to call Synods, and to confirme all things which concerned the outward gouernment of the Church. The Pope on the other side maintaines, that all this authority was his, as vniuersall Bishoppe, hauing power to bind and loose, and to iudge of all men, and all causes, as the soueraigne Iudge of the Church, not to bee iudged by any man: and so to dispose absolutely of all matters, as well Ecclesiasticall as Ciuill, as Monarch in the Church, not onely armed with power of excommunication to damne rebels, and authority to remit finnes: but hauing also the temporall sword, with soueraigne authority ouer Emperours, Kings and Princes of the earth, to place and displace, and to dispose of their estates.

Hereafter we shall finde in euery raigne, some memorable example of this soueraigne authority. This raigne giues a very notable one. After the death of the Emperour *Conrad* called *Sigismund*, *Henry* the third of that name, (hauing happily gouerned the Empire) left it to his sonne *Henry* the fourth yet uery young, so as the Popes during this weakenesse of the Empire, had meanes to fortifie them-selues: and so embracing this occasion, *Gregory* the seauenth called *Hildebrand*, did prohibite the Emperour all authority ouer the Clergy, and forbad (vpon paine of excommunication) to haue any recourse vnto him for the collation of benefices, or for any thing else that depended on the Church. *Henry* moued with so great an affront, lets *Gregory* vnderstand, that this his decree was contrary to the ancient orders, and the vse of the Catholike Church. Vpon this reffusal, hee lets him know,

that

A that he will maintaine the rights of the Empire, and complains to the Clergie of Rome in an open assembly. *Gregory* calls an other, wherein he doth excommunicate *Henry* and all his adherents, and sends forth his Bull into all parts, whereby he declares him excommunicate and degraded of the Empire, and in his place causeth *Rodolph* Duke of Sueuia to be chosen Emperour.

1061.

Thus there growes two factions in Italy, and in Germany, one for the Emperour, and the other for the Pope: behold two armies leuiued of these factions, ready to shed Christians blood: nine battailes were giuen vpon the quarrell of these prehem-nences. In the end, *Rodolph* the new Emperour is taken and slaine by *Godefroy* of Bouillon, who followed the Emperour *Henry* the fourth: who after this victory, assembled a great Councell at Bresse, where as *Gregory* the seuenth is excommunicated, and *Clement* Bishop of Rauenna appointed to succeed him, they conduct him to Rome with an army, and take the City after a long siege; whereas the new Pope is sollemnly installed, and *Henry* the fourth Emperour restored by the decree of *Clement*. But this was not all, those which were opposite to the Emperour, chose in this place of *Gregory*, *Vrbain* the second, and their party growing strong, the confusions increased, opposing one Emperour against another, *Herman* of Luxembourg to *Henry*, and after him *Egbert* Marquis of Saxony: the which were taken by *Henry*, and slaine one after another. *Vrbain* hath other practises against *Henry*, he animates his owne sonne by his first wife against him, forcing all the lawes of nature. And as *Henry* had suppressed the practises of this his eldest sonne, Pope *Paschal* who succeeded *Vrbain* the second succeeds him euen in the like monstrous practises, incensing his other sonne *Henry*, whom the father intended to make Emperour, relying on him as his child, beloued aboue all the rest. So this sonne (bewitched by ill counsell) found meanes to seaze on his Father, depriuing him first of the Empire, and then of his life. The Pope added to this death a new disgrace, causing by his thundering Bulls, the body of *Henry* to be digged out of his graue. These were the fruites of their serious contentions, for prehem-nence not onely vnkowne to the ancient Church, nor practised by the Apostles, but expressly forbidden by the holy mouth of the sonne of God.

The Pope incenseth the sonne against the father, who takes from him both his Empire and his life.

The Popes malice against the Emperour being dead.

The Popes one after another (troubled with the crosses) had recourse vnto our *Philip*, so had *Henry* the fourth, being a prisoner to his son: but the respect of his common friends, made him to keepe the stakes, and to be a spectator of these lamentable confusions. And yet many orders were erected by the Popes; amidst these disorders, that of the regular Chanoinnes, for a difference of the secular; the Chartreux, Templers; Benedictines, and Carmelites. Thus *Philip* a witness of others miseries, reignes peaceably, during this age full of confusion, both in Church and State.

The Emperour had reduced these Realme of Bourgongne to the Imperiall iurisdiction, distinguished as wee haue sayd: but during these disorders, the whole body was dismembred, and reduced to an other forme; as when one is wearie of an old garment. The industrie of such as held the Cities and Country in their possession, made foure peeces of this garment. The one was for *Otho* of Flanders; which is the Countrie about Besancon, with the title of an Earledome; whereof it carries yet the name. The other for *Berald* of Saxony, who enioyed Sauoy. The third for *Guigne* the fatte Earle of Griefuauaudan, who from little, grew so great in the confusions of times, hauing taken the chiefe Townes of the Country, and in the end Grenoble the capitall City, as hee became absolute Lord of all that Prouince: the which hee called Daulphine, in fauour of his Sonne, who hauing married the Daughter of the Earle of Albion and Viennois, named *Daulphiné*, would carry the same name, holding himselfe honoured by so worthy an alliance. The fourth peece is Prouence, one of the goodliest and richest, both for the fertilitie of the Country, and commoditie of Ports, most conuenient in all the Mediterranean Sea: this was fallen into the hands of *Berengers* successors, by the meanes before specified.

The beginning of the States of Daulphine, Sauoy, Prouence, and Franche Comtee.

So the Empire lost the command of these foure Prouinces, which fell to foure diuers Lords, leauing yet in Daulphine some traces of the ancient name; without any effect, for they yet call it the Empire in their common language, as wee haue said else where.

M

But

1061.  
Voyage to the  
holy land.

The motives of  
this enterprise.

The names of  
such as went  
to the holy  
land.

But as during the reigne of our *Philip* these confusions were notable, so that great and renowned voyage to the Holy Land, made by our Argonautes Christians, is worthy to be carefully obserued. The proiect was to deliuer the Christians of Asia, tormented by the furious tyranie of the *Mahometaines*, and to repeople the land, the which God had honoured with the first fruites of his Church. This zeale of Christians was commendable. I would to God they had at this day changed their disordered passions, glutted with their owne blood, into so holy a resolution, vnting their mindes and forces against the common enemy of all Christendome. The occasion was giuen by a French Gentleman called *Peter* the Hermite, who hauing long trauelled in the East, and seene the miseries of the Christians among the Barbarians, the manners of the Leuantins, and the commodities and discommodities of the Prouinces of Asia, neere to the Holy Land: hee laide a plot with *Simcon* Patriarck of Ierusalem, to sollicit all Christian Kings and Princes, to imploy their forces for the conquest of the Holy land. The euent was answerable to the proiect: for beeing come to Rome to Pope *Vrbain* the second, hee did so well lay open the Estate and importance of this action, as beeing satisfied by him, hee resolved to inuite all the Kings, Princes, Potentates, States, Comonalties, Lords and Gentlemen of Christendome therewith. To this end hee calls a Councell, at Clermont in Auvergne, where hee assisted himselfe, and induced the whole assembly by his perswasions, with so great efficacy, as they resolved neither to spare their persons nor Estates, in the execution of so important a worke.

*Godfrey* of Bouillon, sonne to *Eustace* Earle of Boulogne vpon the sea, beeing Duke of Lorraine by his vnckle *Godfrey* the Crooke-backe, the sonne of *Goshelon*, a great and a generous Prince, offered himselfe the first to this expedition, and was chosen chiefe of this famous action. The Emperour and all Christian Princes, promised to contribute their meanes, some their persons. A troupe of all the selected Nobilitie of Europe, did willingly consecrate themselves. The most apparent were *Eustace* and *Baldwin*, brothers to *Godfrey*, *Hugh* the great, Earle of Vermandois, brother to *Philip* King of France, *Robert* the Frison Earle of Flanders. *Robert* the second sonne to *William* the Bastard, Duke of Normandie and King of England. *Stephen* Earle of Blois and Chartres, *Aimar* Bishop of Puy, *William* Bishop of Oranges, *Raimond* Earle of Tholose and Saint Gilles, *Baldwin* Earle of Hainault, *Baldwin* Earle of Rethel, *Bohemond* Duke of Apouille, *Garnier* Earle of Grez, *Harpin* Earle of Bourges, *Ysaard* Earle of Die, *Rambaud* Earle of Oranges, *Vvilliam* Earle of Forest, *Stephen* Earle of Aumal, *Hugh* Earle of Saint Pol, *Rorron* Earle of Perche, and many others, worthy to be registred in this Historie, I haue onely noted such as I could finde out.

All Europe was moued with this voyage, France, Germany, Italy, England, Scotland, Hongarie, Denmarke and Sueden: Spaine onely failed, beeing at that time much troubled to keepe their owne country from the Sarrazins, who were lodged euen in their bowels. France did contribute more then all the rest of Christendome. The zeale which moued these generous and valiant men, made them to hazard all, Dukes, Marquises, Earles, Barons, Knights, and Gentlemen, sold and ingaged their Seigneuries, to furnish themselves in this affected voyage, at what price soeuer. *Godfrey* of Bouillon, chiefe of the army, sold the Seigneury of Bouillon, to *Aubert* Bishop of Liege, and Metz to the Inhabitants: *Robert* Duke of Normandy, ingaged all his lands to his brother *Vvilliam* King of England: *Herpin* Earle of Berry, his Earledome to King *Philip*. A sale farre more honorable for the sellers then for the buiers.

There was a quarrell betwixt the children of *Tancred* the Norman (of whom wee haue spoken) who by his valour had conquered Sicilia, Calabria and Apulia) growne from light beginning. It seemed to be immortall, the question beeing betwixt wilfull Kinsmen; but this zeale did so pacifie their quarrels as they brought about twenty thousand braue men to the army, with their owne persons. In euery Towne there was nothing but men making their prouisions, the waies were full of souldiars, horses and baggage, which repaired to the *Rendezvous*; the Ports, Hauens, and seas swarmed with ships and vessels, to transport our generous Argonauts, they beeing guided with this holy zeale, to settle the

State

A State of Christians in the Holy Land. The number of the army is diuersly reported. Some write they were fixe hundred thousand fighting men, others restraine it onely to a hundred thousand. The first number were more likely, for what were that in Europe, but for our wretched dissensions? But that which they adde is to be considered. That many else well affected, were kept backe by reason of the dissensions betwixt the Emperours and Popes: so as Germany (a great nurserie of men of warre) sent very few: and Italy fewer, being dispensed with all by the Pope, who had ingaged others. See the ordinary fruites of home-bred quartels, the which fortifies the enemies of Christendome. Some writers of iudgment adde, that Pope *Vrbain* did cunningly vse the Christians zeale, to weaken the Emperour and his Partisans, that he might preuaile with more facility, causing them to march in this action, and retaining such as were at his deuotion. This is their opinion as the wise reader may verifie in their places. The sequell will shew that this voyage did nothing mortifie the quarrell, betwixt the Emperour and the Pope, the which was reuiued after a tragicke manner. We follow the traces of truth as euery thing hath succeeded. Here wee discourse of the beginning and motives of this warre, we shall see the end and issue of this great preparation. Let vs returne to the hauen to our Argonauts, the trumpets sound, they are all ready to set saile.

*Godfrey* diuided his army into three fleets, making the *Rendezvous* at Constantinople, whether he had sent his Ambassadors to *Alexis* Emperour of Greece, who entring into ialousie of so great an army, made some difficulty to grant him ports: yet in the end he yeelded, and gaue him an honorable entertainment. The departure of these Christian adventurers was in the year 1096. the first day of Aprill. Behold our Latins arriued in safe port, (thus hereafter we shall call them, to distinguish them from the Greekes being Christians, and friends: and the Turkes Leuantins enemies) They vndertooke no small worke, neither went they to take possession of an empty inheritance, the Turkes and Mahometains their enemies, were Lords of Asia, from the realme of Pontus (towards the Mediterranean sea) vnto Hellespont: after they had expelled the Greekes, ouerthrowne the forces of the Caliphes of Babilon and Egipt, and had seized on Palestina, Iudea and all the rest of the Kingdom of Israell, from the entry of the holy Land vnto Libanus: Ierusalem was in their hands. Their Estate (springing from weake beginnings) encreased daily. *Soliman Belchiarac* was their fift Sultan or Emperour, who quickned with so hot a sommoms of Christians, assembled his forces together, stood vpon his gard, and prepared to fight.

*Godfrey* (taking the aduice of *Alexis*, Emperour of Greece, who made shew to imploy all his meanes to aduance the common cause) resolved to passe vnto Chalecdone, and beginning with the cities of Asia to make his passage more easie. He had sent *Peter* the Hermit before, the first trumpet of this warre, with *Gautier* (who was a better souldiar) and some troupes to discouer the Country, but both together making scarce one good Captaine, suffred themselves to be beaten by the Turkes: so as *Godfrey* sends in their place one called *Reynauld* or *Raimond*, who makes profession to know the Country, but hee speeds worse, suffering himselfe to be beaten by the Turkes, and to saue his life, hee renounced the Christian religion, abandoning all that had followed him to the slaughter. This was foretelling of ill successe. The army marching by Asia the lesse, first they besieged Nicomedia the lesse, and take it, then they attempt Nicea a City of Bethunia (famous for the first generall Councell which was held against *Arius*). The Sultan had thrust Mahomet into it, one of his brauest Captaines, yet was it taken by assault by the Christians after two and twenty daies siege. The Sultan had his army in field, the which approached to fauour the besieged, and to saue the remainder of this ship-wracke, and likewise to hold the Cities in obedience, which stood amazed. Nicea being yeilded, there were some skirmishes so fauorable for the Latins, as *Soliman* retires his army to the mountaines, and leaues the plaines and Cities to *Godfrey*, who putt vp with this happy successe, and leauing a good gard in Nicea, he passeth through Bythinia and comes to Heraclea, the which yeelds presently, and then goes on with such successe, as in lesse then foure yeares hee subdued all the goodliest Prouinces of Asia, that is to say Lycaonia, Cilicia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Siria, Mesopotamia and Comagene, as the wise reader may see in the Originalls of the whole History without making of any particular relation in this discourse.

1096.  
The number  
of the Army  
to the Holy  
land.

The army  
taunts and argues at  
Constantinople.

The Mahometains command.

The Christian troupes were defeated by the Turkes.

*Godfrey* wins the rest of Asia.



1099.

Ides and  
Jerusalem ta-  
ken.  
Godfrey of  
Beuillon choo-  
se King of  
Ierusalem.

These happy and gainfull conquests strooke as great a terror into *Soliman* and the Le-  
uantins, as it purchased honour and reputation to *Godfrey* and the Christians: so as hauing  
taken *Antioche*, *Tripoly*, and other renowned Cities; they came into Iudea and to Ierusa-  
lem with a victorious resolution. Thus Ierusalem is besieged with such diligence and re-  
solution, as after eight and thirty daies it is taken by assault, and all the Turkes cut in peeces.  
The poore inhabitants without armes are carefully preferred, to purchase a double victory  
to the Latins, of valour in fighting well, and of clemency in sparing the vanquished. The ci-  
ty wonne, the Latins assemble in Councell, and with one common consent choose *Godfrey*  
of Bouillon King of Ierusalem. All the royall ornaments were taken and accepted by him,  
except the crowne of gold, the which he would haue of thornes, like to that of our Sauour  
Iesus Christ, to augment the price of gold and pretious stones dedicated to his crowne by a  
holy humility, and a religious acknowledgement of the victory, which the Sonne of God  
hath gotten by his blood, to giue vs in Heauen the Crowne of immortall life. This famous  
act chanced in the yeare 1099. in the month of March.

Hauing put *Godfrey* and the Christians in possession of the Holy Land, let vs returne in-  
to France to our *Philip*, not without griefe to see the dissention betwixt the Emperour and  
Pope, who were nothing reconciled by the voiage to the Holy Land. The increase of this  
new power, purchased in England to the Sonnes of *William* the Conquerour, gaue him no  
small occasion to looke to his affaires, and the rather, for that this new King of England had  
begon to make a breach in his Estate, taking *Xaintonge* and *Poitou* Countries very impor-  
tant, beeing members of one of the principall Prouinces of his realme, foreseeing also that  
Normandy would bandy it selfe against France without all respect.

The sonnes  
of *William*  
King of Eng-  
land.

*William* had left three sonnes of great hope: *William* surnamed *Rufus* King of England,  
*Robert* Duke of Normandy (whom we haue left in the holy Land) and *Henry* Earle of Maine  
withall his treasure. *Philip* therefore to secure his Estate (following the example of his An-  
cestors) caused *Lewis* his sonne, (whom hee had by *Berthe*, daughter to *Baldwin* Earle of  
Flanders) to be crowned King. There was a scandalous breach in this marriage, for *Philip*  
falling in loue with *Bertrude* the wife of *Fouques* Earle of *Aniou*, puts away *Berthe*, and after-  
wards (hauing reiected *Bertrude*,) he received *Berthe* againe, beeing mother to King *Lewis*,  
to whom hauing resigned the crowne at Orleans, hee died at Melun in the yeare of grace  
1109. of his age seuen and fifty, and of his raigne forty nine, hauing reigned long to settle  
his Estate, but not without a leuaine of much trouble to come, hauing degenerated from  
the vertues of his grand-fathers and father. Hee was disloyall, couetous, louing nothing  
but his owne profit, pittifesse, ygrate: and one who sowed dangerous seeds of much mil-  
chiefe, which began to bud in the reigne ensuing.

*Philip* dies.

His disposi-  
tion.

LEWIS

1110.

LEWIS the sixth, called the grosse  
the forty King of France.



D



As we foresee a storme by the clouds that rise, by the darke mists of the thick  
ayre, pierced through with sparkles like the shining of a close fire, and  
by the motiues of the water, driuen with a violent and suddaine winde,  
euen so there bee *sinnes* and fits in an estate, which foretell the altera-  
tions which shall insue: the which fall not all at one instant, but the  
subiect being gathered together, in proceesse of time, breakes forth when  
it can no longer hold. There is this difference betwixt naturall things and those which  
belong to man, for that men can well discern what the weather will be, but hee is blind in  
that which concerns himselfe, and neuer beleeueth vntill hee feelles the blow, falling into the  
danger which hee flies, by his owne fault, neuer wise but after danger. France had inioyed  
peace about an hundred years, vnder these forepassed reignes: she now growes weary. This  
reigne is a preamble to a mornfull song, which shall make them to weepe that reioyced in  
the fruition of so long rest. The name of royall authority held all those great men backe  
which had any interest therein, the wisdom of *Capet*, *Robert*, *Henry* and *Philip*, had so bridled  
them, as they willingly obeyed.

The estate of  
this reigne.

Now they are of an other humor. The Duke of Normandy (who since *Capet* had beene  
obedient and well affected to the crowne,) seeing himselfe strengthened with the Realme  
of England, hee frames all his practises to ouerthrow this order, by rebellions and tumults.  
*Lewis* had scarce performed his fathers funeralls, before the fire of rebellion kindled in di-  
uers parts of the realme: and (as if the Kings youth had beene a blemish to his dignity,) e-  
uery one will play the pettie King. The places neere vnto *Paris* beganne these first re-  
uolts, by reason of the many great families thereabouts. *Corbeil* had an Earle, *Chartres* an  
other, *Piseaux* in *Beaufe* had one, *Crecy* had his Lord, *Marle* his, *Pomponne* his, and so  
diuers other Seigneuries had euery one their particular Lord. But as a disease stirres vp all  
the humors in a weake body, so all that were discontented with *Lewis*, gather together into  
one head, to afflict him vnder the countenance of the King of England.

The French  
begin to fal  
from their  
obedience.

1109. They were for a time suppressed, yet this was but to open a veine, and not to cure the feuer. A  
*Guy of Crecy*, the Lord *Pisceans*, *Lancelin* Earle of Dammartin, *Thibaud* Earle of Champagne, and *Bryce*, *Péau* of Louvre in Paris, *Atilon* of Montlehery, and *Philip* the bastard of King *Philip*, all ioyntly play the mutines and rise against their King. At the same instant, *Henry* King of England goes to field, his priuate quarrell was for the towne of Gisors, seated vpon the riuier of Epre, on the confines of Normandy. But this small proceffe was soone ended, for *Lewis* hauing defeated the English nere vnto Gisors, he forced *Henry* to retire, and afterwards punished all these rebels, increasing his reuenues by their confiscations.

Rebels suppressed and punished.

But the quarrell betwixt the Emperour and the Pope, did hatch a more dangerous proces for France. We haue said that *Henry* the fifth banded against his father *Henry* the fourth (who had associated him in the Empire) and had cast him into prison by the Popes Council, where this poore man died for greefe. *Henry* the fifth wonderfully troubled in conscience, and vexed with daily reproches, that hee had violated the Imperiall rights, resolved to haue his reuenge of Pope *Pasfall*, the author of this cruell and vnkind Councell. To conclude, he armes, and that with so great a resolution, as in few daies, hee assembles threescore thousand foote, and thirty thousand horse: with this army he goes into Italy, and hauing taken and spoiled Nouarre, Pontremolo and Arezzo, hee comes a Conqueror to the gates of Rome, the which were opened without any resistance.

The Emperour greued for his ill vsage of his father.

The Emperour comes to Rome and forceth the Pope to take an oath.

The Emperour degraded by the Popes decree, in a Councell, at Rheims.

Being entred the City, and causing the Pope and Colledge to assemble, hee makes knowne vnto them the rights of the Empire, as Pope *Leo* the eighth had acknowledged them to *Otho* the second Emperour, and before him *Adrian* to *Charlemagne*, according to the decree of the Councell at Rome, contained in the sixtie third distinction: and to conclude, he forced him to take the oath of fidelity, as to the true and lawfull Emperour, and then returns with his army. Pope *Pasfall* extremely moued with this affront, calls a Councell, wherein he protests to haue bene forced by *Henry*, so by consequence pronounceth, that whatsoever he had promised was of no force, and after all these toyles hee died. *Gelasius* succeeded him both in place and hatred against the Emperour *Henry*: but being too weake of himselfe, neither hauing any such friend as the King of France (according to the triallo often made, time out of minde) he comes into France, but he died at Cluny: and in his place *Calixtus*, sonne to the Earle of Bourgongne was chosen Pope. The reputation of the place from whence he was descended was great, so as he being a Frenchman, easily called a councell in France, to the great satisfaction of the French. It was held at Rheims, where by an ecclesiasticall decree, he declared *Henry* an enemy to the Church, and degraded of the Imperiall dignity.

The Emperour and King of England reyne against France.

As this ignominious decree did moue the Emperour, so did it minister matter to the King of England his brother in law, to imbrace all occasions to annoy *Lewis* his capitall enemy: for seeing this Councell had bene held in France, and consisted chiefly of the French Church: it was very apparant that the Kings fauour was very preiudiciall to the Emperours affaires. The English failes not to harpe vpon this string to the Emperour, being already incensed by the thing it selfe: promising him all his meanes, and encouraging him to enter France on the one side, whilst that he came on the other with all the forces of Normandy and England. The party was not small, neither had *Lewis* small cause to feare, being incourted by two such enemies. But God shewed him the rod, and reserved the punishment for another season: for as the Emperour was going to field, the Germane Princes (foreseeing the misery of a warre undertaken lightly vpon despight, and weighing the importance of neighbourhood) gaue him to vnderstand that hee ought not to attempt war against the King of France, without declaring vnto him the causes of his discontent. Hee therefore sends his Ambassadors to this end. *Lewis* doth wisely answer him, that hee is exceedingly sorry, to see the two great Pillers of the Church so shaken by these diffentions: and that it was to bee feared, the whole building would bee ruined. So as being a friend to both, hee desired greatly to bee a mediator of concord, and not to carrie coales to increase the fire, too much kindled already, the which ought to bee quenched for the good and quiet of all Christendome. This Ambassage was pleasing, and preuailed so much, as the Emperour disarmes, and was content to make *Lewis* a mediator for an accord betwixt him and the Pope, to the great grieve of the King of England, who expected a long

The French King and the Emperour reconciled.

A long continuance of this iarre. The composition was made at Wormes, very beneficiall for the Pope, in the yeare 122. whereby *Henry* grants him the installing of Bishops, and other benefices. This did ease the fore, but not cure it: as the sequelle of the Historie will shew. While that Princes haue leisure to contend, the poore people dye for hunger in many places of Europe. This famine was exceeding great in Flanders, who then had for their Earle, *Charles* surnamed the Good, for his good disposition, and great charitie to the poore. Hee fought by all meanes to releuee them. But as barrenesse was one of the causes of this famine, so the cruell couetousnesse of the rich, was a great hinderance to the commoditie of victuals: whereby there grew as remarkable an act, as the successe was strange, the particular report whereof, the reader must pardon in the brieuenesse of our stile.

Notable troubles in Flanders.

There were three breethren at Bruges, of the chiefe of the Countrie, the which had gathered together a great quantitie of graine, and would not sell it, expecting a greater dearth, which might cause a greater price, that is *Bertholphe VVendestrat*, Prouost of S. Donas, and Chancellor of Flanders: *Lambert* and *Boussard VVendestrat* brethren: and another rich Burgesse called *Lambert*, one of the chiefe of the Cittie. This dignitie of Prouost and Chancellor was so great, as he supplied the Princes place in his absence. Vpon the peoples complaint, the Earle decrees, that all the graniers of these great houses should be opened, and the corne sold to the people at a reasonable rate. The Commission was giuen to *Thamard*, Almoner of the Earles house, as a thing befitting his charge: he causeth the graniers of these rich Bourgeses to be opened, the corne is sold to the people, and the money deliuered to the owners. The people being releueed by the couragious care of *Thamard*, commend him. The *VVendestrates* and *Lambert* (greatly discontented with this sale, wherein they held themselves interested) cause many indignities to be done vnto him. *Lambert* is directly accused by informations, being a very audacious young man, and the *VVendestrates* were touched therewith. The Earle offended with these audacious attempts, repaired them by Iustice: threatening *Lambert*, that if he continued, he would seuerely punish him.

There was also another complaint, made by an old Abbot against the Prouost, to whom the Earle spake roughly, commanding him to restore vnto the Abbot what he ought him. These free admonitions of the good Earle *Charles*, did so alter the proud and trecherous minds of these Cittizens, as they resolved to kill him: his milde facilitie giuing these wicked spirits both courage to attempt, and boldnesse to execute. And the end is answerable to their wicked desseigne. As the good Earle *Charles* went ill accompanied in the morning to his deuotion, to the church of S. Donas, on Ashwednesday, behold a troupe of young mad men, led by this *Lambert*, comes vnto him (being vnarmed on his knees in a Chappell) the Priett attired in his ornaments at the Altar (the Earle holding forth his arme to giue his almes to a poore woman) and without any warning, they beate him downe with their swords, and kill him, and so forcing all to giue way, they seeke for *Thamard*, whom they find and massacre, with so great a furie, as they leaue him vpon the place hewed into many peeces. Their troupe increaseth, and they flie to the Pallace, where all are amazed: and finding it without guard, without keyes, and without any gate shut, they enter it with horrible cries, they kill, sacke, and spoile: and running from thence into the cittie, they commit the like in those houses which they knew best affected to the good Earle *Charles*. This furious crueltie was accompanied with an ouerweening indiscretion, as if they had made some goodly conquest, they braue it, and play the masters without feare of any punishment. The people exceedingly grieued to see these barbarous cruelties against their good Prince, whom they loued as a father, durst not speake a word during this furie, whereas this troupe of murderers commaunded absolutely. But the wisest Cittizens fled to *Lewis*, as to their Soueraigne Lord. *Lewis* comes to Bruges with great speede: these butchers attending their miserie, shut themselves into the great tower of S. Donas. *Lewis* doth first burie the bodie of this good Earle honourably, (the which had lien without interring) and then doth punish the murderers and their Complices rigorously.

Trecherie against the good Earle of Flanders.

The Earle of Flanders and his Almoner murdered.

Crueltie in the city of Bruges.

*Lewis* King of France punishes the Rebels.

But this is not all. He must prouide for the Earledome, remaining without a Lord, by the death of Count *Charles* deceased without children. There wanted no pretendants, *William* of Fronsonne to *Philip* of Flanders, the second sonne of *Robert* the Frison. King *Henrie* of England (who desired greatly to ioyne this goodly Countrie with his Normandie) *Stephen* of

Pretendants for the Earledome of Flanders.

1117. of Blois Earle of Montreuell and Bologne: *Baldwin* Earle of Hainault, and *William* the sonne of *Robert* called *Court-hose*, brother to the King of England, but his sworne enemy, hauing vsed his father ill, and kept him prisoner.

*Lewis* was soueraigne Iudge of this controuersie, Flanders depending on the Crowne of France. He assigned all the pretendants to repaire to the cittie of Arras: signifying, that his intent was to do them iustice, but in effect he inclined to fauour: adiudging the Earledome of Flanders to the last, that is, to *William* of Normandie, to bind him with more strict bonds against his kinsman. On the other side, the Flemings assemble at Ypre, and chose *William* of Leo, Lord of Ypre: The king aduanceth with his forces to Ypre, to prevent this popular election, where he enters the stronger, and forceth *William* to renounce it. From thence he goes to all other good Citties: where by his authoritie, he causeth *William* of Normandie to be receiued for lawfull Earle, and puts him in solemne possession by a publike act. But his fauour had ill bestowed this goodly inheritance of an vnworthie man, whose furie depriued him presently. *Lewis* hauing installed him, returnes into France. *William* in steade of winning his new subiects by equitie and mildnesse, begins to oppresse them after a rigorous and imperious manner: by infringing of their priuiledges, ostentations of his authority, taxes, subsidies, new impositions, and by all other meanes which Princes (that seeke to loose their Estates) hold to torment their subiects. Hee had so farre exceeded, as the Citties without any wauering resolute to prouide a better Earle, and to this intent they seeke a head.

The memorie of their good Earle, makes them to cast their eyes vpon him that hath most right to this inheritance, as the neerest kinsman, which is *Thierry* sonne to the Duke of Holatia, and of *Gertrude* daughter to *Robert* the Frison. The Flemings intreate him to come into their countrie, promising him all assistance to conquer the State. Hee comes, and is receiued with an extraordinarie ioy by all the people. All the Citties assemble, to acknowledge him by order, and dismisse *William* of Normandie, who seeing a flat repulse by this people thus freed, repaires to *Lewis* for succour in this extremitie. *Lewis* failes him not, his armie marcheth with great speed: he himselfe comes in person, and is receiued into Arras: from thence he adiournes *Thierry*, to come and answer before him as his Soueraigne, by what warrant he carries himselfe for Earle, this summons is made vnto him at Ypre, whether hee had retired himselfe. Hauing condemned him by default, he approacheth his armie to Ypre, to vex the inhabitants. *Thierry* fallies forth with a notable troupe of men: they ioyne, the fight is fierce, but the checke falles vpon *Thierries* forces, who with much adoe, saues himself in Aloft.

*William* pursues him, and approacheth the towne, summoning the Inhabitants to obey and to deliuer vp *Thierry* as an Vsurper. But he was not aduised that one with a Crosse-bow, shot an arrow at him, and pierced him throw the arme. Behold, he is wounded, and within two daies he dies. *Thierry* and the Flemings sent presently to *Lewis* to beseech him to receiue the into fauour, wherby he may be assured of their faithfull seruice. *Lewis* consents, and confirms him: and hauing caused him to take the oath of fidelitie, and receiued his homage after the manner of his Ancestors, he returnes into France. But Flanders continued not long in quiet, as we shall see hereafter.

To these stirres of Flanders, were added some garboyles in Bourbonnois and Auvergne, *Archibauld* Earle of Bourbon was decessed, leauing one sonne of the same name, but a young man, and a brother called *Haman*, who abusing the time in the weake minoritie of his Nephew, would make himselfe Master of Bourbonnois, pretending the Earledome to appertaine vnto him by the death of his elder brother, to whom hee must succeed in order, as the youngest of the house. The mother and friends of *Archibauld*, opposed against *Haman*, the right of representation (innolable in France in great houses) which is, that the sonne of the eldest brother, represents the father, and without doubt succeeds in all his rights, to enioy the, as if he himselfe liued; for that the Father reuiues in the Sonne. *Haman* building his chiefe interest vpon force, would not admit any reason that made for his nephew: so as the matter was brought before the King, who by the aide of his Councell, declares *Archibauld* the lawfull heire, and puts *Haman* from his pretensions, commaunding him to leaue the possession of Bourbonnois free to his Nephew. This *Archibauld* did afterwards marrie his daughter *Beatrice*, to *Robert* Earle of *Clermont* in Beauuois, son to the king *S. Lewis*, and of this mari-

A age by the royall stemme, is descended the most famous race of Bourbon, the which at this day doth happily enioy the Crowne and Realme of France. But *Haman* (who held some places in Bourbonnois) would not leaue the possession, refusing to obey the Kings commaundement, relying vpon the fauour of *Eustache* Earle of Auvergne, who sought to free himselfe. There was a priuate subiect of complaint against him, hauing displaced the Bishop of Clermont against the Kings will. These occasions drew the King into Bourbonnois, where hauing besieged *Haman*, he ended this controuersie in fauour of *Archibauld*. The affaires of Auvergne were more difficult, by reason of *William* Duke of Guienne, who imbraced the cause for the Earle of Auvergne, pretending that he was his vassall. This quarrell seemed to take a long course, but it was pacified by this meanes. *Lewis* had sixe sonnes, *Philip*, *Lewis*, *Henry*, another *Philip*, *Peter*, *Robert*, and one daughter, *Constance*. He had crowned his eldest sonne *Philip*, who dyed by a strange accident: going to take the aire on horsebacke, a hogge passed vnder the belly of his horse, the which being feared, did shake this young King so violently, as he threw him downe, and so brused him, as within few daies after he died. This vncexpected death hauing much troubled *Lewis*, made him to prouide for the rest of his children: and the libertie of time among so many of his subiects (which did checke his authoritie by their great nesse) moued him to looke more carefully thereunto, to make him great, whome he had appointed his successor in the realme about the rest. *Lewis* was his second sonne, whome he resolved to crowne King in his brothers place, and to marrie him. Guienne is one of the worst members of this estate, the Dukes were yet of the remainders of great *Charlemagne*, as we haue seene. *William* was then Duke, and had but one daughter to be heire to this great and rich countrie. *Lewis* resolves to take this Daughter for his sonne, and so to end all strife. This Daughter was called *Ellenor*, she was giuen in marriage to *Lewis*, which was called the Young: to distinguish him from his father *Lewis*, with whom he reigned. *Lewis* expected a great aduancement by this alliance, but the euent will shew, that he had not reckned with God about. As for his other children, he leaues them to the discretion of the eldest, whome hee had resolved to make their superior, both in authoritie and power, that they might depend onely vpon his fauour. He made *Henry* his third sonne, Bishop of Beauois, the other *Philip* Archdeacon of Paris: *Peter* Earle of Courteney, *Robert* Earle of Druex, and married his onely daughter *Constance* to *Raimond* Earle of Saint Gilles, and Tholouse: which shewes that it was a great house; as we shall note in our Theater of Languedock: but the course of the historie shall make vs see plainly, that this alliance did not warrant *Raimond* from the miseries that fell vpon him after this raigne. *Lewis* the Grosse hauing thus prouided for his estate, died aged 61. in the yeare of Grace 1137. the 25. of October, leauing one sonne settled in his Realme, with an apparent peace, yet breeding great troubles for the State, hauing reigned

1137.

*Philip* eldest sonne to *Lewis* is died by a strange accident.

*Lewis* the young marries the heire of Guienne.

*Lewis* dies.

# LEWIS the 7. called the Young, the 41. King of France.



The estate of  
this raigne.



**H**E began to raigne in the yeare 1137. and raigned 43. yeares. This long raigne was nothing happie, and contains nothing in it that was memorable, but that the foundation was laide for a long calamitie for Fraunce. The subiect was the more notable, for that the mischief came fro thence, from whence good was to be expected, which was from the heire of Guienne. In hope and expectation, a gage of rest, but in effect a Leauen of lamentable confusion, which had almost ruined this Monarchie, and transported it vnto Strangers. The estate of Guienne beeing thus seled, and some mutiners suppressed (who in the beginning of this raigne had freed themselves, vnder colour of the Fathers weake old age, and the irresolute youth of the Sonne) Fraunce continued in great quiet, and the accord made betwixt the King, *Henry* the 5. Emperour, and the Popes, had pacified the dissention, which had troubled all Christendome. But the affaires of the Christians in the East, were not answerable to their happie and victorious beginning, so as all the kings and princes of Europe, were called by extreame necessitie vnto their succours. Such was their estate, as all things fell out happily in Asia to *Godfrey* of Bouillon, and that the taking of the Holy Land and Ierusalem, did seeme an absolute conquest to the Christians: but the Turkes on the other side slept not: they enter Palestina with an armie of fixe hundred thousand men (as the Greeke Historie of those times doth witnesse) *Godfrey* fights with them, the combat was great, and the issue happie for the Christians, if the death of that great and famous Prince had not followed soone after, and too soone for the affaires of Christendome, which began greatly to decline by his decease.

The Christi-  
ans affaires in  
the East.

Godfrey of  
Bouillon dies.

*Baldwin* his brother was chosen in his place. A Prince valiant enough, but vnfortunate: At his first entrie, he very indiscreetly charged a great troupe of Sarrazins, where hee was beaten with so great dishonour, as euen then he lost both courage and authoritie: although during his reigne (which was seven yeares) Tyre and Apamea, (which they call Raphanea) notable Citties, were added to this new kingdome of the Christians. *Fouques* Earle of Aniou (his sonne in law,) succeeded him: but he was scarce in possession, when as he was slaine in hunting

A hunting with a fall, leauing two children, *Baldwin* and *Amanlie*, and the affaires so dilmembred, as they could no longer stand, pressed within by diuisions, and without by a daungerous warre: so as all these goodly Prouinces gotten with so great facilitie, were through these ciuill dissentions among Christians, lost within few daies. Behold, new Embassadors from these young Princes, and all the great States in Asia, to the Pope, Emperour, and King of France, imploring their aides, else they were vndone, to the shame of Christendome, and triumph of those miscreants. *Lucius* the 2. was then Pope. *Conrad* of Sueuia Emperour, and *Lewis* King of France. *S. Bernard* (whom they called the Mellifluous Doctour, for his sacred and diuine eloquence) liued then, hauing wonne great reputation with the French, for his doctrine and holinessse. The Pope employed him much, to perswade the King to embrace this action, and to succour their afflicted brethren. *Lewis* resolues easily, his zeale beeing strengthened by the perswasions of this holy man. *Conrad* of Sueuia tooke the like resolution, so as they are both well affected to employ all their meanes to crosse the desseignes of these miscreants, and to settle the Christians affaires in the Holy Land: when as behold, a great mischance which had almost hindered all their resolutions.

1137.

The Christians  
lose all in the  
East.

The Emperor  
and King of  
France resolue  
to succour the  
Christians.

*Alberic* Archbishop of Bourges beeing dead, the Pope without the Kings priuitie, (to get footing in France of his absolute authoritie, which he had so much disputed with the Emperour) advanced to the Archbishopricke of Bourges, a fauorite of his named *Peter*, and sent him with his Bulls to take possession of the place. *Lewis* (who had alwaies supported the Sea of Rome in all their quarrels; and had seene his father readie to enter into a deadly warre with the Emperour vpon this occasion: who moreouer prepared himselfe at the Popes periwasion, to employ, not onely his treasure, but his owne person, in a voyage to the East, for the common good of all Christendome:) was mightily discontented with this his proceeding, as if he purposely meant to braue him at his owne doore. It is a priuiledge time out of mind, due to the Kings of France, that they admit not any to Ecclesiasticall dignities, preferred by the Pope, or chosen by the people, if he be not pleasing to themselves. The reason is apparent, to auoide either disloyaltie, ignorance, or ill life, in such as are advanced to these dignities: our Kings hauing right to be Soueraigne ouer-seers of the Church. The King would not allow of *Peter* thus advanced to this dignitie, although the Chapter of Bourges had giuen their consent to the Popes decree. *Peter* beeing reiecte, had recourse to *Thibaud* Earle of Champagne, and to the Earle of Blois, men discontented with the King, and onely fit to be opposed. But to this difficultie there was added a greater at the same instant. *Raoul* Earle of Vermandois had put away his wife *Gilbert*, the daughter of *Roger* Lord of Chateaubriant, vpon suspicion that she had beene prodigall of her honour, without any proofes to conuince her. But ielousie made him to see that plainly, which was concealed to others: so as he put her away, and tooke *Peronnelle*, the bastard Daughter of *William* Duke of Guienne in her place, beeing aduowed sister to Queene *Elenor*, and her decre friend. *Gilbert* complains to the Pope, beeing reiecte (as she pretended) without cause, and demands iustice. The Pope commaundes *Raoul* to receiue his wife againe, and to put away *Peronnelle*, as vnlawfull, and (for not obeying) doth excommunicate him. The King intreats the Pope for *Peronnelle*, but hee preuailes not: for he sends *Tues* into France as his Legat, to reuiue the first censure, not only against the Earle, but also against the Bishops which had consented to the diuorce of *Gilbert*, forbidding them any more to exercise their charges. The Earle *Thibaud* had vnder taken to haue the Pope obeyed; to the great dislike of the King, as it were attempting it of purpose to offend him. *Lewis* moued with this affront, went against *Thibaud*: and at the first takes Vitry, and not onely sackes the towne, but in disdaine of the Pope, caused the Churches to be spoiled: and many beeing fled out of the villages, to saue themselves from the furie of the disordered troopes, had retired themselves into a Temple, as to a place of safetie: *Lewis* giues such libertie to his souldiers, as they set fire of the place, and burne fifteene hundred persons men and women. The horror of this Massacre offended all good men, but especially *Lewis*, who was so much grieved as he could not be comforted. Misfortune is good for somthing. *Lewis* loathing the voyage to the East, for the foresaid occasions, was easily confirmed by *S. Bernard*, who had perswaded him to yeeld all succours to the afflicted Christians, for a reparation of so execrable a fact, committed by his commaundement, vpon so many poore innocents: and likewise he embarked *Conrad* the Emperour and the Germanes. These two great

The Pope and  
King of France  
at last.

A horribil  
massacre com-  
mitted by the  
souldiers of  
Lewis and by  
his consent.

great Princes, carried with one zeale, and vntited in one will to this worke, make great preparations for the voyage. *Conrad* armes three score thousand horse, and an infinit number of Foote, and he himselfe is chiefe of this goodly armie, taking the way of Hungarie to Constantinople, through the countrie of *Alexis* his brother in law, Emperour of Greece: he arrived some moneths before *Lewis*; for the Emperour parted in Februarie, and *Lewis* went to field in May, and takes the same course the Emperour had done.

The Kings armie was nothing inferiour to the Emperours: and so much the more remarkable, for that Queene *Elenor* desired to accompany her husband in the voyage: so as after the King and Queenes example, all France thought to flie into the East. They sent a distaffe and a Spindle to all those that were fit for armes, if they marched not with this troupe of braue Warriours. *Conrad* arrived first at Constantinople: and so he returned much sooner into Germanie. Having passed into Asia by the Bosphorus of Thrace, it was likely that all should yeeld to so mightie an armie: but it fell out otherwise then he had desseigned. All the Citties wonne at the first voyage were almost lost; and the Christians ill gouernement was so well knowne, as the Turkes made head in all places. The Emperour measuring his triumph by the number of his men, contemned the enemy, and was negligent in his proceedings: hauing referred the prouision to *Alexis* Emperour of the East, his brother in law, he found little bread, and store of enemies in all places. So as what by hunger and the sword, scarce the tenth part of his men come to his friends in the Holy land, where he found them all amazed.

*Lewis* (warned by *Conrad*s example) did somewhat better in the beginning: for beeing refreshed at Constantinople, and other Citties of Greece: he passed the channell into Asia happily, where hauing beaten the enemy, he came without losse to Athalia and hauing cauled his Fleete (which was at Rhodes) to come to the friend-Ports of Palestina, he arrived by land safe with all his troupes at Antioch, where he was honourably receiued by *Raimond* Earle of *S. Gilles* his brother in law. In the meane time the Emperour besiegeth *Afcalon* alone, but preuailes not. *Lewis* arriues at Ierusalem, whether *Conrad* comes likewise. After they had visited the places of deuotion, they resolute to besiege Damas in Syria, a Cittie very important of the commerce for Iudea; but after a long and fruitlesse siege, all are dispersed. The Emperour who came first, returnes first: the King stayed not long after him. There were foure yeares spent in this fruitlesse voyage, with much paine and cost, and not onely without fruit, but it also tooke away the terror of Christian armies in these miscreants, and left the affaires of Asia in farre worse estate, then when they came. There was yet another inconuenience. The Emperour *Alexis* (a friend at their entrie) shewed himselfe an enemy to them both at their departure. *Conrad* saued himselfe as well as he could, more fearing the trecherie of the Greekes, then the crueltie of the Turkes. *Lewis* prouides in time to haue the Fleete of Sicile come for his conuoy, else had he lost both himselfe and his treasure, the which had bene a meanes for the Greekes to make their peace with the Turkes, and open war against the other Christians, beeing better then themselves. This shamefull & preiudiciall departure, was hurtfull to the whole Christian Church. But there was a greater losse for *Lewis*, very troublefome to himselfe, and preiudiciall to all France: for Queene *Elenor* his wife, (who made profession to go visit the holy places) suffered her eyes to be abused with an vnchaste and filthy lust, which tainted her honour, and the King her husbands heart with an outrageous ielousie. This woman accustomed to the liberties of Time and Place, had so abandoned her selfe to the pleasures of the East, as the stench of her incontinencie was publike to the whole world, before her husband had any notice thereof: her impudencie did so farre exceed, as shee would dishonourably haue stayed in Antioch, and left her husband: presuming to cloake her shame with a shew of Religion: saying without blushinge, that she could be no more the wife of *Lewis*, to whom she was Cousin in the fourth degree, preferring the loue of a Iester, named *Saladin*, of the Sarazin race, before the greatnesse of a King of Fraunce, her lawfull husband. *Lewis* beeing much diquieted, perswades this woman to returne, (a heauier burthen to his minde, then to his shippe,) beeing returned to his house, he frees himselfe with all the speed he can. And whereas he should haue cast this insatiat woman into the Riuer, beeing no more his wife, and retained her Dowrie iustly gotten the playing bankrupt of her honour: he calles a Councell at Bau-

A gency to haue her diuorced, the which was granted, vnder colour of far-fetched consanguinitie. But his desire was to be freed from her. So retaining two Daughters, borne vnder the vaile of their marriage, he restores vnto *Elenor* all her Countrie of Guienne, that is, he puts into the hands of his furious enemy a Torch to set his whole Realme on fire: for as soone as she sees her selfe freed from the subiection and feare of a husband, she stayed not long to acquaint her selfe with *Henry* King of England, and Duke of Normandie, the greatest and most capitall enemy that *Lewis* had. So hee obtained Guienne by the voluntarie Cession which *Lewis* made, to haue the better and more conuenient meanes to annoy him and his whole Realme.

B Moreouer, *Lewis* payed dearly for so great a discommoditie, for the Pope would not giue him a dispensation to marrie againe, without a great summe of money, to bee employed in the warres of the Holy Land: and to finish this worke, he tooke to wife *Constance*, the daughter of *Alphonso* King of Galicia, being a weake friend, and farre off. This marriage was not greatly conuenient, neither for his owne quiet, nor the peace of his subiects. This subiect of deadly rancor, encreasing the hatred of these two neighbour Monarkes of France and England, burst forth soone after by dangerous effects. The benefit of the new purchase of Guienne, was the cause of that perillous warre, the which had so long, and so lamentable continuance. *William* Duke of Guienne, Grandfather by the father to Queene *Elenor*, had married the onely Daughter of the first *Raimond* Earle of Tholousa, who had ingaged the said Countie to *Raimond* Earle of Saint Gilles, who since also called himselfe Earle of Tholousa, beeing seized of the sayd Countie, and enioyed it so quietly vnder the Kings obedience. *Henry* King of England offers the money to *Raimond* to redeeme it, and demands the Earledome as his Wiues right: Vpon his refusall, hee armes, enters into Quercie, takes Cahors, spoiles the Countie, and besiegeth Tholousa. *Lewis* (intreated by *Raimond*) runnes to quench this fire: Beeing arriued, and the two Armies readie to ioyn, a peace was made betwixt the two Kings, by the marriage of *Marguerite* the Daughter of *Lewis*, with *Henry* the eldest Sonne of *Henry* King of England: but for that shee was very young, and not yet marriagable, shee was deliuered into *Henry* the Fathers hands, vntill she were of fit age to marry.

*Lewis* had now buried his wife *Constance*, who left him but two Daughters, without any heyres male: so as beeing desirous to haue a successor, hee made no delay to marry, and tooke to his third wife, *Alix* the Daughter of *Thibaud* Earle of Champagne, his vassall, and newly reconciled, but not greatly affected vnto him, vntill that time. He had a Sonne presently by her, whom he called *Dieu Donne*, or giuen of God, as an acknowledgement that God had sent him, at his and his subiects prayers: This is he that shall succeed him. I should beginne to describe his raigne, but order commaunds mee to relate what happened, during the raigne of *Lewis*, in the neighbour nations of England and Italie, wherein *Lewis* had great crosses.

*Henry* King of England had two sonnes by *Elenor*; *Richard* and *Groffrey*: and by his first wife hee had *Henry*, who was made sure to *Marguerite* of Fraunce, of whom wee haue spoken. The Father caused him to be crowned, to settle him in his life time, and tyed the English vnto him by homage. A young Prince, ambitious, audacious, ill aduised and rash, who cannot long containe himselfe with the taste of this new authoritie, but will play the King with his Father. And although his Fathers admonitions restrained him for a while; yet this ambitious humour still burst forth: So as the Father from milde admonitions came to threatnes, the inscience of this young Prince increasing daily: some yeares passed whilest this fire lay smothered, very long for young *Henry*, to whom the Fathers life seemed too tedious, and the children of the second wife grewe by the care of *Elenor* their mother. *Henry* the Father discontented with his Sonne, and fearing that in consummating the marriage betweene him and the Daughter of France, the young Prince would grow proude, augmenting his traine and State, and (through the fauour of King *Lewis* his father in Lawe) attempt something preiudiciall to his authoritie; Hee delayed the accomplishment of his marriage, although the Virgin were of more then sufficient yeares to marrie. To this mischief was added another more shamefull, for that *Henry* the Father caused this Princess to be carefully kept, the which should be his daughter in Lawe, fearing lest his Son should take her away, and marry her. *Elenor* falls into ielousie, as if *Henry* had

1151.  
Lewys is the cause to be diuorced from Henry, and restores her Guienne.

Elenor marries with Henry King of England.

Lewis marries againe.

The first warre betwixt France and England, for the Earledome of Tholousa.

The two kings reconciled by a marriage.

Notable rebellion in England betwixt the father and the sonne.

Prince Henry ielous of his owne father.

The Emperour of Greece desires treacherously with the Emperour and King.

The Emperour and King of France make a shamefull relation from the last.

Queen Elenor vnchaste.





PHILIP the 2. called Augustus, or Gods-Gift,  
the 42. King of France.



An excellent  
King, and an  
excellent reign

His disposition

**T**HE title of *Augustus* given to *Philip*, is worthie of his person and raigne: who not onely preserved the French Monarchie, amidst so many sorts of enemies and difficulties: but enlarged it with many Prouinces, (diuided to diuers proprietaries by *Hugh Capet*) and vnitied them to the Crowne: for this cause he was also called Conquerour. The beginning of his raigne was a presage of happinesse, for there appeared in his face a great shew of a good disposition, inclined to pietie, iustice, modestie, being strong, quicke, vigilant, valiant, and actiue. Hee did consecrate the first fruites of his raigne, to purge the corruptions which raigned among the people: blasphemies, Playes, Dicing houses, publike dissolutions, in infamous places, Fauernes, and Tipling houses. Hee made goodly lawes which our age reads and scornes, doing the contrarie with all impunitie: but whilest he raigned they were duly obserued.

The Iewes banished out of France.

The Iewes were mightily disperfed throughout the Realme, who (besides their obstinate superstition, vsed excessiue vsurie, and were supported for some great benefit, by the Pope and other Princes and States, whereas they haue libertie at this day, to liue after their owne manner. *Philip* expelled them, although they obtained a returne for money: yet in the end they were banished out of all the territories of the French obedience, and so continue vnto this day. This was a small apprenticeship, and an entrance of much more happie paine, the which he should vndergo, both within and without the Realme, in great and troublefome affaires, as a famous subiect worthie of his valour. England, Flanders, and Asia, prouided varietie and change of worke to employ his raigne, the which continued fortie foure yeares; but the change of his intricate marriages troubled him more then all his affaires, as the progresse of our Discourse will shew.

In the beginning there was emulation who should be nearest to gouern him. *Philip* Earle of

A of Flanders, and the Duke of Guienne were competitors. The one as Vnckle to the young Queen *Isabel* his wife, and named by his father *Lewis*: the other as his neereft kinsman, and both the one and the other had great meanes to preuaile: but *Richard* was the stronger, as well by the Kings fauour, as by the forces of England, of whence he was an Infant, and wel-beloued by *Henry* his brother, who then raigned. Behold, the King is embarked against the Earle of Flanders, by the aduice of his Councell: The subiect of their quarrell was for Vermandois, which the Earle enioyed: the King demanded it, being no longer his, by the deceate of *Alix* dead without children, and therefore must returne to the Crowne: From words they go to armes. Their troopes being in field and readie to fight, a peace was made, B with this condition: That Count *Philip* should enioy Vermandois during his life, and after his decease it should returne to the Crowne. But this peace continued not long among these Princes. The King could not loue his Wife *Isabel*; it seemes this was the chiefeft cause of the dislike the King had against the Earle of Flanders her Vnckle. In the end he put her away, in the yeare 1188. from which time *Philip* loued *Richard* Duke of Guienne.

1190.  
Comitours for the gouernment of the State.

Troubles in Flanders for the Earldome of Vermandois

But this good agreement continued not long, by reason of another controuersie betwixt him and the English. *Marguerite* the Daughter of *Lewis* the 7. sister to *Philip*, married to *Henry* of England, as we haue said, dyed then without children. *Philip* doth presently redemand his Sisters dowrie, which was the countrie of Vexin. The King of England is loth to leaue the possession, so as they fall to armes, and the mischief increased by this occasion. *Henry* first sonne to old *Henry* dyed: *Richard* Duke of Guienne his brother, (who might haue compounded this quarrell) being called to the Crowne, embraceth the action with all eagernesse. And to crosse *Philip* by an important diuersion, (like to old *Henry*) auoides the blow in Normandie, and enters Languedoc by Guienne into the Countie of Tholousa, renewing the old quarrell he had against Count *Raimond*. *Philip* being assailed in two places, is nothing amazed: hauing leauied an Armie with all celeritie, he enters the English pale. Where he suddenly takes Chasteaucatx, Busancas, Argenton, Leuroux, Montrichard, Montforeau, Vandosme, with other townes: and passing on, he batters and takes Mans: and hauing waded through the Riuer of Loire, he presents himselfe before Tours, which yeelds at the terror of his forces. Old *Henry* amazed at the sodaine valour of this young Prince, faints, and oppressed with griefe, dyes at Chinon, in the yeare 1190. leauing his Realme to his sonne *Richard*, but not his Malice: for presently after his Coronation, he concludes a peace with *Philip* vpon a cause very honourable to them both.

*Henry*, sonne to *Henry* the 2. King of England, dies before the father

Warre with England,

*Philip* of France, and *Richard* doth not glad make a peace

The Christians in Asia declined still. The Pope perswaded the Kings of France and England with many reasons, and the zeale of the common interest of Christendome, made them resolute. They became good friends, with an intent to make a voyage together to the Holy Land, to the incredible content of all their subiects. But whilest they prepare for this voyage, let vs passe into Asia, to visit the afflicted Christians. After the fruitlesse returne of the Emperour *Conrad*, and of *Lewis* King of France, things went from bad to worse, hauing caused the Christian forces to loose their reputation with the Turkes, being growne proud with this vaine shew of Armes. *Baldwin* dyes after the fruitlesse attempts of these great Princes: *Amalric* his Brother succedes him, who toyled himselfe in Egypt, against *Sultan Sarracon*, and *Saladin* his successor. He was releued by the comming of *Frederick Barbaroussa*, who failed not to performe what he had promised to Pope *Alexander*. But the Christians found small comfort in his comming. The forces of the Empire (which were great) being disperfed by the death of the Emperour. *Amalric* likewise dies, who leaues one Son named *Baldwin* both young and a Lepar, so as hauing voluntarily resigned the charge, finding himselfe unfit, he did inuest his nephew *Baldwin*, the Sonne of *William Longsword*, Marquis of Monferat, and of *Sibille* his sister: and considering the weaknesse of his age, he appoints *Raimond* Earle of Tripoli for his Tutor. Hence sprung a horrible dissention among the Christians: F for *Sibille* (by whome the right came to *Baldwin* her sonne, after the death of Marquis *William*) was married to *Guy* of Lusignan, who was seized of the young Infant. Hee is now his Tutor by force, the childe dies, and *Guy* of a Tutor becomes a King, (not without great suspicion of treacherie against the Infant) and in the end they fall to warre. Euery one doth strengthen himselfe for this goodly Realme; and they are incenied with greater furie, then when they ioyntly made warre against the Infidelles. *Guy* seekes for succour

The Christians in Asia very much ble

The Christians in Asia at great waies.

119.

The Infidels  
make their pro-  
fit by their dis-  
tensions.

The Emperor  
of Greece  
murdered by  
his son.

King Philip &  
Richard King  
of England  
made a voyage  
to the East.  
The great fa-  
miliaritie a-  
mong Kings  
breeds con-  
tempt and ha-  
tred.

Richard King  
of England this  
exploits in  
Asia.

Philip rises vp  
John against  
his brother  
Richard King  
of England.

Richard makes  
a truce with  
Saladin vpon  
vncertaine  
conditions.

of *Saladin* Sultan of Egypt, who embraceth this occasion, and runnes with a great armie to besiege *Tiberiades*. The Christians assemble, and are defeated in a set battaile. The Crosse is taken by *Saladin* and carried in Triumph. Then was Tripoly deliuered into his handes, and the Earle *Raimond* found dead in his bedde, when as hee should haue raigned: to teach all men how to trust Infidelles. *Saladin* passeth on, hee beseegeth, takes, and sackes Ierusalem: and in this amazement, *Ptolomais*, *Azot*, *Baruth*, and *Affalon* yeeld vnto him. These victorious conquestes of *Saladin*, were accompanied with great mildnesse to the people whome he had subdued; that by this wise course, the Miscreant might encounter the Christians disorders, by a notable example of vertue. Moreouer, there happened another Tragical confusion: *Alexis* a young man of fiftene yeares, sonne to *Emanuel* the Emperour, (issued from that *Alexis*, of whome we haue spoken in the beginning of this Easterne warre) was cruelly slaine by his Tutor *Andronicus*, and he himselfe afterwards by *Isaac*, and the people of Constantinople, who had called him to the Empire. Such was the sicke estate of the East, when as our Kings were solicited to goe and visit it, in the yeare 1190.

*Philip* calles a Parliament at Paris to settle his estate: they dissuade him from the voyage, but zeale transported him, and made him fight and contend with impossibilities: So great efficacie this resolution had to goe to this warre, which seemed to bee the gaine of their soules health, as the Historie saith, great charges were imposed vpon such as went not the voyage, to pay the tenth of all their reuenues, both spirituall and temporall, called for this occasion the *Saladins* Tenth. *Richard* King of England came with many Dukes, Marquises, Earles, Barons, great Lords, and an infinite number of young Gentlemen. The Kings sweare a brotherly and inuiolable League: but the continuall and priuate entercourse by the way, bredde a familiaritie; and this familiaritie engendred a contempt, and contempt hatred, as the course of this Historie will shew. A notable lesson for Kings and Princes, to teach them how farre they should conuerse familiarly. Hauing crossed the Seas with some difficulties, in the end they come into Syria. The losse of the Crosse made them to besiege *Acon*, the which they take very valiantly, after great losse of their men: but the Crosse would not be found, As the Originall saith.

The Plague fell among their troupes, euery one talkes of returning. *Philip* speakes first, pretending indisposition. *Richard* made some difficultie, least that *Philip* in his absence should indeauour to attempt something in this territories of Fraunce. *Philip* hauing assured him by oath, returnes, and passing by Rome, comes safe into Fraunce: Hauing left the greatest part of his forces in the East, vnder the command of *Odo* Duke of Bourgoigne. *Richard* remaining alone, was better obeyed of the Armie, and atchieued great and memorable exploits against *Saladin*, beeing alreadie amazed and astonished by the taking of *Acon*. Hee fortified Gaza and Iaffa, hauing re-peopled them with Christian Colonies, and vanquished *Saladin* in battaile: From thence he resolved to besiege Ierusalem; but as hee was kept from this enterprise by reason of the Winter, so was hee forced to leaue Asia, vpon this occasion, and returne into England. During his voyage and *Philips*, there had passed some vnkind speeches, by reason of *Alix* Sister to *Philip*, and the wife of *Richard*, who in great disdain said: That he had neuer toucht her: and that she should neuer come neere him, blaming her, as if he had beene prodigall of her honour, by a monstrous incest with his Father. Notwithstanding all shewes of friendship at their parting, yet this did sticke in *Philips* stomacke, who at his returne found his Sister *Alix* at Saint Germaine in Lay, whether she was retired, expecting his returne, who failed not to seeke all meanes of reuenge: *Richard* had left his brother *John* in England to gouerne the State in his absence. *Philip* solicites him, and promiserh him all his meanes, with his sister *Alix* (beeing vnworthily reiectet) for a gage of his loue. But *Elenor* the mother of these Princes, kept *John* in awe from ioyning openly with *Philip* against his absent brother, yet could she not restraine *John* from giuing his word to *Philip*, who failes not to ceaze couertly, seeing his faith plighted, and the reuerence of the cause which held *Richard* from his house, would not suffer him to worke openly. So hee takes Gisors by intelligence, and all the other Townes of Vexin, which were in controuersie. These newes gaue *Richard* iust cause to resolve vpon his returne: but it cost him deare, for *Saladin* (whome he had kept in awe since the taking of *Acon*) well informed of his necessitie and resolution, makes him to buy a truce for five yeares at a deare rate: yeelding

Anding him vp all that had beene taken since the comming of the two Kings into Asia, and so the Bloud, Time and Cost, spent in this conquest, were lost in an houre by the ill gouernment of our Kings.

*Richard* hauing left the absolute command of the affaires of Asia, to *Henry* Earle of Champagne, takes his way for England; but as hee came to Vienna, in Austria, hee was knowne and staied, first by *Leopold* Duke of Austria, and then by *Henry* the Emperour, for some discontent he had against him. Thus *Richard* was retained 22. monthes, and not deliuered but for a ranfome of an hundred thousand pounds sterling, which was then a great and notable summe. This was the successe of that long and dangerous Easterne voiage, crossed with so many toiles, takings, and yeeldings vp; and with such troublesome consequences for both Kings and both Realmes; for the quarrell ended not vpon King *Richards* release out of prison as wee shall see. *Richard* being returned into England, hee sought all meanes of reuenge for the wrongs he supposed to haue receiued vnworthily of *Philip* in his absence and calamity. But let vs returne to *Philip*, he had put away *Isabel*, and taken *Alix* the daughter of the King of Hungary, who liued not long with him. She being dead, he tooke *Gelberge* sister to the King of Denmarke, whom likewise he put away, and in her place married *Mary* the daughter of the Duke of Morauia. After a long and bitter controuersie vpon the repudiation of *Gelberge*, the King remaining obstinate in his resolution, yet in the end hee receiued her againe, beyond all hope, and ended his daies with her, sending backe *Mary* with honorable meanes to liue in this kind of solitary life, in manner of a widow. But our Inuentary may not excuse it selfe vpon the breuity of the stile, without reporting the manner which *Philip* held in receiuing *Gelberge* after so long and obstinate a tute. The King of Denmarke pursued vehemently in the Court of Rome; for the honour and quiet of his sister reiectet *Philip* not able to auoide the decision of the cause: And yet resolute not to receiue *Gelberge*, prepares his Aduocates to shew the reasons which had moued him to puther away. The cause was to bee pleaded before the Popes Legate in the great Hall of the Bishops palace at Paris; thether they runne of all fides. In this great and sollempne assembly, *Philips* Aduocates pleaded wonderfully well for him against his wife, but no man appeared for her. As the cryer had demanded three times if there were any one to speake for *Gelberge*, and that silence should bee held for a content: behold a young man vnknowne, steppes forth of the presse, and demands audience: It was granted him with great attention.

King *Philip* assisting, euery mans eares were open to heare this Aduocate, but especially *Philips*, who was toucht and rauished with the free and plaine discourse of truth which hee heard from the mouth of this new Aduocate, so as they might perceiue him to change his countenance. After this young man had ended his discourse, hee returnes into the presse againe, and was neuer scene more, neither could they learne what hee was, who had sent him, nor whence he came. The Iudges were amazed, and the cause was remitted to the councill. *Philip* without any stay in Court, goes to horse, and rides presently to Bois de Vincennes, whether hee had confined *Gelberge*: hating imbraced her, hee receiues her into fauour, and passed the rest of his daies with her in nuptiall loue. By *Isabel* hee had *Lewis*, the eighth of that name, whom (during his life) hee employed in affaires, and left him the crowne, but the peace of his house was blemished by these crooked changes, whereby wee may obserue by the disquieted minde of this worthy Prince, that there is nothing absolutely perfect in humain affaires. He which could surmount the insolencies of his enemies, could not vanquish his owne passions. He that could get elserwhere, could not preserve that which was most pretious, that is, the peace of his house, and of his bed: and which is more then that of his soule: who could not liue quietly amidst these continuall debates bredde and nourished in his bosome. This was the banquet which was prepared for him at his returne, after so many broyles passed in the voyage of the East. Flaunders and England ministred him matter of troubles al his life time, and he requited his enemies with the like, ouer whom he had victorious aduantages. *Baldwin* Son to *Baldwin* Earle of Hainault & Namur, called the fourth, & of *Marguerit* of Alsatia heire of Flanders, by the decess of her brother *Philip*, (dead of late in the East), was then seased of these goodly Seigneuries: wherunto he had added Vermandois, the which he pretended to belong vnto him by a certaine agreement;

1193.

Richard King  
of England  
staied by the  
Emperour, and  
made to pay a  
ranfome.

Strange man-  
rages of Phi-  
lip.

An Aduocate  
vnknowne  
pleads against  
the King for  
his vnkind  
bege.

Philip relents  
and takes Gel-  
berge.

Philip had  
sundry waies  
against the  
King of Eng-  
land and the  
earle of Flan-  
ders.

1123 agreement: but in effect it was by the right of conueniency: the which hee had seized on in *Philip's* absence who at his returne recovered it from him by force, with the country of *Artois*; the which hee gaue to his Sonne *Lewis* being now growne great, who tooke possession and receiued homage from them of the Country. Moreouer *Philip* caused *Baldwin*, to doe homage (as his vassal,) for *Flanders* and other Lands of the low countries, noted by that name at *Paris*, according to the solemnities required: from thence he marcheth into *Normandy*, takes *Gisors* and the Country of *Vexin*, giuing it for a dourie to his sister *Alix* being put away by *Richard*; whom he had married againe to the Earle of *Ponthieu*. But sodenly there are complaints from England, That *Philip* did breake his promise. Hee replies. That seeing his sister was nothing to *Richard*, there was no reason hee should enioy her doury. But this quarrell must proceed farther. *Richard* receiues his brother *John* into fauour, and pardons what is past, so as hee will serue him faithfully against *Philip*, and bee no more seduced by his practises. It chanced moreouer that *Otha* of *Saxony*, the sonne of *Richard's* sister, was chosen Emperour, in his absence, being then in England, from whence he presently departs, assisted with his vnckles meanes, the which hereafter shall import him much. *Richard* seeing how much *Tholouza* did import him for his countries of *Guienne*, enters into a strict League of friendship with *Raymond* Earle of *Tholouza*, then a widower by the death of *Constance*, Aunte to *Philip*, giuing him *Joane* his sister in marriage, the widow of *William* King of *Sicilie*.

Wars with  
Richard King  
of England.

All these were preparatiues of great warre against France. And could *Baldwin* Earle of *Flanders* be well satisfied being intreated as we haue seene? *Richard* ioynes with him. They resolute to make warre against *Philip* in diuers places, hauing assembled their forces, *Baldwin* enters into *Artois*, *Richard* into *Vexin* (countries then in controuersie) where by reason the warre should begin, seeing the processe was bred there, *Philip* without any amazement prouides for *Artois*, sending forces thither vnder the command of his Sonne *Lewis*. Hee himselfe marcheth in person against *Richard*, who besieged *Corceele*, the which hee releued in despite of him. *Richard* not able to hinder these succors, takes his way into the Country of *Beauuoisin* and spoiles it, *Philip* doth the like in *Normandy*. All tends to trouble, by the wilfulness of these two Princes: when as the Pope (some say *Celestin*, others *Innocent* the 3.) sends his Noncio to exhort them to peace. This perswasion staied it not, but onely made a diuersion of their armies: for *Richard* supposing that *Philip* could not auoide the blow, being ingaged in *Normandy*, he marcheth into *Berry*, and being assisted with all his forces of *Guienne*, besiegeth *Yssoudun*, hauing wasted and spoiled all the country. *Philip* hauing besieged *Vernon* (although the name bee diuerly coated *Vernon*, *Vernueil* or *Aumale*) hee leaues the towne and flies to *Richard* to draw him to fight: who finding himselfe to weake retires from the towne and *Philip* returnes to his siege, and wins the towne, notwithstanding all the attempts of *Richard*, who now takes breath to seeke his reuenge; but God had otherwise disposed, with whom all Princes ought to account for their actions, who laughs at men when they vex themselves most. During his aboade at *Limoges*, he was aduertised that one of his men at armes had found a great treasure in the ground. This souldiar fearing to be ill rewarded by *Richard*, flies to a small towne of *Limosin*, which the History called *Caslac* or *Cailus*, held by the French: although it were of the Prouince of *Guienne*, then belonging to the English. *Richard* besiegeth it, but as hee approached too nere the walles, hee was wounded with an arrow in the left arme. His desire to follow this siege, makes him to neglect his wound, which impaires not being drest: he takes the towne, but the man saues himselfe, hauing hidden his treasure, so as *Richard* tooke not the treasure which hee hunted after, with a desire so vnfeemely for a great Prince, but instead of taking gold, death surprised him, who leauing his life vpon so light an occasion, leaues a notable example of the vanitie of this world, in the lightnesse of humane spirits, who suffer themselves to bee transported with couetousnesse, a miserable counsellor both to great and small. This death did somewhat temper the bitternesse of their dissentions, but it did not quench it betwixt France and England.

Richard King  
of England  
dies.

John succeeds  
Richard, and  
makes peace  
with Philip.

*John* had right to succeed in the Realme of England, as brother suruiuing the King deceased; but *Arthur* Duke of Britany, sonne to *Jeffrey* the other brother: as wee haue said, pretended the Crowne to belong vnto him, as the sonne of the elder, *Elenor* their mother being

1123. A being yet liuing. *John* was receiued by the English, so as being in possession, hee had the better and stronger title. *Philip* fauoured *Arthur*, but he meant to make his profit of the brothers deuision, and to keepe the stakes. Being sought vnto by *John* the new King of England (who had then nothing of greater import then his friendship,) he conculdes a peace with him, vpon condition: that *John* should yeeld vp all that his brother had taken in *Berry*, & neuer pretend any thing of that which *Philip* had taken in *Vexin* in these latter warres: and that *Elenor* (Mother to *John*) Duchesse of *Guienne*, should doe homage to the King for that Prouince, as depending of the crowne of France. This accord is ratified by a new alliance, the which encreased no loue. *Lewis* the sonne of *Augustus*, takes to wife *Blanche* the daughter of *Alphonse* King of *Castill*, and of *John's* Sister, being his Niece. In the meane time *Philip* fauours *Arthur* vnder-hand, who (assisted by his meanes) takes the cite of *Tours* to his great content. *Arthur* doth him homage presently for the countries of *Touraine*, *Aniou* and *Maine*, and so passeth on and takes *Mirebeau*, where *Elenor* his Grand-mother was, resolving to proceed, but the Almighty GOD stayed his course. For *John* comes, besiegeth and takes *Mirebeau* againe, and *Arthur* his Nephew likewise.

War betwixt  
John King of  
England, and  
Arthur his  
Nephew.

John moueth  
his Nephew  
Arthur.

The cause of  
a cruel war.

John declared  
guilty of trea-  
son and felo-  
ny by Philip.

Pope Innocent  
interposeth his  
authority.

*Elenor* extreemely afflicted with these diuisions, dies for griefe, and *John* puts his Nephew *Arthur* (whom he held prisoner) to death, to extinguish all controuersies, for the title of the Realme: although this death were cloaked as accidentally false out for sorrow. Hence sprung a cruell warre: *Constance* the Mother of *Arthur* Duchesse of Britany, demands Iustice of *Philip*, as her Souereigne: *Philip* adiornes *John*, and (for not appearing) hee condemnes him as guilty of the crime imposed, and felony, in disobeying of his commandments. He proclaimes him an enemy, and doth confiscate all he held of the crowne. This sentence is seconded by open force, to make the execution thereof more easie: The Britans and Poiteuins, (wonderfully greued with this cruell fact) arme and come to *Philip*. So *John* abandoned of all, flies to Pope *Innocent* the third, accusing *Philip* of the breach of his faith, in making warre against him. *Innocent* the third declaring that the breach of faith belonged properly to his authority, and so by consequence, carrying himselfe for Souereigne Iudge of the controuersie betwixt the two Kings; commands both the one and the other, to lay aside armes, and to suffer the Churches in peace: threatening to curse his realme that should disobey his authority. *Philip* shewes, that hee hath neither broken his faith nor peace with *John*: But that hee being his vassale, had slain his Nephew, in the territories of his obedience, as it appeared by good proofes, so as it was not reasonable the holy authority of the Church, should serue as a defence or support for his impunity in so detestable a crime, seeing the punishments of subiects and vassals, appertained to the Prince by all diuine and humane lawes. But there were new complaints to the Pope against *Philip*: that finding himselfe oppressed with warre, hee imposed certaine tenths vpon the Clergy, to ease the people, who complained of their burthens. Hee did not exact this of the Church by his owne decree, but had assembled a Nationall Council at *Soissons* to that end. The Pope said, this was done against his authority, and not only threatened *Philip* with his censure, but also all the Clergy that had assisted at this assembly: *Philip* lets him vnderstand; That (touching the Clergy of the Realme) it was necessary that out of their abundance they should helpe to beare the charge for their common preferuation: the which he would discharge when as the necessity ceased. And hauing thus sent backe the Popes Noncio, he pursues *John*, so as in few daies he becomes maister of all *Normandy*, the which had bene diuided from the crowne since the yeare of our Lord 885. as wee haue sayd.

*Normandy* being thus reduced to obedience, with an admirable celerity, *Philip* takes doth likewise yeeld vnto him. *John* vpon this alarum comes to *Rochelle*, and from thence passeth into *Aniou*, but in vaine. Hee takes and vnpeoples *Angers*, and seeks to seize vpon Britaine, being well garded through the care of their Duke *Guy*; so as hee knowes not which way to turne him: when as sodainly behold new occasions in *Flanders*, the which he feedes all hee can to kindle new troubles, whereby hee hopes to finde some rest: but his death shall seale all these toyles, as due punishments for his blind couetousnesse and horrible paricide.

He



1215.

He seekes all meanes possible to trouble *Philip* with the ruine of France: Flanders ministers A matter by this meanes. We haue formerly spoken of *Baldwin* Earle of Flanders & after hee had done his homage to *Philip*, he resolues to passe into Asia to succor the afflicted Christians. He had two daughters, *Joane* and *Marguerit*, the which hee left in the gard of *Philip* Earle of Namour their vncle, with the Kings good lyking; who required the eldest to giue her in marriage to *Ferrand* of Portugall to the dislike of the Flemings; and in the end hee tooke her himselfe, when as he hoped for profit. *John* employing all his meanes, he first vseth this instrument to oppose him against *Philip* in his ayde. *Otho* the Emperour his Nephew ioynes with him in such sort, as France was in great danger of ruine, by so great forces, in so resolute an enterprise.

Great ene-  
mie: 19. unit  
Toules.

A dangerous  
league against  
*Philip*.

*Philip* takes counsell for his passage into England finding so good successe in his affaires. *Ferrand* hauing openly in counsell dissuaded this attempt, shewing it to bee both vniust and impossible, he made many of the chiefe to wauer, ouer whom *Philip* commanded with great respect, and among the rest, *Reginold* Earle of Bologne, of whom hee had great need, for his descent into England. Holding him in suspence, he sought to make triall of his faith, offering him a French Garrison, the which hee refused; whereupon *Philip* comes to Bologne, where the people giue him entry, and Count *Regnault* (discouering himselfe) retires into Flanders to *Ferrand*. The league was great against *Philip*, beeing incountred by two so great enemies, neighbours and vnited: but *Otho* the Emperour swaid most, hauing promised to assist *John* his vncle with all his meanes in this warre. But the issue of this great league was not answerable to their designe. *Philip* foresees this storme, and resolues to preuent it. He goes to field, seizeth vpon Cassal, Ypre, and Lisle, and takes assurance of the Cities of Gant and Bruges, employing his sonne *Lewis* in these exploits, hauing meanes thereby to be in sundry places, by so faithfull a Lieutenant. On the other side, Count *Ferrand* falls vpon Tournais, and hauing taken Tournay, he crosseth *Philip*s designe: *John* hauing sent an army to sea, defeats the Kings Fleete at Dam, and hauing passed into France, he recouers Poitou. In the meane time, the Emperour *Otho* comes downe with a great and mighty army, in the which they number a hundred and fifty thousand foote, and a notable troupe of horse, not specified. There were great Capitaines on either side. Against the King were *Ferrand* and *Regnold* resolute men, who had fury and hope to incourage them. *Otho* the Emperour brought his honour with the Imperiall Eagle in the view of all Europe. *John* hauing intelligence of some stirres in England, returnes with speed, leaving his army to his confederats, and prouiding to send vnto them vpon all occasions. On *Philip*s side, his greatest aduantage was in his owne person, which did glister like the Sunne. *Lewis* likewise was there; *Odo* Duke of Bourgongne, and the Earle of Saint Paul held the first ranks. The common souldiars were nothing inferiour to their enemies in courage, and they surmounted them in number and expectation of victory: for who would doubt, but the greatest number should vanquish. But the souereigne Iudge of victories had otherwise decreed; whom *Philip* had called on, in this extreame danger. He sought to incounter his enemies apart, but God had prepared him a greater triumph in a greater Combate. The armies were betwixt Lisle and Tournay, where there was a Riuer to bee passed by a bridge. *Philip* takes it, and whilest the army passed in their ranks, hee sleepes; being awaked, they giue him intelligence, that the Emperour had passed the Riuer at a Foard, meaning to charge him behind. *Philip* when he had praied vnto God (a circumstance very profitably obserued in the history) meaning to preuent him; he causeth those troupes to turne head which had passed the Riuer, and that with such celerity, as they came vpon their enemies backs. The combate was furious on either side, vnder the most famous ensignes of the world.

*Philip* in dan-  
ger of his life  
in the battail.

On the one side, was the Eagle holding a Dragon in his Talents: on the other side, the *Auriflambe* or standard of France. The Germanes, Dutch and English, shot at the King, the French at the Emperour, the King was in extreame danger, ouerthrowne vnder his horse, the which was slaine, and rescued by *Hugh of Marneil*. The fame of which fact, is more honorable to his posterity, then the Lordship of Ville-bois which was giuen him by the King, in recompence of so worthy a seruice. The Emperour *Otho* hauing fought valiantly, was in great danger, and had fallen into the Kings hands, as the Earles *Ferrand* and *Regnald* did, hauing performed as much as Great and Valiant Capitaines might doe. But God would

A would punish (both in the Emperour and in them) the rashnesse of an vnecessary warre. The slaughter was great on either side: blood vniustly spilt through ambition and couetousnesse were reprochfull causes of a voluntary losse. The signes of an absolute victory remaine to our *Augustus*. The field, ensignes, yea and the Imperiall Eagle, (the which was torne instead of tearing) the chiefe commanders, the Campe and the dead bodies. *Philip* added Clemency to this victory of his valour, dismissing all the baser prisoners, and honoring the Nobility with good vsage, and their liberty. He retained *Ferrand* and *Regnald* prisoners, whom hee accused of ingratitude and rashnesse, to haue rebelled without cause against their Lord and benefactor, he led them in triumph to Paris, where hee made a stately entry, drawing them chained in litters, and condemned them to perpetuall prison. *Regnald* B to *Peronne* and *Ferrand* to the Louvre at Paris. All France made bonfires, for this happy successe: and *Philip* built a Temple in honour of the holy Virgen which hee called Victory, nere to Senlis. By a decree of the Parliament at Paris, the Earledome of Flanders was adiudged vnto the King as forfeited, who gaue it againe to *Jane* the heire of the said Earledom, being not guilty of her husbands treachery.

*Ferrand* and  
*Regnald* prisoners  
led in  
triumph.

This memorable victory called the battaile of Bouvins chanced in the yeare 1215. the five and twenty day of Iuly. To make his triumph absolute, *Philip* gaue free passage to the Germanes; and *Otho* the Emperour being returned to his house, willingly resigned the Empire, and died of a pining griefe, which neuer left him after that shamefull flight, hauing willingly sought his owne misery: in supporting wrong against right, and serching danger, to perish in danger. A notable example which shewes; That victories come from the eternall, that mortall man dies before his time by his owne rashnesse, and that no vniust warre can be successfull.

The Emperour  
dies for griefe  
of his losse and  
dugrace.

But what shall become of *John* the onely motiue of this warre? while the Emperour, and the Earles of Flanders and Bologne (great Princes whom hee had imbarcked) bee at warre; he remaines at home free from blowes attending the euent. Seeing his confederates thus defeated, he feares the whole storme will fall vpon him, what doth hee? hee plaies at Double or Quit, and flies to *Innocent* the fourth as to his Sanctuary. And being forced to saue his Estate in this extremity, he resolues to giue him a good part. The Popes hatred, with the power of France, was the last end of his downe-fall. The Pope had excommunicated him, not onely for the parricide of his Nephew *Arthur*, but for the ill vsage of his Clergy. To purchase to difficult an absolution, there needed a great satisfaction. Hee therefore sends confident men in all hast so *Innocent* the fourth, humbly beseeching him to pittie him in his calamity. That if it would please him to receiue him into grace, and protect him against the King of France, he would bind the realme of England and Seignoury of Ireland, to hold of him and his successors, and in signe of obedience to pay him a yearly tribute of a thousand markes of siluer. This franke offer caused *John*s Ambassadors to bee well entertained. *Innocent* sends his Legat presently to absolue him, to passe the contract, and to receiue the homages of fealty, as well of himselfe as of his subiects. *John* is absolued, and hauing laide his Crowne, E Scepter, Cloake Sword and Ring; (the royal ornaments of a King) at the Legats feete; hee doth him homage for his realme of England, kissing his feete as his tributary; and binds the English to the like duty by a sollemne oth. Hee was also willing to discharge that which he had taken from his Clergy. This shalbe the meanes to make him loose both his estate and life. This hapned in the yeare 1215. These things beeing performed in England, the Legate returns into France, and denounceth vnto *Philip* in the Popes name. That hee should suffer *John* to enioy his realme of England in peace, and freely to possesse the lands which hee held by homage of the Crowne of France. Moreover that hee should satisfie the great complaints which the Clergie of his realme had made against him, restoring that which hee had exacted from them during the warres, vpon paine of excommunication, if he did not presently obey. *Philip* promisseth to submit himselfe: and before the Legates departure, he frees the Clergy F of his realme of the tenths which hee had exacted for the charge of the warres, according to the decree of a Nationall Councell held at Soissons.

*John* makes  
the realme of  
England tributary  
to the  
Pope.

*John* doth ho-  
mage to the  
Popes Legate:

*John* liues at peace in England, for that which concerned *Philip*: but see, he is the instrument of his owne misery. Being exhaust of meanes, through the long and chargeable warres, wherewith England had beene afflicted; hee had bound himselfe to the Pope, to restore



1217 restore vnto the Clergy, all such summes of money as he had extorted from them, curing A his troubles: and for want of payment, hee sees an excommunication ready, the which was reuoked, but vpon condition of obedience. Thus freeing the Clergy, hee sur-chargeth the people: and pressed by the Pope to satisfie his command, he oppresseth his subiects, by extraordinary impositions, and tyrannicall exactions, adding force to his commands. So as it fell out, that as he could not helpe the one without hurting of the other, and that the people hate him commonly that wrongs them: behold the English make strange complaints in Parliament against *John*, who doth incense them the more by his rigorous answers. The English seeing themselves reiectd by their King, flie to extraordinary remedies, and being denied iustice by him that should giue it, they seeke it elsewhere, choosing a King in the place of a Tyrant. France was their onely refuge in these extremities, and therefore they fend the chiefe Noblemen of the realme to *Philip*, to offer him the Crowne of England, promising to obey him as their lawfull King. *Philip* (who desired nothing more) makes shew to refuse it: pretending both the truce made with *John*, and his word passed to the Pope, but vnderhand he sends them his sonne *Lewis*, his faithfull Lieutenant, giuing him a traine fit for his person in so great an exploit.

*John's* oppression of his subiects, the cause of his ruine,

The English reiect *John* and offer the realme to *Philip*.

*Lewis* of France receiued by the English.

The Pope sends to *Philip* for *John*.

The Pope sends to *Philip* for *John*.

King *John* dies for griefe.

Our English chronicles say that he was poisoned by a Monke.

The English change their opinion.

*Lewis* hauing taken hostages of the English (for assurance of their faith,) he passeth into England, being receiued of them all with great ioy, as the Prince from whom they attended their health and quiet: He makes his entry into London, which was the Rendezvous of his most confident friends; and by their example many Cities come and offer him obedience. In the meane time, complaints come to *Philip* from Pope *Innocent*, as if he had broken his faith; and threats, if hee did not repaire it. *Philip* denies any breach of faith. They bee (sayd he) the discontents of the English against *John*, whom they accuse to haue slaine *Arthur* their lawfull King: and hauing free liberty to make a new election, they repaired to his Son, who was of age to gouerne himselfe, for whose errors he was not answerable. But attending the end of this sute, let vs returne to England. *John* held strong places in Winchester (whether he had retired himselfe) Windsor or Windsor, Norwich and Douer, hee had likewise factions in other Cities. *Lewis* (hauing receiued homage from many of them) commandeth his army to march, to reduce the Cities to obedience, who for the most part receiued him willingly. Norwich yeelds without any dispute: from thence he goes to Douer, (hauing attempted the Captaine by means of his brother, whom he held prisoner) he resolues to take it by force, and in the meane time hee besiegeth Windsor by some Noblemen of his party. *John* sleepest not, he makes a vertue of necessity, employing all his means to leauey men, and to keepe what remained. But behold an accident which ends both his sute and his life. One of his Capitaines brings him certaine troupes to releue Winchester, where he attended the siege, but they were charged by *Lewis* his men. *John* seeing his people to perish, some by the sword, and the rest drowned, flying to saue themselves, oppressed in his conscience, not able to endure the reuenging furies of his Nephews bloud vnjustly spilt, hee falls to a despairing griefe, and shortly after dies, suffering the punishment of his iniustice and cruelty. Leauing a notable example and president to all men, neuer to hope for good by doing euill, although the offender grow obdurate by the delay of punishment. This was after eightene yeares patience, during the which *John* reigned with much trouble, a slaue to his furious passions, the which is a cruell and insupportable commander.

Thus the decree of Gods iust iudgement against *John* the parricide, was put in execution in the yeare 1217. But this death of *John* did not settle *Lewis* in his new royalty, as it was expected. The discontent of the English dies with *John*, and the loue of their lawfull Prince reuiues in his Sonne *Henry*. God limits the bounds of States, which mans striuing cannot exceed. The sea is a large ditch to deuide England from France: the Pyrenei Spaine, and the Alpes Italy, if audacious ambition and couetousnesse would not attempt to force nature. The English (pleased with his death that made them to languish) cast their eyes vpon their lawfull King. The Pope interposeth his authority for *Henry* against *Lewis*, Who desirous to preserue what he had gotten, prepares his forces, when as the losse of his Fleete (comming from France to England) makes him to change his resolution, yeelding to reason and time: restoring another man his right and estate, to keepe his owne at home the surer

A surer and later. Thus *Henry* the third, the sonne of *John*, was receiued King of England, and *Lewis* returned into France, but *John's* posterity shall be reuenged of the Children of *Lewis*, with more and heavier blowes then hee had giuen. *Lewis* (being returned into France) findes worke at home, to employ him in warre, which hee sought beyond the seas. The occasion was to make head against the Albigeois, of whom wee will discourse in his life, and not interrupt the course of this reigne. It is now time to finish this tedious relation of *Philip's* actions, and to shew the conclusion of his life. Hee did confiscate the Earldome of Auvergne, and vnitd it to the crowne, taking it from *Guy*, being found guilty of Rebellion, this was his last act. All the *Stanford* shires daies were consecrated to make good lawes, for the well gouerning of the realme. At Paris hee did institute the Prouost of Marchants, and the Sheriffs for the politique gouernment thereof: hee caused the cite to be repaired, being before very noysome, by reason of the dirt and mire: hee built the Halls and the Louvre, being beautified since by *Henry* the second with a goodly pavilion, and the rest of the new lodging: Wherein King *Henry* the fourth did ad a Gallery of admirable beautie. Hee walled in Bois de Vincennes, and replenished it with Deare and with diuers other sorts of wilde beasts: hee finished that admirable and sumptuous building of our Ladies Church, whereof the foundation was onely laide vnknewen by whom.

1219. The English receiue *Henry* the sonne of *John*, and dismisle *Lewis* of France.

Auvergne vnitd to the crowne.

*Philip's* actions.

Lands vnitd to the crown.

*Philip's* testament.

Hee made lawes against Vsurie, Plaiers, Iuglers and Dycing houses. An enemy to publicke dissolutions, and a friend to good order and iustice. He releued the people ouer-charged by reason of the warres. He restored vnto the Clergy all the reuenues he had taken from them during his greatest affaires. And thus hee imploied this last act of his life to gouerne the Realme, to the which hee had vnitd a good part of that which was alienated by *Hugh Capet*. That is all Normandy, a good part of Guienne, the Earldomes of Anjou, Touraine, Maine, Vermandois, Cambresis, Vallois, Clermont, Beaumont, Auvergne, Pontheut, Alanson, Limosin, Vandome, Dampmartin, Mortaigne & Aumale. Wee shall hereafter see, how the rest of the crowne lands returned according to the diuers means which God gaue by the good gouernment of our Kings.

*Philip* imploied his peaceable old age in this sort, when as God did summon him to leaue his Realme to take possession of a better. Hee was very sicke of a quarraine ague, which kept him long languishing in his bedde, giuing him meanes to meditate vpon his death, and to prouide for the Estate of his Realme; leauing a good guide, whom hee had leaue and meanes to fashion, yet could hee not make him the perfect heire of his vertues and happinesse. Although *Lewis* his sonne were not vicious, yet had hee nothing excellent to make him apparent amongst other Kings. Hee would not crowne him in his life time, being taught by the late and neighbour example of the ill gouernment of England, betwixt the Father and the Sonne, finding his forces to faile him by the continuance of this Feauer, hee made his will; In the which hee delt bountifully with his seruants, according to their deserts: hee gaue great Legacies towards the Christians warre in the East, and to the Templers, who were then held in great reputation, to bee very necessary for the garde of Christendome: hee gaue new rents to Hospitals and to very many Churches.

And so hee died in peace, the yeare of our Lord 1223. the first of Iuly, at the age of fifty and nine yeares, beloued and lamented of his subiects. He was fifteene yeeres old when hee beganne to reigne, and gouerned forty and foure yeeres: he left two Sonnes, *Lewis* and *Philip*, and one daughter called *Marguerite*. Vnhappy in his house, and very happy in his reign. His minority was reasonable good, but his age was very reuerend, crowned with all the contents a mortall man could desire in this mortall life, hauing left many testimonies of his vertues, to make his memory deere and respected of his posterity. His Estate peaceable: his heire knowne and beloued of his subiects, and of age and experience to gouerne himselfe, and to force obedience. A Prince rightly called *Augustus*, whom wee may number among the greatest. He was most religious, wise, moderate, valiant, discrete and happy, a louer of iustice, of order, and of policy, friend to the people, enemy to disorders, dissolutions and publicke violence: charitable, liberall and iudicious to giue with discretion. To conclude, the pattenne of a great King; by whom our Kings should take example,

His death.

His conditions.

1219. example, to learne how to gouerne the helme of an estate, in the tempests and stormes of A many toiles and confusions, and by the managing and successe of his reigne, to gather this goodly poesie, or rather to take this passport for the confirmation and greatnesse of Kings: *That a veruous King is in the end happy, howsoever he be compassed in with difficulties.* But before we enter into a new reigne, order requires that wee obserue the estate of the Church and Empire. *Fredericks* humility to the Pope, had somewhat calmed the violence of these factions, and his voiage to the holy Land, to performe his full obedience, seemed to bring a perfect peace to Christendome: when as behold a new cause of troubles.

1. Rate of the Empire.

The Pope opposeth against the Emperour.

The Emperour murdered by O. who succeeded him.

The heads of Guelphs and Gibelins.

The Popes soueraine authority ouer Christendome.

Orders of religious men.

*Frederick* going for Asia, had with the consent of the Princes of the Empire, confirmed his eldest Sonne *Henry* Emperour, but he being dead, and his Sonne *Henry* to succeed him, Pope *Innocent* opposed an other Emperour, which was this *Otho*, of whom wee haue spoken, and did excommunicate *Henry* in hatred of his Father *Frederick*: *Otho* ambitious of command, caused *Henry* to be murdered in his chamber. But it chanced, that hauing committed this fact, hee went to receiue that disgrace in France, which was his death: and *Frederick* the second succeeded him, so as he liued when as our *Augustus* left the crowne to his Sonne *Lewis*.

In the meane time the Guelphes maintained the Popes faction with all vehemency, and the Gibelins that of the Emperour. The cities swelled with these humours, which distracted their mindes into sundry factions, whereof grew those cruell contentions, euen in their owne bowels, the which haue continued long with irreconcilable hatred. At Rome, the *Prisins* and *Sabelles* against the *Colonnos*, *Frangipans*, *Cesarins* and others. At Florence, the *Medicis*, *Ricci*, *Bondelons*, *Amidees*, *Cerchis*, against the *Stroffis*, *Salusati*, *Passis*, *Albrecci* and *Donati*. At Genoa, the *Fisques*, *Grimaldi*, *Fregoses*, against the *Spinolas*, *Adornes*, *Dories* and so at Bologna, Milan, Ferrara, Mantoua, Luques and others cities, which by these dissensions haue lost their liberties, and are fallen into the hands of diuerse Princes. Venice was wise in these deuisions, preserving her libertie against both factions, whilst the rest dismembred, and ruined one another. The Popes had still an eye vpon France, to confirme their authority there, as they had done in Sicilia and England, not ceasing vpon every light occasion to censure it, or to threaten it with their censures. But our Kings by the wise counsell of their Parliament at Paris restrained them: not suffering them to vsurpe any thing ouer their royall prerogatiue, and the libertie of the French church. But howsoeuer (the Imperiall State beeing made subiect to the Pope) the way was easie to draw all the Kings and Princes of Christendome to obedience: and to aduance their throne about the rest. Their great reuenues, and the shew of their stately and sumptuous traine, kept the people in obedience: but the deuoute respect of religion (the strictest bond to tie soules) was the fundamentall support of this soueraine authority: the which not beeing limited within the bounds of mortall life, without doubt struck an vnauoidable terror into mens consciences, ouer which it had power. So as the Popes gaue law to all men, and whosoever obeyed not what they commanded, hee was excommunicated by this spirituall authority of the keys, which they say doe open and shut Paradice, binde and loose sinnes. This beleefe E setled in the mindes of Christians, bred a great deuotion and respect in them, and did minister daily new meanes to encrease it. At that time sprang vp many orders of religious Friars and Monkes, & out of Saint *Bernards* schoole (very famous in those times) from this streame grew two branches. One was called the poore in Lions, the other the humble of Italy: which liued of almes, and conuersed with other men, expounding the Scriptures, and reprouing the abuses of the church, with the like zeale and liberty as we see at this day in the writings of Saint *Bernard*.

This free and plaine reprehension displeased the Pope, who suppressed these two orders with his censures: and confining the disciples of Saint *Bernard* to *Cisteraux*, hee confirmed foure new orders of religions. The Franciscans instituted by *Francis* an Italian, the Iacobins by *Dominick* a Spaniard: Carmelites by *Albert* patriarche of Ierusalem, and the *Augustins* by *Innocent* the third. The Vniuersities of France, Germany and Italy, were carefully entertained, by meanes of great reuenues of the church, to settle and augment the Popes authority, the which was mightily encreased, by the diligence and dexterity of such as instructed the youth, easie to receiue such impressions as were giuen them, especially their teachers, hauing

A hauing great power ouer their soules. Such was the estate both of the Empire and of the Church, when as *Lewis* the eighth entred the royall throne, after the deceale of his father *Philip Augustus*. 1223.

## L E W I S the eight, Father to Saint Lewis the 43. King of France.

B

C

D



L E W I S was thirty yeares old when he began to reigne, in the yeare. 1223. & was crowned with his wife *Blanch* being th in the mother of many children. He died in the yeere 1226. hauing reigned but three yeeres, neither noted for his vices, nor commended for his vertues: onely famous in that, *He was Sonne to an excellent father and father to an excellent Sonne*: bearing his name, not being famous inough of himselfe. His father im-

His reigne & death.

The manners of Lewis the eight.

Languedoc returns to the crowne.

Diuers opinions touching the Albigeois.

In the reigne of Philip Augustus.

ploded him confidently but with small successe. He desquieten England, but reaped no fruite. E That which is most remarkable in his reigne; Languedoc (one of the goodliest and ritcheest Prouinces of the French monarchy) began to returne to the crowne, from the which it was dismembred by *Hugh Capet*, and left as an inheritance to the Earles, the meanes was by the ruine of Count *Raimond* chiefe of the Albigeois. The Albigeois take their name of a diocese in Languedoc, whereof the head is *Alby*: the 22. Bishoprike of this large Prouince, but this name was common to the whole party, for that a priuate impression (deuided from the common beleefe of Christians, which hath caused them to be held for heretikes) tooke it beginning with this people of high Languedoc, and so was dispersed into other Prouinces. In this difference of religion we may obserue diuers humors, iudgements, and censures. In so great an vncontenty I will report plainly what is written by the most approoued Authors, not giuing any Iudgement (the which belongs to the reader) neither will I shew my selfe passionate in a matter which I report as an interpreter, or truchman. *Platina* the Popes Secretary. In those daies (saith he) sprong vp an heresie at Tholoufa, the which (by the care of Pope *Innocent*) Saint *Dominick* suppressed, with exceeding great dilligency, with the helpe of *Simon Montfort*, for they were inforced not onely to vse disputation of words, but armes also,

1223. The opinion of the Pope as to the virtue. also, so great credit had this heresie gotten. *Paulus Emilus* saith. The vertue of *Dominik* was A very apparent, in beating downe the heresie of the Albigeois. This infection tooke first footing in the Earldome of Tholoufa (of whom the Albigeois depend) and had infected the neighbor Cities. They called our Popes the Bishops of the wicked, and our Church the Synagoge of hell. They contemned mariages: and held that for holy which is execrable. To ioyne themselves carnally with women without order. They are held enemies of all good men. Pope *Innocent* decreed a holy war against them & sent his Legats into all parts to exhort them to make war against so execrable a sect. But the Lord of Haillan (to whom this history is much indebted) saith. Although they held bad opinions, yet that did not so much incense the Pope and great Princes against them, as the liberty of their speech, blaming the vices and dissolutions of Princes and of the Clergy, yea taxing the Popes life and actions. B This was the chiefe point which made them generally to bee hated. King *Augustus* incensed by the Clergy of his realme (who charged the Albigeois with all kinds of heresies, for that they blamed and detested their vices) intreated Pope *Innocent* to interpose his authority.

The Earle of Thouloufa was the head of this faction of the Albigeois, but hee was not alone. The Earle of Foix and of Cominges, *Gaston* of Foix and *Roger* of Cominges, (very renowned men in their time) were of that party: and *Alphonso* King of Arragon had ioyned in the same cause with them. The Countreies of Languedoc, Dauphine, Guienne, Gascony and Prouence were full of them. Tholoufa, Carcassonne, Alby, Castelnau and Castres in Albigeois, Narbonne, Beziers, Saint Gilles, Arles and Auignon, are directly noted in this history. The first subiect of this tumult was the dislike the people had of the Clergy, discontented with their leude and disordered life: from discontent grew contempt, and in the end a quarrel, and so open war. The Clergy thus contemned fled to Pope *Innocent* the third, who sent the Cardinal of Saint Maria in Porticu, and *Nicholas* Bishop of Thuscum with Preachers, who went through all the Country, but prevailed nothing, for that the Earle did visibly fauor this contempt of his subiects, being transported with the like humor. Vpon the Legats report, Pope *Innocent* decrees a sentence of excommunication against Count *Raymond*, and sends *Peter* of Chasteauneuf his Legat to publish it, but he was slaine. *Innocent* wonderfully displeased with this murder, sends *Gallon* for his Legat, and by him doth command King *Philip* to arme against Count *Raymond* and his subiects, as against heretiks and sworne enemies to the Church, and doth likewise command *Odo* Duke of Bourgogne and *William* Earle of Neuers to ioyne in this warre. The assembly was held at Paris, whether repaired a great number of the Clergy, and there they resolved vpon a Croisade as against infidels. The Arch-bishops of Tholoufa, Roan and Sens: the Bishops of Lisieux, Bayeux, Chartres, Cominges, Coferans, Lodeux, Beziers & many Abbots contributed first great sums of money, to quench the fire before it passe farther, *Simon* Earle of Montfort neere vnto Paris (a braue and valiant captaine, issued from a bastard of *Robert* King of France) is chosen generall of this army, this was in the yeare a thousand two hundred and ten. The army enters into Languedoc, where the Kings name was respected as their Souereign, but the cities would not open their gates to their enemies army, who (they said) abused the Kings authority. Vpon their refusal *Simon* threatens to besiege them; *Beziers* was first attempted, and with such cruell successe, as hauing taken it, the blood flowed by the losse of threescore thousand persons: and in the end it was spoiled, sacked, burnt and made desolate. All other townes being terrified, yielded at first summons. Carcassonne held out, but it was taken by composition. That the inhabitants should depart all armed, onely their priuy partes covered, and halts about their neckes. Castelnau likewise would not obey, yet in the end it yielded, and *Simon* caused fifty men to bee burned aliue. Alby obeies without force. Lauaur by the resolution of *Gerarde* the Lady of the place, did resist, but the towne was taken by force, and this woman cast into a well: *Amaury* a gentleman of the country, (who had maintained the siege against *Simon*), was hanged. By these fearefull examples, Castres, Rabastens, Gaillac, la Caussade, Puy Laurence, Saint Antonin, and Saint Marcell yielded. Cahors followes, but Moissac being obstinate, was taken and spoiled. This sodaine execution amazed Count *Raymond*, who hauing excused himselfe touching the Legats death, and being so nere allied vnto the King his brother in law, he attended nothing lesse then an army against him: yea hearing of the leauy, and seeing it to march, hee feared not that which

The Earle of Tholoufa head of the Albigeois in the reign of Philip Augustus.

The occasion of this warre.

The Popes Legat slaine by the Albigeois.

An army against the Albigeois.

A wonderful slaughter of the Albigeois.

Strange executions done by Simon of Montfort.

1215. In the reign of Philip Augustus. Count Raymond and his confederates delated by Simon of Montfort. A which was put in execution against his subiects. He conceived it had beene onely to countenance the sermons of *Saint Dominike* who accompanied the army with a notable number of Clergy men. Being awaked with so great a losse, hee seekes out all his meanes and friends to oppose them against Count *Simon* of Montfort, who was wonderfully feared by reason of so victorious a successe. King *Alphonso* of Arragon, and the Earles of Cominges and Foix, bring him great troupes. Incouraged by these examples to their preferuation, *Raymond* imploies all he can, his army (as they say) consisted of an hundred thousand men. As this army of the Albigeois by Count *Raymond*, goes to field to recouer their lost townes, *Simon* opposeth himselfe courageously with farre lesser forces, and yet ouerthrew these great numbers with little losse. *Alphonso* was slaine in this defeat, the taking and sack of Tholoufa followed, where there died twenty thousand men by the victors sword, the cities of Rouergue and Agenois (terrified with this seuer proceeding) yielded obedience vnto *Simon*. This hapned in the yeare 1215: the place of the battaile is diuersly reported, at Muret or at Mirebeau. After this strange and ruinous defeat, Count *Raymond* (seeing himselfe spoiled of his possessions) retires into Spaine to the Estates of King *Alphonso*, attending meanes to repaire his affaires in better season. In the meane time *Simon* doth promise himselfe the property of all *Raymonds* estates, the which he had gotten with his sword: but for that it was apparent, that the King of France would hardly grant so goodly a Prouince, taken from his kinsman, to one of his subiects. *Simon* therefore flies vnto the Pope, by whose authority this warre was chiefly managed, and from whom hee attended his chiefe recompence, hauing laboured for him. *Innocent* the third, finding that *Philip* (who would not desist in his pursute against *John* King of England, notwithstanding his interdictions) would not bee moued now by his simple authority, to leaue so important a peece: hee assembles a great counsell, meaning to force the King to yeeld vnto his will. The Patriarkes of Ierusalem and Constantinople were there in person, & those of Antioche and Alexandria sent their deputies, there were seuentie Archbishops, foure hundred Bishops, and a thousand Abbots and Priors. The Emperors of the East and West: the Kings of France, England, Spaine, Ierusalem, Cipres, and other Kings, Princes and great estates had their Ambassadors. By a decree of this notable assembly, Count *Raymond* was excommunicated with all his associates, and his lands adiudged to *Simon* of Montfort, for his seruice done (and to doe) to the Catholike church. *Philip* could not gain-say this decree confirmed in a manner by the consent of the whole world. He therefore receiued *Simon* to homage, for the Prouince of Languedoc, whereof he tooke peaceable possession: but he did not long enjoy it: for seeing himselfe inuested, he began to oppresse his new subiects. An eele is lost with ouer griping. The people of Languedoc finding themselves oppressed with this insupportable burthen of *Simon*, they resolved to call home their Count *Raymond*, who was retired into Spaine, to seeke some means to recouer the possession of his estate. His case was not desperate, for hee enjoyed the Earldomes of Viaretz, Venaission, and the city of Auignon; places kept by his subiects during these occurrents, whether *Simons* forces were not yet come. *Raymond* (being called by his subiects) returns into Languedoc, accompanied with a notable troupe of Arragonois, being discontented for the death of their King *Alphonso*. The whole country banded against *Simon*, hating him as an vsurper, and detesting him as a tyrant, for doubtlesse vniust & violent things cannot continew. Whilest that *Simon* seekes to bridle the cities of his new conquests, leaping from place to place, with an infinite toile, behold *Raymond* is receiued into Tholoufa by intelligence, and with great ioy of the inhabitants. *Simon* abandons all the rest, and flies thither: but he finds a stop, for coming to the gates of the city, as he approached nere the walles to parley, he was hurt in the head with a stone, whereof he died. The example of Tholoufa made the greatest part of the subdued cities to revolt. *Simon* of Montfort left two sonnes, *Guy* and *Amaury*: vpon the reuolt of Tholoufa, the one seizeth vpon Carcassonne, the other of Narbonne, but *Guy* was slaine in Carcassonne by the Inhabitants, who were the stronger. *Amaury* hauing fortified Narbonne, repaires to *Philip Augustus*, beseeching him to succor him in his necessity. *Philip* held the Wolfe by the eare: for as on the one side hee desired this goodly Prouince for himselfe, rather then for the children of *Simon* of Montfort, so was he also restrained by the authority of the Pope and counsell. He therefore sends his sonne *Lewis* into Languedoc, to reduce the country to his obedience. But he had scarce taken any one castle, when as his fathers death calls him home.

1215. In the reign of Philip Augustus.

Count Raymond and his confederates delated by Simon of Montfort.

The Council of Loran.

The Earldome of Tholoufa iudged to Simon of Montfort by the Pope.

Simon hated by his subiects of Languedoc, for his oppression & tyranny.

Simon of Montfort slaine before Tholoufa.

1223.  
Count Raymond received  
again in Languedoc.  
Warren Guine against  
the English.

Lewis com-  
pounds for  
Languedoc,  
with the son  
of Simon  
Montfort.

Count Raymond submits  
himself unto  
the Pope.

Defolation of  
the Albigeois  
by Lewis.

Lewis dies.

So as Count Raymond and his subjects of Languedoc had time to reuieue their spirits, and recover many places gotten by Simon. The King of England would neither assist nor send to the coronation of Lewis, although he were held as Duke of Guienne. This occasion moued Lewis to warre against him; whereby he got Niort and Rochel: and Saury of Mauleon Gouvernour for the English, retired to his seruice. This losse made the warre more violent. Richard Earle of Cornwaile, brother to Henry King of England, passed into France with a goodly army, and hauing taken Saint Maistre, Langon and Reolle (townes seated vpon the Riuer of Garonne) and defeated some French troupes, hee made way for a truce, which was fauorable for both parties: But especially for Lewis, being desirous to settle matters in Languedoc, the which troubled him, for the daily proceedings of the Albigeois: yet was hee loth to labour for another. For this reason he treats with Amaury Earle of Montfort, touching the right he had to that Country: with whom he preuailed the more easily, for that hauing lost the greatest part of the Prouince, hee was not able to hold the rest with the Kings dislike, to whom he resigned it, by order of a decree, made by the Pope in the Councell of Latran: and in recompence he made him Constable of France, with the consent of Pope Honorius. Hauing compounded with the children of Simon Montfort, hee resolved to win Count Raymond to his deuotion, and to perswade him to lay aside armes, where hee did see the euents to be very doubtfull. His intent was to vnite this rich Prouince of Languedoc to the crowne. But reason which saith that no man thinks his owne too much: the respect which great men do vsually beare one to another, & the alliance which the house of France had with the County of Tholouza, were great restraints for the couctousnesse of Lewis. But howsoeuer, he determined to make himselfe the stronger, and to prescribe them a law. To this end he leuied a great army, fortified with his Edicts, by the which he thunders against these poore Albigeois, as Heretikes and Rebels. These Edicts were of force, whereas his authority was respected. Count Raymond (considering with himselfe the cruell beginning of this warre, and the continuance of the like misery in these second armes, fearing to imbarke himselfe the third time with a people against his King) is easily perswaded by Lewis to reconcile himselfe to Pope Honorius. Thus Raymond leauing to oppose himselfe, yeelds to Lewis, and perswades the Earle of Cominges (the chiefe agent of his designes) to the like obedience. Thus both of them abandon the people, and goe to Rome, they make their peace with the Pope, and leaue the Albigeois to the mercy of Lewis, who seeing them without a head, imbraceth this occasion to their ruine. High and base Languedoc was wholly in his power, by Raymonds departure. Auignon remained with many other places in the County of Venaissin, and in Prouence. Hee besiegeth Auignon and takes it, from thence he passeth into Prouence, whereas all yeelds to his will. The Counties of Viuairet, and Die yeeld without blowes, and many families were made desolate, by the rigour of these Edicts, which did forsake both bodies, and goods. The house of Montfort, one of the greatest of Viuairet, hauing followed the Albigeois party (being cursed) makes his peace, by means of the towne of Argentiere, giuen to the Bishop of Viuiers, who enioyeth it vnto this day. These poore miserable people were dispersed here and there, and such as remained in the country, were forced to acknowledge the Pope, as souereigne pastor of the Church. This heate was for a while restrained, but the seeds were not rooted out: as wee shall see in the following reignes.

Lewis hauing thus subdued the Albigeois, gaue order to suppress them, if they should rise againe: appointing the Marshall of Foy of the house of Myrepolis, to command his forces, and leauing the Lord of Beauieu for Gouvernor and Lieutenant generall of Languedoc, he tooke his way towards France. But coming to Montpensier in Auvergne, he died in the year 1225, the 27. of October, leauing foure sonnes by his wife Blanch. Lewis which succeeded him: Robert Earle of Arthois, who died in Morea; Aiphonse Earle of Poitiers, and Charles Earle of Aniou, who shall be Earle of Prouence, and King of Sicilia and Ierusalem. In this year the Flemings were much disquieted by means of an Impostor, who said he was their Prince: but he receiued condigne punishment for his rashnesse, and by his death this error vanished, wherewith many had bene bewitched. Lewis the eldest sonne of France, succeeding his father, goes now to sit in the royall Throne.

LEWIS

## LEWIS the ninth, called Saint Lewis, the 44. King of France.



THE pietie and good disposition of this Prince, consecrated to the happie memorie of his posteritie, represented vnto Fraunce goodly first fruites: but his age (not yet capable to gouerne the helme of this Monarchie) suffered him onely to take the first and most pretious gage of his lawfull and hereditarie right: for being but twelue yeares old, he was crowned at Rheims, but his mother *Blanche* (a wise and couragious Princesse) tooke vpon her the gouernement of his person and Realme: according to the decree of Lewis the eight, who knowing her capacite, had appointed her for Regent. He began to raige in the year 1227. *Blanche* had much honour in the education and instruction of her Sonne, the which purchased her the free consent of the Estates (assembled at Paris) to be admitted Regent: but this was not pleasing to the Princes of the blood: who pretended this prerogative to appertaine vnto them; and not to a woman and a stranger borne. From these discontents, sprung two warres in France, in the beginning of his raige, the which were suppressed, not onely by the discretion of *Blanche*, but also by the wisdom and valour of young Lewis, who then played his part with so good successe, as he purchased great credit in his youth.

The heads of this faction were *Philip* Earle of Bologne, Vnckle to the King by the fathers side: *Robert* Earle of Champagne: *Peter* of Dreux Duke of Brittanie, and *Robert* Earle of Dreux his brother: Princes of the blood, valiant and factious men, who had imbarked many of the Nobilitie, vnder a goodly pretext. That it was not reasonable a Spanish woman, (abusing the Kings minoritie) should gouerne the Realme at her pleasure, and by the Councel of Spaniards, whom she advanced, reiecting the Princes, keeping backe the Natural French from all preferments. But that which was most to be feared in this occurrent of affaires, was that *Raymond* Earle of Tholouza, who had so great a subiect of discontent against the King (being spoiled of the greatest part of his estate) should ioyne with that partie, and drawe his cousin the Earle of Prouence into the same quarrell: men which were neither dull-witted nor goutie-handed, and who were nothing altered in minde, although they had made a good

Blanche regent  
of the King  
and Realme.

A Frenchman  
France for the  
Regencie.



1227.  
Languedoc  
arrived to  
the crowne  
by marriage.

Blanche sup-  
plants the dis-  
contented  
Lewis.

Lewis in dan-  
ger to be sur-  
prised by his  
rebels.

The league  
broken.

Lewis makes a  
progreffe  
throughout  
his realme.

good shew, yeelding to necessity: the which *Blanche* preuented happily, winning Count *A Raymond* (who now began to rise in Languedoc) by the marriage of *Joane* his only daughter with *Alphonso* the Kings brother, & Earle of Poitiers, vpon condition that *Raymond* should enioy it during his life, and that after his death the said *Alphonso* should succeed in the right of his wife, and if they had no issue, the Earldome with all the dependances, should returne to the crowne as to his first beginning. Thus Languedoc shaken at the first by armes (as we haue said) was honorably vnited to the crowne of France, by this accord, as the history will hereafter shew in the reigne of *Philip* son to our *Lewis*. By the like meanes shee drew *Robert* Earle of Champagne vnto her, a very factious man, and did not onely thereby weaken the party of these discontented Princes thus disioyned, by withdrawing the most sufficient man they had, but also she imploied him against them. There remained a Triumvirate, the which she deuied. They made a good shew, but *Blanche* did cunningly counterminie them, disco- uering their actions euen within their Cabinets, where shee found access by money. In the end their practise must breake forth. The Earle of Bologne fortified Calais, and the Duke of Britaine with the Earle of Dreux, did purposely demand some of the crowne lands, which they knew well, that *Blanche* would not yeeld vnto, as Inalienable; whereby they might pre- and some colour to rebell. They now goe to armes, and at the first seize vpon Saint Iames of Beuron and Belesme. *Blanche* flies to the Maiesty of the King, and threatnes these armed Princes to proclaime them rebels, and guilty of high treason, if they obey not. The confede- rate Princes answer: That they most humbly beseech his Maiesty to giue them free access to complaine of his Mother, who abused both his name and his authority. *Blanche* admits them, being well aduertised by the Earle of Champagne, that their intent was (vnder colour of this parley) to seize vpon the Kings person. Their desire was to haue this meeting at Ven- dosme, but they had laide their ambush nerer to surprize him by the way. They had aduanced their troupes to Corbeil, when as the King parted from Paris: being arriued at Montd'ehery, newes came that the troupes marched to surprize him. The King retires to the castle (then being of some strength) and *Blanche* giues it out that the King is in a manner besieged; The Parisians arme speedily, and goe in great troupes to fetch their King, to make the Leaguers thereby more odious, and to confirme the Queenes authority.

These Princes being thus discovered, depart from Corbeil, and enter Champagne in hat- red of the Earle, who had forsaken them to follow the Kings party: But *Lewis* taking him into his protection, and marching towards them with his men at armes, all their delignes came to nothing: And yet they had imbarcked the Duke of Lorraine and the King of Eng- land in this quarrell. *Lewis* hauing expelled them Champagne, followes his course, takes Angiers without any contradiction, belonging then vnto the Britans, and from thence hee marcheth into Britany. Terror opens the gates of all the townes. The Earle of Dreux leaues his brother, who (seeing himselfe abandoned of them all (but first of iudgement) confesseth his fault, and doth homage to the King for Britanie: and by this rebellion, hee gets the name of *Mauslerck*, hauing so ill imploied his time, as to suffer himselfe to bee vanquished by a child and a woman.

These troubles thus pacified (to the dishonor of the Authors) the yong King won great re- putation, and his mothers wisdom was generally commended, who thought it fit that her Sonne should be seene of all his subiects. As he went this progreffe, hee receiued homage from all his Nobility, and ordeined many things according to occurrents. It chanced that hauing erected Poitou to an Earldome, and giuen it to *Alphonso* his brother: *Hugh* Earle of Marche, (which lies within Poitou,) would not acknowledge *Alphonso* for his Lord: his wife *Isabell*, Mother to King *Henry* of England, (who had bene first married to King *John*) was the motiue; scorning to subiect herselfe to an Earle of Poitou. This ambitious passion was the cause of great warre: First shee drew in the Earle of Lusignan, vnder the same pretext (for that there had bene Kings of Ierusalem and Cipres, issued out of this Noble house) and afterwards the King of England. The first tumult not preuented, had almost surprised *Lewis* within Saumur, and this woman transported with pride and hatred, sought to make him away either by poyson or sword, kindling the warre in England by hired preachers. In the end, after the two armies had made great spoile in Poitou, Xantonge and Angoulmois, both of friend and enemie, a peace was concluded

with

A with the English, vpon condition, that *La Marche* should remaine in Fraunce. This was the end of that feminine rage, ridiculous in the issue, but lamentable for the poore people, who alwaies pay for the folly and malice of Princes.

Prouence was gouerned by the *Berengiers* (as we haue said) since the ouerthrow of *Lewis* the sonne of *Boson*: and then in the hands of *Raimond Berenger*, a fierce and cruell man; who had so incensed his subiects, beeing impatient and turbulent of themselves: as they had re- course to *Raymond* Earle of Tholoufa his necest kinsman, to install him in their Earles place, with whom they would haue no more correspondencie. Beeing readie to arme, the felicitie of *Lewis* pacified all. *Raymond* Earle of Prouence had foure Daughters, *Marguerite* which B was wife to our *Lewis* the ninth, and Queene of France. *Elenor* which was married to *Henry* King of England: *Sancha* to *Richard* his brother Duke of Cornewalle, and *Beatrice* which was to marry: Daughters of great happinesse: hauing had three Kings, and a Royall Prince. The Earle of Prouence would hardly haue bene controuled by *Lewis*, but GOD (who meant to plant a generall peace in France, by the hand of this good King) buried *Raymond* with his rage in one Tombe, taking him out of the world, whome a whole world could not containe. *Lewis* after the decease of *Raymond*, pacified the Prouencals, in marrying his brother *Charles* Earle of Aniou, with *Beatrice* the Daughter of their Earle, to their great content: adding (in fauour of this marriage) Maine to Aniou. And since this *Charles* was King of Sicily. *Robert* the younger brother was Earle of Arthois. By this meanes his brethren remained satisfied. *Alphonso* beeing Earle of Poitou and Tholoufa, by his portion and marriage. *Charles* Earle of Prouence and Aniou, and *Robert* Earle of Arthois, and the Realme continued in happie peace.

These things thus happily performed by *Lewis*, hee employed his care in the reforma- tion of the Realme, beginning first with his household: then did he plant Religion and Iustice (the principall Pillars of a State) for the good and ease of the people. He led a life worthy of a King, louing and honouring Religion with much zeale and respect, taking delight in the reading of the holy Scriptures, the which he caused to be Translated into the French tongue, which I haue seene in a Gentlemans custodie, carrying this title. Hee did greatly honour Clergi-men, beeing worthie of their places, and was a seuerer Censor of them that did abuse it, whom he charged to liue according to their Canons, and to shew themselves patternes of good life to the people. That they should be preferred to Ecclesiasticall dignities ac- cording to order, in all libertie, and should enioy their reuenues without lette. That the exa- ctions and insupportable charges imposed by the Court of Rome (these are the words of his Edict) on the Realme of France, by the which it was mightily impouerished, and which hereafter might be leauied, should not in any sort be letted without apparent cause, his ex- presse commaund, and the approbation of the French Church. He had a good soule beeing iust, sober, modest, temperate in his eating and drinking, in his talke, habits, and conuersa- tion, neither melancholicke, nor exceeding merrie: circumspect, of a good iudgement, stay- ed, charitable, moderate, vigilant, and seuerer in the obseruation of that hee had decreed. And as the Prince is the rule of his house, he either chose seruants of his owne humour, or else his seruants framed themselves vnto his disposition: so as he had his Treasurie replen- ished to giue to such as deserved. Hee payed his seruants well, yet hee gouerned his treasure in such sort, as his Officers could hardly steale from him, and such as offended he punished with so exact a seueritie, as the rest feared to commit the like. The orders for his treasure are registred in his Ordinances, where you may see them at large. Hee loued and cherished learning and learned men, and delighted to reade and heare good Workes: fauouring his Vniuersitie of Paris, and drawing the Parisians to loue Scholers: so as in his time the Vni- versitie of Paris had great prerogatiues, as the eldest Daughter of our Kings. The Realme was corrupted with the iniustice and extortion of former raignes, by the sale of offices: be- ing most certaine, that what we buy in grosse, we must sell by retails. He did therefore expressly prohibite these sales, and supplied such places as were voide, according to the merits of persons, after due examination, to draw good men, and of vnderstanding, to ap- ply themselves to studie. He punished the abuses of Iudges seuerely, as appears by his or- ders made to that end. And that which caused him to be much honoured, he gaue free audi- ence to his subiects complaints, & especially at Bois de Vincennes, where he tooke delight, & often

1227.

Prouence  
came to  
Charles of An-  
iou a sonne of  
France.

Lewis his dis-  
position.

The Pattern  
of an excellent  
Prince.



1227 oftentimes (beeing set vnder a Tree very simply) like a Father giuing his Children counsell. A He was a capitall enemy to suites, commanding the Iudges expressly to doe speedie iustice; so as suites were then laid aside, and compromises did end an infinite number of controuersies. But his chiefe care was in sparing, for to ease the people: abating the taxes and subsidies imposed on them by his Predecessors: and he did so husband the publike reuenues, as he had sufficient for his traine and his great affaires, and yet a surplussage to releue poore Widowes and Orphelins, to feed and instruct Children, marrie their Daughters, cure the diseased, and the remainder was to build Churches. There are many in this great City of Paris and about it, built or repaired by him. But he said, that the chiefe Stones of Gods Temple were liuing, and they must rather beautifie the Church with good manners then rich walles: words which he had learned out of *S. Bernard*. But these Christian-like vertues were lodged in a royall brest, fit for the gouernement of this royall estate, Heroike, Valiant, Wife, and Active. Yet *Lewis* was more inclined to peace then Warre, louing better a good and fruitfull rest, then the doubtfull and turbulent euent of Warre. God likewise sent a greater peace to his realm, then vnder any king that euer liued: and with so great authoritie and obedience, as there was neither great nor small, but held himselfe most happie to obey so good and happy a Prince. He was likewise well garded, for all his subiects were his gard, and he enioyed the peoples hearts by good vsage. The people called him Father, the Nobilitie their Head, Religion her Defendor, the Church her Protector, the Lawes their Gardien and Tutor, and Armes their Mars, by the terror whereof he kept the most rebellious in awe, both within and without the Realme: For after the pacification of the former troubles, suppress in the Spring, there was not any tumult within the Realme, neither durst any one mutine against him.

But to crowne these blessings of GOD, the peace of his house was ioyned to the publike. *Blanche* his Mother had her humours; extremely louing the sweete of commaund: but shee resigned the Regencie to her Sonne, when as he came to age, and discharged her selfe in open Parliament, to the great content of all men. *Lewis* and his subiects loued and honoured her much, beeing generally well respected for the good education shee had giuen the king her sonne, and the happinesse of her wife gouernement. Queene *Marguerite* (the wife of *Lewis*) was much beloued and respected of her husband, but not so by her Mother in lawe *Blanche*, beeing zealous of the loue which *Lewis* did beare her, and of the credit shee had in his fauour, and generally throughout the Realme: but shee could wisely beare with the humours of her mother in Lawe, for the loue of *Lewis*: a wife and a mild Princeesse, wholly of her husbands humor, whose continencie is commended to haue loued none but this woman, by whome hee had five Sonnes, and foure Daughters, the gages of their inuoluble loue. To this good gouernement was added, the strict loue and amitie hee had with his brethren, and the respect they bare vnto him. Worthie considerations of our Historie, and considerable in our corrupted age.

The manuscript of these miserable Albegeois adds, That euen as the Pope would haue continued his persecution against them, and that the Marshall *de la Foy* (so called for that he was as it were the chiefe Champion of the immortall warre decreed against the Albegeois) prepared for a new search to roote out the remainders. *Lewis* would not allow of it, saying, that they must perswade them by reason, and not constraine them by force, whereby many families were preferred in those Prouinces. They called them Valdenes, either for that the greatest part of them retired into the Vallies and Mountaines of Sauoy, Viuairetz, Dicis, and Prouence, where the chiefe seed was preferred at Merindol, Lormarin and Cabrieres, or of the name of *Peter Valdo*, one of their most renowned Doctors, or that the Valleis of Piedmont haue preferred the families, from father to sonne vnto this day.

In those times also liued *Gulielmus de Sancto Amore*, a Doctor of Paris, and *Chanoine* of Beauuois, exclaiming both by word and writing, against the abuses of the Church: and namely, against this planting of Monkes. Pope *Alexander* pronounced him an hereticke, and armed *Thomas Aquinas* and *Bonauenture* (men of violent spirits, and well reade in *Aristotles* Philosophie) against him, but hee prevailed against these reprobours. The writings of either part make mention, and the issue of their controuersie is apparent. France enioyed a perfect and plentiful Peace, when as Italie and Germanie were afflicted with cruell and tragicall diffentions, by the implacable quarrells of the Popes and Emperours, as if they had beene hired

A to multiply the miseries of Christendome by their importune hatred. The subiect of the old quarrell continued: the Popes would haue Italy, and the Emperours would not yeeld it. Rome (which had beene the head of the Empire,) was then the seat of of their pontificall authority, belonging wholly to the Pope, the Emperour hauing no more command there. This usurpation had beene gotten by degrees, but they pretended the like of the whole country, first they would seize vpon what lay neere vnto Rome, then vpon Calabria, Appulia and Abbruzzo, euen vnto Lombardy the which they left to the Germanes, French, and Venetians, to contend for, hoping in the end to carry it, after a long strife of the contenders, who should leaue the possession more easie to their successors. To conclude, in the end the Imperiall soverieignty beeing banished out of Italy, it was dismembred by diuers Lords, and the realme Naples and Lombardy were made the subiect of long and bloody warres, betwixt the French, Spaniards and Venetians. This reigne was a witness about thirty and three yeeres of these disorders, by excommunications, depositions, armes, taking & lacking of cities and countries, vnder the Empire of *Frederick* the second, who opposed himselfe against *Innocent* the third, *Honorius*, *Celestin*, *Innocent* the fourth, *Gregory* the ninth, Popes, with such pollicies, treacheries, and vnkinde cruelties, as I am ashamed to set to view these scandales of Christendome, whilest that our diffentions doe settle a free Empire for the blasphemies of *Mahomet* in the East. As the Popes proiects were to become absolute masters of Italy, so their ordinary course was to flie vnto France when they felt themselves the weaker to vse their meanes in necessity, and to vsurpe vpon them by all occasions, as we haue seene, and shall see by that which followes.

To *Otho* the Emperour (who wilfully went to seeke his owne ruine in France) succeeded this *Frederick* the second, grand-child to *Frederick Barbarossa*, of whom wee haue spoken: A generous, wise, and learned Prince, who beeing scarce seated in the Empire, (hauing giuen *Innocent* the third the Earledome of Fondi in the realme of Naples, to bee proclaymed Emperour) when as *Honorius* successor to *Innocent* the third, caused a part of Tuscane and Apulia to bee surprised by certaine Noblemen of the country, esteeming the conquest the more easie, for that *Frederick* was newly aduanced to the dignity, hauing neither courage nor power to oppose himselfe against his surprises, and euen in the fresh memorie of so many affronts which the Popes had done to his predecessor *Frederick*. But hee was ignorant of his disposition, being resolute not to suffer the Imperiall dignity to be any thing blemished by him. *Frederick* goes into Italy, with an army, recouers what had beene taken, and punisheth the rebels.

*Honorius*, seeing himselfe the weaker, flies to his accustomed meanes. To his fulminations and Ecclesiasticall terrors (these are the very words of the history) against the force and subtilties of the French. Hee did first excommunicate *Frederick*; then hee flies to France, and doth stirre vp *Henry* the sonne of *Frederick* against the father. *Frederick* beginnes with the most dangerous, for beeing seized of this disloyall sonne, who would haue taken and deprived him of his dignity, hee confines him to perpetuall prison, by a decree of the Princes of the Empire.

He had happily made a league with *Lewis* the eight, father to our *Lewis*; and had renewed it with himselfe, on whose faith he relied much; but *Charles* of Aniou Earle of Prouence his brother, would be doing, being desirous to get something. Hee was easily perswaded with the hope of these goodly Realmes of Naples and Sicilia, which the Pope offered him as the fruites of his labours: so as in the end hee shall come to his aide, and beeing King of Sicilia shall expell the race of *Frederick*. This tragedy must continue long, they vse craft vpon craft, and whilest one is preparing an other is put in practise. The zeale of the holy land was the Popes ordinary colour to coniure the stormes raised by the Emperours; and in sending them farre off, to haue better meanes to compasse their designs at home, without controule. *John* of Breyne King of Ierusalem comes, and preuailes so much, as Pope *Honorius*, promiseth to absolute *Frederick* the second, so as hee will make a voyage into the East. *Frederick* accepts thereof, and presently makes leaues in Germany for an army: whilest that hee assembles the Estates of the Empire at Cremona, to assure the affaires of Italy in his absence. The place and subiect of the assembly displeased Pope *Honorius*, who accuseth *Frederick* that by his delaies hee suffered the Christians to goe to ruine in Asia, whether

1227.  
Estates of the  
Empire and  
the Church.

The Pope  
seekes to drine  
the Emperour  
out of Italy.

The Emperour  
goes with an  
army against  
the Pope and  
his confederates.

The Pope  
drawes the  
French to his  
succor.

The Popes  
policy to sup-  
plant the Em-  
perors.

1219. whether he had promised to go, and doth excommunicate him againe. This doth hasten *A* *Frederick*; hee parts with his armie (but without taking leaue of the Pope) and arriues suddenly at the Holy Land; where he strucke such a terror into *Sultan Saladin*, as hee demands a Truce, and obtaines it vpon condition; That he should restore Ierusalem and the Holy land to *Frederick*; and all the Christian prisoners without any ranome. These conditions duly performed, *Frederick* victualleth Nazareth, fortieth Ioppa, and the other Citties of Iudea, beeing in a good way to settle the Christians affaires. As he labours thus with a commendable successe; the Pope displeased at *Fredericks* departure without his blessings, and holding it done in contempt of his authoritie, proclaimes him excommunicate, and forfeits his estates. He presently seizeth vpon the Realme of Naples, and raiseth factions in all the Citties of Italy, to cause a reuolt against the Emperour. *Fredericke* (mooued with these newes) leaues Asia, and beeing returned into Italy, he employes the Princes of the Empire to make peace with the Pope, forgetting the priuate wrongs he had done him, and obtains absolution, giuing him eleuen thousand markes of Gold to pacifie him. But this accord lasted little, yea it turned into an implacable hatred, which augmented the factions, shedde blood, made Citties desolate, buried *Frederick* and his posteritie, and in the end banished the Imperiall authoritie quite out of Italy.

The popes barred against the Emperour irreconcilable

Vpon this accord *Innocent* dies, and leaues *Gregorie* the ninth, his succesor in the same quarrell against the Emperour. *Frederick* (hauing satisfied the Pope for his priuate interest, and payed very dearly for his authoritie) said, that he could not passe away the Rights of the Empire: beseeching Pope *Gregorie* to leaue things, as they had beene before his going into the East, that the Citties of Italy (which had freed themselves by this occasion) might acknowledge the lawfull authoritie of the Empire. *Gregory* the 9. is wonderfully mooued with this proposition, and forbids *Frederick* vpon paine of a new Excommunication to make any more question thereof, but to leaue the Confederate Citties in their libertie. This was to giue a lawe to the Emperour: to subiect his authoritie to the Popes command: to giue leaue to the Imperiall Citties to rebell, and to authorize their rebellion. *Frederick* much discontented with this answer, and seeing plainly that this was the last farewell of the Imperiall authoritie in Italy, (as without doubt it was) he employed his wit and all his means to preuent the practises of *Gregorie* the 9. who without any dissembling, sought to suppress the Imperiall dignitie in those parts. *Frederick* tries all meanes to crosse the Pope, he solicits the Gibelin faction throughout all the Citties of Italy, he leaues a mightie armie in Germanie, and enters into Italy, with a horrible waste: Taking, sacking, and spoiling the reuolted Citties, and filling all places with fire and blood: Milan, Genoa, and diuers townes of the Duchie of Spoletum, were thus strangely spoiled by violent force, without any mercie, where in *Frederick* exceeded the boundes of a iust punishment, the which must be in the Magistrates hands, as the rod in the Fathers, and the razour in the Surgeons, to chastize and not to ruine, to cure, and not to kill. He shall soone receiue his reward, by his hand who strikes two stroakes with one stone, and doth alwaies well when men doe ill, *Gregorie* stodee at a gaze at *Fredericks* first entrie, not much mooued with the shedding of so much blood, and the sacke of so many Citties ruined, for his quarrels sake: but when he sees *Fredericks* conquests to increase, he straines his wit to find out remedies to stoppe so dangerous a deluge. He raiseth some troupes which he calleth Holy, but they were too weake to withstand so great a force. He therefore flies to Councils (the firme bulwarkes of his authoritie,) hee makes a Bull of Excommunication, proclaimes him a capitall enemy to the Church, and laies open the causes by a publicke Declaration. *Fredericke* continuing his armes, answers the Popes writing by an Aduocate of Capua, called *Iohn de Vignes*: and so giues in exchange words for wordes. But *Fredericks* forces had preuailed without a better remedie. Here-upon Pope *Gregorie* dyes: *Celestin* succedes him, who within few daies after his election dies, and leaues the Chaire to *Innocent* the fourth, with this quarrell not yet determined. *Innocent* in the life of *Gregorie* was a Gibelin, and by his death (beeing chosen Pope) hee becomes a Guelphe, as great an enemy to *Frederick*, as hee had beene a friend, a cunning and circumspect man: who politickly wrought the meanes to vndoe *Frederick*.

Gregorius enemy to Frederick being chosen Pope.

After his election hee sends his Nuntio into Fraunce, to exhort our *Lewis* to succour him,

A him, according to the ancient proofes of the most Christian Kings to the Holy Sea, and to assure him the better, hee giues him to vnderstand that hee is resolved to come into France, as the most safe retreat of Christendome now afflicted. Hee comes and calls a Councell at Lions, whether hee cites *Frederick*, but vpon so short a warning, as he could not appeere. *Frederick* (hauing sent his Ambassadors to the councell, to require a lawfull time, and to aduertise the Pope of his coming) beginnes his torney to performe his promise.

Being arriued at Thurin, he hath intelligence giuen him that the Pope had condemned him as contumax, excommunicated him, and degraded him of the Empire. But this was not without the consent of the Princes electors of the Empire, who after mature deliberation proceeded to a new election.

The thundering Bull of excommunication and deposition is no sooner published, but the Princes Electors choose *Henry Lanegrave* of Thuringe for Emperour: vpon the receipt of these newes, *Frederick* staies at Thurin, and hauing sent to found the Germans mindes, hee findes strange partialities, the greatest part of the Nobility banded against him and resolved to reiect him. Thus he felt the force of the Popes power. The prooue of this resolution was at hand, for as *Henry* of Thuringe (the new Elected-Emperour) approached to Vlmes, to force them to yeeld to his obedience, and that the partisans of *Frederick* would not receiue him, hauing beseeged the city, hee was wounded with an arrow, whereof hee died shortly after: wherevpon the Princes Electors of the Empire did presently choose *Walham* Earle of Holland for Emperour, and at the same time the faction of the Guelphes of Pauiia being banished, found meanes to re-enter the city, where they made a horrible and bloody massaker of the Gibelins, with more then ordinary fury vsed in ciuill mutinies.

The Emperour *Frederic* in this vncertainty of his affaires, being in Italy with his army, he flies to the nearest. Hee beseegeth Pauiia, and for that hee would not hazard his forces (whereof he might stand in neede, if Germany fayled him) he resolved to blocke it, and builds a Fort which he calles Victoria, but he reckoned ill without him that giues victories; measuring the issue too confidently by the proiect. Thus God confounds the enterprises of men, when they attribute that to them-selues, which belongs to his power. This done, *Frederick* (leauing his Bastard *Encius* to command the seege) takes his way to Lions, where the Councell was yet remayning: with an intent to repayre his affaires, but he is not farre gone, when as newes comes vnto him, that the inhabitants had made a great sally, and forced and razed his Fort of *Victoria*, with great losse of his men.

He returnes to Pauiia, takes it by force, and did execute that which the outrage lately committed, might moue a Choloricke man vnto, being halfe desperate: but this surprize repaired not his Estate, for in all the cheefe cities of Italy the Guelphs faction was the stronger, through the authority of the Councell of Lions, which had wonderfully disgraced *Frederick*: first by Excommunications, and then by a ciuill deposition. *Frederick* seeing himselfe distressed of all sides (as in great afflictions one mischiefe calling another, the greatest is to be faint hearted) he suffered himselfe to be so oppressed with griefe, as he falls into a burning fauer and dies, burying in one graue, his life, his Desseignes and his imperiall dignity, whereof at that time he was deprived. Thus *Frederick* dies, leauing Italy and Germany in great combustion: and *Conrade* his Sonne, the Succesor rather of his miseries then of his enheritance, for seeking to effect that which his Father could not doe, and to preserve the Realmes of Sicilie and Naples to his successors, he lost his life and both Realmes, hauing trusted *Manfroy* his Fathers Bastard too much: who poisoned him, notwithstanding he had appointed him Tutor to his Soone *Conradin*, not knowing by whose hand he died. *Manfroy* seeing himselfe in possession by this title, giues it out that *Conradin* was dead, and vnder this goodly title to be the nearest kinsman of the lawfull Lords. He tooke possession of these two Realmes. The stronger alwaies preuailes in an Estate. *Manfroy* was master of Naples and of Sicilie, although *Conradin* had the right, and to assure the possession of what he had gotten, he alies himselfe with *James* King of Arragon, giuing his daughter *Constance* in marriage, to *Peter* his eldest sonne. This was in the yeare 1255. a remarkable date, for so long a quarrell. *Manfroy* could not be heire to *Fredericks* estates, but he must withall succeed in the hatred the Popes did beare him; the subiect of discontent remayning in those

The Emperour Frederick excommunicated and degraded.

The Emperor Henry of Thuringe.

The death of Frederick.

Conrad his son poisoned by his Bastard brother Manfroy.

Manfroy usurps Sicilie and Naples.

1257. Seigneuries which he enjoyed vnder his name. Pope *Vrbain* the 4. (who then held the Sea of Rome) did excommunicate *Manfroy*, as a disturber of the Church and of Italy, but finding himself too weake for the execution of his decree, he cast his eyes to the place, from whence his predecessors had alwaies drawne assured and timely succors. *Lewis* our good King of a contrary humor to their turbulent passions, was a spectator of these disorders: but so indifferent, as although the councill of *Lions* had bene held by his consent: yet had he done his best endeavour to quench this fire kindled betwixt the greatest persons of Christendome. He could not be moued by the authority or perswasions of Pope *Vrbain*, to take away an other mans estate, being well content with his owne. But *Charles* Earle of Prouence perswaded by his owne disposition, thrust on by his wife *Beatrix* (desirous to be called Queene like to her other sisters) and drawne headlong by the shew of these goodly Crownes, suffereth himselfe to bee easily transported at the Popes intreaty. Hee armes, drawes vnto him a great number of French Nobility, comes into Sicilie, giues battell to *Manfroy*; defeats and kills him, making him to suffer the punishment of his cruell and wicked purchase which he enjoyed not full ten yeares. For *Charles* Duke of Aniou became maister of these two Realmes in the yeare 1265. and *Manfroy* was confounded in his vniust desseigne. After the death of *Frederick* the 2. and the violent elections of *Henry* of Turlinge and *William* of Holland, (feare retayning some, and fury thrusting on others) the Empire was in effect without an Emperor, being without a guide, by the furies of ciuill confusions, like to a great shippe at sea beaten with the wind and waues, without Sailes, without Helme and without Pilot. Pope *Vrbain* pretending then, that in the vacation of the Empire, the gouernment belonged to the Sea of Rome. He created *Charles* of Aniou Vicar of the Empire, and gaue him Tuscane, vpon condition to succour the Sea of Rome against the Gibelins and Suenians. So at one instant *Charles* of Aniou was possessor of the two Realmes of Sicilie and Naples, and the gouernment of the whole Empire. But these two great dignities purchased by the Popes bounty, must bee countenanced by his vertues, and this was the meanes.

*Charles Earle of Prouence defeats & kills Manfroy in Sicilia.*

*Charles of Aniou Vicar of the Empire & king of Naples and Sicilia.*

*Conradin defeated.*

*Conradin beheaded by Charles with many others.*

*An ignorantious reueng.*

*Conradin* the Sonne of *Conrade* was not dead, as the Impostor *Manfroy* had giuen it out: but hauing bene patient during these tempests, hee had so well managed his hereditary meanes, as finding himselfe strong, he sought to recouer his Realmes vsurped by *Charles* Duke of Aniou. Hauing incensed the Gibelins throughout all the Citties of Italy, to draw them to reuolt, he leuies a goodly Army, with the helpe of his friends, and comes into Italy, hauing in the meane time bred an alteration in Sicily, where many Citties were taken, and Nocera in the Kingdome of Naples. *Conradin* accompanied by many Noblemen, which hunted after his doubtfull fortune the chiefe whereof were *Frederick* Duke of Austria, and *Henry* the Sonne of the King of Castile. *Charles* of Aniou besieged Nocera, where *Conradin* resolved to charge him. Hauing prouided for the siege, he goes to encounter *Conradin*, and hauing drawne him to fight by a stratagem, he defeats his Army, takes him prisoner, and with him *Frederick* of Austria, and *Henry* of Castile, with a great number of the Nobility. This goodly and absolute victory, leading the Commanders prisoners in triumph, should haue bene seasoned with the wise clemency of our *Lewis*. But *Charles* of Aniou his Brother had no portion with him in this excellent vertue: whereby we haue seene, that *Philip* their Grand-father, in well vsing a victory, did purchase the name of *Augustus*, and consecrated to the honorable memory of his posterity. For *Charles* (hauing these great Princes in his power) by the Councill of Pope *Clement* the fourth, beheaded the two first bathing the Scaffold with the blood of twelue of the greatest Noblemen of the Army: and coopt vp *Henry* of Castile in a Cage of Iron, to make him die hourelly, causing him to bee carried through all the citties of Apulia & Beneuent, in a most ignominious sort. A reuenge which shall coit France deere at the Cilician Euen-song.

But we haue wandred enough in the confusions of Italy; Let vs now returne into France, F and to our *Lewis*. *Lewis* beheld the tempestuous estate of Christendome a far off: which was the more incurable in Germany and Italy, for that the sick refused phisicke, and that darkenes came from them, whence light should haue proceeded. He carried himself very coldly in the heat of these deuisions, the which he could not redresse, But seeing his realme in peace, and his authority firmly settled in the loue of his subiects, and the amity of his bretheren: fore-

A fore-seeing also, that by the wildome of his Mother, he might salue the incommenience of his absence, he resolved to succor the Christians afflicted by the miscreants, both in Affricke and in the East. *Phillip Augustus* with the Emperours (which had passed thither one after another) had nothing repaired their decayed Estate: and the mischiefe came from the Christians themselves, one opposite to another, the which gaue great aduantage to their enemies, as if they had purposely sought to fortifie them. The Empire of the East was in a horrible confusion, dilinembred by home-bred deuisions, which drew in the French and the Venetians.

One *Alexis* *Ducas* called *Murzenophile*, hauing him-selfe strangled another *Alexis* B called the young, and caused one *Nicholas* (another Competitor in the Empire) to be slaine, in the end hee is strangled himselfe. The *Theodores*, *Ducas* and *Lascars* (being the greatest families) contend for the Empire. In the end Constantinople is taken by the French, and *Baldwin* Earle of Flanders (of whom we haue spoken) is chosen Emperour: so as the Empire of Greece is transported to the French, and deuided with the Venetians, who at that time carried away the Isle of Candy. So as at one instant there were three Emperours in the East: *Baldwin* Earle of Flanders at Constantinople; *Theodore Lascaris* in Natolia in the City of Nicea: and the third was *Alexis Comnene* at Trebisonde, commanding ouer Capadocia and Caledia. All this shall be a prey to the enemies of Christendome: But let vs returne to our Frenchmen, who leaue the certaine, to runne after the vncertaine. They C scarce held this shadow of the Empire three score yeares. *Baldwin* of Flanders was slaine: *Henry* his Brother dyed soone after: *Peter* of Auxer his Father in law succeeded, rather in his miserie, then in the Empire: for going against *Theodore Lascaris* the other Emperour, hee was taken and afflicted with the imprisonment of two yeares: In the end he lost his head vpon a Scaffold, leauing the shadow of the Empire to his Sonne *Baldwin*, too young to gouerne a masse of affaires so confused: So as by the aduise of Pope *Gregory*, *John* of Breynne was giuen him for assistant. This *John* of Breynne (of whom we haue spoken) was a French Gentleman of meane calling, who by his valour (hauing taken the city of Tyre) became a Prince, and after in the confusion of times (as the most sufficient of these poore afflicted Christians) was chosen King of Ierusalem: the which was not yet in his possession: so as finding himselfe too feeble for so weighty a burthen, he allyed himselfe with this *Frederick* the D second, Emperour, who hath filled some leaues in our discourse, and made his peace with the Pope, vpon condition; That hee should succour and ayde the Christians in the East. *Frederick* hauing recouered Ierusalem, by the truce hee made with the Sultan, (as we haue sayd) left it to *John* of Breynne his Father in Law, and returned into Germany, to make the end which wee haue before set downe. On the other side, as Christian Kings and Princes laboured what they could to repaire this their decayed estate, *Andrew* King of Hungary (the sonne of *Bela*) assisted by the Dukes of Austria and Neuers (whose names are not specified) went into the East with a goodly Army, and (to make worke for the Christian enemies) he besieged *Damiera* in Egypt, where being succoured by *John* of Breynne, after a long E siege hee takes it, but it was soone after recouered by the Mammelucks.

*Lewis* therefore vndertooke this voyage of the East, when as extreame necessity called him to succour the afflicted Christians. The Popes, *Innocent* the third, *Honorius* and *Gregory*, had one after another vehemently perswaded him to this voyage: but the affaires of his realme had stayed him from attempting rashly, to settle the generall estate, and ruine his owne particular: yet being fallen extremely sicke, he resolved to delay it no longer, preparing for this expedition vpon his recovery. He assembled his Estates, and by their free consent, left the Regency of the Realme to his Mother *Blanche*, who was gladly receiued of all F men, vpon the conceit of her first gouernment. He parts, accompanied with *Alphonso* Earle of Tholouza and Poitiers, and *Robert* Earle of Arthois his Bretheren, *Hugh* Duke of Bourgonne, *William* Earle of Flanders, and *Guy* of Flanders his Brother, *Hugh* Earle of Saint Paul, and *Gautier* his Nephew, *Hugh* Earle of Marche, the Earles of Salbruke and Vaudoume, of Montfort, of Dreux, and Archibauld of Bourbon, (very renowned in the course of this Historie, being Father to the Mother of our King now raigning,) the Lord of Ioinville, (who hath worthily written this Historie,) *Hugh* *Brun* and his Sonne:

*The confused estate of the Eastern Empire.*

*The Empire of the Greeks translated vnto the French.*

*Three Emperours at one instant in the East.*

*Lewis goes with a goodly Army into the East.*

1260. *Gaubert* of Aspremont, *William Morlet*, *William* of Barres, men of great esteeme in their A times; the Lords of La Voute, Montlaur, Turnon and Crusol, men of account in the country of Viarez, inrolled with Count *Raymond*, who dyed vpon the point of their departure, and the rest passed on. This was in the yeare 1258. about the twenty yeare of the raigne of Saint *Lewis*. The army consisted of two and thirty thousand fighting men. *Queene Marguerite* his Wife bare him company in his voyage, but more faithfull then *Elenor* was to *Lewis* the seuenth, the Countesses of Tholoufa and Arthois did also goe with their husbands, after the *Queenes* example.

*Blanche* his Mother bare him company to Lions, where *Innocent* the fourth attended him. From thence he went to Marseilles, where he embarked with the Geneuois that were hired by B him. His departure was the 25. day of August, to the best voyage vnder heauen. He arrived happily in the Iland of Cipres, held by *Guy* of Lusignan, where (attending the rest of his Army) the plague wasted many of his men, euen of the chiefe of his Court, *Archibald* of Bourbon, *John* of Montfort and others dyed. The fame of his Holinesse moued the king of Tartaria to send his Ambassadors vnto him, to offer him his friendship, and to acquaint him with the desire hee had to become a Christian. *Lewis* sends him Preachers to instruct him in the Christian religion: But the Tartarians vnderstanding that the Christians liues were not answerable to their profession, they returne without any better fruite then the shame of their ill life, whose doctrine was so famous. At the reliefe of Cipres, *Lewis* had conference with the Christians of Iudea, where they resolved to recouer the city of Damiette, C as most rich, and very important for their state. The Mammelucks sought to hinder *Lewis* his descent, but to their great losse, and also of their Commander the Satrape of Canope.

Behold *Lewis* is nowlanded, and from thence he goes to Damiette, the which hee speedily besiegeth, yet not with so great fore-sight, but the stranger garrison (hauing made shew to yeeld at the first summons) had meanes to make a boale in the night, and to saue themselves. This happy taking of Damiette, gaue sundry Counsels both to *Lewis* and to the Mammelucks: To *Lewis* to pursue his victory, to the Mammelucks to defend themselves, and the rather, for that soone after the losse of Damiette, *Meledin* Sultan of Babilon died, leauing his Sonne *Melexala* for his successor: a young man of great hope. The proiect of *Lewis* was to pursue his victory, and to keepe his enemy busied in attempting Caire, the capital city of Egypt, anciently called Memphis, but the ignorance of these strange places where he was, not onely deprived him of the fruite of his first conquest, but gaue *Melexala* meanes, not onely to preferue him-selfe, but to defeat *Lewis* his army, and to take him prisoner. Whilest they attend Count *Alphonso* his Brother with new forces, and spend too much time vpon the passage of Nilus, behold the miscreants forces-flie into Egypt from all parts, to succour the yong *Sultan*, from Arabia and Siria. The ieaousies betwixt the Satrapes of Hala and Damas, were by this occasion conuerted into vnion and firme loue, to expell a common enemy, whose victory would proue their generall ruine. *Lewis* engaged beyond Nilus, in an enemies country, where hee must either vanquish or die; behould a great and mighty army of enemies against him assembled from all parts. *Lewis* a braue and E resolute Commander, desired nothing more then to imploy the first fury of the French in bataille, incouraged by the happy successe of Damiette. But *Melexala* (who was within his owne country, and prepared rather to defend him-selfe then to assaile) resolved to weary *Lewis* his forces, the which he knew would bee more annoyed by the foggy aire where they were lodged, and by the want of all kind of victuals, then by his sword. The successe answered his desaigne: the Campe is presently full of diseases, and those contagious. The common souldiers, the Noblemen, and in the end the King is sicke: all is disordered with this infectious sicknesse. The Gards and Sentinels stand in feare, all are amazed. *Melexala* well informed of their Estate, surchargeth them with an other discommodity, hee takes from them the passage of Nilus, by the which victuals came from Damiette to the Christians Campe. And to braue these poore sicke men (who had neither hands to fight, nor feete to fly) hee sends troopes hourelly to their trenches to prouoke them, and cuts them in peeces that goe to forrage. *Lewis* who lay in his bed extreamely sicke, had nothing but courage to maintaine life, and zeale to die in this holy warre, in the which hee had embarked him-selfe very inconsiderately. And not to giue his enemies all aduantages to

The Tartars  
refuse the  
Christian re-  
ligion by rea-  
son of their ill  
life.

*Lewis* takes  
Damiette.

Besiegeth  
Caire indif-  
creetly.

*Melexala* a po-  
litike com-  
mander.

The plague in  
*Lewis* his  
Campe.

*Lewis* distrust-  
ed.

A to braue him thus daily, he makes choice of such as were least sicke, beeing resolute to die, vnder the command of *Alphonso* and *Robert* his breethren. 1251.

This poore maimed troope was easily beaten by a fresh and strong enemy. The Kings breethren were taken. *Lewis* beeing then prest daily by *Melexala* to yeeld, he giues care to a composition (which till then he had reiecte) seeing him-selfe a prisoner without hope of recouerie. The conditions were very hard in so great an extremitie. That *Damiette* should be restored to the Sultan, all prisoners freed, and eight thousand pounds of gold payed to the Mammelucks to redeeme his life, the which they held as it were in their hands. *Lewis* payes B he was deliuered: but before he returned into Fraunce, he paid the Summe and tooke his pawne, hereof it comes that in the Tapestry of Egypt you shall alwaies see the Host and the Pixe for a memoriall of this worthie victorie. Attending the payment of this summe (very great for that age) *Lewis* fortified the Citties of Iudea, and redeemed prisoners and relikes, beeing loth to returne into Fraunce with empty hands. But these newes were presently brought thither with an incredible celeritie. All things seemed to inuite fooles and ambitious men to innouations: but God had fetled so great a loue in the hearts of the French to their good King, as they come all ioyntly to his mother, wonderfully perplexed for her Sonnes losse, (a griefe which caused her to die) with as great obedience and respect, as if hee himselfe had beene present in his greatest prosperitie. Priuate houses, publike places, and especially Churches were full of sorrow, teares and voves, for the distresse of their good af- flicted Prince, for the which all sounded out with prayers and deuotion. Their priues were as open as their hearts, to furnish whatsoever was needfull for their Kings ranfome, or his returne, so much was he beloued and wished for of al men. The money is speedily provided, sent and deliuered to the enemy: and *Lewis* returned into his realme five yeares after his departure, bringing with him *Marguerite* his deere spouse with the conceit of the same chastitie she had before. But after his absence he neither found his realme so well ordered as he had left it; nor his neighbour State in any better peace. He beganne by the reformation of his owne, making constitutions concerning the Church, Iustice, and the reliefe of the people, against publicke dissolution, Blasphemies, Stewes, Dicing-houses, Playes, and other enormities. He made orders for Marriages, Debts, Impositions, Offices, and Benefices the which are contained more at large in the originall Historie, this was in the yeare. 1251.

The fruites of his voyage and affliction, was that he became a better man: hauing increased in zeale, modestie, wisdom and diligence, better beloued and respected then before his departure: and generally had in great admiration, for his good life and constancie in the midst of greatest dangers, as a miracle among Kings: he found his mother *Blanche* wanting in his house, beeing dead a little after the imprisonment of her Sonne, surcharged with age and the griefe of so great an affliction. *Lewis* hauing ordered the confusions sprung vp in his absence, he employed the rest of his time and authoritie, to pacifie quarrels growne among his neighbours, as the Generall Arbitrator among Christians.

England did offer a notable occasion: The English were reuolted against King *Henry*, E vnder the command of *Simon* of Montfort, a man of great credit, for some discontentments touching their priuiledges. By the countenance and conduct of this commander, their complaints are conuerted into open warre, in the which *Henry* and his brother *Richard* are taken prisoners. *Lewis* exhorts the English to concord, and doth not seeke to nourish the diuisions for his owne benefite, as his father *Lewis* had done: *Edward* Sonne to *Henry* that was prisoner, giues them another bataille, in the which *Simon* of Montfort was slaine, yet his faction dies not, but the warre was reuiued vnder the command of *Guy* the Sonne of *Simon*. *Lewis* employed his authoritie so happily, both with *Guy* and the people (who held his pietie for his owne benefite) that hauing perswaded his brother, *Charles* king of Sicily to make *Guy* his Lieutenant (and as it were companion in the conquest of Tuscanie) hee was a meanes to restore King *Henry* to his authoritie, and the people to their libertie with a generall content. Flanders presented him another subiect, *Marguerite* Countesse of Flanders (issued from *Baldwin* father to *Jane* the wife of *Ferrand*, as wee haue said) had children by diuers men. Two by one bed which were held vnlawfull (hauing beene abused either by *William* her schoolemaster (who was a priest) or by *Beffard* of Auvergne her gouernour,

*Lewis* taken  
by the Sultan  
of Egpt.

He payes his  
ranfome.

The French  
generally lar-  
ment for their  
King.

*Lewis* makes  
good lawes.

A true com-  
mendation of  
Saint *Lewis*.

*Blanche* his  
mother dies.

The English  
rebell against  
their King.

*Lewis* recon-  
ciles the En-  
glish to their  
King.



1269. uenmour, or by both of them, hauing voluntarily yeelded to either of them) and three in A  
lawfull matrimonie, by *Guy* of Dampierre a gentleman of Champagne. The two first were  
the eldest and strongest in credit, whereby must needs grow great troubles among a stir-  
ring people, as we haue seene a great combustion of a smaller fire.

*Lewis* pacified this quarrell without force as the Soueraigne Iudge: assigning the Earle-  
dome of Haynault to the first, and Flanders to the last, and so ended a suite which in shew,  
seemed infinite, and should immortalize a dangerous dissention: holding those children for  
legitimate, which could not be reiected without troubling the lawfull equitie of the coun-  
trie. According to the rule, that a common error makes a iust title. But *Languedoc* was reade  
to rise vpon the controuersie of the Earles of Tholoufa and Rossillon, both parties were  
strong, his brother *Alphonse* on the one part, and *James* King of Arragon on the other: B  
The question for those lands was the cause. This great family had diuers branches, and by  
this occasion diuers diuisions, and so diuers names were giuen to this Prouince, now cal-  
led the Earledome of Tholoufa, sometime *S. Gilles*, sometimes *Beziers*, and otherwhiles  
Narbone, as we shall declare in the Theater of *Languedoc*. *Lewis* decreed, that *James* King  
of Arragon should enioy the Countie of Rossillon, and all the rest should remaine to his  
Brother without controuersie, the which was obserued by them and their successours. Thus  
this good Prince laboured happily to compound controuersies in notable actions, beeing  
carefull to pacifie all sutes among his subiects, and happily he might haue preuailed in re-  
conciling that great diuision betwixt the Emperour and the Pope, if zeale to releue the af-  
flicted Christians, had not made him to abandon his owne quiet, with all his good workes, C  
to transport his treasure and life into Africke, and there to leaue them among the Barbari-  
ans. All declined in the East, *Mohamet* preuailed so, both there and in Africke, as Europe  
was threatened by their neighbourhood. Spaine as the neereft, and Prouence, and *Langue-  
doc* by the easie aboard of the Mediterranean sea. *Lewis* not able to liue without seeking the  
aduancement of the Christian Religion, resolues a voyage into Barbarie, against the aduise  
of his State, and contrarie to his owne experience: a zeale which shall succeed ill for himself  
and his whole realme, whom he cannot excuse of indiscretion. Thus he inrouled himself the  
second time, and his Son *Philip* likewise which shall succeed him, with *Peter* Earle of Alanfon,  
and *Iohn* Earle of Neuers, surnamed *Tristan*. He left the Regencie to *Simon* of Neele, and D  
*Mathew* of Vendosme, of whose fidelitie hee relied much. Before his departure he made a  
league with the King of England, to whom he had done many good offices in his great ne-  
cessitie. It was agreed: *That the English should pretend no interest to Normandie, nor to the  
Earledome of Aniou, Maine, Poitou, and Touraine: and as for Guienne, he should enioy the coun-  
tries of Quercy, Limosin and Xaintonge, vnto the River of Charenton, all which Countiees  
he should hold by homage of the Crowne of France, and in this regard he should be Vassall and  
Leage-man to the King of France.* For confirmation of this accord, *Edward* his Sonne enters  
into societie of Armes with *Lewis*, for the voyage of the Holy-land, to march at the same  
time. This accord was made in the yeare 1269. and their departure was the yeare after 1270.  
the first day of May. He parted from Aigues-mortes, and not from Marfeilles, as some haue  
written, and for that there was no good port vpon the Mediterranean sea, hee caused the  
towne of Aigues-mortes in *Languedoc* to be built, and compassed it with goodly walles,  
which speake yet of him, and with chanel for the commoditie of the shoare, the largest is  
called *The great Lewis*, by his name. *Edward* takes his courfe for Asia, and *Lewis* for Affricke:  
the French armie consisting of forty thousand fighting men: that of England is not speci-  
fied. The voyage was short and vnhappy for them both, but especially for our good Prince.  
*Lewis* had scarce lost the sight of shoare, and discovered the Iland of Sardinia, when as both  
he and his whole Fleete had almost perished in a storme. A presage of a mournfull successe.  
In the end he lands in Affricke (a countie worthie to loose that ancient name among vs,  
and to be called Barbarie, for the barbarous and vnforgotten successe it brought.) *Lewis* F  
resolues to take Carthage, a new cittie built vpon the ancient name, and held for a strong  
garrison of the Barbarians: he takes it, but with great paine and losse. From thence he goes  
to Tunis, a strong and well garded Cittie, resolute to haue it at what price soeuer. But man  
purposeth & God disposeth: for as *Edward*, son to the King of England, turned backe fro his  
voyage of the East, hauing passed but to Malta: & *Charles* King of Sicilia going to ioyn with  
him

*Lewis* goes  
into Barbarie.

A league with  
England,  
1269.

*Lewis* in dan-  
ger at Sea.

A him, to set vpon the Barbarians of Affricke altogether. In a manner at the same time as  
they arrived all at Tunis, the plague had deuoured a great part of the French army, and ta-  
ken away many Noblemen. And to encrease the mischief, it enters the Kings pavilion, and  
strikes *Lewis*, although some say it was a flux. But whatsoeuer it be, our *Lewis* is extreame-  
ly sicke: and feeling it deadly, hee calls for *Philip* his eldest sonne, whose age and vertue pre-  
ferred him to the crowne. Hauing giuen him goodly admonitions, and exhorted him to  
serue God, to liue virtuously, and to gouerne his people fatherly vnder the obedience of his  
lawes, which hee himselfe must first obey: hauing recommended vnto him the loue of his  
brethren, and intreated all the Nobility about him to obey *Philip*, he yeelded vp his soule to  
B God, to take his true rest in heauen, leauing all his followers in great heauinesse: being the  
most perfect patterne of a good King, that euer was read off in history. He only wanted the  
happinesse of a good writer, although these small gleans which we finde in the writings of  
the Lord of Ioinuille make his vertue admirable. A Prince borne for a testimony to that  
obscure age, and for ours which is corrupted: to be a president to all Kings and Princes of re-  
ligion, equity, clemency, wildome, valour, magnanimity, patience and continency: to loue  
piety, iustice, order and peace: to ioyn the loue of holy things, and the modesty of maners,  
with armes and state. Hauing shewed, that it is very fitting for a King; *To bee a good Chri-  
stian, a good warriour, a good husband, a good father, a good Gouernour, a good iusticer, and so  
know how to make waie and peace.* That it is very necessary to ioyn vnto the Maiesty royall,  
C *piety, clemency and authority, to gaine the loue, respect and obedience of all men.* And to con-  
clude; *That the best gard, and most assured renew of a Prince, is the loue of his subiects:* wor-  
thy of that venerable name of Holy, wherewith posterity hath iustly honoured him. He was  
twelue yeeres old when he began to reigne, and gouerned forty foure yeeres. So he died in  
the fifty sixe yeare of his age, hauing receiued this mortall crowne in the yeere 1226. and  
the immortal in the yeere of our Lord 1270: the five and twenty of August. Of *Mar-  
guerite* the daughter of *Raymond* Earle of Prouence, he had foure sonnes, and foure daugh-  
ters. A Prince worthy of so great a husband, the sole wife of one husband, and hee the  
only husband of one wife. His sonnes were *Philip* surnamed the Hardy, King of France,  
*Peter* Earle of Alanfon, *Robert* also Earle of Alanfon (succeeding his brother *Peter* deceased  
D without children, and hee likewise died without any issue) and *Robert* Earle of Clermont in  
Beauuoisin. His daughters were *Blanche* Queene of Castile, *Isabel* Queene of Nauarre,  
*Marguerite* Countesse of Brabant, and *Agnes* Duchesse of Bourgongne. So as of his  
foure sonnes there suruiued but two, *Philip* and *Robert*. From *Philip* the third, called the  
Hardy, his eldest sonne, are issued successiuelly either from Father to sonne, or from brother  
to brother, or from the neereft kinsman, to the next of blood, *Philip* the fourth, called the  
Faire, *Lewis* the tenth, called *Hutin*; *Philip* the fifth, called the Long, *Charles* the fourth, called  
the Faire, *Philip* of Vallois, *Iohn*, *Charles* the fifth, *Charles* the sixth, *Charles* the seventh, *Lew-  
is* the eleventh, *Charles* the eight, who dying without children, the law calles the children of  
*Lewis* Duke of Orleans, the sonne of *Charles* the sixth, to reigne one after another. *Charles*  
Duke of Orleans, and *Iohn* Duke of Angoulesme, for *Lewis* the sonne of *Charles* reigned vnder  
E the name of *Lewis* the twelfth, who dying without issue male, the law takes the other  
branch of *Iohn* of Angoulesme, so as it sets the crowne vpon the head of *Francis* the first  
his onely sonne, and from *Francis* the first, to *Henry* the second his sonne, and so in order  
to *Francis* the second *Charles* the ninth, *Henry* the third his children successiuelly from brother  
to brother. This direct line ending in *Henry* the third, the last King of the house of  
Vallois: the law calles the second sonne of Saint *Lewis*, named *Robert*, who giues the royall  
branch to Bourbon; Out of the which is issued *Henry* of Bourbon, the fourth of that name,  
King of France and of Nauarre, and *Lewis* his sonne now reigning: but wee will set downe  
his genealogy distinctly in the end of the royall race of Vallois. It sufficeth to haue noted  
F the order of the following reignes, returning to the course of our history. Thus Saint  
*Lewis* the ninth liued, and thus hee died, the honour of vertue in our Kings, leauing *Philip*  
his eldest sonne for his successor.

1270.

*Lewis* being  
sicke giues his  
sonne instruc-  
tion.

*Lewis* dies.

*Lewis* his ver-  
tues.

Vertues requi-  
red in a Prince.

His reigne.

His children.

His posterity  
in his two  
sonnes *Philip*  
and *Robert*.

The house of  
Orleans called  
to the crown.

PHILIP



PHILIP the third, called the Hardy,  
the 45. King of France.



The authority of *Lewis* was so great, as neither his absence nor his death, could alter any thing in the Estate of France. Being dead, *D Philip* his eldest Sonne was proclaimed King in the army, and (as the time would permit) was receiued with a generall applause of all men: as he in whom the Fathers vertue and authority was yet liuing. The army in the meane time is fortified with the Fleetes of England and of Sicilia, so as the Barbarians seeing the whole country in armes and on fire, they demand a truce, and obtaine it vpon condition.

That they should suffer the Christians (which were dispersed in diuers parts of Affrick) to liue in peace. But that which did most presse *Philip*, was his returne into France. So as he gathers his troupes together (the remainder of the plague; and of the vnciuill vsage of that barbarous Country) and parts from Affrick into Sicilia, where his losses encrease: for his wife *Isabel* dies there, and his vncl *Alphonfus*, with his wife the Countesse of Tholoufa, die soone after at Bologne, without any children, so as according to the contract of marriage, the Earldome of Tholoufa should be incorporate to the crowne. An other sinister accident chanced to *Richard* the Sonne of *Henry* King of England (to the end the English might likewise reckon their gaines in this voiage:) for being arriued at Viterbo a Citie of the Popes, walking in Saint *Lawrence* church, suspecting no enemy: behold this *Guy* of Montford the sonne of *Simon* (of whom we haue spoken) kills him in the presence of all his followers, and drawing his sword, he makes his way to the Church doore, where finding a horse ready, he: flies into Tuscane: whereat neither the Pope, *Philip* nor *Charles*, were any thing moued. This murder thus neglected, shall bleed hereafter. But these were not all the occurrents which *Philip* had in his returne home.

Pope *Clement* the fourth (borne in Languedoc) being dead, the Cardinals loth to yeeld one vnto another, dilagree in the election of a new Pope, and continued in this contention, two yeeres, nine moneths, and one day, as *Platina* reporteth. Our *Philip* and *Charles* his vncl intreate the Colledge of Cardinals to make an end of so scandalous a dissention. The

Queene *Isabel* dies.

*Richard* Sonne to *Henry* King of England slaine traitorously.

Great contention for the election of a new Pope.

A The respect of their admonition was not fruitlesse: For the Cardinals resolute, that not any one of the Colledge that had assisted at this tedious controuersie, should be Pope. *Thibaud* of Plaisance Archdeacon of Legee, (being absent in the voyage of the East) was chosen, and called *Gregorie* the tenth. In the end *Philip* returnes into France, to the great content of his Subiects. Hauing interred the dead, his Father, Wife, Vncl, Ante and Couline, he disposed of the affaires, and of matters of Iustice, according to the instructions and example of his Father Saint *Lewis*, famous amongst all our Kings. And then he married with *Mary* the Daughter of *Henry* Duke of Brabant: hauing three sonnes by *Isabel* his first Wife, *Lewis*, *Philip*, and *Charles*. But here we shall not finde the happinesse of our Saint *Lewis*, for this second marriage was blemished with a sad and foule suspect. *Lewis* the eldest Sonne of King *Philip*, dyed with apparant signes of poyson. This mischiefe encreased by the ieaousie is had of Queene *Mary* his Mother in lawe: and *Peter de la Broche* (chiefe Chamberlaine to the King, and principall Intendant of his Treasure, being the Queenes fauorite) is accused for this fact, who being prisoner, confesseth the crime, and accuseth the Queene, as hauing poisoned *Lewis* by her command. Moreouer, as one mischiefe commeth not alone: *La Broche* is found guilty of Treason, by his owne Letters, giuing intelligence to the King of Castile, of the estate of France, being then no friend to this Crowne. This crime alone was sufficient for his death, being hanged: leauing *Mary* in trouble by his accusation, and by the strange euent: a notable example of the inconstancie of the Court, and the vanity of the world. *Mary* denies the fact by oath. The King desirous to bee satisfied, proceeds strangely. For want of common prooffe, hee resolues to learne the truth by a Sorceresse: to whom he sends a Bishop and an Abbot. This Witche remained in Holland, and was Subiect to the Duke of Brabant the Queenes Father. The Bishop and Abbot at their returne, faile not to absolve the Queene by her report, but they free her not from the generall ieaousie of the French, nor in the Kings conceit, who after this accusation, did neuer enioy any rest in his house. These were the beginnings of the raigne of *Philip*, whose progresse and end shall be nothing better. His Vncl *Charles* King of Sicilia, shall crosse his life with many toyles, and end it with perplexity. But let vs obserue euery thing in order.

*Lewis* eldest sonne to *Philip* poysoned.

As by the decease of *Alphonfus*, and *Ioane* his wife (being dead without Children) the Countie of Tholoufa came to the Crowne: so *Philip* failed not to take possession thereof, as one of the most important peeces of his Estate: but hee found some alterations there, through the priuate quarrels of his Subiects. The Earle of Foix hauing a notable quarrell with *Girard* of Casbonne, had taken his house from him by force, *Girard* fled to the King for Iustice, but the Earle trusting to his Fortes and the mountaines, deluded the Kings commandements, who knew well how to hunt him out of his Rockes, and to send him prisoner to *Beaucaire* with his wife and children, there to digest his fellony, and to teach more mighty Vassals and Subiects, what it is to dally with their Soueraigne. Hauing tamed him with a whole yeares imprisonment, and drawne from him proofes of a serious confession of his fault, he grants him liberty, his Earldome, and his fauour, making good vse of him in his affaires. But the quarrell of Nauarre was of greater consequence. *Henry* King of Nauarre Earle of Champagne and Brie, had married *Isabel* the Daughter of *Robert* Earle of Arthois, brother to Saint *Lewis*, and at that time dyed, leauing one onely Daughter his heire named *Iane*, with his Widow, to whom hee had appointed the regencie of his realme. After the decease of *Henry* (which was in the yeare 1274. at Pampelune) the Nobility were greeued to be governed by a Woman, shee flies to *Philip* as to her neere Kinsman. The King sends *Eustace* of Beau-marais, a Knight, to assist her with his Councell, the which encreased the discontent of the Nauarrois, who take Armes, and besiege the Mother, the Daughter, and this new Councillor in the Castle of Pampelune, hoping to become Maisters thereof, and to settle the gouernment at their pleasures. *Philip* hastens thither, releues the besieged, punisheth the Rebels, setteth the Gouernement, furnisheth the Forts, and sends *Ioane* the heire of Nauarre into France, with the good liking of the Nauarrois, by the assurance which *Philip* gaue them to make her Queene of France, in marrying her to his eldest sonne. Nauarre continued thus without any alteration wholly at *Philip*'s disposition, whose authority was confirmed in all those Prouinces, and his name grew great throughout all Spaine.

The Countie of Tholoufa annexed to the Crowne.

Troubles in Nauarre.

This worke thus easily ended, an other taske began, which brought much misery to this reigne.

1274. raigne. The French affaires succeeded not well at Constantinople; wee haue shewed into A what extremity the successors of *Baldwin* Emperour of Constantinople were brought, and now behold the last act of this borrowed Empire. *Baldwin* the sonne of *Robert*, in the life of *John* of Breynne his Father in Law, made head against his enemies; so as hauing employed all his meanes, and exhausted his treasure, he flies to *Frederick* the second, his Brother in Law, but in vaine: and this was the period of his ruine, for his absence gaue his enemies meanes to attempt, and his fruitlesse labour was a prooue of his weaknesse at his returne. *Michel Paleologus* a Lord of the Country, great both in meanes and courage, after the death of *Theodore Lascaris*, (of whom wee haue spoken) had so managed this occasion, as *Baldwin* could scarce enter into Constantinople, to provide for the safety of the city, when he was besieged by *Paleologus*, and so hardly prest, as he saued himselfe with difficulty in the Ile of *Negropont*, and from thence went into Italy, leauing Constantinople with all this imaginary Empire, threecore years after the taking thereof by *Baldwin* the first. Thus the Greekes are repossessed vnder the government of *Michel Paleologus*, who in the end seized on the Empire of the East. But the comming of *Baldwin* into Italy, was the cause of a long and painefull taske, wherein our *Philip* was so farre ingaged, as he shall leaue his life there, and cause much trouble to his subiects. His Vncle *Charles* King of Sicilia, shall bee the motiue, but his owne disposition shall thrust him forward. *Philip* was a great vnderfaker, and oftentimes of other mens affaires; as the whole discourse of his life will shew; whereby it seemes the title of Hardy was giuen him. Not so discreet therein as his Father, who carried himselfe alwayes coldly, a newter in his neighbors diffentions, but when he found meanes to reconcile them with mildnesse. Let vs now retorne whence we parted. *Baldwin* thus dispossessed of Constantinople, flies to *Charles* King of Sicilia, a Frenchman to a French; but hee had a more strict gage, his daughter *bertha* whom *Charles* had married after the death of *Beatrice* Countesse of Prouence. Moreouer, he addressed himselfe to one, whose spirit was neuer quiet but in Action. A strange man, he was Earle of Prouence, King of Naples and Sicilia, Vicar of the Empire, and Senator of Rome, holding Tuscane at his deuotion, and almost all Italy: in as great reputation as any Prince of his time, & yet not satisfied. *Baldwin* arriued presently after this shipwrack, perswading him to hope for better; he tries all meanes to leaue a goodly army to go into Greece; & to restore him with the rest of the French Nobility to their Estates D. and Seigneuries, whereof *Paleologus* had dispossessed them: not foreseeing how much more necessary it was for him to gard his new conquests of Sicilia and Naples, and to keepe his credit in Italy, in well intreating his new Subiects, and embracing pollicly the Italians loue. As *Charles* deuised the meanes to attempt, so his enemies sought the means to preuent him. They were not small nor few in number. Pope *Nicholas*, *Peter* King of Arragon, and *Michell Paleologus* Emperour of Constantinople, but there wanted a Solicitor. There was one found out, which proued a notable instrument. *John Prochite*, one of the greatest men of Sicilia being dispossessed, he employed his whole study to recouer his Estate, by expelling of *Charles* his capitall enemy. Pope *Nicholas* a Frenchman, borne at Troyes in Champagne, had called *Charles* to these goodly Kingdomes: and contrariwise Pope *Nicholas* an Italian, borne at E. Rome, plotted this Tragedie to dispossesse him, although his successor *Martin* borne at Tours, did fauour him, seeking to restore him againe to his possessions, but it was too late. Such is the ebbing and flowing of the fauour of the Sea of Rome, subiect to receiue diuers persons, and by consequence diuers humors. *Peter* of Arragon had married the daughter of *Manfroy*, whom *Charles* had dispossessed of Sicilia (as we haue said) and therefore had reason to attempt any thing against *Charles* for the recouery thereof, holding his title, better then the Popes gift. *Michell Paleologus* sought to preuent this storme which *Charles* prepared against his new purchase, and therefore had reason to employ all his forces against him. But that which did most preiudice *Charles*, was his carriage, and his officers, towards the people of Naples and Sicilia, whom he discontented by all kindes of excesses, impositions, rigorous exactions of money, insolencies against their wiues & daughters, and outrages against their persons. This vniust and vnchast liberty, which exceeded in the manners of our men; bred a iust choller against them, in the minds of this poore Captiue people, which made them to seeke all meanes to shake off their yoke, and to be reuenged. But they had chiefly offended the soueraigne Judge of all the whole world, who neuer suffreth such iniquities vnpunished, although

The French expelled Constantinople by the Greekes.

Philip's disposition.

Why he was called Hardy.

Charles King of Sicilia a turbulent Prince.

A party made against Charles King of Sicilia.

A although he forbore for a time. Behold the party is made against *Charles* from many places, and executed with incredible celeritie.

*John Prochite* hauing priuate conference with *Peter* of Arragon, and knowing the secrets of his heart, goes to Constantinople to *Paleologus*, of whom hee was well entertained, and obtained what he desired, for the King of Arragon; which was the charges of the Army the which was presently to be employed. This plot was laid by Pope *Nicholas*, a capitall and open enemy to *Charles*, from whom he had taken all he could. By the aduice of Pope *Nicholas*, *Prochite* (attired in the habit of a Fryar,) goes into Sicilia, (being well acquainted with all the passages) to incense the Sicilians mindes, the which he performed so cunningly, B as there wanted nothing but force: the desseigne was to murder *Charles* with all the French; and to seaze vpon Sicilia, and all the rest for the King of Arragon; the cuent is answerable to the proiect. The King of Arragon leuies an Army in the view of all the world, but with this supposition, that it was to succour the afflicted Christians in Asia & Affrick, especially after the death of Saint *Lewis*, who had but stirred vp & not suppressed the Barbarians. *Philip* who was then at Tholousa, sent to *Peter* of Arragon, to know his intent, and to offer him his meanes. Hee answers, that it is to follow the steps of Saint *Lewis*, a Prince of immortall memory, and to helpe the poore afflicted Christians, resolving to set vpon the Affricans as the neereft: but that his meanes were short, and therefore he desired him to succour him in this great necessity. *Philip* prouides, with an affection worthy of the publike zeale, and sends him money, vnfurnishing himselfe to supply his enemies want. In the meane time *Peter* of Arragon, and *John Prochite* loose not an houre, but they employ all instruments & meanes. His Army arriues vpon the coast of Bonne in Barbary, called in old time Hippon, and hauing burnt all the country neere the Sea coast, hee takes Port in the Island of Corsica. *John Prochite* sleepes not, hauing laid his plot with the chiefe men of Sicilia, at Palermo, and Messina, where the conclusion was of the whole practise, and a conspiracie made throughout the whole Country, very attentue to their deliery; he begins the game in seazing vpon *Charles* his Gallies and Ships, which lay disperfed in the ports of Sicilia, all was easily effected without paine or danger, and this was a signall to the Army.

In one day and one houre all Sicilia riseth in Armes against the French, both Citties, Sicilian Townes and Villages. All are massacred, men, women, young and old, all ouer-floues with bloud. This popular fury armed with a shew of iust reuenge, spares nothing of the French name. This was done in the yere of our Lord God, one thousand two hundred eighty two, on Easter day at siue of the clock, when as euery one was sitting at supper on this solemne day. *Charles* was wanting (being the chiefe oblation of this solemne sacrifice,) but the vnderakers had changed their first resolution, to watch a time to kill him with the rest, fearing least his presence should hinder the execution of their desseigne. He was in Tuscane, doubting nothing of this rebellion, which at the first brute must needs amaze him, but he recalled his spirits, and sought for remedie. Pope *Nicholas* his great enemy was dead, during these preparatiues. *Martin* the fourth borne at Tours, held the Sea after him, of another disposition, French by nation & humour. But it was too late, the last peale was wrong to the Sicilian euen-song, he could not preuent it. This massaker thus performed by the Sicilians, a signall being giuen, behold *Peter* of Arragon appears in the view of Sicilia, to behold the sport more couertly, giuing daily some aduise to *Prochite*, and to the chiefe of the Sicilian tumult, yet loth to imbarke himselfe rashly with the humor of a people as soone pacified as moued. But being assured that the people (hauing cast the chance) grew daily more resolute, & that they wished for him as their deliuerer: not to loose their good-will, and to giue way to his enemies practises, he casts himselfe into the Port of Palermo, where he was attended by all the Sicilians in great deuotion. *Charles* in the meane time doth what he can; he doth aduertise *Philip* his Nephew of what had hapned, assembles forces in his neereft territories, sends into Prouence, to gather what he could together in all his ports, & besiegeth Messina by sea and land. The fury of the French is great in their first heat, and had preuailed, if the Sicilians only had withstood them. But the Arragonois was strong and resolute in his first credit, and the Sicilians in their desire to be freed of the French. So *Charles* is forced to leaue the Island to keepe the maine land, and *Peter* of Arragon was ioyfully receiued by the Sicilians, and crowned King of Sicilia in Palermo, in the yere 1282. the eight of May.

Behold

Peter of Arragon leuies an Army to invade Sicilia.

Sicilian Euen-song.

All the French slain in Sicilia.

Peter of Arragon enters into Sicilia. Charles of Sicilia repul'd at Messina.

1282.

Peter of Arragon crowned king of Sicilia

Behold the beginning of a tedious quarrell which shall continue long betweene the French and the Arragonois, and shall cause many widowes and Orphelins, bringing nothing but miseries to them all. A proceffe betwixt Kinfmen, and Allies, for *Isabell* the first wife of *Philip* King of France, was sister to *Peter* of Arragon, with whom hee had liued in great loue, and had three goodly gages, *Lewis*, *Philip*, and *Charles*. Oh miserable ambition, and cruell couetousnesse, the rootes of all mitchiefes, which make men vnkinde, deprives them of reason, teares out their bowels, and fills the world with a deluge of all sorts of calamities! Two great Kings and old, which should and might liue in peace, now entering into their graues, they lay the foundation of a new life, by their new conquests, as if they should liue hundreds of yeares: And not content to be sick themselves, they infect our *Philip* with their contagious disease, who imbarques both himselfe and his children in this quarrell. But the yeare shall not passe before they bee all intombed, and Pope *Martin* with them, who in stead of casting Water, brought Wood and Oyle to this Fire, hee shall bee bound vp in the same bundell, to be cast with the rest into the graue, but let vs returne to our discourse. The quarrell betwixt these two Princes, begins by reproches. *Charles* complains of *Peter*; That during the Peace, hee had against all the rights of neighbourhood, affinity, honesty and friendship, against the law of Nations, and duty of Kings, vsurped and inuaded by detestable fraude, by theft, and treacherie, vnworthy of a Prince, and an honest man, the realme of *Sicilia*, giuen him by authority of the holy Sea, as a holy gage of the Church. *Peter* answers: That *Charles* is the vniust vsurper, hauing violently taken the Lands of the Empire from *Manfroy* the lawfull heire. That hee could not bee ignorant of his right, hauing married *Constance* his daughter, by whom hee had Sonnes, to whom he could not denie the duty of a Father, without wronging of Nature.

The Pope supports Charles against Peter.

Philip succours his vnkle Charles.

The Sicilians seeke to make their peace with Charles.

Thus he opposeth the authority of Nature to the Popes power, right to wrong, and reason to passion. Moreouer to this law of nature he ioines faith, the ground of humane society, being called and desired by a people vniustly wronged in their goods, liues, and honors. Should he then contemne their teares, being bound to succour them? Hee hath therefore done what he ought, a lawfull heire against an vsurper and a tyrant, for poore people oppressed: resolute to continue so great a worke, worthy of a Christian King, perswading himselfe that God, who had giuen him a good beginning, would send him a happy ending, leading *Sicilia* free and peaceable to his posteritie. And thus one for another. Here-vnto Pope *Martin* the fourth did adde his thundrings, supporting *Charles* his cause with as great vehemencie, as his Predecessor *Nicholas* had laboured to plot this practise against him. He sends a Legat to the Sicilians to let them vnderstand that they were excommunicated, and their goods confiscate. The Legat deliuers his Commission freely, & cites all the people to Rome with an expresse inhibition to all Priests, not to communicate any Sacraments vnto them vnder great paines: So all the Churches in *Sicilia* were shut vp by the Popes command. The same thunderboulte is cast against *Peter*, he is Excommunicated, degraded, and his realme of Arragon accursed, but from words they fell to blowes. *Charles* resolute to hazard all, intreats *Philip* his nephew to succour him with his best meanes in this his great necessitie. And the better to ingage him, he giues *Catherin* (the daughter of his sonne *Charles* the lame) in marriage to *Charles* the yongest sonne of *Philip*, and in consideration of this marriage giues him the Duchy of Aniou. Of this marriage shall issue *Philip* of Vallois, who shall be King of France 43. yeares after. All France armes for this warre: *Philip* employes all his meanes, *Peter* Earle of Alanson the Kings brother, *Robert* Earle of Artois his nephew, the Duke of Bourgongne, the Earles of Bologne, Dampmartin, and Iogny, with an infinit number of the Nobility, repaire from all parts of the Realme: *Charles* sending men expresse with priuate letters, to all his friends to inuite them to this warre. And to keepe *Paleologus* in Constantinople, he workes with the Christians of Asia, and with the Ilands of Cipres, Malta, Rhodes, and others to make warre against him, and likewise hee sought to disquiet Arragon, by meanes of the Nauarrois, *Philip* remaining at Toloufa for that purpose.

Behold the Arragonois in great perplexity, charged on all sides, both with spirituall and temporal armes, but that which troubled him most, the Sicilians (excommunicated by the Pope, and amazed at so great forces as came to *Charles* from all parts) not onely grew cold, but also sought to make their peace with *Charles*. To this end they goe to Rome to Pope *Martin*,

1283.

A *Martin*, of whom they craue pardon with an extraordinary humility, for the History noates that their Deputies beeing on their knees, cryed to the pope, *Qui tollis peccata mundi misereere nostri*. A title belonging onely to Iesus Christ. This deuout respect, had in a manner drawne the Sicilians to *Charles* his obedience, wherein doubtlesse hee had preuailed, if hee would haue embraced the occasion, for pope *Martin* had perswaded them to yeeld, but without a French garrison; Whereunto *Charles* would not condescend, seeking to haue them at his discretion. *Peter* was not quiet in minde amidst all these difficulties, hauing the Pope in front, the people ready to reuolt, *Philip* watching ouer his Realme of Arragon, and an army in the port of Naples ready to land.

He findes an expedient for all these difficulties, to stay all these forces, to quiet this storm of *Sicilia* and to escape all dangers, after a manner in few worthy of commendation, for the reputation valour and bounty of so great a prince. He giues *Charles* to vnderstand that hee lamented the common misery of so much people, whom hee did see in danger for their priuat quarrels, that it were much better to end it betwixt themselves by the sword. That if he were an honest man, a fouldiar, and a King, hee was ready to fight, with him, and *Sicilia* had onely the aduantage in one thing, hee was more cunning then *Charles*, and his intent was to circumuent him, as indeed hee did. *Charles* willingly accepts the combat. The manner is determined by a common consent. That either King should take a hundred choise horse, and that the conquering troupe should purchase *Sicilia* to his King.

A Combate appointed betwixt two Kings.

*Bourdeaux* is chosen for the place of combat, the day is appointed. All Europe flies to this Theater, to see an end of so notable a quarrel, by such an extraordinary meanes. *Charles* comes to the place at the prefixed day with his troupe chosen out of the brauest Gentlemen of the army. *Peter* appears not, nor any one for him. Hee is called, hee is summoned, they protest against him, but there is no newes of him. So after all these tollerne protestations, euery one retires with laughter: but *Peter* was otherwise imploied; he assured *Sicilia* by his wiues meanes, whom he sent thither, prouiding to fortifie the weaker places, both of *Sicilia* and Naples equally threatned. The heate of the French is cooled, by this intermission of time, by the hope of an accord, and by the departure of so great a multitude disbanded to see this fight; the Sicilians had taken breath, and *Peter* stood firme to chooſe his best aduantage. The French (being out of hope to see this controuersie ended by combat) returne to armes, (but with lesse courage,) To make warre in *Sicilia*, they must approach, and they must land. *Roger* of Lore a banished man of Apulia, Admirall of the Arragon fleet, had the gard of the landing: *Charles* the lame, sonne to King *Charles*, offers to land, but his fleet is defeated, and he taken prisoner.

Peter fortifies himselfe in Sicilia.

Charles King of Naples dies.

Philip makes warre against Peter of Arragon.

Warre in Arragon.

*Charles* wonderfully perplexed with this losse, runnes from citie to citie in his Realme of Naples, seeking to raise new forces; when as death calls him to his rest: the which in his life time hee would neuer enioy, hauing giuen to many, and receiued himselfe infinit troubles without any fruite. In his youth his enterprises were happy, but in his age very vfortunate. *Robert* Earle of Artois (by the decease of the father, and imprisonment of the sonne) remains Tutor to the children of his father in law *Charles* the lame, and Regent of the Realme of Naples: but *Peter* of Arragon keeps *Sicilia* (at that time lost) for the French. After the death of *Charles* of Aniou, behold *Peter* of Arragon is assailed with a new partie. Pope *Martin* the fourth doubled his excommunications against him, as a capitall enemy of the Church, and inuested *Charles* the yongest sonne of *Philip* King of France in his realme: hee absolues the Arragonois from their oath of obedience, and proclaimes a holy warre, as against a sworne enemy of the Church. For the execution of these threats, *Philip* employes all his meanes to raise a goodly army, vowing to bee no more circumuented by *Peter* of Arragon. *James* King of Maiorica and Minorica ioynes with him an enemy to *Peter*, who had spoiled him of his Estate, so as there were foure Kings in this army. *Philip* King of France, and his eldest sonne *Philip* King of Nauarre. *Charles* his sonne inuested in the Realme of Arragon by the Pope, and *James* King of Maiorica. The army was faire, and the Frenchmens courage great, being very resolute to reuenge the massacre of the Sicilian Euen-song: the ridiculous scorne of the combat, and the imprisonment of *Charles*. The red scarfe, the marke of the holy warre, against one excommunicated, and their courageous

1286. courageous resolution, to bee reuenged of a cruell enemy, who had shed bloud by treason, A appears in these troupes brauely armed. All this promised a great victory to *Philip*, who commanded his army in person. But the issue will shew, that being a Conqueror he lost the fruits of his victory, and in the death of three great personages, shall bee scene the vanity of this world. *Philip* enters the countie of Rossillon with a goodly army: all obeies him, except the cities of Genes nere to Perpignan, the which he besieged, and it was well defended, but in the end it was taken by the French. *Peter* was come out of Sicilia to defend his fathers inheritance: he fortifies all hee can against *Philip*, and the difficulty of passages, seemed to fauor him; but the resolution of the French surmounted the steepenesse of the Rockes.

*Peter of Arragon defeated.* The passages are forced, *Peters* army is defeated, and hee saues himselfe with difficulty by these inaccessible places. The army enters the countie of Emporias. *Pierrelate* yeelds in one day: Gironne is besieged, and as *Peter* comes to succour it, the French encounter him, and overcome him, who hardly saues himselfe in Ville-franch, extreemely amazed with this happy beginning of *Philip*. What followed? hee that was accustomed to deceiue all the world by his inuentions and policies, could not by any meanes deceiue death, transported with griefe, sorrow, impatiencie, and dispaire, hee dies the fiftene of August, in the same yeere with his enemy *Charles*. The brute of *Peters* death makes Gyrone to yeeld presently, beeing a very strong city, and promisseth *Philip* an assured possession, not onely of the Realme of Arragon, but also of Sicilia, where in shew they could not resist: when as behold other occurrents, which mans reason could not preuent. *Philip* assuring himselfe thus of the peaceable possession of the Realme of Arragon, minding to free himselfe of a needlesse charge, hee dismisseth the Gallies of Genoa and Pisa, the which hee had hired, and for that the plague was crept into his Campe, hee had dispersed his forces about the cities of Gironne and Perpignan, whether hee retired himselfe very sicke, with an intent to pacifie the whole countie, hauing recovered his health, and taken some breath.

He dies,

*Roger* Admirall of Arragon, (of whom wee haue spoken) ignorant of *Peters* death, was parted from Sicilia, with an intent to bring him succours against the French flecte. Beeing arriued at Genoa (a newter cittie, and of free acceffe for both parties) hee is informed both of the death of his Maister, and of the Estate of Perpignan, and beeing there, of this new accident, hee takes a new aduise. In steed of returning into Sicilia, hee hires the Gallies of Genoa and Pisa, dismissed by *Philip* & resolves to enter the port of Perpignan, where hee had intelligence, that *Philip* remained without any great garde, and the port to bee without defence. Hee arriues so happily, as without any opposition hee giues a signall to the people of his arriual, who sodenly rise and kill the French in the houses and streetes.

*Philip* set vpon vnwares and in danger.

The death of *Philip*.

*Philip* lay sicke in his bed, and the French souldiars had no thought of *Roger*. The King made a vertue of necessity, hee encourageth his men with a sicke and feeble voice and they behaued themselves so valiantly, as they expell *Roger* out of *Perpignan*, and *Philip* held the city, who was so distempered with this alarm, as his sickness encreased dayly, and hee died the fiftenth day of October, hauing suruiued *Peter* but two monthes: In the same yeare 1286. and in the same moneth died Pope *Martin* the fourth, to shew vnto great princes the incertainty of their great designs.

His children.

Thus liued, thus reigned, and thus died *Philip* the third, surnamed the *Hardy*, hauing reigned fiftene yeeres, and liued forty, a great vndertaker, leauing no memorable act to his posterity, but a good example, not to deale in other mens affaires. Of his first wife *Isabel* hee had *Philip* and *Charles* remaining. *Charles* was Earle of Vallois, of Alanson, and of Perche, father to *Philip* of Vallois, who in his course shall succeed to the crowne. *Philip* his eldest sonne was King of France: of the same marriage hee had one daughter, *Mary* who was Dutchesse of Austria: By his second wife *Mary*, hee had *Lewis* Earle of Eureux, and *Marguerite* Queene of England. The estate of the Empire (after a long confusion of diuers Emperors, and the interregne) had some rest: the Popes being buied in the warres of Sicilia. *Raoul* of Auspourg a good and a wise prince, was chosen Emperour after these disorders: imploying himselfe carefully to cure the wounds of Germany, and held the Empire from the yeare 1273. vnto 93. The estate of the Church appears by that which hath bin spoken in this reigne. This onely is particular; That a Councell was held at Lions by *Gregory* the tenth, where it was decreed; That to auoide the tediousnesse of the Popes election, the Cardinalls should

A should assemble at the Popes death, and keepe the Conclau, neither going forth, nor conferring with any one, vntill the Pope were chosen. The which is practised at this day. In those dayes dyed *Thomas Aquinas*, a very subtile disputer, *Bonaventure*, *Iohn Duns* called *Scot*, and *Gabriel Biel* (famous men in those daies) suruiued him. 1286.

## PHILIP the fourth, called the Faire, the 46. King of France.



**H**E found his authoritie respected within the Realme, as well for his age, as hauing governed the State with dignitie vnder his father *Philip*. A good Prince, ludicious, and of a noble mind, and (the which was not the least point of happinesse in this life) he was well married with *Joane* Queene of Nauarre, whereof he rooke the name of King, before the decale of his father, enioying her as a sweet companion of his complexions. Hee had three sonnes by her, goodly Princes of bodie, and excellent spirits, *Lewis*, *Philip*, and *Charles*, which shall be Kings successiue one after another; but all so ill matched, as it was his griefe to see his childrens houses infected with three Strumpets, and put away without all hope of issue: hauing seuerely punished the corrupters of his Daughters in lawe, and confined these insatiate maisties into Monasteries. Hee had also one Daughter of the same bed, named *Isabel*, who was married to *Edward* King of England, leauing vnto France a heauie and dangerous Leuaine of horrible confusion, by the meanes of her sonne, a fatal scourge for this Realme. *Philip* after the decale of *Joane*, married *Constance* the Daughter of *Charles* King of Sicily, a faire and a young Princessse, whom he left great with a sonne, the which was borne eight daies after his decale, and suruiued him but few daies. He began to raigne in the yeare 1286. and died in the yeare 1315. hauing reigned twentie and nine yerres. The entrance of this raigne was goodly, but Flanders, Guienne, and the Pope, gaue him (vpon diuers occasions, and at diuers times) many great and painefull crosses. He loued Iustice and Learning, wherein he was well instructed, for that age: so as he did consecrate the first fruites of his raigne, to honour both the one and the other: as also the Muses did honour



1293. honour him with a goodly Oration which is read in the Originall of this History, for a commendable memory to posterity, of the vertues of this great Prince. The Parliament was not tied to any place, but changed according to the necessity of Prouinces. Sutes were most commonly iudged definitiue by the Bayliffes and Seneschals, and the greatest causes were decided souereignly in the Kings counsell, who gaue free audience to their subiects. *Philip* hauing obserued (by the experience of former reignes,) that it was very necessary to haue iurisdiccions distinctly limited, left a Souereigne power to his Parliament at Paris (a part of his royall authority) in ciuill and criminall causes: and the better to gouerne it, hee appointed a sufficient number of presidents and counsellors, with his aduocate and proctor, (which number hath bene since augmented according to occasion) and for the greater countenance of this dignity, he placed it in his chiefe cite of Paris: and to that end he caused that great palace (one of the most admirable buildings vnder the coape of heauen) to be built by the meanes of *Enguerand* of Marigny Earle of Longueuille, Superintendant of the treasure of France. He first ordeined but two sittings of the Parliament in the yeere, the which necessity hath made ordinary vnder *Lewis Hutin* his sonne, who also erected an Exchequer at Roan.

The Parliament of Paris erected.

The palace built.

Colledge of Nauarre.

Cause of the warre in Flanders.

The cause of quarrell in Guyenne.

Occasions to renew the war with the English.

Other Prouinces had their Parliaments at diuers times, and vpon diuers occasions: with like affection hee fauoured his Vniuersities of Paris, with all manner of priuiledges: hauing his wife *Joan* a companion of the same humour, whom hee suffered to build in her name that goodly Colledge of Nauarre, where at this day in this iron age, wee may behold with admiration, the great bounty of our Kings in commendable and vertuous actions. These goodly beginnings (in the first frutes of a sound peace,) were crossed with many difficulties, both within and without the realme. Flanders gaue the first subiect. This country is one of the chiefe Seigneuries of this Monarchie, and in the yeere 1225. this lawfull subiection was acknowledged at Melun by the Earle of Flanders. In the beginning of this reigne, *Guy* Earle of Flanders came to doe his homage to *Philip*, who required to haue the cities of Flanders to ratifie this peace of Melun, the which was performed, but vnwillingly by this rich people, who still complained vnto *Philip*, that his parliament at Paris did infringe their priuiledges, for the which hee wisely provided: but the great security of these rich cities must needs bee the cause of their owne afflictions, as it chanced often, that a rich people, being too far, seeke wilfully their owne ruine. Guienne did likewise much trouble *Philip*, and these two quarrells were intricate one with another, like vnto diseases which come together, according to the times and occasions when they chance. The King of England was Duke of Guienne since the marriage of *Eleanor*, as we haue seene: but many difficulties haue fallen out: the accord made by the King Saint *Lewis*, specified by vs, had limited the Seigneuries of Guienne to the English, the which hee should hold by homage of our crowne: but hee could not limit his desire, being watchfull vpon all occasions, to free himselfe from the subiection of France. Let vs follow by degrees, the actions and the order of times, in the comberfome report of these new stormes, falling out diuersly, and in diuers places: like as in a time inclined to raine, a cloud dischargeth it selfe by planets in diuers parts.

The force and neighborhood of England increased the quarrell, and caused a continuance by diuers accidents. *Edward* the first of that name, son to *Henry* the third, liued then in England, & Count *Guy* in Flanders. *Edward* came likewise into France, & did homage to the new King for the Duchy of Guienne, and other lands which hee held of the crowne, as *Guy* had done for his. It chanced that certain English ships scouring along the coast of Normandy, made a great spoile of the subiects of France. *Philip* vpon their complaints, intreats *Edward* to cause restitution to be made of that which had bene vnjustly taken by his subiects. *Edward* neglects it: so as *Philip* cauteh him to be adorned, to yeeld a reason of this attempt, as vassall to the crowne. He appears not, and so by sentence he is declared guilty of felony, and of high treason, and to haue forfeited his interest in all his Seigneuries of France. For the execution of this decree, *Arnoul* of Neele constable of France is sent into Guienne with an army, in the yeere 1293. a notable dare to coat the first letter in this Inuentary of a very long processe, although with some intermission, yet so violent, as it had almost ruined France. The Constable doth his exploit, he taketh Bourdeaux the chiefe city of Guienne, & then

A then most of the other townes do willingly yeeld obedience vnto the King. Rions and some other castles well fortified by the English hold good, to serue as a Leuaine of this warre.

*Edward* seeing himselfe thus assailed, armes by sea and land. By sea hee sends an army vnder the conduct of *Robert Tiptot*: by land he sends some forces vnder the command of *John Breton*, to preterue that which remained in Guienne: and to fortifie himselfe with friends in the doubtfull euents of so important a cause, hee makes a league with *Guy* Earle of Flanders, and for confirmation thereof, hee demands his daughter *Philip* for his eldest sonne the Prince of Wales, the heire apparent to the crowne of England, which the Earle accepts willingly. And to omit nothing that might auaille him, hee enters league with *Henry* Duke of Bar, giuing him *Eleanor* his daughter in marriage, and with *Adolphe* of Nassau Emperour, both hauing pretensions against France. The Duke of Bar demanded Champagne of the King, by the rights he pretended, and enters it with forces. *Philip* sends *Gualter* of Crecy the Lord of Chastillon vpon Marne against him with a goodly army, who on the other side (entring into Barrois) makes a diuersion, and forceth the Duke to returne to defend his owne against *Gualter*. The Emperour after a brauing manner giues notice vnto the King, that hee will make warre against him, to recouer the lands belonging to the Empire. *Philip* makes no other answer, but sends him a packet well sealed vp, in the which was a white paper fouled like a letter, without any writing. This scoffe was a great defie, as indeed the braueries of *Adolphe* had no successe. The Earle of Flanders was the neereft and most dangerous enemy to prejudice *Philip*, who had ioyned himselfe to the King of England, by so strict a bond as the marriage of his daughter. *Philip* hauing three great enemies in front, tries his wittes to stay them. The most dangerous was hee that dealt vnder-hand, that is the Fleming: who made a good thew to *Philip*, and yet treated with his most dangerous enemy, but policy did circumuent policy. The King findes meanes vnder-hand, to giue him notice that hee would gladly see his daughter, whom hee had christened, and was called *Philip* by his name, before hee led her into England. *Guy* brings her with him to Paris: being arriued, he is committed prisoner by the King: the cause is made knowne vnto him by such as had commandement to arrest him. That being his vassall, he had presumed to alie himselfe with a capital enemy to the crowne, giuing him so precious a gage as his daughter. *Guy* obtaines leau to speake with the King. He executeth himselfe, but his daughter remaines as a pawne with the Queene, to be married at the kings good pleasure. His daughter (although kindly entertained by the King and Queene) was full of greefe, lamenting daily, as if this honourable garde had bene a more cruell prison. The Earle intreats *Philip* to send him his daughter: hee answers him plainly, that hee tooke her not to restore her. Herevpon *Guy* takes occasion to complaine of the great wrong hee pretended to bee done him by *Philip*, who detaines his daughter forcibly without reason.

*Philip* seizeth vpon the Earle of Flanders daughter.

The English in the meane time make open warre in Guienne. *Philip* foreseeing that this was the beginning of a great storme (meaning to lay the burthen vpon him that might doe him harme) sends a goodly army into Guienne against the English, vnder the conduct of two great Commanders, his brother *Charles* Earle of Valois, & the Constable of Neele, to molest the enemy in diuers places. Rions and Fronfac, townes vpon the riuer of Garonne, (then strong, but now ruined) are besieged, and after many difficulties, yeeld vnto the King, and in the end Saint Seuer, but with more paine. *Edmond*, brother to the King of England is defeated at sea, and returning into England, repaires his Navy. But striving afterwades in vaine to besiege Bourdeaux with new forces, hee goes and dies at Bayonne, then belonging to the English.

The English affaires succeeded ill.

Thus all things succeeding ill for the English, hee seekes all meanes to fortifie himselfe. Hee flies to the Emperour *Adolphe*, the chiefe instrument of his hope, and sends him money to leauy an army. To Pope *Boniface* the eight, beseeching him to remember the priuate bond hee had to the preservation of England, whereof hee was protector. *Guy* Earle of Flanders ioynes openly with the English in this societie, to make warre against *Philip* with all his forces. But from these light beginnings sprung diuers occasions which troubled these great Princes. The Fleming is the chiefe aduancer of this tragedy, and shall haue his share in it.



1296. Hee calles a great assembly in the city of Gramont, in the yeare 1296. at the feast of A Christmas, where *Adolph* the Emperour, *Edward* King of England, the Duke of Austria, *John* Duke of Brabant, the Earle of Iuliers, *William* of Iuliers his sonne, *John* Earle of Holland and of Haynault, *Robert* Earle of Neuers, *Villiam*, *Henry* and *Guy* of Flanders, *John* Earle of Namur, and many other great personages meete, and with one consent resolute to make warre against *Philip*. The colour was to maintaine *Guy* Earle of Flanders, vniuersally afflicted by *Philip*, who had violently taken and stolne his daughter against the right of Nations, and detained her: refusing obstinately to restore her to her father. It was decreed that *Guy* should beginne by force, and be well seconded by the Emperour and the English, in case of necessity. But before they come to armes, Pope *Boniface* should make the first point by the luster of his authority. All things threatened *Philip* with much trouble, but the end will shew that the attempts of man are all but vaine. *Boniface* (according to the intent of their league) sends his Nuncio to *Philip*, which was *James* bishop of Metz, to exhort him to doe iustice, both to the Earle of Flanders and to the King of England, protesting that hee desired nothing more then peace betwixt Christian Princes. Hee sent the same Nuncio vpon the same subiect into England, but with an other intent then hee made shew of vnto *Philip*, casting wood and oyle into this fire, in steed of water to quench it. But for that this Pope must appeare in many acts of this Theater, wee must obserue his disposition, by some sufficient and not suspected testimony. *Platina* the Popes Secretary: Being (saith he) a Priest, *Cardinall* of *Saint Martin of the Mount*, hee affected the pontificall dignity with such vehemency, as hee omitted neither ambition nor fraude to compass it, and moreover hee was puffed up with such arrogancie, as hee contemned the whole world. Hee reports also, that hee vsed a notable policy to circumuent *Celestin*, being chosen to the dignitie of Pope, a simple man and vnfit for matters of State, hee suborned some one to talke to him in the night like an Angell, perswading him to leaue this charge if hee would bee faued: hee preuailes by his practises, and wrought so by subtil deuises, as hee was chosen Pope in his place. Being Pope, hee desired nothing more then to kindle the warre betwixt the Guelphes and the Gibelins, then called blacke and white, by a name and marke of a faction. *Platina* coates a singular prooffe of his disposition, nothing inclined to procure peace among Christian Princes. *Prophet* Archbishop of Genoa, affecting the Gibelin faction, kneeled at *Boniface* seete on Ashwednesday. As the Priest is accustomed to say: *Memento homo quia cinis es, & in cinerem reuerteris*, hee sayd (changing the wordes.) *Memento homo quia Gibilinus es, et cum Gibilinis in cinerem reuerteris*, casting the ashes into his eyes, where as they are accustomed to cast them on the head, in signe of humility and submission. *Boniface* thus inclined to the peace of Christendome, that is to say (as the Lord of Haillan writes) more puffed up with glory and vanity, then good zeale to the peace of Christian Princes, hee commands *Philip* by his Nuncio, to restore to the English and Flemings what they demanded, and for not obeying, hee cites him to appeare at Rome vpon paine of excommunication. *Philip* a wife and a valiant prince, although hee were discontented with this course, yet hee sent an honourable Ambassage to Rome, by the Archbishop of Rheims, and the Earle of Saint Paul, to lay open his right before the Deputies of the King of England and the Earle of Flanders, who were then at Rome to complaine as beeing wronged. All parties beeing heard, *Boniface* decrees that *Philip* (as the fountaine and cause of all the miseries and inconueniences which had happened) should yeeld to *Edward* and to *Guy* al they demanded, both in Guienne and Flanders, charging the Archbishop of Rheims to signifie this Bull vnto the King, vpon paine of excommunication for not obeying. This was the first blow giuen by *Boniface* against *Philip*: The other Sceane of this tragedie shall represent an other act. But what doth *Philip* after these great threats? He prepares for deeds, not suffering himselfe to be daunted with words, and tries his wit to finde out meanes to maintaine himselfe against so mighty enemies, not holding it fit nor worthy of a King of France to be terrified with these comminations from Rome, employed without reason against his lawfull authority. So seeking for all helpe hee resolues to be ready for all cuents, holding words insufficient to calme this storme. He laies great impositions (which they call *Maletoist*) vpon his subiects for the leuying of souldiars, and imposed great tenths vpon the Clergy.

But

A But in the search of this remedie, he was incountried with two difficulties: on the one side, his Subiects furcharged with the exaction of these great summes, beeing almost in despair, were readie to rebell in diuers places, especially in the greater Citties: And on the other side, Pope *Boniface* thundered against him by new Comminations and Censures: forbidding the Clergie to contribute any thing. This Prince crossed with these difficulties, continues his course resolutely, as a great worke requires a noble and vndaunted spirit: but before hee enters warre against *Guy* Earle of Flanders, he sends the Archbishop of Rheims, and the Bishop of Senlis vnto him, to aduise him not to enter into a voluntarie warre. That the King was as carefull of his Daughter as himselfe, to marrie her honourably according to her qualitie: That he did nothing vnworthy of a good King, or a good God-father, in not suffering his subiects to allie themselves to his capitall and deadly enemies; the which hee spake not for feare of the Earles forces, or of his friends, but for the care he had of his subiects, not to see them runne headlong into ruine, and therefore he presents him the choice of Peace or War. Count *Guy* answers; that he is resolute to recouer his right by force from the King, seeing he might not haue it by reason.

*Philip* hauing tryed mildnes in vaine, comes to force. He had a goodly armie, wherof he takes the one halfe, and giues the other to *Robert* Earle of Artois his cousin. He turns the head of his armie against Lille, and besiegeth it, whilst that *Robert* defeats the Flemings at Furnes, and takes the Earles of Iuliers and Albemont, with many other of great account, and sends them prisoners into France. So continuing his victorie he takes the Townes of Cassell, Bergues, Saint Vnoch, Furnes, and all the West part with an incredible celerity. The King hauing taken Lille, he enters victoriously into Bruges. At this sodaine checke, all the rest of Flanders stands amazed. This happie beginning did shake the desseignes of the confederate Princes, so as without any more delay, they sue for peace. Ambassadors come presently vnto him from the King of England, demanding a truce, the which he granted, comprehending the Earles of Flanders and Neuers: vpon condition they should put their controuersies to compromise: And so he returned into France, leauing *Raoul* of Neele his Constable, Gouvernour of the Countrie of Flanders. This was the first voyage of *Philip* into Flanders, in the yeare 1297. All things seemed to be thus mildly pacified, but the progreffe will soone shew, that *Philip* had no meaning to receiue the Earle of Flanders into fauour: for the truce beeing newly expired, *Charles* Earle of Valois enters into Flanders with the same victorious armie, where he takes Bethune, Douay, Cortray, and all the rest of the Countrie of Flanders, except Gand: whether the Earle *Guy* was retired with his children, beeing disappointed of succours from his allies and confederates. England is quiet, and the Emperour *Adolphe* is no more to be scene, who had made this poore Earle to weare the bable. And the Gantois make their peace with the King, keeping their priuiledges. But what shall become of the Earle? he yeelds himselfe absolutely into the hands of *Robert* earle of Artois, with promise, that by his intercession he should be restored into the Kings good fauour, and so into the possession of his estate. Vpon this promise of *Robert*, *Guy* accompanied with his children, *Robert*, *William*, and *Guy*, and his Nobilitie that were most confident vnto him) comes to Paris, but his hope was soone turned into a languishing sorrow: for both himselfe, his children, and all his followers, were dispersed into sundrie places vnder sure guards, as the Kings prisoners: from whom they could draw no other answer, but that he had passed no word to his brother, and that they were his prisoners by a iust warre. *Philip* without any further delay passeth into Flanders with a goodly troope, to take possession of the Earledome, as proprietarye and chiefe Lord, and to vnite it to the Crowne, by vertue of a sentence, wherby the person of Count *Guy* was found guilty of high treason, and his lands were confiscate to the King, as to his Soueraigne Lord. He comes to Gant, where he is receiued with pompe, as Prince and Lord, he receiued their homage, and makes them many good lawes for the gouernement of the Countrie, appointing *James* of Chastillon, Lord of Leuse and Conde, for Gouvernour and Lieutenant Generall, and so returnes to Paris. Then were garrisons presently placed, and Cittadels made in all the Townes, as conquered by the sword, they are charged with contributions, taxes, and impositions one vpon another, to finish the buildings, and to nourish the Souldiars, with such other things as depended thereon. Such was the libertie and confusion of militarie discipline. On the other

1302.

The people of  
Flanders re-  
volted; unit  
Philip.The Nobility  
revolted with  
the people.Philip's armie  
defeated by  
the Flemings.Battell of  
Coutreilly fa-  
mous for the  
great defeat  
of the French.

other side, there were complaints and popular mutinies for the exactions made by the kings command. These popular discontents did sodainly cause a new confusion. A people ought to be intreated with much mildnesse, be they either newly conquered, or reduced to their old obedience. This ill vsage gaue all the better Townes occasion to revolt. Bruges began, and is followed presently by the rest, but they must seeke means for their preferuation, to maintain themselves against the forces of *Philip*, which vndoubtedly would fall vpon them. They assemble at Bruges. The first difficultie is to prouide a Commander. *John* and *Guy* of Namur breethren (sonnes to *Guy* Earle of Flanders) were ioyntly chosen by a generall consent, and come to Bruges. There all the Citties (*Gant* excepted) make an offensive and defensive league, against the king of France for their Earles deliuerie. The Dice are cast, all breaks out into a furious sedition. At Bruges the French are slaine by their hosts, Count *S. Paul* (who went thither to pacifie these troubles) escaped hardly: Furie had found them out Commanders fit for their humours. A wretched weauer, suborned and counterfeited, mutinous and full of words (named *Peter*) is one of their chiefe Colonels, accompanied with like Ruffians: and the other Commander a Butcher of like qualities to this Tribune. But as the bader fort begin these rebellions, so great men end them. *Philip* of Flanders (sonne to *Guy*) beeing a prisoner, flies from Apouille (where he was well appointed) to succour his Father and Countrie, beeing readie to suffer shipwracke. The Nobilitie of the Countrie (who feared the furie of this mad enraged multitude) ioyne easily with him. The popular state (seeing how needfull the armes and direction of Gentlemen was for them) seeke all means to haue their fauour. The cause is plausible, the deliuerie of their good Earle, and the libertie of their Countrie. Flanders beeing thus on fire, *Philip* was in no lesse perplexitie, resolving to employ all his forces, to suppress this mutinous nation. In few daies hee leuies an armie of 40000. men, with exceeding diligence, and he himselfe is in field as General. And yet all this dies like a fire of straw, and breedes euents not foreseen by him, who in shew was the stronger, but in the end he prooues the weaker, and beares the blowes: for he was scarce entred into Flanders as farre as Boileduc, but he talks of his returne, pretending the vnseasonableness of the time, yet the cause was apparantly knowne to bee otherwise: and some thought that he feared a reuolt at home. So this great shew preuailed little in Flanders, and bred an infinit charge to France. This was the successe of *Philip*'s second voyage into Flanders, with much bruit and no fruite. This his sodaine retreat incensed this mutinous people more, and gaue courage to their Commanders, to be the more resolute against *Philip*, by the renewing of a mutuall alliance: and made *Philip* seeke to reparaire the error which he had (in his owne conceit) committed, in not employing so goodly an armie against the Flemings: he raiseth another armie of fortie thousand men of the companies already leuied, vnder the command of *Robert* Earle of Arthois his Cousin, accompanied with *Arnoul* of Neele, Constable of France, and many great personages. The diuers humors of both parties, were a foretelling of the issue of these Armies; for the Earle of Artois marched against the Flemings, as against a base people, easie to be vanquished, and this humor of the Generall, crept into the Souldiars mindes, as going to an vndoubted victorie, and not to a doubtfull combate. Contrariwise, the Flemings marched carefully to defend themselves against great warriours, for the defence of their libertie against them that were greatly incensed, and vnder a wife and graue Commander. They choole for their Leader *John* of Namour, with his breethren *Guy* and *Philip* (sonnes to the Earle *Guy* prisoner) accompanied with many Noblemen, that were good fouldiers, and sworne enemies to the French, leading a people very resolute for their owne preferuations. The armies meet neere the towne of Cortray, in a place called Groeminge. The Earle of Artois would by all means draw the Flemings to fight: who fought onely to defend themselves, and therefore had chosen a place to campe in, strong both by nature and art, lying close with their battalions. This their countenance not to fight, made *Robert* of Artois the more resolute to force them, contrarie to the Constables aduice. The great numbers of the French did at the first terrifie the Flemings, but (their minds seasoned with the former considerations) they were encouraged by their Leader *John* of Namour. *Robert* therefore hauing commanded his Horse to charge their Squadrons furiously, the Flemings withstood them as courageously, and hauing disordered them, they forced them to retire vpon their owne foot, who were placed with so great

a con-

1302.

A a contempt of the enemy, as if they were not to fight, but to gather the spoiles of vanquished men. The horsemen thus disordered, passe through their bands of foot, the which thus diuided, abandon their ranks, and then their Armes. Some fight here, others flee there; but the horse & foot being in rout, they could not ioyne againe. The disorder was generally; some defend themselves courageously, but there remaine no squadrons to fight in grosse. Their multitude is a hindrance vnto them: the Flemings encouraged with this successe, are the more eager in killing, for that this defeat of our men was vnexpected, and this multitude being victorious is flattered vpon the French, (as vpon dead carcasses) without mercy, glutting themselves vpon the, whom before they feared. Of this great armie there hardly escaped 300. all are pact together great and small. Not one Commander escaped, and very few Noblemen. *Robert* Earle of Artois cosin to the king of France, Generall of the army; *Arnoul* Lord of Neele, Constable of France; *James* of Chastillon, Gouvernor of Flanders, *John* king of Maiorca, *Godfrey* of Brabant, and his son the Lord of Viezon, the Earles of Eu, la Marche, Damartin, Aumale, Auge, Tancarville, and many other great personages which were the offerings of these cowardly spirits. They number 12000. Gentlemen slaine in this battell, by this enraged multitude. A notable president, not to contemne an enemy, which teacheth what a furious people well led may do: and especially that victories come from heauen: for here the lesser number vanquished the greater, and the weak the strong. This victorie called of Cortray or Croeminge, was followed with an absolute reuolt of all Flanders against the French. It hapned in the yere 1302. the 11. of Iuly. *John* of Namour remaining their gouernour in the absence of their imprisoned Earle. *Philip* received a great check in this battell: but he had more bottomes to vntwist. All the threats of *Edward* king of England, and of the Emperour *Adolphe* vanished: only Pope *Boniface* the 8. shewed himself obstinate in his hatred against *Philip*. A discourse worthy to be carefully described. In the hottest of these Flemish affaires, *Boniface* did excommunicate *Philip*, and curse his realme vpon this occasion. The Christians estate was lamentable in the East, the Tartarians increased daily. *Cassan* king of Tartars, allyed with the king of Armenia a Christian, made a great profession of loue to the Christians: and for that the Mamelus held Iudea and Ierusalem, he desired to draw the Kings and Princes of Christendome to their aide. To this end he sends an Ambassage to *Boniface* the 8. and to *Philip* king of France, to intreat them both to employ their authorities and means in so good a worke. *Boniface* failes not to embrace this occasion, he not only exhorts *Philip* to succor the Tartar, but also commaunds him proudly and imperiously vpon paine of Excommunication. This Bull was giuen and deliuered to a sufficient man, named *Stephen* an Arragonois, whome hee had made Bishop of Apamiers, a Towne in the Countie of Foix, which they commonly call Pamiers, and had erected this new Bishoppricke in the Archbishoppricke of Tholousa, without the Kings priuie or consent, who acquitted himselfe of his charge so stoutly, that when as *Philip* presented vnto him the greatnesse of his affaires, so as hee could not obey the Popes command, hee answered with a bold face, That if the King would not obey the Pope, he would depriue him of his Realme.

E The subiect, the manner, and the person (aduanced thus against his will,) did so moue and stirre *Philip* (grieved and disturbed with this late losse and overthrow, as if the Pope would insult ouer him for his bad and vnfortunate successe) that he imprisoned this Bishop. Pope *Boniface* transported with choller, sends to him againe one *Peter* a Romane borne, (Archbishop of Narbonne) with sharper Bulles, to summon him to undertake this voyage of the East: to commaund him also not to touch the reuenues of the Clergie: to reprehend him sharply, for that he had presumed to lay hands vpon the Bishop whome hee had sent; and to enioyne him to send him presently backe in full libertie. His charge extended to no other censures, in case he disobeyed not in the principall. The Archbishop executed his charge boldly. *Philip* shewed him with great modestie, the impossibilitie of this voyage: the reasons which had moued him to leuie this Tenth of the Clergie, and so to intreat the Bishop, hauing spoken vnto him without any respect. The Archbishop replied with more arrogancie. That he was ignorant of the Popes authority, who was not onely the Father of Christian soules, but also Soueraigne Lord and Prince in temporall things. And therefore by that authoritie he did excommunicate him, declaring him vnworthy to raigne, and his realme forfeited to the Church of Rome, to inuest whom he pleased. Moreouer, hee brought

A notable af-  
front done by  
Pope Boniface  
to Philip.Arrogance of  
the Popes  
Nunno.

1302. brought another Bul, directed to the Prelats and Noblemen of France by the which he did A  
acquite and dispencc all Frenchmen from their oath of obedience to *Philip*. And a third, by  
the which hee did cite all the Prelats and Diuines of the French Church, to appeare before  
him at Rome: disannulling all indulgences and priuiledges granted to the French, by any  
Popes his predeceffors.

*Philip subdues  
the Flemings.*

*And makes  
peace with  
them.*

*The Flemings  
tied to strict  
conditions.*

*Six thousand  
pounds.*

*Guy Earle of  
Flanders and  
his daughter  
die.*

*Isabel the  
daughter of  
Philip married  
to Edward  
King of Eng-  
land.*

The Earle of Artois disdainig this affront, takes the Bull and casts it into fire, saying.  
That no such dishonor should euer befall the King, to submit himselfe to any such condi-  
tions. *Philip* amazed at these bold affronts, refers the whole matter to his Councell, who con-  
clude to send back the Popes two Nuncios to Rome, and to forbid the Prelats of France to  
goe, or to send any money to Rome: beseeching *Philip* to proceed in the affaires of his  
Realme, and not to stay in so goodly a course. This done, *Philip* raiseth new and great forces B  
to returne into Flanders. At his entry the Flemings were defeated at Arques neere to  
Saint Omer, in a straight passage. *Guy* of Namur befeeing *Xiricxe*, was ouerthrown by the  
Kings Nauy, assisted by sixteene Gallies of Genoa, vnder the command of *Renier Grimaldi*:  
and being taken, is carried to the King, beeing in his army betwixt Lisle and Douay. After  
this fortunat beginning, many cities yekled to the French, the rest fearing the euent, stood  
amazed, the fume of their victory beeing euaporated; so as the first heat being cold, they  
intreate the Earle of Sauoy to bee a mediator to *Philip* for a truce, whereby they might ob-  
taine a peace, after so many miseries. *Philip* of Flanders and *John* of Namur brethren, were  
great perswaders thereof, for the naturall desire they had to free their poore father so long  
time a prisoner. But *Philip* thirsting after reueng for his losse at Courtray, refuseth it. Hee C  
aduanceth and defeats the Flemings at Aire and at Tournay. There chanced in the end that  
notable incounter at Mons in Penelle, where they were wonderfully beaten, to make them  
loose the taste of the battaile of Courtray, yet *Philip* was in danger of his life, and bought  
this victory dearely: and the Flemings (like men in dispaire) assembled together from all  
parts, although vnder hand they did sue to *Philip* for peace: the which in the end they ob-  
tained, at the instance of *John* Duke of Brabant, vpon these conditions. That the Souereign-  
ty remaining to the King, and the Flemings enioying their liberties, the Earle *Guy* and all  
other prisoners, should bee set at liberty, without ranfome: and the Flemings should pay  
eighty thousand pound sterling, for the charges of the warre, & the castles of Lisle, Douay, D  
Cassell and Courtray, should bee deliuered into the Kings hands as a pawne, vntill the end  
of the payment, and that hee might beat downe what hee had built in the castles of Lisle and  
Douay, deliuering them to the Earle, as to their lawful Lord. That the Flemings should  
raze the walls and forts of fise principal cities, Gant, Bruges, Ypre, Lisle and Douay, and  
neuer to build them againe. That the King should make choise of three thousand men at his  
pleasure, in Bruges & thereabouts, that were culpable of the seditions and murders com-  
mitted, a thousand of them to bee imploied beyond the seas, and two thousand on this side,  
& that the Flemings should furnish six hundred men at armes, to serue the King one whole  
yeare, where he pleased. And for the performance hereof, the cities should bee bound, and  
should forsaite threescore thousand Liuers for non-payment, for the effecting whereof, E  
Deputies should bee appointed. During this treaty, the Earle *Guy* and his daughter *Philip*,  
(the subiect of this troublesome reuolt) died, to the great greefe of *Philip*, who sees himselfe  
frustrate of all meanes to shew his clemency and bounty. But when these articles were  
brought vnto the cities, the people did mutine with great impiency, so as the Deputies  
perswaded *Philip* to moderate those which were most greuous. The demantling of the  
townes, (except Bruges, where the reuolt began, and the banishment of the men, conuer-  
ting it into a pecuniary fine; and a great summe to an annuall pension prefixt to easie pay-  
ments.) Thus the accord was made. *Robert*, *William* and *Guy* brethren, the sonnes of the Earl  
*Guy* of Flanders, were deliuered with all the prisoners, but we shall see that in the execution  
therof there was much trouble. During these hard and rough proceedings, *Edward* King of  
England hauing received a checke in Guienne, was quiet, fearing *Philips* resolution in grea- F  
test dangers: whereof hee could wisely free himselfe: in the end an accord is made by the  
marriage of *Isabel*, hee left to his posterity, a heauy pawne to pretend a title to the whole  
Realme. *Philip* had his reueng of the Emperour *Adolphe*, who had so boldly braued him in  
the beginning of this quarrell, vnder colour of demanding the lands of the Empire, lying in  
the

A the Countries of Bourgongne, Daulphine and Prouence, beeing in old time the Realme  
of Arles, but then in the power of diuers Lords, (as we haue said) vnder the kings authority.  
The King of England, and Earles of Flanders had great cause to complaine of him, hauing  
receiued two hundred thousand Crownes to make warre against *Philip*, the which hee im-  
ployed in the purchase of Thuringe, and taking possession of that goodly Countrie, so vnusu-  
ally gotten, beeing sold by an vnaturall Father, who would disinherit his children. This  
filthie trafficke (aggrauated by the complaints of the King of England, and Earle of Flan-  
ders) made *Adolphe* of Nassau very odious and contemptible, beeing issued from a noble  
and worthie race, but this Act against the poore children, made him vnworthie of the Em-  
pire, from which he was depozed by a decree of the Electors, and *Albert* of Austria seated in  
B his place, who pursuing him with warre, slue him (as they write) with his owne hand, in an  
incounter neere vnto Spire. But Pope *Boniface* the 8. (*Philips* greatest enemy) remained yet  
vn pacified, who still continued his choller against him, in a season when as he thought him  
to be drawne drie, both of men and money: for they write that this warre of Flanders had  
wasted aboue three hundred thousand Frenchmen in eleven yeares, during the which it con-  
tinued. We haue seene how he vied him by his Nuntios: this last Act will not only shew the  
continuance of his spleene, but shall also represent a bad *Catastrophe* in this Tragedie, the  
which shall light vpon the head of *Boniface*, sought for by himselfe. *Albert* of Austria was  
no sooner chosen and installed Emperour by the Electors, but *Boniface* applyed his wit to  
winne him against *Philip*, supposing to preuaile against him, as *Gregorie* the ninth had done  
C against *Frederick* the second. Hee proclaimes him Emperour, and inuests him king of the  
Realme of France, giuing him both the title and armes: and taking occasion to sowe diuifi-  
on in the heart of the Realme, by meanes of the Clergie, who by reason of their reuenues,  
had great power in the State, and for the interest thereof, great wil to preferue them: He did  
also write his letters to *Philip* in this manner:

*Boniface* Bishop, seruant of the seruants of God, to *Philip* King of Frenchmen. Feare  
God, and obserue his commaundements; we will thee to vnderstand, that thou art subiect to  
vs, both in spirituall and temporall things, and that it belongs not to thee to giue any pre-  
bend or benefice. If thou hast the keeping of any of them beeing vacant, thou must reserue  
the profits of them to the successors. If thou hast giuen any, we iudge thy gift to bee voide,  
D and do reuoke all that hath beene done, and whosoer beleueeth otherwise, we iudge them  
heretickes. *Giuen at Latran, the fourth of the Nones of December, the 6. yeare of our Popedom.*

*He writes  
arrogantly  
to Philip.*

*Philips an-  
swer to the  
Pope.*

The King answers him thus:  
*Philip*, by the grace of God King of France, to *Boniface*, calling himselfe the Soueraigne  
Bishop, little or no health. Let thy great folly and rashnesse be aduertised, that in temporal  
things we acknowledge none but God for Superiour, and that the gift of prebends beeing  
voide, belongs to vs by our royall prerogatiue, and the fruites that grow thereby, the  
which we will defend by the sword, against all them that shall seeke to hinder our posses-  
sion, esteeming them fooles and without iudgement, that shall thinke otherwise. These are  
E the very words drawne out of the originall. But *Philip* (to prevent the plots of Pope *Boni-  
face*) assembled the Prelates of his Realme at Paris with all speed, and hauing represented  
vnto them the wrong which Pope *Boniface* had done him by his decree (from the which he  
had appealed as erroneous) he makes them to renew their oath of fidelitie. He thanks the  
King of England, in that he yeeldeth not to the perswasions of *Boniface*: who would haue in-  
censed him against him, and in the end he seekes to stay the violent course of his furious pra-  
ctises. There was a Gentleman following the Court whose name was *Felix* of Nogaret  
(borne in Seuennes, a mountaine countrie of Languedoc, of the family of the Albigeois,  
as in that countrie there were many reserved from father to sonne, since the grant made  
them by Saint *Lewis*) whome *Philip* held fit for the execution of this charge: there was like-  
wise a guide found out very fit to accompanie him. *Boniface* had ill intreated the Colonois;  
F one of them named *Sciarras* (flying the Popes furie, and seeking some rest) had beene taken  
by pirates, and redeemed by a friend of his at Marseilles, and so brought into France. They  
could not choose a more fit instrument to tame his arrogancie, who presumed to controule  
Kings, and to depriue them of their Estates (as *Platina* saith.) The pretext of *Nogaret*s voy-  
age to Rome was apparent, to signifie *Philips* appeale from the Pope vnto a Councell, and

1304. to find the meanes to leuie men vnder hand, for at that time the Realme of Naples obeyed A the French, whither *Philip* had conueyed 60. thousand Crownes, by the banke of the *Prutisci*, Merchants of Florence, to furnish this leuie. The Pope was retired from Rome to Anagnia, a Towne of Abruzzo, (where he was borne) by reason of the troubles at Rome, whereas the Gibilin faction was growne the stronger. There were likewise in Anagnia many corrupted by the filuer of France, by such means as *Sciarras* gaue vnto Nogaret, so as hauing drawne in 300. Frenchmen well armed, and wonne many of the Citizens vnto him, the castle (whereas Pope *Boniface* was lodged) was seized on, and at the same instant the cittie gates (with that terror which doth vsually amaze men) surprised.

Anagnia seized on and taken by the French.

Then the French crie, The cittie is wonne: No man dares appeare. In this confusion the castle gates beeing seized on by French souldiars, *Felix* of Nogaret beeing armed, (accompanied with *Sciarras*, *Colonois* and many others) enters the pallace-hall with their naked swords, *Boniface* is not much amazed, but hastily attires himselfe in his pontificall robes, and presents himselfe vnto his enemies. *Nogaret* begins to say vnto him: The good and noble King of France hath sent me hither, to tell thee that he appeales from thee to the Councell. But the Pope hauing not the patience to attend the end, Thy Grandfather (said he) condemned for the heresie of the Albigeois, was iustly punished by fire, a worthie reward for his wickednesse before God and man. I doe not therefore wonder if I be thus traiterously surprized by thee an hereticke, but I willingly beare what happened to that good Pope *Siluerius*. *Nogaret* replies, I will lead thee then to Lions, where a Councell shall iudge of thy abuses. But as *Boniface* would haue replied, *Sciarras* more hardie then *Nogaret*, gaue him a great blow with his gantlet on the face, which made him to bleed much. The Pope cried, and he struck againe, so as *Nogaret* (hauing no commission to proceede so farre,) drew him out of the *Colonoises* pawes, and hauing retired him into his chamber (howling and blaspheming like a desperate man) he led him to Rome. But *Boniface* through this accident entred into so cruell a frenzie, as he gnawed and eate his owne hands, and so died piteously the 35. day after, to whom the common report registred in Histories made this Epitaph:

*Boniface* dies tragically.

*He entred his Popsdome like a Foxe, he reigned like a Lyon, and dyed like a Dog.*

*Platina* addes this Commentarie. Thus died *Boniface*, who laboured to keepe the consciences of Emperors, Kings, Princes, and generally of all men in awe, more by terror then by religion: who sought to giue and take away kingdomes, to expell and restore Princes at his pleasure: most greedie to gather gold by what meanes soeuer. Let princes therefore both spirituall and temporall learne to gouerne their Clergie and subiects: not arrogantly with insolencie and outrage (as this of whom we speak) but holily and modestly, as Christ our King and his Disciples and followers, who desired to be beloued not feared: whence iustly proceeds the ruine of tyrants. He writes also of him: That he nourished diuisions among the Italians, and especially betwixt the Geneuois and the Venetians. Behold the testimonie of *Platina*, and the Catastrophe of the Tragedie which pope *Boniface* the 8. had plotted to ruine the King and his Realme. *Philip* aduertised of the heauie end of him who had practised to ruine both him and his estate, presently sends his Ambassadors to the Colledge of Cardinals, beeing much amazed with this accident, protesting that he gaue no such commission to *Felix* of Nogaret, (to whome notwithstanding he gaue in recompence the Baronnies of Caluiffon in Vauage neere vnto Nismes) but onely to intimate to pope *Boniface*, his appeale from him vnto the Councell, desiring them to expect all friendship and succour from him. The Cardinals reuiued from their great amazement by this kind message from *Philip*, stood yet long irresolute in the election of a new Pope, fearing to do any thing vnpleasing vnto the King. In the end they choole one *Nicholas* a Cardinall, who had assisted *Philip* co-fins in the voyage of Hungarie (famous among the popes by the name of *Benedict* the 11.) He reuokes the Excommunication giuen out by *Boniface* against *Philip* and his people, and restores the priuiledges of the Vniuersitie of Paris, whereof he had deprived them in disdain of *Philip*: but he liued not long, and the Cardinals desire was to accommodate themselves wholly to the kings will: they therefore by a generall consent choole *Clement*, borne at Bazadois in Gasconie; of the house of the Vicounts of Tartas, and Lords of Vseste, where he built a goodly castle called Villandrant, as the Lord of Haillan doth testifie (an vnreproachable witness) beeing of that countrie. This *Clement* was the first of seuen French popes which held

A held the Sea one after another, vnto *Vrbain* the 6. vnder whom the Italians recovered it againe with much trouble. These seuen Popes were *Clement* the first a Gascon, *John* 23. of Cahors in Quercy, *Benedict* the 12. a Tholousan, *Clement* the 6. *Innocent* the 6. *Vrbain* the 5. *Gregorie* the 11. all foure Limosins one after another. Such power had this proceeding of our *Philip*. *Clement* the 5. beeing chosen Pope, he came into France, and the King receiued him at Lions, accompanied with the Kings of England and Arragon in great pompe. The Pope was on horsebacke, and the King with his two brethren on foote, holding the reins of his horse. He was crowned in the Temple of Saint *Mar*, where they had built a great theater for so goodly a spectacle: but the presse of people was so great, as the scaffold brake, and the multitude fell one vpon another. The Pope, Kings, Princes, and Noblemen were all on the head, the Pope in the foote, and the Duke of Brittainne slaine, with a great number of Noblemen and common people that were smothered vnder these ruines. The Popes crown of gold: but the life of men was inestimable. Thus this feast gaue no cause of ioy, but was famous to posteritie by this notable accident, and by the translation of the Popes seate from Rome to Auignon, in the yeare 1305. vnto the yeare 1379. vnder *Vrbain* the 6. This was the first act of *Clement* the 5. being arriued in France. In the meane time the Flemings practised new troubles, refusing to performe the conditions of peace, and their Earle *Robert* gathered together men and money on all sides for the warre: whereunto *Philip* (tyred with the long miseries which had wasted his Realme) was vnwillingly drawn. Yet he giues charge meanes to leaue an armie, appointing *Charles* of Valois his brother for Generall, accompanied with *Lewis* his eldest Sonne, and a great number of the Nobilitie. But the difficulty to recouer money was so great, as the King was forced to grant a truce to *Robert* Earle of Flanders, the which was more auailable for him then France. This did greatly displease these two princes (who had the chiefe places in the Armie) complaining of *Enguerand*, as if he had purposely crossed this leaue, with a pretext of want of money: when as he himselfe was rather corrupted by the Flemings. They smothered this dislike vntill *Philip* death. Who countenanced *Enguerand* (as his good and faithfull seruant) against the ordinarie complaints of these Princes of the bloud. But after long delayes, Flanders continuing still more obstinate in their rebellion, and *Robert* seeking but to gaine time, necessitie forced *Philip* to the Warre, and want of money held him backe: yet both the one and the other were apparent. For the redresse whereof hee finds an expedient, to call an assembly at Paris of all the Citties of his Realme, and there to represent vnto his subiects the great necessitie of his affaires, to induce them thereby to contribute meanes for so important a Warre, beeing both necessarie and honourable. The assembly was held in the Court of Parliament, (a solemne place) where the King assisted with all his Councell. *Enguerand* of Marigny made the speech, as the man which had the managing of his affaires. The Prouost of Paris made offer of any thing the cittie of Paris could doe, that the example of the capitall cittie might draw Liuer or Franke, of all merchandise and wares: but when it came to the execution, there were daily seditions and mutinies in Picardie, Normandie, Orleans and Lions, whither *Philip* sent *Lewis* his eldest sonne to pacifie them. But oh the vanitie of this world! *Philip* had liued with much paine, he had passed his apprenticeship in his fathers troubles, crossed with the warres of Guienne and Flanders, he had giuen and receiued infinit losses, shaken with the pricking thorns of *Boniface*, who sought to ruine both body and soule, in excommunicating him and seeking to spoile him of his estate. Was it not then time to rest after all these toyles? and yet behold he is more ready then before to imbarke himself in new troubles, by the enterprise of a new and dangerous warre, whereof all his posteritie could neuer preuaile. But God more wise then himselfe, did cut off his long discourses (cast in the mold of an infinite rest in heauen, which he could not find on earth. He died at Fontainebleau in Gasconie, in the yeare 1314. hauing reigned 28. yeares, and liued 58. His disposition and his children, are noted in the beginning of his reign, and the estate of the Empire and the Church, throughout the whole discourse thereof.

1305.

The Pope crowned at Lions.

A penny vpon two shillings sterling.



1314. The estate likewise of the Christians in Asia and Affricke, and of the French in Sicily, Naples and Arragon, must necessarily be described, both that which was past, and that which is to come. The Popes had imbarcked all Christendome in this action, goodly in shew, and very preiudiciall in effect, for those voyages beyond the sea, haue consumed an infinit number of men throughout all Christendome. Our France hath a great share, yea of our kings. Many houses were cast away vpon this shelve, whence grew infinite sutes. And from thence likewise came the corruption of fees, by meanes of the sale of lands made by Gentlemen to peasants. To conclude, they employed 200. yeares to purchase much paine and infinit losse. Wee haue hitherto seene how things haue passed from raigne to raigne, from the yeare 1096. the date of the first departure of the Christian army into the East, vnto the yeare 1315. The ordinarie practise of the Popes of Rome, was to free themselues of Kings and Emperours, the more easily to settle their authoritie ouer them, as the wise and vnpassionate reader may verifie, by all the circumstances and order of the true Historie. I speake onely in termes of State, and as mildly as truth will permit me. In those times, the Tartar (who had vndertaken the protection of the Christians (the better to settle their affaires) obtained of Pope Clement a new Croysado, to the which Philip had vowed two sonnes, Philip and Charles, but it had no successe, although Clement did what he could to further the action. But a dog that is scald feares cold water. And experience is the mistresse both of wise men & fooles. So all these great shewes in the end came to nothing. The countries so valiantly conquered by the Christians, were seized on by the Infidels, so as after infinite toiles, there scarce remained any reliques of this shipwracke, onely some Ilands to the Venetians, and Geneuois, Cyprus, Candie, Corfu, Chio, and to all the Christians ioyntly Rhodes and Malta. The Templers (placed for the guard of Christendome) became so disloyall and corrupt, as they must be rooted out, the which Philip did in France, in whose place were instituted the Knights of Rhodes and Malta, the which continue vnto this day. Behold the end of the voyage of our Argonautes, which made so goodly a shewe vpon this Theater in the first Scene. But the Catastrophe was so miserable, as the Countries where the Gospell had bene preached, remained a shamefull prey to the enemy of Christendome, and the Christian Church at his mercie. As for Sicilie, behold the estate: Charles the Lame (heire to his Fathers misfortunes, taken by Roger Admirall of Arragon, and held prisoner foure yeares) in the end was released, vpon condition he should relinquish all his interest to the two Sicilies. And all which Philip had taken in Arragon, returned presently after his death to James of Arragon, the lawfull heire of that Realme. Naples continued longer in the French mens power, but in the end all was lost, as we shall see hereafter: so as the Arragonois retained to himselfe the possession of these goodly Estates, and left vs in our voluntarie losses, the gages of our accustomed rashnesse, and an apparent testimonie, that the Popes gifts to our kings, haue not greatly enriched the poore realme, as appeares by infinite examples. After that of Naples, Hungarie was in no better estate, being given by the Pope to Charles Martell, Sonne to Charles the Lame, these two quarrels hauing drawne all Europe into a strange confusion. So there was euery where vanitie for truth, brute without fruit, and shewes without effect. The originals are my warrant for this truth, the which I ought to the honour of the Historie without dissembling.

The Christians  
are loose all  
in the East.

The estate of  
Sicilie.

LEWIS

Lewis the tenth, called Hutin,  
47. King of France.



THIS raigne is short and of finall fame, as the actions of this King are not greatly commendable. He began to raigne in the yeare 1315 and dyed the yeare after, the 16. of Iune, and so he scarce raigned a yeare and a halfe, which time was full of trouble and confusion, according to his turbulent and stirring disposition, wherof he bare the name, for a blemish to his posteritie, for *Hutin* in old French signifies Mutine. A Chollericke prince, ingrate, indilcreete, outrageous, defacing his royall authoritie, by the insolent abuse of his power, considering his humane passions with the vale of his authoritie. He first married with *Marguerite* the Daughter of *Robert* Duke of Bourgoigne, beeing detected of Incontinencie, shee was confined to Chasteau Gaillard vpon Sein, where she died in her ignominie. After her death he married with *Clemente* the Daughter of *Charles*, brother to *Robert* King of Sicilie, pretended King of Hungarie. He made a great preparation against *Robert* Earle of Flanders, but could not passe with his armie for waters. He discharged his choller vpon *Enguerand* of Marigny Earle of Longueuille, Superintendent of the treasure, whom Philip had employed long and confidently. *Charles* Earle of Valois, brother to Philip the Faire, accused *Enguerand* of extortion and robbing the Tresaurie, making him odious to the people, for that he had long managed the treasure of the Realme to his masters good liking: but *Lewis* and *Charles* had hatched this hatred against him, to the losse of his life. He had caused the pallace to be built, and he disposed of the publike treasure, during the long warres of Flanders, the which had wasted much, to the peoples oppression and hinderance. And therefore it was a pleasing spectacle, to see *Enguerand* of Marigny hanged by a solemne sentence vpon the gallows, which he had caused to be made at Montfalcon, beating downe his image in the pallace, where the place is yet to be seene, with this inscription by it:

The manners  
of Lewis Hutin.

His Wices.

Enguerand of  
Marigny vn-  
justly put to  
death.

R 2

Let



Let every one rest content with that he hath,  
For he that hath not sufficient, hath not any thing.

A

This iudgement was very famous, yet afterwards it was reuoked, but the bodie was not taken out of the graue, although he were freed from the ignominie of so shamefull a death. The Earle of Valois was soone after taken with a languishing disease, which consumed him by degrees, and King *Lewis Hutin* died so sodenly, as he scarce lay sick one day. These were the workes of heauen, which made the foolish people change their opinion, of whome it was rightly spoken: *What the people sayes, a foole speaks*: for euery one tooke these extraordinary deaths, as witneses of Gods iustice, who punisheth great Princes, which abuse the ordinarie power which he hath giuen them, to serue their owne passions. And it is to be obserued, that this iustice of God continued in the posteritie of *Lewis Hutin*: for he left his wife *Clemence* with child, who was deliuered of a sonne, an imaginarie King, haneing liued but eight daies: and though he were royally interred with Kings, yet he is not numbred among them. Morcouer, he left one Daughter by his first Wife called *Jane*, for whom *Eudes* of Bourgonie (her Vncle by the mother) caused great Tragedies against the fundamentall Lawe of State, to haue her admitted Queene of France, wrongfully and vniustly, for that women are excluded by the law, whereon the French Monarchie was grounded, as wee haue said: So this miserable raigne was begun and ended by confusion and iniustice. A notable example to obserue the vanitie of the Court, in good seruants vniustly afflicted: of the people, in their false and passionate iudgements, rendring euill for good, and suffering themselves to be transported with the ebbing and flowing of their passions, speaking good and euill of the same action, and the same man, without rule, without measure, and without truth. And of the vanitie of great men, which thinke it to be the chiefe fruite of their greatnesse, to abuse their power insolently, to the ruine of their inferiours: not remembring (being blinded with their passions) that they haue a superiour ouer them, to make them yeeld an account of their vniust proceedings, forcing them to make restitution with interest. All that *Lewis Hutin* did worthy of commendation, was that he made the Parliament of *Paris* ordinarie, which had but two sittings in the yeare, although this commoditie of pleading hath bred many futes, to the hinderance of the publike and priuate good. He was called King of France and of Nauarre, and left the two realmes to his successor, who disposed thereof as we shall see. D

The Parliament  
ordinary

### PHILIP

### Philip the 5. called the Long, 48. King of France.

A

B

C



D



HE controuersie touching the Crowne was easily decided, by the euidence of reason, and also for that *Jane* the Daughter of *Lewis Hutin*, remained by the Will of *Philip* her Vncle, Queene of Nauarre, and Countesse Palatine of Brie and Champagne, and yet for the discontentment of some Princes of the blood, *Philip* went to Rheims with a strong armie, to be annointed there, where hee was installed, the doores of the Church being shut and well guarded. He beganne to raigne in the yeare 1316. and raigned fixe yeares. Hee had foure Daughters by *Jane* the Daughter of *Othelin* Earle of Bourgonie and no Sons. By meanes of his Daughters he made his peace with his discontented Princes: for he gaue the eldest to *Eudes* Duke of Bourgonie, (who had supported the Daughter of *Lewis* against him) and gaue in dowrie the County of Bourgonie, belonging vnto her by her Mother: and to *Lewis* Earle of Eureux his other opposite, he gaue *Jane* with the Kingdome of Nauarre, and the Counties of Brie and Champagne, whereof he afterwards carried the title.

Controuersie  
for the crown  
of France.

Philip crown-  
ed.

His children.

A Prince of a very tractable disposition, and by consequence easie to be corrupted, rather inclining to ill then good. There is nothing memorable vnder his raigne, but that thorough his facilitie all was tollerable to his bad seruants, who vnder his name laid great exactions vpon the people, the which caused them to mutine in many places, neither did hee (being great of bodie, and therefore called Long, but little of wit) vse his authoritie. Vnder colour of a voyage to the East, two seditious men, a Priest and a Monke of the order of *Saint Benedicte*, assembled a multitude of mutinous people, which committed a thousand insolencies where they passed, calling themselves Shepheards, but in the end they were defeated in Languedoc.

His disposit-  
ion.

Rebels calling  
themselves  
shepheards.

An artificiall  
plague.

The Iewes expelled before, were now admitted to returne for money: a wretched nation, giuen to all kind of wickednesse, and therefore odious to the people, who exclaimed against the disorders growne vp by the facilitie of *Philip*. This generall hatred bred such a rage in the licentious mindes of the Iewes, as they brought the plague into diuers partes of the Realme, vsing the helpe of Lepars: Many were grievously punished by Iustice,

1322. and the rest banished out of the dominions of France. Flanders seemed ready to fall into new troubles, but in the end they were pacified, by the marriage of *Marguerite* the Kings second daughter, with *Lewis* Earle of Flanders, Neuers and Rethel, and the paiment of certaine summes due by the sayd accord.

These are the most famous acts of that reigne, for to what end serues it to relate that priuate Iustice was done vpon a prouost of Paris, who was hanged, for that he had put to death a poore innocent, for a rich man that was guilty, and condemned to die? Or that *Philip* would make one weight and one measure throughout his Realme; but hee could not main- teine his authority by the rule of reason. These things either too common, or not effected, are not worthy of a History. Thus *Philip* the fift died with small fame, the fift yeere of his reigne, in the yeere 1322.

### CHARLES the fourth, called the Faire, the 49. King of France.



*S* Philip the Long had succeeded *Lewis Hutin* his brother, with some dispute, so *Charles* brother to *Philip*, (the last of the sonnes of *Philip* the Faire,) succeeded without any difficulty, the question beeing formerly decided. Hee was crowned King with great solemnity, the Princes of the bloud and Noblemen assisting, in the yeare 1322. and reigned sixe yeeres. A wife and a temperate Prince, louing Iustice, and yet vnfortunate in his family. Hee was thrice married. His first wife *Blanche* was accused and conuicted of adultery, during his fathers life, and was confined to Chasteau-gaillerd by Andely vpon

Seine. His second wife was *Mary* the daughter of *Henry* of Luxenbourg Emperor, by who he had one son, which died as he was borne, & his Mother soone after at Yssoudon in Berry. His third wife was *Marguerite* the daughter of *Lewis* Earle of Eureux, by whom hee had daughters onely, leauing her with child, as shall bee said. But let vs make a collection of his life, which is not long. The facility of *Philip* the Long, the furie of *Lewis Hutin*, and the long warres of *Philip* the Hardie, had peruerterd all, and giuen liberty to euery man to doe

A doe what he pleased, especially the Nobilitie: who beeing armed, committed many insolencies by this libertie and impunitie. *Charles* beeing annoited, he held a great Sessions in his chiefe Cittie of Paris, to heare all mens complaints, and causeth many Gentlemen to be punished. Among the rest *Jourdain* of Lisle a Gascon, who vnder colour of being Nephew to Pope *John* the 22. then resident in Auignon, (hauing had his pardon for eightene crimes, whereof the least deserued death) continued still in his wickednesse. In the end he was taken the iustice of God (which comes in time, euen when the insolent & obstinate sinner dreams not of it) preuented him: for *Charles* laying all respect aside, caused him to be hanged, as a memorable example, that respect is an enemy to Iustice, which must be executed without sparing of any one that is guilty of any notable crime.

*Edward* the second King of England, stood vpon termes for his homage of Guienne, and had sent his wife *Isabel*, the Daughter of *Philip* the Faire, and Sister to the King, to compound with him. *Charles* brought him to reason by his authority: And as *Hugh* the Lord of Montpelar in Agenois, would haue fortified his house without his permission, hee forced him to obey, razing the Castell of Montpelar, whence the quarrell grew, and made him to giue hostages for the assurance of that hee had promised. Amidst these generall quarrels, there chanced a iarre betwixt *Edward* and his wife *Isabel*, discontented with her husband, for that both she and her Sonne had lost their credits with him, by the pernicious counsell of *Hugh Spencer*. Yet was he so supported by King *Charles*, as he sent her backe into England without any countenance, commanding her to apply her selfe to her husbands humors, the which she indeaoured to doe, being a wife and a couragious princeesse: yet beeing assisted (as it is likely) vnderhand by the meanes of her Nephew *Charles* the Faire, she preuailed in her desseignes: causing *Hugh* to be apprehended and punished, as the Leuaine of all their breach: and hauing brought her husband vnto reason, she confirmed her Sonne *Edward* the third, a prince who shortly shall be the cause of much trouble to this Monarchie. *Charles* likewise reduced *Lewis* Earle of Flanders to obedience, although he were husband to his Aunt: and hauing called and condemned him by the Court of Parliament at Paris, he restored him to his estates, the which he had forfeited by felonie, shewing in one subiect, both his seueritie to punish offences, and his clemencie to remit the due punishment. The same Earle beeing fallen in some dislike with his chiefe Townes, and seeking to reclaime them by force, *Charles* aduised him to win them by mildnesse. A true remedie to reconcile subiects which are accustomed to oppose themselves against rigour, and in resisting to knowe their owne forces, the which belongs to their princes by obedience. Thus hee pacified these contents betwixt the Earle and the citties of Flanders, by a common reconciliation, vpon condition: That the Earle should be acknowledged in his degree, and the King as Soueraigne. This is all that chanced worthe of obseruation, in the raigne of *Charles* the Faire. A prince worthy of the French Monarchie, and to be numbred among the greatest and most famous men of State. His life was very short, in regard of his great sufficiencie: yet with more order and authoritie then his brother *Philip* the Long, who left none but Daughters, (whose names are buried in the confusion of times: troubled by the pretences of Males and Females) and his wife with child, as we haue said. A wombe which shall breed many long and perillous controuerfies. *Charles* dyed in the yeare 1328. leauing the Crowne to the second royall branch of *Capets*, whereunto the order of the fundamentall lawe did lawfully call them.

1328.

*Isabel* complains of her husband *Edward* King of England.

THE  
SECOND PARCELL OF  
THE THIRD RACE OF  
*Capets*, containing thirteene Kings;  
in the second royall branch, called of *Valois*,  
from Philip of Valois, to Henry  
the third.

The names of thirteene kings, of the second  
Royall branch of CAPETS called of Valois.

PHILIP of Valois.	CHARLES the 8.
JOHN.	LEWIS the 12.
CHARLES the 5.	FRANCIS the 1.
CHARLES the 6.	HENRY the 2.
CHARLES the 7.	FRANCIS the 2.
LEWIS the 11.	CHARLES the 9.
HENRY the 3. the last of this Royall branch.	

From the yeare one thousand three hundred twenty eight, vnto the  
yeere one thousand five hundred eighty eight.

PHILIP of Valois, the fifthth  
French King.



He doubtfulnesse of the issue which was expected from the royall  
wombe of *Jane*, (widow to *Charles the faire*) held the beginning of  
this reigne in great suspence and perplexity; euen for the regencie it  
selfe: for *Edward* the third, King of England, (the sonne of *Edward*  
the second, and *Isabel* of France, the daughter of *Philip the Faire*, and  
sister to the three Kings last deceased,) pretended it as his right; and  
in case the child died (whatsoever it were) the realme also, by the title  
of royall consanguinity, according to the lawes of England.

On the other side, *Philip* of Valois (the first prince of the blood of France) maintained, that  
aswell the regency of the male (if any were borne) as the realme, (if it were a daughter, or  
the sonne died,) belonged directly vnto him, without all controuersie; holding the first place  
among the princes of the blood after the decease of the three brethren, who had bin Kings  
one after another. For *Philip the Hardy* had left two sonnes, *Philip the Faire*, and *Charles*  
Earle of Valois: of whom it is said, That he was the sonne of a King, brother to a King, vnto  
a King, father to a King, and yet no King.

*Lewis*, *Philip* and *Charles*, had succeeded to the crowne one after another: so as, after their  
decease, the right came to *Charles* and his children, according to the fundamentall law of  
State. To decide this controuersie, the general estates were called at Paris, with great solemn-  
nity; where they decree, that *Philip* of Valois should be regent of the realm (if Queene *Jane*  
had a son) & King, if it were a daughter. *Jane* was deliuered of a daughter, the first of April, at  
Bois de Vincennes, the which was called *Blanche*. This quarrell thus decided, *Philip* of Va-  
lois was saluted and proclaimed King of France, and within few daies after, was anointed  
and crowned at Rheims, according to the vsuall custome. And then (being well accom-  
panied with his princes, peeres, officers of the crowne, and an infinite number of his nobili-  
ty) he made his entry into his chiefe city of Paris, with an incredible ioy and pompe: this  
was in the yeere. 1328.

Controuersie  
for the realme  
betwixt *Ed-  
ward* the 3.  
King of Eng-  
land, & *Philip*  
of Valois.

*Philip* of Va-  
lois preferred  
to the crowne.

1328.

Philip leaves his affairs in France.

Being thus in possession of the Realme, hee studied to settle his estate, much disordered by the ill government of the forepassed Kings; and likewise to satisfie the daughter of *Lewis* *Notia*, in regard of the countries of *Brye* and *Champagne*, lying too neere to his good city of *Paris*, to be diuided from the crowne. So hee treated with her, and held them by his prerogatiue, giuing vnto her as much in exchange as the said Earledomes were worth, lying farther off in the countries of *la March*, *Rouergne* and *Languedoc*.

But *Flanders* troubled him much more: the Earle and his subjects were greatly incensed one against an other, by reason of some exactions made by the Earle, for the payment of his old debts due by the accord, so as they made warre against their Earle; and tooke him prisoner. Being the stronger, they controlled their Lord: but soone after they paide for their folly: for the Earle (being deliuered) had recourse vnto *Philip*, as to their soueraigne. *Philip* takes the Earles cause in hand, raises a great army against the *Flemings*, takes, sacks and burnes *Cassell*, where they had made the body of their army, after the defeat of two and twenty thousand *Flemings* in a pitched field. Having subdued this mutinous people, he aduised the Earle to vse that aduantage modestly: to winne them by mildnesse, and not to thrust them into errors by despight or dispaire, the which are sooner preuented then repaired in popular tumults.

A notable suite of the parliament of France.

Being returned from this voyage, *Philip* found new worke at *Paris*. The courts of parliament, and all the Soueraigne Iudges, (assembled from all the prouinces) made a generall complaint against the Clergy of France, they accuse them of sundry abuses, and namely, that against the due of their charges, they intermeddled with the politike iurisdiction. The sute was vehement, and famous for the greatnesse of the parties. The King, to reconcile this quarrel calles a general assembly of his whole realme, at *Paris*. The cause was pleaded before him, with great liberty, by *Peter* of *Cugner* (this is hee who by derision they called *M. Peter Cugnet* whom at this day they finde in the great Temple at *Paris* noted with a little Monkeis head, placed betwixt two pillars, to put out the candles, being odious by reason of his pleading,) and as cowardly defended by *Peter Bertrand*, both famous Aduocates in those times. The issue was doubtful, but *Philip* foreseeing the euent of so important a businesse, after that he had seriously exhorted the prelates to reforme themselves, and in reforming the abuse, to auoide these popular complaints, hee referred the matter to a further hearing. But he had other worke in hand.

Edward King of England doth homage for Guenece.

*Edward* the third King of England (for that he was not receiued King of France) practised great and new designs against him, studying only vpon reueng. Hee had purposely refused to assist at his coronation, and makes no shew of any intent to doe homage for *Guienne*, whereunto *Philip* did cal him. *Edward* hauing no colour to refuse to doe apparent a duty, came to *Amiens*, with fo to great and extraordinary a traine, as it seemed plainly, not to be done to honor the King, but rather to strike some feare or admiration into the French, of his great forces. To check this bold brauado, *Philip* shewed himselfe a King at his first enteruiew with *Edward*, who euen then chaunt vpon the bit, and smothered his choler. *Edward* appeares at the place and time prefixt, royallie attired, with a long roabe of crimson veluet, pouldred with Leopardes of gold, a crowne vpon his head, a sword by his side, and golden spurs on his heeles. He presents himselfe standing before *Philip* sitting in his royall throane, attired with a long robe of purple veluet, pouldred with flowers-de-luces of gold, a crowne on his head, and a scepter in his hand, holding a royall Maiesty, accompanied with his Constable, Chancellor and great Chamberlaine. The Vicount of *Melun*, great Chamberlaine of France, commands *Edward* to take off his crowne, sword, and spurs, and to kneele downe: the which he doth.

The oath of Edward King of England to Philip.

Then he tooke both his hands, and hauing ioyned them together, hee spake vnto him in this maner, *You become a Leage man vnto the King, my Lord, who is here present, as duke of Guienne, and peere of France: and you promise to be faithfull vnto him and loyal. Say yea.* And *Edward* answered, *yea*. In like sort hee did him homage for the county of *Ponthieu*: intreating *Philip* to restore him all those places in *Guienne*, which his Predecessors had inioyed. *Philip* answered him with great grauity, that hee would consider thereof. This was the homage which *Edward* King of England did vnto *Philip* the French King, the which I haue particularly noted, as the first act of a notable Tragedy. The euent will shew, that *Philip* had done farre

1330.

A farre better (without preiudice to his authority, lawfully purchased by the law of State) to pacifie *Edward* by all ciuill meanes obseruable betwixt Kings, and not to braue him vpon an inferior quality, the which is no blemish to the other, for in the end he shewed himself his equall in dignity. A furious baite of hatred among princes which cannot be reconciled.

*Edward* departed discontented from *Philip*, resolute to attempt all meanes to crosse him, and to ruine him. He seekes out all instruments fit for this designe, both in *Flanders*, *Britaine* and *Germany*, whereof followed mournfull euent, both for the King and his Realme. I will note euery thing in order, reseruing the Estate of the church and Empire to the end of his reigne, least I should interrupt the order of this discourse. *Philip* was otherwise affected then *Edward*, (as commonly desire makes shew of that which is not; pleasing men with vaine imaginations) for supposing that hee had tamed *Edward* with his imperious homage, he presumed that he had well settled his affaires, to be obeyed by him without any contradiction, and to haue his realme enioy an assured peace, without any disturbance, vnder his command. Vpon this conceipt he intends a voyage to the East, desirous to bee nothing inferior to the glorious and renowned zeale of his predecessors. In this deuotion hee easily yeelds to the perswasions of Pope *Benedict* the eleuenth, borne at *Tholoufa*, then resident at *Auignon*.

The cause of Edward's discontent against Philip.

Philip resolves to go into the East.

His fleet was then preparing at *Aiguesmortes*, (a sea towne of *Languedoc*) whilest that he provides for the regency of the Realme, giuing it to *John* Duke of *Normandy* his eldest sonne (being foureteene yeeres old) leaving him a graue and learned counsell. And seeking to sound *Edward's* minde, if hee would accompany him in this holy warre, imitating the example of his predecessors, he learns by certaine intelligence, that he watched his departure, to invade France. This new occasion gaue him a reasonable subiect to change his resolution, and not willingly to expose his new inheritance to his enemy. But this satisfied not Pope *Benedict*, who grew so bitter vpon this alteration, that (exclaiming generally of *Philip* as disloyall,) hee sought all meanes to annoy him. There was a capitall hatred betwixt the Emperor *Lewis* of *Bauaria* and the sea of *Rome*, hauing excommunicated him as an heretike. *Benedict* absolues him, and becomes his friend, seeking to oppose him against *Philip*: who (disliking of this proceeding) sends *Enragues* a gentleman of *Viarez* to *Auignon*, to let *Benedict* vnderstand, that if hee did not forbear to speake ill of him, hee would force him to silence, after the example of his predecessor, whose name hee bare, and who had left so famous a remembrance of his rashnesse to posterity.

The Pope's discontent with the King.

*Edward* being returned into England sleepe not. A prince of an excellent iudgement, great courage, and of a resolute and active spirit, high minded, and a farall instrument to chastise France. His repulse, his homage, and his great meanes, were both the baite and the spur to this generous resolution, which thrust him on to disquiet the possession of that by force, which he could not obtaine by reason. But for so great a proiect hee needed a great counsellor, to direct and fortifie him in the execution of an enterprise of so great import. *Robert* Earle of *Artois*, a prince of the blood of France, (descended from an other *Robert* sonne of *Lewis* the eight, and brother to *Saint Lewis*) had a great sure with his Aunt *Mahauld* countesse of *Burgongne*, for the Earledome of *Arthois*. *Robert* had laboured much for *Philip* in his great question for the crowne, against *Edward* King of England before mentioned, assuring himselfe, that *Philip* would requite him in his vniust pretention: but *Philip* preferred the countesses right before *Robert's* wrong: so as leaving the court of iustice free, the county of *Arthois* was adiudged to *Mahauld*, by a decree of the court of parliament of *Paris*. This losse did so discontent *Robert*, as he presumed to brag openly, that hee would dispossesse *Philip* of the crowne, by the same meanes that hee had raised him vnto it. But this presumptuous threate, deliuered rashly before many witnesses, cost both the realme and himselfe deere, who in the end smarted for his malicious and vnseasonable discontent. He flies into England, carrying nothing with him, but a minde transported with passion, & armed with policy. *Philip* proclaimes him guilty of high treason, and seizeth vpon his lands. *Edward* receiues him with all shewes of loue, and giues him the first place in his counsell.

Edward resolves to make warre against Philip.

Behold, these two great Kings banded one against another, entering into a dangerous warre, which shall much afflict their estates: as commonly the subjects pay for the follies of Princes. The first breach began in the easiest places. *Guienne* was the first checker of this

long

1331.  
Warre began  
in Guenene  
and Scotland

long and dangerous game. The Earles of Foix and Armagnac were for the King in Guenene, the Earle of Albret for Edward. The King of Scotland is a formal partaker for France, against Edward. Edward begins to spoile Philips country, and Philip takes from Edward the castle of Naintes, by Charles Earle of Alanson his brother. Edward on the other side, makes warre against David King of Scots, and Philip lends him succors. These were the first drops of that cloud which darkened the heauens, attending the storme which shall fall after these thunder-crackes: but what is all this in regard of that which shall presently succeed? By the aduice of Robert of Arthois, Edward makes a proclamation against Philip of Valois, as an vsurper of the realme of France, and labours to stirre vp both the French & Flemings to mainteine his title, as the lawfull heire, beeing the sonne of a daughter of France, against an vnlawfull King, pretending the realme to appertaine vnto him.

Edward sends  
Ambassadors  
into Flanders  
and Germany.

Moreouer he sends an honorable and stately Ambassage into Flanders and Germany, to incense those prouinces against Philip. These Ambassadors went with a goodly and an honorable traine, great in expences, shew, bankets and presents. They began in Hainault, to take directions there from Count William father in law to Edward. The Earle doth cause them to be accompanied throughout al the cities of Flanders and Brabant, and doth countenance them with the fauor of his friends in all those cities. They spare nothing in good cheere, nor goodly presents, according to the popular humor of this nation. One of the chiefe Tribunes, or Colonels of this people, was James of Arteuille, a brewer, but in effect he had more credit with the Flemings then the Earle himselfe. They begin to vndermine the flanke of this fort, by the means of this artisan. Hee becomes an Englishman, by vertue of the Angels of England. Hee shall act his part in this tragedy, but in the end hee shall leaue his skin in this peoples hands, whom hee had enchanted; as after many turnes the keeper is deuoured by his lion.

James of Arteuille  
ringleader  
of the seditious  
Flemings.

Lewis Earle of Flanders stood stiffly for the King his souereigne Lord, but he preuailed nothing in exclayming against this ringleader of the multitude, who were the more incensed by Lewis his choler against their captaine. For Arteuille making it known to all men that he was hated, tooke occasion to demand a gard, the which hee chose among the most seditious, being entertained by him at the charge of England: and so he maintained and augmented his seizure of this confused authority, the which hee had vsurped ouer the Flemings, in Edwards fauor. There was an occasion which made this popular humor to breake forth (being yet somewhat restrained by the respect of souereigne authority, abridge for the most audacious.) A french gentleman being at Gant, was too familiar with this multitude. The Earle suspects him to be a traitor: and without any other proofes, but only the deuotion he had to the Kings seruice, he cuts off his head. The common people were so incensed with this execution, as the Earle could hardly recouer France, to auoide the outrageous crucke of this furious multitud, which pursued him to the death without any respect. Arteuille being then without controule, sets vp his ensigne openly for Edward, who presently sends a fleet into Flanders. He comes himselfe to Antwerp with his wife and children, and giues his sister in marriage to the duke of Gueldres, the better to confirme his loue. And leauing his wife in Flanders, for a gage of his faith, he comes to Cologne, where hee is honorably received by Lewis of Bauaria, Emperour: by whom (hauing made an offensive and defensive league) he is declared Vicar of the holy Empire, both in Germany and France, to haue thereby a title to force the Vassals and subiects of that Empire to succor him, both with men and money, against Philip of Valois, as an vsurper of the realm of France, and sworn enemy to the Empire. In his absence the Queene his wife had so politickly managed his affaires, as at his returne hee did but passe, and with an incredible celerity sent an army (the which hee found ready) vnder the conduct of the Earle of Salisbury.

An vnfeaso-  
nable execu-  
tion.

Edwards  
practices in  
Flanders and  
Germany.

But it chanced, as this Earle (hauing ioyned with the Flemings) went inconsiderately to the siege of Lisle, he was defeated by the Lord of Rombais, who surprised him in this disorder, being drawne into an ambuscadoe. This first check did import Edwards affaires very much, and euen with the Flemings, being subiect to alterations. To repaire this error, he departs presently from England with his fleet: yet he must fight for the passage with Philips Navy, the which attends him with great forces, and with a resolute intent to stay him. The English army was not lesse, neither were their courages any thing danted with this first losse. The

combate

A combate was fierce, but the victory remained to Edward. Who notwithstanding bought it deere, by a great losse of his Nobility, and an honourable hurt which he receiued, for a testimony of his valour. Philip lost thirty thousand men, French and Flemish, and his Admirall Hugh of Quieret, with the aduantage of a good beginning. This battaile fel out in the yeere 1337. in the moneth of May, noted by the name of Sculse, where it was giuen. It was seconded with a greater losse, the which made the way open to Edwards designes, who (being receiued with great ioy by the Flemings) resolved to try his fortune, and to inuade France, by Tournay and Saint Omer, measuring the courage and not the number of his victorious army, ordeined to greater and more famous exploits. Philip was nothing amazed at this first check, but relying in his great forces, hee thought himselfe assured of a victory against Edward, to the end that he might haue no competitor in his hereditary Kindome, nor France any English prince to trouble it againe. He had leuied an army (worthy the possession of this new inheritance) of a hundred thousand fighting men, and many great personages: The Kings of Bohemia, Nauarre and Scotland. The dukes of Normandy, Britaine and Lorraine. The Earles of Alanson, Sauoy, Flanders, Armagnac, Eu and others to the number of 26. with an infinit number of the nobility. He diuides his army into three, to answer the enemy in all places. One part for Tournay, vnder the conduct of the Earle of Eu, Constable of France, and the Marshall of Montmorancy: the other for S. Omer, vnder the duke of Bourgogne, & Earle of Armagnac and he himself remains with the battaile, betwixt them and Arras. The English army had neither so many men, nor so great personages, beeing but threescore thousand men: but the triall made prooffe that it was nothing inferior to the French, neither in courage nor valor. It consisted of English, Flemings and Germanes: this was the fruit of his Embassage and voiage. The Imperiall Eagle appeared in the foremost ranks in great shew & the title of vicar of the sacred Empire, sounded out in all their military proclamations. Edward desires nothing more then to fight. All his men had the same will, beeing nothing amazed with the number nor brauery of the French army, nor with the fame of their commanders. Such is the force of the great God of armies, who disposeth of the hearts of such as shalbe conquerors or conquered, & drawes the motions that are in them to his will & irreuocable decree, the which neuer fails to execute things in their due season. Philip had the like desire to fight, although his counsel were otherwise affected. The like aduertisements were giuen from al parts, and reason it selfe, did with him not to expose his new crowne to the hazard of a generall and doubtfull battaile. So the armies stand some daies at the gaze. In the end Edward (to draw him to fight) besieged Tournay. Some skirmishes were made, in the which, the English were beaten. The place is victualled by Philip: but the English army stands firme in the same quarter, watching a fit oportunity for their designe. Al Europe stood gazing at this great and dangerous spectacle. The friends of both parts were greatly perplexed with so doubtfull an euent, the which brought the estate of two realms into question. But God who reserved the victory & scourge to another season, disperfed this storme, being in shew ready to fall, by this occasion. Jane of Valois, sister to Philip, widow to William Duke of Hainault, and mother to Marguerite the wife of Edward, a Princeesse of excellent vertues (hauing since her widowhood willingly giuen ouer al affaires of State) had professed her selfe a Nun at Fontenelles, to attend her deuotion and fasting. She resolves to imploy all her credit (as a sister and mother in law) with Philip and Edward, to keepe them from so dangerous a battaile. She runnes to the one, and to the other, but finds them both so resolute in their designes, as she is often reiecte: Yet is she nothing danted. In the end she incounters their violent passions with such patience and dexterity, as she obtaines a day and place for a parle: although James of Arteuille (a dangerous sic in a State) tickled Edwards eares, to crosse so commendable a resolution. An example of a woman worthy of eternall praise, euen in this iron age, whereas women haue bene miserable instruments of ciuill dissensions, and hellish fire-brands to consume France with the fire of confusion and misery.

A parle beeing concluded, deputies were chosen on either side to treat: and by them a truce was made. Tournay is deliuered and the armies dismissed, and so the storme preuented for this time, the which threatened both realmes. All good men reioyced, none but James of Arteuille and his faction were greeued. So as (not able to auoide it) yet to feed Edwards

S

humour,

1337.

Battaile of  
Sculse in fa-  
uour of the  
English.

Philip's army.

The English  
army.

Jane of Va-  
lois labors to  
stay them  
from shedding  
of blood.

Nota.

The great ar-  
mies of France  
and England  
retire without  
fighting.



1337.

humour, he aduiseh him to take vpon him the name of King of France: by the which both A he and his complices should auoide the infamie of rebellion, and the punishment of high Treason: as hauing done nothing, but by the commaundement of their Soueraigne. The date of this title of France was in the yeare 1337. The which England holds to this day, and our Kings the Realme in effect. *Edward* left his wife at Gand, to keepe the Flemings at his deuotion, being a wife and a vigilant Princeesse: and he himselfe returned into England, extremely grieved; for beeing vnable to satisfie his Germanes for want of money, who expected a great bootie by this warre, from which they scarce returned with their pay. There sprung vp a new combustion from this discontent, the fire beeing onely smothered in the embers, but not quenched. *Philip* makes his profit of the Germanes discontent, and by the means of *Jane*, the wife of *Lewis* of Bauaria, Emperour, beeing his neece, he winnes B to them to *haue Edwards* part, and to imbrace that of France. *Edward* in like sort, strives to haue his re. ce. ge on *Philip*. But to what end serues all this, but to disquiet their estates, the which they ought to maintaine in peace? Thus the passions of Princes are bad counsellors for the good of their subiects. This was the occasion of this new breach betwixt the two Kings. *Arthur* Duke of Brittain, sonne to that *John* 2. Duke of Brittain, (who, as we haue said, had bene slaine at Lions, at the coronation of Pope *Clement* 5.) had two wiues, and by either of them children, of the first named *Beatrix*, Vicountesse of Limosin, he had two sons, *John* and *Guy*, and of his second wife *roland*, Countesse of Montfort l'Amaulrie, he had *John* C of Montfort, who contended for the Duchie of Brittain. *John* the 3. the sonne of *Arthur*, dying without issue, he made his neece *Jane* the daughter of his brother *Guy*, (who died before him) his heire in the succession of the said Duchie.

In regard of this prerogatiue giuen to *Jane*, *Charles* of Blois, nephew to King *Philip*, married her, vpon condition, That those children which should be borne of this marriage, should be lawfull heires to the Duchie of Brittain, whereof *Charles* was inuested, after the consumation of the marriage: all homages done vnto him, and he was put in reall and full possession of the said Countrie, in the life of *John*.

After whose decease, behold *John* of Montfort, halfe brother to *Jane* (as we haue said) pretending to the said Duchie, surprizeth Nantes, and then Rennes, Vannes, Brest, the Castell of Aulroy with many other places: and hauing receiued the homages of the Brittons, hee D comes to Paris to do his soueraigne homage to the King for the said Duchie, and to be inuested therein. *Charles* of Blois opposeth in the right of his wife, and hereupon they are both sent by the King to the Court of Parliament of Paris, to do them iustice.

The Court with the Kings authoritie, sitting in his seate of Iustice, and in the presence of many Princes, decrees that *Charles* of Blois, in the name of *Jane* his wife (the lawfull heire of the Duchie of Brittain, as succeeding the second son of the first bed,) should be receiued by the King to fealtie and homage, for the countrie of Brittain, and *John* of Montfort the third sonne of *Arthur*, of the second bed, should be acknowledged in his degree, to enioy his right when it should fall vnto him. *John* of Montfort disliking this order, resolues to win that by force, which he could not recouer by reason: and in this humour he goes into E England, craving aide from *Edward*, who receiues him very graciously: but from thence hee returns into Brittain. *Philip* aduertised of these practises, pursueth *John* of Montfort with such successe, as hauing taken him prisoner with the Castell of Nantes, (whether he was retired) he confined him to the Loure. While these difficulties fall out in Brittain, there growes a new trouble, by a strange accident at Naples, in the familie of our Princes of France, of whome we haue spoken. We haue said, that *Charles* the lame had many sonnes, *Charles*, *Robert*, *Lewis*, and *Philip*. *Robert* after this losse of Sicily had for his part the realme of Naples, and the Earledome of Prouence: and left one sonne named *Charles*, who had two daughters, *Jane* and *Magdalene*. *Jane* by the death of her sister, remained sole heire of these two great Estates, and was married to *Andrew* the son of *Charles* King of Hungarie. The subject of our discourse will not suffer me to speake of the other children. *Philip* the youngest son of *Charles* the lame, had one son, named *Lewis* Prince of Tarentum, very faire, but of a violent spirit. *Jane* began to loath her husband, and preferring the filthie loue of her Cousin before the honour of marriage. she caused her husband *Andrew* of Hungarie to be slaine, cloaking this horrible & tragike act with an impudent hypocritise: for she takes vpon her the habit of

A new quarrel for the Duchie of Brittain.

Troubles at Naples.

A of mourning after the death of her husband, whom shee her selfe had slaine: and writes letters to *Lewis* King of Hongary, brother to *Andrew*, full of lamentations.

*Lewis* knowing the detestable dissembling of this maistie, prepares his forces against these fained teares: and without any dissembling, he marcheth towards Italy, with a mighty army, resolute to take an exemplary punishment of these wretched heads: but *Jane* and *Lewis* flee into Prouence before the storme. *Lewis* (faouored by the reuenging iustice of God) takes the realme of Naples easily, with *Charles* Duke of Durazzo, left for the gard thereof, and *Lewis*, *Robert* and *Charles*, Princes of the blood. The first he beheads, the rest he sends into Hongary to perpetuall banishment: and leauing *Stephen Vaynoid* gouernour of his new conquest, he returns victorious to his realme.

In the meane time the hatred betwixt the two princes growes violent, both by forme of iustice and by open force. *Philip* makes diligent search, both in Normandy, Picardy & Guienne, for al the nobility which fauored *Edwards* faction. He caused *Oliuer* of Clifton to loose his head, (whose sonne shalbe Constable vnder *Charles* the sixth) with *Bacon*, *Perfy* and *Isosfroy* of Malestroict, knights of marke, in whom he notes no other crimes, but that they were Englishmen. *Isosfroy* of Harcourt was summoned, but in steed of appeering at Paris, he retired himselfe to London, to kindle the fire in France. Yet in these preparations of warre, *Edward* gaue scope to his loues, for in the beginning of this war, he instituted the order of the garter, with this motto, HONY SOIT QVI MAL Y PENSE, in honour of the countesse of Salisbury, C honoring in her the chastity which he could neuer vanquish by all his amorous practises. He armes on both sides, in Guienne and Normandy. The duke of Lancaster, general of the army in Guienne, takes Vilefranch of Agenois, Angoulesme, Rions, Saint Basile, with many other townes and castles, to whom *Philip* opposeth his eldest son, *John* duke of Normandy, who recouers Angoulesme and Vilefranch from the English. But the greatest burthen of the war fell vpon Normandy, whether *Edward* led the flower of al his nobility, landing in the Country of Carantan, with aboue a thousand saile. At his entry he puts al to fire and sword, takes the towne of Carentan by force kils al he finds, armed or disarmed: spoiles, burnes & razeth the towne. In the champion country he puts all to the sword, saying, that he did offer those sacrifices, to *Bacon*, *Perfy* and his other seruants, being vniustly massacred by *Philip*. The D reason was, for that the heads of these men stood vpon the chiefe gate of Carentan. Then he takes and spoiles, Saint Lo, and (after a great fight) he becomes master of Caen, with such a terror, as Falaise, Lisieux & Honfleur, yeelded vnto him without any resistance. These townes being taken, he marcheth into the Isle of France, to draw *Philip* to battaile, proclaiming generally that he called him to fight in the view of all France, at the great Theater of his chiefe city of Paris. At the same time, by the like practises Flanders rebelled, by means of *Janes* of Arteuille, who was more then a passionate partaker of *Edward*. So the disordred passion of this desperate seditious man, was a trap for his own ruine. For as he not only laboured by al means to shake off the French yoke, but also grew so audacious, as to perswade the Flemings to leaue their naturall obedience to their Earle, and to receive a new Lord, such a one E as the King of England should appoint: the Flemmings much displeased with this insolent proposition of *Arteuille*, (as the blood of a faithfull subiect can neuer deny his Prince, they fall furiously vpon him in open assembly; and without any further proceffe, they kill him, reuenging vpon him the mischiefs they had committed by his pernicious counsels. Thus in the end, this Tribune receiued the guerdon due to such as abuse the fury of an enchanted multitude, making them the instruments of their passions against their superiours. This iust execution crossed *Edward*, designed in Flanders, and gaue the Earle means to repaire to *Philip* with his forces, and to consecrate his life to him, the which he lost in this voiage.

*Philip* slept not during these proceedings of *Edward*: hee had gathered together one of the goodliest armies that euer was seene in France, consisting of French, Lorraines, Germanes and Geneuois: the which he led towards Meulan, where *Edward* said hee intended to fight with him. *Edward* retires vpon this alarm: They imagined that hee fled for feare, but the issue wil shew, that the great God of armies had appointed his victory in another place. He retires, and *Philip* followes, who in the end ouertakes him at a village called Arenes, a remarkable name, to shew that al the trust of humane forces, & all the designs of mans policy, are like vnto a quicksand. *Philips* great army hauing the aduantage beeing at home, presumed

1346.

Warre renewed betwixt the two Kings.

In Guienne.

In Normandy

Arteuille slain by the Flemings.



1346.

but not in force, by reason of the troupes of rescue, which *Edward* kept for the last charge. *A* *Philip* seeing his brother engaged among so many enemies, runnes to his rescue. At his arrival the fight is doubled, the English bending their forces against *Philip*, and the French against young *Edward*. *Philip* is overthrowne vnder his horse (the which was slaine with many arrowes) but he was presently rescued, by *John* Earle of Beaumont: & then al the French cry out, that the King should retire himselfe out of the battaile.

This cry (proceeding from loyall and wel-affected Frenchmen) gaue courage to the English being in fight, seeing the King in this danger. Young *Edward* was in no lesse peril, being compassed in on all sides, by the French, and assisted by his owne: so as they (fearing the event of this charge) send to his father to succour him: who presently demanded of the messenger, *what blow, what wound hath my sonne received? hath hee bene overthrowne? But vnderstanding that there was no such danger, and that they onely feared the worst. Returne* (saies he) *vnto him, with this charge. Let him either vanquish, or die: and I will be a witness of his valour, so second him when need shall require.*

A notable  
speech of  
Edward.

Prince *Edward* and his men encouraged with this message, doubled both their courage and their blowes, and behold they are relieved with a fresh supply. Then the party became vnequall: these men being fresh and lusty, charge the wearied, and tired, who see no hope of succors, but discovered a great groue of horse of rescue: wherein *Edward* the father beheld the sport, and kept the stakes. Despaire should haue made our French troupes resolute to hazard all (as it hath chanced in other times) but their hearts fainted with their bodies. *C* For this last battaillion (where *Edward* remained) comming from the hill, and charging our men without any great resistance, gaue the last blow, as check and mate to our men already much disordered. Then they all giue way, all are disordered, all disperfed. The slaughter is generall without respect of persons, the butchery is so bloody, as in the end *Edward* (having compassion of so great effusion of blood) cries out to spare the rest: yet he was not able by these first cries to stay the souldiers from so easie an execution; who cut in peeces those poore runawaies here and there, like scattered sheepe. In the end *Edward* founds a retreat, and riding vp and downe, hee doubles his command to kill no more, although in effect, the night and the wearinesse of the victors made an end of this execution. So all were not slaine, but all overcome. Some troupes saued themselves in this generall overthrow, hadding nere places for a fauorable retreat. King *Philip* after this vnexpected defeat of so goodly an army, being fallen from his hope, followed with a small troupe, saued himselfe at *Bray*: whether comming by night, and approaching nere the walles, the gouernor (being in armes vpon so notable an occasion) cries out, *who is there? Philip* answers, *The fortune of France*. Being knowne by his voice, the gates were presently opened, but not without terrible cries and lamentations of his poore subiects, flocking about him like his poore children. Shall it in like sort be lawfull for me to weepe in the remembrance hereof, being moued by the bitter apprehension of our present losses? O my country! it is not at this day alone that we mourne for thy miseries. King *Philip* then comforts them with a resolute countenance, and intreats them to hope for better. He was to be commended in this, that he despaired not in the apparent despaire of his affaires. Having stayed at *Bray* some houre to take breath, hee retires with all speed to *Amiens*. The number of the dead was great, they hold for certaine, that there were slaine about thirty thousand men vpon the place: and the floure of all the French Nobility died or was taken there: as *Charles* Earle of *Alanson* the Kings brother, *Lewis* of *Luxembourg* King of *Bohemia*, *Charles* Earle of *Blois* the Kings Nephew, *Raoul* Duke of *Lorraine*, *Lewis* Earle of *Flanders*, *James* Daulphin of *Viennois* the sonne of *Imbert*, the Earles of *Sancerre* and *Harcourt*, with many Earles, Barons and gentlemen to the number of fifteene hundred. This miserable defeat happened in the yeare 1346. the 26. of August. A moneth famous by the euent of many miseries within this realme.

A horrible  
de-  
feat of the  
French.

Philip saues  
himselfe.

The number  
of the dead.

The causes of  
this losse.

*Edward* King of England had all the tokens of an absolute victory, as the place of battel, the ensignes, many of the greatest commanders his prisoners, and in a manner all, except the souereigne (whom the bounty of God referued for this realme) the campe, the spoiles, the bodies of the vanquished, which could not be buried but by his mercy.

Some examine the causes and motiues of this great defeat, the which they attribute to the choler, hast and rashnesse of the King and his brother. Truly hasty and rash heat is the

stepdame

1346.

*A* stepdame of great actions, especially in warre, where the Captaines iudgement is more available then the souldiers force. But why ascend we not from these second causes (true in that which doth concerne vs) vnto the first and soueraigne cause? The aime of the Eternal, purging this Realme, full of vitious and corrupted humours, letting it blood, but not suffering it to die, this blood-letting shalbe the beginning of a stronger medicine prescribed by the same Physitions; & ministred vnto France, in the following reigns, but in the end we shal find the operatio, to the recovery of our estate. Let vs now see the progresse of our miseries.

*Edward* did all he could to manage this victory wisely, and *Philip* to preuent him. *Edward* without any stay passeth on, & without attempting the great cities of *Amiens* & *Abbeuille*, although neerer, he makes shew to set vpon *Montreuil* and *Bologne*, but he posted to *Calais*, a fit place for the passage of England. *John* of *Vienne* Marshall of France, and with him the Lord of *Andreghan*, great personages in those daies, commaunded there with a strong French garrison, being assisted with the faithfull resolution of the inhabitants. So, presently after the battel of *Cressy*, *Edward* did besiege the towne of *Calais*. A long siege, painefull, and of remarkable successe. *Philip* amazed with these bitter crosses fallen out beyond his hopes of ease, slept not, although it were with much paine, and lesse fruit. But his whole care was not for the overthrow at *Cressy*; he had a further reach, following the trace of this vnforgotten losse. He was entred into a new inheritance: this new losse was to him a new checke. Affliction is a great crime both in great and small, and opens their mouthes which haue their hearts ill affected. The people of France were in extreame pouertie, & yet

*Edward* proceeding after  
the battell  
wonne.

Hee besiegeth  
*Calais*.

*C* the necessitie of the Kings affaires forced them to a new charge. The ill gouernment of the publike treasure: the falshood of Treasurers (who enriched themselves by the pouertie of the miserable people) the fall of money imbased, the decay of trafficke, the increase of taxes, imposts, and subsidies, were the causes of this general want, the which drew the people into despaire in this surcharge of troubles falling vpon the King. This burthen grew the more heauie by a great famine, being followed by a strange generall plague, throughout the whole realme, as if heauen and earth had conspired to the ruine of France.

*Philip* inuironed with so many, and so great difficulties, continues constant, with a valourous resolution against them all. He provides for the guard of the Cities of *Picardie*, lying neere vnto danger and (to driue off the time vnfit for armes,) he calls a great assembly of his estates, to take Councel, aid & comfort in the perplexity of so many dangerous occurrents.

*Philip* calles a  
Parliament.

*E* In this assembly it was decreed, to call the Treasurers to an accompt, and to referre the gouernment of the treasure to Clergie men, and to the Nobility, thereby to free the people from all ieaousie of ill employing it. The Abbots of *Marmoutier* and *Corbie*, are chosen for this Intendancie, and to assist them, there are ioyned foure Bishops and foure Knights. *Peter* of *Essars* Treasurer of France is committed to prison, and condemned in a great fine to the King. Many Treasurers being condemned (iustly or vniustly) yeeld that at once which they had bin long in gathering, the sponge being then pressed by necessitie. The Bankers, Lombards, and other vsurers are then called to a strict accompt, by reason of their vniust exactions. The interests are prooued to exceed the principall, the which is forfeited to the King. The interest is remitted to the debtor, which paid the principall. But the chiefe fruit of this assembly was, that the whole body was well inclined to succour the King in so vrgent a necessitie, without any alteration for the new difficulties of State. Thus the winter was spent without any memorable act on either side. In the spring *Philip* goes to field with a great armie, and approacheth neere vnto *Calais*, to draw *Edward* to fight: but it was in vaine: for *Edward* contenting himselfe with his victory, and not willing to run the hazard of a second battaile, kept himselfe within his trenches: and to manifest his resolution vnto *Philip*, he built houses about *Calais* to lodge his armie drie, and sends for his wife, protecting publicly by a solemne oth, not to rise vntil he did see an end, and make the inhabitants pay for their obstinate resolution. On the other side *Philip* laboured to crosse *Edward*'s designs, but with small successe. To worke a diuersion of this siege hee makes warre in England, by the King of *Scotlands* meanes, and in *Flanders*, by his sonne *John*, then Duke of *Normandie*, and afterwards King of France: but all succeeded ill.

Bankers and  
vsurers are  
lifted.

*David* King of *Scotland* (having by *Philip*'s perswasion, entred and spoyled England) was defeated, taken & brought prisoner to London, through the happines of *Edward*'s fortune, and

1348. and the diligence of his officers. *John* Duke of Normandy, hauing left Guienne by his fathers A command, comes into Flanders, besiegeth the towne of Cassel, held by the English faction: but he is forced to rise, by them within the towne: Then he fells vpon Lille, where he hath a new repulse, so as hardly could he retire himselfe to his father *Philip*, who sees his subiects in danger of shipwracke, yet could he not releuee them.

Calais taken. Guienne abandoned by *John*, for the action of Flanders, suffered much: for *Henry* of Lancaster Lieutenant for *Edward* in Guienne, (seeing the Countrie left weake by *John*'s departure) issues out of Bourdeaux with an armie, and finding no enimie, he doth easily surprize many townes of Xantonge and Poitou, and laden with spoile he returns home.

In the end Calais yeelds to *Edward*, for the action of Flanders, suffered much: for *Henry* of Lancaster Lieutenant for *Edward* in Guienne, (seeing the Countrie left weake by *John*'s departure) issues out of Bourdeaux with an armie, and finding no enimie, he doth easily surprize many townes of Xantonge and Poitou, and laden with spoile he returns home.

The French garrison was put to ransom, and so set at libertie: the Inhabitants were worse intreated, the baser sort onely were suffered to depart with what they could carrie about them: and in their stead *Edward* sends a Colonie of English, to whom he distributed all the goods of the vanquished, and fortified the towne, especially towards France: to leaue this place hereditarie to his posteritie, who held it 200. yeares, that is from the yeare 1346. vnto the raigne of *Henry* the 2. father to King *Henry* the third.

A notable  
farewell of the  
Calisians.

The integritie of these poore inhabitants is remarkable in their extreame affliction. *Edward* had referred fixe of the chiefe Citizens, to be at his disposition, for the satisfying of his oath: hauing vowed to make the blood to flow in Calais. He demands them to this end, according to the conuentions. This charge being deliuered in the Towne house (where these miserable Burgeses were assembled, by his permission, to giue their Countrie their last farewell) they gaze on one another, terrified with so pittifull a condition. As they all stood mute in this common calamitie, one of the troupe breaking his mournfull silence: C Seeing (saith he) I haue so often employed my life for my countries good, should I now feare to sacrifice it for my last oblation? O my countymen! I doe cherefully offer my head to the King of Englands victorie, and will liue no longer in my countries miserie. This he spake without teares, and with so resolute a countenance, and a brow so manly big, as he moued the whole companie: so as all with one generall voice crie: Let vs go to the death, it is the last antie wee can performe to our poore Countrie. Immediately there was pressing among this great multitude, who should be of the fixe, to carrie their heads to *Edwards* triumph. They were chosen out, drawne, bound and led to execution. The Queene hauing notice thereof, desired to see the, who were brought bound into the executioners hands. This spectacle moued her to weep, and compassion caused her to beg a pardon of the King, beseeching him to giue life to these men worthie to liue after so constant a loyaltie. She obtains her request, and leaue for them to remaine still in Calais, esteemed to continue faithfull to their deliuerer, who had shewed D themselves so constant in the faithfull loue of their lost countrie. The historie did owe this digression to so commendable an act. The same Sommer brought *Edward* a wished successe in Brittain, touching the quarrell for the Duchie. *Philip* had taken *John* of Montfort, and *Joane* the wife of *Charles* of Blois, whom he led into England, and still weakeneth *Philip*'s authoritie in Brittain, and fetles his owne. Thus passe the affaires of this world, euery one hath his turne. The two Duchesses of Brittain, *Joane* the wife of *John* of Montfort, and *Joane* the wife of *Charles* of Blois, did wonders in keeping those places they had in their possessions, during the imprisonments of their husbands: without entring farther into the discourse of the female warres of these Amazons, worthy yet of eternall memorie, hauing so courageously releued the afflictions of their imprisoned husbands, and neuer yeelded to necessitie. Flanders likewise grew mutinous by *Edwards* praetiles, being then greatly respected for the successe of his victorious armes. The Flemings receiued their Earle *Lewis* of Malle without any opposition, being sonne to that *Lewis* which was slaine at Cressie, but the Kings of France and England contended who should winne him. *Lewis* was in heart a Frenchman; the cities were generally affected to England: The marriage of this young Prince was great: *Edward* desired him for his daughter, but especially the oportunitie of this rich Countie for his affaires. He comes himselfe to Gand to compass his desire, but the euent was not answerable: for although the Earle made shew to embrace this alliance, at the great

Troubles in  
Brittain.

New troubles  
in Flanders.

A great instance of his subiects: yet his heart was otherwise affected, who (vnder colour to goe to the Heron) goes out of Gand with a small traine, and flies to Paris to *Philip*, who hauing receiued him graciously, perswades him to espouse *Marguerite* the second Daughter of the Duke of Brabant, thereby to cut off all hope of martyring with England. Thus the hatred of these two Princes continued: which in the end must breake forth into hostile effects: Picardie was the stage of their lamentable tragedies: and from thence the miserie was disperfed ouer the whole Realme. *Philip* giues the gouernement to *Jeffrey* Earle of Charne, and the Lieutenancie to *Anthony* of Montmorency. They fortifie the townes and bridle Calais, being assisted by a great number of voluntarie Nobilitie, louing the command of these two great Captaines, as a schoole of militarie Discipline; to shew, that the French did not faint in their afflictions. These losses were then repaired by the gaine of the country of Dauphine, one of the noblest and goodliest Prouinces of this Realme. And this was the occasion. *Imbert* or *Vmbert* Dauphin of Viennois, hauing lost his eldest sonne in the battell of Cressie, (as I haue said) and his youngest being two or three yeares old, by a strange accident, (they say that himselfe let him fall out of his armes, as he played with him at a window, thinking to feare him) and moreouer hauing *Amè*, the sixth Earle of Sauoy, an irreconcilable and deadly enimie, being too weake to resist him, nor able to make choice of a kinsman to repaire his estate (being wearie of the world, and decaying in iudgement) hee resolues to cast himselfe into the King of France his protection, to oppose him against his C enimie, and to put this goodly inheritance into his hands, thereby to preuent the Earles greedie desire. Forthwith hauing aduertised *Philip* of his intention, and being graciously intainted by him, he giues all the countrie of Dauphine to him and his successours kings of France: vpon condition, that the first sonne of the house of France should carrie the name of Dauphin of Viennois, and the armes of the countrie of Dauphine, should be quartered with the armes of France, and that the Nobilitie and whole countrie should bee receiued with their priuiledges. *Amè* Earle of Sauoy (otherwise a deere friend to *Philip*) sends his Embassadors to make his benefit of this exchange, but it was not for him: all that he could obtaine, was to exchange some land with that which lay intermixt within his territories adioyning, the better to liue in quiet afterwards. *Dauphine* was thus incorporated to the Crowne D of France. For wee cannot without any reason doubt, but in old time it was a member of this our Monarchie, as likewise Sauoy was: but in these diuersities of portions, vnder the children of *Lewis* the Gentle, as we haue noted before, the Realme and Empire, swallowing vp both the effect & the name of the Realme of Arles (in the which these Estates were comprehended) haue maintained themselves by a remarkable distinction: and so vnder the authoritie of the Empire, they haue since held their Soueraignie, not acknowledging any Emperour but their Princes. *Dauphine* is returned to his first originall, and Sauoy maintaines it selfe vnder the obedience of his Soueraigne Prince vnto this day. As for the name of *Dauphin*, giuen to the first sonne of France, the execution of Prince *Suberts* will was not put in practise, before *Charles* the fift sonne to *John* then Duke of Normandie, in the life of E his father *Philip*, and not giuen to *John* in the yeare 1348. The yeare following, the cittie of Montpellier, one of the goodliest of the Prouince of Languedoc, was purchased by *Philip*, of *Lames* King of Maiorca, to whom it belonged. The obseruations of this first authoritie of the Kings of Maiorca are yet remarkable in the priuiledges of the commonalty of this goodly cittie, delectable for the fertill situation, and famous, being the goodliest Theater for Physicke in Europe. Thus in the affaires of this world, there is time to loose, and time to win, that men might season their spirits with this temperature, neither to be drowned with aduersitie, nor drunke with prosperitie. In the flowing and ebbing of these gaines and losses one balancing another, *Joane* Q. of France, wife to *Philip* died, leauing him two sonnes, for gages of her loue, most worthie to be noted in the marriages of our Kings, *John* Duke of F Normandie, and *Philip* Earle of Valois, whereof the first (alreadie of yeares) gouerned the affaires of the Realme in his fathers life, and shall succeed him in the Crowne, and *Philip* shall be Duke of Orleans. This issue might haue contented *Philip*, being very old and broken: yet before the yeare was ended, he married *Blanche* the daughter of *Philip* of Eureux, King of Nauarre, who had another Daughter, *Marguerite*, married to *Gaston* of Foix, from whom shall spring *Charles* of Nauarre, the scourge of this realme, in the succeeding raignes. But

*Dauphine* incorporated to  
the Crowne.

The towne of  
Montpellier  
purchased to  
the crowne.

Queene *Joane*  
of France.



1350.

Philip's death,

&amp; disposition.

Estate of the  
Empire and  
church,An Emperour  
poisoned ve-  
ry strangely.Diffention  
betwixt the  
Emperour and  
Popes,

But *Philip* did not long enioy this vnnecessarie marriage: the which was a second burthen A to his yeares and toyles, so as he fell extreamely sicke at Nogent, and hauing recomme- ded concord and the care of his Realme to his 2. sons, leauing the Crowne to *John* his eldest, he yielded vp his soule to God, the threescore and fift yeare of his age, and of grace, 1350. in the moneth of August, hauing reigned 23. yeares. A Prince whose great vertues were balanced with great vices: for he was deuout, quicke, hardie, valiant, resolute in danger, courageous in affliction, louing order, iustice, and the people. But the presumption of his valour, and his resolution often inclining to rashnesse, choler and impatience, counterpoised these vertues, and were the causes of great miseries, both to him and his subiects.

Truly he could not auoide it, but in taking possession of so great and enuied an inheritance, and hauing so strong an aduersarie in front, he must indure many crosses: but those B inexcusable imperfections caused him to suffer much more then he had done, if he had settled his authoritie with iudgement and patience, and encountred his aduersarie already vanquished, with modestie and wisdom. During the forepassed raignes, since the yeare 1300. Neither the Empire nor the Church of Rome, were in any better estate, by the strange alteration of diuers changes, which happened in these two States: seeking to ruine one another vnto the end of this raigne. We haue left this discourse at the Empire of *Albert*, the tenth Duke of Austria, to whom Pope *Boniface* the 8. gaue the title and the armes of France in disdain of *Philip* the Faire, who caused him to be inuested after another fort, by *Felix* of Nogaret, then he would doe the Emperour of his Realme. *Albert* liued not long after the imagination of this new royaltie, for hee was slaine soone after by his Nephew *John* Duke of C Sueuia, whom he had spoiled of his Duchie, vnder colour that (beeing too prodigally) hee could not gouerne it as was requisite. *Henry* the 7. Duke of Luxembourg succeeded *Albert* being chosen with great affection of the German Princes, who feared left *Philip* the Faire should seaze vpon the Empire, by the Popes fauour beeing then a Frenchman, both by nation and disposition, and resident at Auignon. But hauing vexed himselfe with those inueterate diffentions of Guelphs and Gibelins, in the end he was poisoned by a Monke called *Bernard* a Iacobin, vnder colour of giuing him the Sacrament in the communion, at Beneuent in the yeare 1313. To increase this confusion, *Lewis* of Bauaria and *Fredrick* of Austria the sonne of *Albert*, contend for the Empire by open force: but they agreed to hold it D by equall authoritie. Yet this diffention was soone reuiued, by the meanes of Pope *John* the 22. borne at Cahors in Quercy, resident likewise at Auignon: who (seeking to hold a soueraigne authoritie ouer both, and to dispose the Empire to whom he pleased) entertained this hatred betwixt these two Princes, the which burst out into open warre. *Fredrick* was taken by *Lewis* in the yeare 1323. who (supposing to be now absolute in the Empire) suddenly fallies into new troubles by the same Pope *John*, who did excommunicate him, for that he would not resigne the Imperiall dignitie into his hand to dispose soueraignly thereof at his pleasure. This new affront gaue *Lewis* of Bauaria, occasion to examine the Popes authority, by the learned, and to raise a mightie armie to suppress him. So he came into Italy to oppose the force of the Empire against the Popes excommunications, and to giue a law to the E Sea of Rome, which sought to controule him. *John* fled at this Alarme. The Colledge of Cardinals assemble, and vpon the Emperours complaint they depose *John* as a fugitiue, and create *Nicholas* the 4. in his place. But there followes a strange alteration *John* returns and doth dispossesse *Nicholas*, but in the end death surpriseth *John*, whom *Benedict* the 12. doth succeed, a Tholoufan, and to *Benedict*, *Clement* the 6. a Limosin, who begins more violently against the Emperour then his predecessor *John*: for he caused *Charles* Marquis of Moravia, to be chosen in his place, beeing sonne to *Lewis* King of Bohemia, and Duke of Luxembourg, of whom we haue spoken in this raigne. So all the world was turmoyled with a generall confusion in this age, the which drawes after it a long traine of strange calamities.

JOHN

1350.

# JOHN the one and fiftith French King.



He difficulties falling in the reigne of *Philip* of Valois (the which we have D represented) are but trifles in regarde of the horrible tragick confusions, wherewith the following reignes haue beene afflicted, vnder *John*, *Charles* the fifth, *Charles* the sixth, and *Charles* the seventh. I will adde also vnder *Lewis* the eleuenth, vnto the warre of the common-wealth it selfe, the last fit of this intestine disafe, the which shall cease for that time. So we will reckon a hundred and twelue yeeres, of the most wretched time, that ciuill warres could breed in the bowels of this miserable state. The which begins not in our time onely to doe penance, either for the weaknesse of Kings, or the folly of subiects, or by the malice of such as haue abused both the one and the other to serue their execrable passions. By the effects, we shall obserue what a good King is in an estate, and how pernicious the command of many is in a common-weale, who (hauing power in the fouereigne authority) abuse the people with a shew of the common good, an ordinary cloake for such as fish in troubled waters. We shall see, by the vnruely euents of the contempt of royall authority (the King beeing either a prisoner, or sicke in iudgement) what a body is without a head, a realme without a King well obeyed, and a multitude gouerned by it selfe. A subiect susceptible of all impressions (but of bad rather then good, though alwaies couered with a shew of good) an instrument of all mischiefs in an Estate, when as (transported, by violent and disordred passions, couered with a shew of common good) it is not restrained with the reines of a lawfull authority: I meane a multitude, a dangerous beast with many heads, doing commonly more harme then good. Wee shall see heere what counsellours of State, the ambition and couetousnesse of great men bee: especially when women entermedle, armed with the shew of publike authority: and to conclude, wee shall confesse by a found iudgement of this discourse, that all things done in our age were done before. A briefe preface for the greatness of the subiect, yet necessary for that which is represented in these reignes, the which we will note according to their occurrents.

*John* the eldest sonne to *Philip* of Valois succeeded his father in the yeere 1350. and reigned

Very considerable  
obscuration  
in this  
reigne.



1350.

raigned fourteen yeares. He had made a long apprenticeship in managing the affaires of the Realme vnder his father *Philip*: but he neither ruled better nor more happily. His manners shall be knowne by his actions. He had 4. sonnes by *Joane* Countesse of Boulogne. *Charles*, *Lewis*, *John*, *Philip*, and one daughter named *Joane*. *Charles* his eldest sonne was Daulphin of Viennois in his fathers life, and Duke of Normandy, and after him King of France. *Lewis* Duke of Anjou, *John* Duke of Berry, and *Philip* called the hardie, first he was Earle of Touraine, and after (through his brothers fauour) Duke of Burgongne, and Earle of Flanders, in the right of his wife. *Joane* was married to *Charles* King of Nauarre and Earle of Eureux: Princes which shall play their parts vpon this Theater, in euery scene of the Tragedie that I am to represent, and for this reason they are to be obserued in the beginning.

Charles King of Nauarre the scourge of this Realme, and his humours.

This *Charles* King of Nauarre was sonne to *Lewis* Earle of Eureux, and of *Joane* daughter to King *Lewis Hutin*, who by the sufferance of *Philip* the long, her vncler, succeeding to the Crowne, remained Queene of Nauarre, and by this right *Charles* her sonne caried both the title and effect of the Realme, with many other great inheritances: A Prince of the blood royall both by father and mother, and sonne in law to King *John*, hauing married *Joane* his onely daughter. A man of a subtil spirit, eloquent, actiue, vigilant, but ambitious, vnfaithfull, malicious, reuengefull, armed with the prerogatiue of his blood, and the great meanes he enioyed, to be a pernicious instrument to trouble the King & his Realme, beyond all measure, but in the end he shall receiue a due reward for his actions, by a death worthy of his life.

A mournfull beginning of his raigne.

After *Johns* coronation at Rheims, with his wife *Joane*, being returned to Paris, he began his raigne by a famous act of an vnfortunate preface: for he caused *Raoul* Earle of Eu, and of Guines to be beheaded in prison, vpon light accusations, as hauing intelligence with the English, and that hee betrayed his affaires, for that hee had passed and repassed into France vpon his faith giuen during his imprisonment. He was Constable of France.

*John* aduanced *Charles* of Spaine to his place, grand child to the King of Castile, and son in law to the Earle of Blois, and so allied to the King, and exceedingly beloued of him amongst all his greatest fauourites. He shalbe the first fruites of many miseries, when as this raigne promised some rest, vnder a King of age and experience, fit to gouerne a Realme. For as *John* was busie to institute the order of the Knights of the Starre (in the end grown so common, as it remains a badge for the Knight of the Watch and his Archers vnto this day) there chanced a great misfortune to this Constable.

His discontent.

*Charles* of Nauarre complained that the King detained from him the counties of Champagne and Brie, belonging to his mother by the same title that the kingdom of Nauarre did. This was true, but by reason of their neerenesse vnto Paris, the Kings counsell had vnted these Earledomes vnto the Crowne, and giuen in exchange the Townes of Mante & Meulan, with a pension answerable to the reuenues of the said Earledomes, without any prejudice to the Nauarrois. But he sought an occasion for a cause, smothering some malicious pretence in his heart, the which he discovered by many effects. Not daring to complain directly of the King, he quarrelled with the Constable, as the chiefe of the Council, of whom he was exceeding iealous, for the priuate fauour the King did beare him. Hauing taken counsel with his passion, he caused the Constable to be slaine in his bed, at Aigle in Normandie, but with so great a presumption, as he himselfe came vnto the place accompanied with his brother *Philip* of Nauarre, *John* Earle of Harcourt and his brethren, and with many gentlemen his followers. This murder thus audaciously committed, he retires himselfe easily to Eureux (whereof he was Earle) from whence hee writes to the good cities of the Realme, avouching this murder as done by his command, & iustifying it as lawfull and reasonable. King *John* found himselfe much wronged, but not able then to redresse it, hee promised to remit the fact, so as he would aske pardon with the respect due to his royall maiesty. The which *Charles* is content to do, but vpon good gages, holding the Kings word insufficient to secure his person. So as *John* giues him *Lewis* his second sonne for hostage.

The Nauarrois comes to Paris, hee presents himselfe to the Kings Council, and seeks to giue some reason for this murder: yet the Council condemnes him as guilty of high Treason, & decrees that he should be committed to prison. *James* of Bourbon Earle of March (newly aduanced to the office of Constable) laies hold on him, and puts him in guard; but

all

1352.

All this was but for a shew, to maintaine the publike respect, for presently the three queens goe to the King. (*Joane* daughter to *Lewis Hutin* his mother in law; *Blanche* widow to *Philip* of Valois, and *Joane* daughter to King *John*, Queene of Nauarre, his wife). *Charles* likewise came himselfe, and fals vpon his knees before the King: both he and they seeme to weepe, and to sue for mercie of King *John*, who had already granted his pardon, vpon good assurance: *John* grants his request, yet could he not command his heart to leaue this malicious iealousie, the which made him to seeke new occasions daily to crosse his father in Lawes actions.

He then offers his seruice to the King of England, who failes not to embrace this occasion, hauing the heart and hand of a Prince of the blood, whose power was great in the state. Vpon this assurance he sends *Edward* his eldest sonne Prince of Wales into Guienne, with a goodly armie: a young man of an exceeding hope, and giues him for counsell, *John Shandos*, *Robert Knowles*, *Francis Hals*, and *John* of Arondel, great men in their times, and which shall be famous in those actions which shall follow.

He attended the end of the truce, the which being expired he enters Guienne, and passeth into Languedoc, to Tholoufa, Narbonne, and ouer all, he spoiles, sackes, kils, and findes no resistance, and returnes without difficultie to Bourdeaux, being laden with spoiles.

New warre by the King of Nauarre practises.

At the same instant another cloud of English-men breakes out of Calais, and spoiles the Countrie of Picardie: but *John* by these alarmes foresees the tempest of a greater warre, C measuring the forces of England by the will of King *Edward* his assured and tried enemy.

He therefore seeks a remedie by an ordinarie course: he calles a generall Parlement, to take Councell and comfort from them in these new occurrents. *Charles* of Nauarre assists, but with an intent to crosse the Kings proceedings by indirect practises, and to withdrawe the subiects affections from assisting the King with their meanes in this necessitie: but it was in vaine, for in regard of *Johns* promise to better the coyn, they granted him a reasonable aide to raise and intertaine a great armie. This faithfull resolution of the French, did for that time suppress the violence of the English, but not the furious malice of the Nauarrois: for hauing laboured in vaine to dissuade the people from their promised succours, and hauing raised by these practises, seditions in diuers parts of the Realme, he lands at Cherebourg D with two thousand men, robs and spoiles the countrie, and takes the Castell of Conches in Normandie from the King. An intollerable presumption, of a subiect against his Prince, after the murder of a Constable. But *John* dissembles this affront, and by the mediation of his sonne *Charles*, Daulphin of Viennois, he remits this second fault, and receiues the King of Nauarre his sonne in law againe into fauour: but in effect he doth it to frustrate his purposes, and to punish such as had assisted him.

*John* did then giue the Duchie of Normandie to the Daulphin for his portion: so as hee must take possession thereof. An apparent cause to draw him thither: but in effect *Johns* intention was to draw the Nauarrois into a place of easie surprise, to make him and his adherents to giue an account of their wicked actions, and to preuent them hereafter. The newe Duke of Normandie arriues at Roan, whether all the good townes of the Countrie runne to doe him homage. The King of Nauarre (who held Eureux and many great Lordships in the countrie, with one of the greatest dignities in the Realme) comes to doe him honour, well accompanied, but better receiued by *Charles* his brother in law.

The King aduertised that the Nauarrois was at Roan with his sonne, goes speedily from Paris, accompanied with his Brother *Philip* Duke of Orleans *Lewis* his second sonne Duke of Anjou, the Earle of Tancarville, and *Arnoul* of Endreghain Marshal of France, and posts to Roan with this great traine.

Arriuing about dinner time, he presently goes to his sonnes lodging, where he finds him at table, accompanied with the King of Nauarre, and the most of them which had assisted him at the Constables murder, where (without any more deliberation or delay) hee cautieth them all to be apprehended. And then (not pausing any longer) hee made choice of foure out of this number, the two Brethren of Harcourt, the Lord of Manbuc, and *Colinet Doublet*, chiefe actors in the foresaid murder, and without any other forme of proceeding, (as a matter long before determined) hee cautieth their heads to be cut off, setting them vpon stakes, and drawing their carcases to the gibbet. The next day he made choice of prisoners,

Charles of Nauarre taken prisoner by the King. Foure of his complices beheaded.

1356. soners, and sends the Nauarrois with *Frignet* and *Bontabu*, his domestike and most trustie A  
seruants, to Arras, with a good guard, and presently dismisseth all the rest to their houses, en-  
ioyning them expressly vnto fidelitie and loyaltie to his seruice, binding the by a new oath.

This v unexpected execution amazed the whole countrie, like to a cracke of thunder, but  
it roused vp the Nauarrois faction, especially *Philip* of Nauarre, brother to *Charles*, and *Jes-*  
*frey* of Harcourt vnto the two brethren beheaded, the which opened the gates to a  
strange confusion, which shall cast *John* into miserable captiuitie, and draw the Nauarrois  
out of prison, with a flaming torch in his hand to fire the whole Realme. Behold *Philip* and  
the house of Harcourt presently in England, crying out against murder. They intreate *Ed-*  
*ward* to stretch forth his hand to bee reuenged of so notable an iniustice and disloyaltie. B  
They offer him their hearts, persons, goods, towns and hauens, to land in Normandie with-  
out any difficultie, and there to make warre commodiously against so trecherous and cruell  
a Prince.

*Edward* a wife and vigilant Prince, who had his eyes open to all occasions that might an-  
noy his enemy, imbrace this offer: he assembles his troupes to send them speedily into  
Normandie. And, to doe nothing by halues, he employes all he can to leaue a great army,  
the which he sends into Guienne, to make worke for *John* in diuers places, and not to suffer  
this first heate of the discontented French to coole, hee then without any delay sends the  
Duke of Gloucester into Normandie with 4000. choice men, who lands easily, and ioynes  
with *Philip* of Nauarre, and so they ouer-runne and spoile the Champion countrie. The ter-  
ror of these new forces spreads presently ouer all. The townes of Lizieux, Orbes, Becheloin C  
and Ponteau on the sea, yeeld presently. And (not staying to besiege any great Citties) hee  
goes to Bretueil and Tuilleries, and from thence to Verneuil in Perche: the which hee takes  
easily, giuing it out in all places, that it was to reuenge the wrong done to the King of Na-  
uarre and his seruants: a dutie of humanitie which Kings ought not to refuse one to another  
in their greatest necessitie.

King *John* hasteth thither with his armie, and recouers Bretueil and Tuilleries, and had ea-  
sily repossessed all the rest, if a new occasion had not drawne him elsewhere, and the secret  
decree of God, to his ruine. *Edward* Prince of Wales, the eldest sonne of *Edward* King of  
England, was then in Guienne to gouerne the countrie vnder his fathers authoritie. *Edward* D  
sends him two thousand horse and 8000. English Archers, with commission to assemble all  
he can in the Countrie of Guienne, vnder his obedience: where he was followed by a great  
number of the Nobilitie, and houses of marke. The chiefeest were *Captal de Buch*, and the  
Lord of Grailly (some thinke that out of these two houses vnted, the race of *Camdale* is issued)  
with the Lords of Esparre, of Mucidan, of Montferrand, of Duras, and of Segur. All prepares  
for a great hurly-burly, *John* hauing leauied a goodly armie, turnes head to the place, whe-  
ther the greatest burthen of the warre did call him. Hauing therefore left sufficient forces in  
Normandie to make head against the duke of Gloucester, he marcheth towards Poitou, whe-  
ther the Prince of Wales was now come. Pope *Clement* the 6. a Limosin, resident at Auig-  
non, sends the Cardinall of Peregrin his legate to these two Princes (beeing readie to fight) E  
to calme this storme. But the preparation of *John*'s great forces, was the chiefe motiue to  
make *Edward* willing to giue ouer: who began to stay and to thinke of his retreat, and of a  
reasonable composition by the Legates meanes; who goes from one to another to make  
this accord. *John* demanded, That *Edward* should giue him foure hostages, and as one vanquish-  
ed should remaine at his mercy and discretion. *Edward* was content to yeeld vp all that hee had  
taken from him, but without any blemish to his honour, whereof he said, he was accom-  
plishable to God and his countrie.

Warre in Gui-  
enne where  
the Prince of  
Wales com-  
manded.

Vnreasonable  
conditions  
propounded  
by John.

John forceth  
Edward to de-  
ferre himselfe.

The error of  
King John.

*John* would not accept of this offer (notwithstanding all the intreaties and perswasions  
the Legate could vse) finding himselfe farre stronger then his enemy: saying, it was his ad-  
uantage to prescribe him lawes. But his Fathers experience, so dearly bought, should haue F  
taught him wit, and not so willingly to runne into a mischief. Oh miserable France which  
art neuer wise but too late!

This King shuts his eyes to Presidents, stops his eares to all admonitions of reason, see-  
king his owne ruine wilfully, as if the time had beene too short for his perdition. He desired  
at any hand to fight presently, to whip this young warriour, hauing forgotten that he had  
plaid

A plaid his prize at Cressie; and learned not to be rash in a matter of so great consequence,  
but what followed? The onely meanes to preserue the vanquished, is to hope for no  
helpe.

1356.  
Edward's wor-  
thy resolution  
in exaunche.

So *Edward* seeing himselfe reduced to this extremitie, either to loose his honour or his life,  
he resolues to employ his life couragiously, to saue his honour vertuously, and the euent fa-  
uoured his resolution. *John* had all aduantages ouer *Edward*, both of number, force, shewe,  
countrey and conceit (the which is commonly a consideration of no small importance in  
worldly affaires) and withall the choice of all his horsemen, (esteemed then the best in Eu-  
rope) with the greatest and wisest Captaines of his whole Realme. Beeing well aduertised of  
the number and estate of the English armie, (which consisted for the most part of footmen)

The order of  
the French  
armie.

B his meaning was to draw him to battell: presuming easily to defeat this troupe of English  
bowmen with so great a number of Lances and battleaxes wel armed. So as putting al hope  
of victorie in his horse, he makes the forme of his battel according to his disscine. But he had  
forgotten, that neither horse nor horseman saues the man in the day of battell. He resolues  
therefore to charge onely with his horse, and to giue his Nobilitie the honour of the victo-  
rie, the which he held confidently in his hands, before the battel. Vpon this proiect, he arran-  
geth his foot apart in one battalion, and diuides his horse into three squadrons, whereof he  
giues the first to his Constable (some name the Duke of Athenes, the stemme of the house  
of Tremouille: and some write, that he was of the house of Brema) accompanied with two  
Marshals of France, *Arnould* of Endreghen, and *John* of Clermont. The second was giuen  
C to *Charles* his eldest son, and the third with his sonne *Philip*, he referues to himselfe. In this  
confidence of his horsemen, he bethinkes himselfe of a new stratageme: out of euery Squa-  
dron he choseth an hundred horse, and so made one body of three hundred, meaning there-  
with to breake the first ranks of the enemies army, which for the most part were foote. The  
Prince of Wales prest by necessitie, had another desseigne. Standing vpon his defence, he re-  
solues to encourage himselfe, and by courage to animate his armie with an obstinate resolu-  
tion, to fight desperately against so strong an enemy, and so to gouerne his forces as the  
combate might prooue difficult to the enemy, whom he sees readie to charge. He lodgeth  
his armie in a place of aduantage for defence against the horse, hauing both behind them,  
and on their flanks, Vines, Bushes, Hedgerowes and vnderwoods, all of hard approach for  
D the horse. But he addes industrie and makes the place more inaccessible, causing the souldi-  
ers to cast vp great trenches with wonderfull expedition. Hauing provided for his campe,  
he doth place his archers vpon the approaches so politickly, as they might succour the horse  
and be releued by them, and likewise resist the enemy when they should be charged. But a-  
boue all he labors to animate his Souldiers, so as the courage of his small troupe did equall  
the number of the greater, in this firme resolution, either to vanquish or to die together, to  
maintaine their honors and good fortunes, and in this order the English attend the French  
army confidently, whom they see preparing to fight. Whilest that *Edward* provides thus for  
his defence, there befell a great contention in the French armie, the which swaies much in  
this daies fight. For comming to make choice of a hundred horse out of euery battalion,

The English  
armie.

E there were some discontented, (the places beeing giuen rather by fauour then merite) so as  
such as were left behind, finding themselves grieved, as with a repulse, were more readie to  
double their despight, then their courages to fight. Impressions which import much in these  
great occurrents, when the mind must still be present with that we doe, and not be distracted  
with any other affections: but they are now ready to fight. Behold this troupe of 300. horse  
departs, commaunded by *Eustache* of Ribemont. The trumpets sound to battell, they all  
runne to the easiest approach of the English trenches, to draw forth their footmen, and to  
peruoke them to fight. This was another error of *John*, that beeing stronger then *Edward*,  
besieging him in the Vines, and cutting off his victuals, in few daies he might haue vanqui-  
shed him without blowes. But ouer-weening impatiencie, and hast, drew him to his ouer-  
F throw. This great Squadron forceth into the vines, and enters fight with the English foote:  
but the issue of *John*'s new stratageme was contrary to his expectation: for in this first charge  
they find resistance.

A division in  
the French ar-  
mie very pre-  
judiciall.

The French  
charge the  
English.

The Archers planted in the Vines with aduantage, galled them in the first ranckes  
with their arrowes, whilest that others (lying vnscene in the rowes adioyning) ayme at  
them

1356.

Battell of  
Poitiers.

them at their pleasures, shooting forth a dangerous storme of arrowes, and vpon their flanke A riseth another shower, which passeth through these horsemen, whereas neither launce nor Battleaxe could preuaile. Hauing made this first charge with so great losse, they seeke to retire, and to charge the enemy in some other place; but they fall into a greater perplexitie, for the horses sinke in this mirie ground, and are entangled among the stubbes, stakes and trees: some fall, some rise againe, all are in confusion; they lie plunging in the ditches and trenches, and the English arrowes flie from all sides. This troupe hauing drawne downe the the rest by degrees, like to a current of water which disperfeth it self by a channel, the more men, the more disorder: and our Frenchmen grow amazed at this repulse.

The English seeing them giue backe in confusion, crie victorie, and follow their aduantage, striking on all sides, as they lay wallowing one vpon another. King Iohn runnes to B repaire this disorder. He performs the dutie both of a good captaine, in gathering together his disperfed men, and of a valiant souldier, in fighting courageously: but the blow was alreadie giuen, all was lost. The Duke of Athens Constable, and Iohn of Clermont Marshall, were slaine at the first charge. The Standard Royall appears no more, by the fall of Earle of Charnie, who carried it in this daies fight. The greatest part of the commanders, and of this braue Nobilitie (who sought to be in the front) are vnhorfed.

This rampart ouerthrowne, and the rest shaken and broken in peeces, the Prince of Wales preuailes the more easily. King Iohn is furre engaged in the conflict. The English crie, *to the King, to the King*. Beeing charged on all sides, he defends himselfe admirably, and his sonne Philip (beeing neere him) surmounted the ordinarie courage of the most resolute C Souldiers, in defending his father from blowes (This generous valour did first purchase him the name of Hardy, and the course of his life did confirme it in diuers worthie actions) but in the end they are prisoners.

Whereupon there grew some controuersie, (not without extreme danger to his person,) for hauing yeelded vnto Denis of Morbec his owne subiect, (borne in the countrie of Arthois, banished for some fact) he was haled by other souldiers, who pretended an interest in this prize. But the Prince of Wales vnderstanding thereof, sent him an honourable guard of some of his most trustie seruants, whilest that he made the victorie absolute. The head beeing taken, all are surprized with feare: all are disperfed, and the slaughter is general without resistance. Edward content to have the head, sounds a retreat, and forbids them to pursue the victorie. Many saue themselves in Poitiers: which stands vpon her guard, lest the enemy should enter with them that fled.

The victorious Prince remaining vpon the place of battell, sends a troupe of Noble men King Iohn taken prisoner. Prince Edward receiues him with great respect. Galscons, to receiue the King prisoner, and to conduct him to his paulion, the which they do with great respect. Edward seeing him approach, meetes him with great reuerence, honours him, comforts him, entertaines him with a louing discourse, and promifeth him all the good vlsage a great King could expect in his aduersitie. A young Prince twice a Conquerour, hauing vanquished his enemy, both by valour and courtelie, leauing an honourable trophæ of his humanitie and wisdom to posteritie. Iohn (seeing his countenance) shewed a courageous mind in his misfortune. A notable example for Princes to shew an inuincible constancie, against the most dangerous losses, amongst which the losse of libertie holds the most mournfull rancke, and is of the bitterest digestion.

The number  
of the dead.

Our losse was then very great, and the sequele very pernicious. They number seuteene hundred Gentlemen slaine in this battell, amongst the which there were fiftie two Lords.

The chiefeft of marke were Peter of Bourbon, the Duke of Athens, Constable of France, Iohn of Clermont Marshall of France, George of Charny great Chamberlaine, Renauld of Chameil Bishop of Chalons, the Lords of Pont, and Fayette, and of the common sort fure or fixe thousand. A hundred ensignes were brought away in triumph, the spoyle carried away, the place of battell free, the dead bodies at the conquerours mercie. The King was taken F (the chiefeft part of the victorie) and with him he drawes into the same prison Philip his son (afterwards Duke of Burgogne) James of Bourbon Earle of Ponthieu, Iohn of Arthois, Earle of Eu, Charles of Arthois his brother Earle of Longueuille, Charles earle of Tancarville, Iohn of Melun, and his son Archbish. of Sens, the Earles of Vendosme, Salbruch, Nassaw, Dampmartin, la Roche, and many other of accõpt. This ouerthrow hapned in the yere 1356 the

And prisoners

A the 19. day of September, continued with many confusions wherof I tremble to discourse. But let vs continue the order of our Historie. Iohn (falling into his enemies hands) is brought to Bourdeaux, and from thence safely conducted into England to Edward, who shewed himselfe as courteous to his capitall enemy beeing his captiue, as glad of his Sonnes victorie. Some say he commended him more to haue receiued Iohn with humanitie, then to haue conquered him by his valour. A lesson for great Princes to learne, that vertue doth equall valour, and that he is rightly a Conquerour, that can vanquish himselfe. He doth lodge him honourably in the citie of London, in the Duke of Lancasters house, with his sonne Philip vnder a sure guard. The other prisoners are disperfed into diuers places according to their B qualities, to draw a reasonable ransom from them; the which as they payed, he sent free to their houses with much honour, and at that instant he gaue libertie vpon the kings word, being captiue, to all such as he would answer for. In this great calamitie, God looked vpon France with his eye of pittie, willing to chastise it, but not to ruine it. For he referued (during the Kings captiuitie) royall heads, to saue this estate from shipwracke, being almost ruined, both by the great afflictions passed, as also by the imprisonment of their Soueraign head, and the death of so many great personages, necessarie instruments for the preservation and greatnesse of the State. As Charles eldest son to Iohn, Dauphin and Duke of Normandie, Lewis Duke of Aniou, and Iohn Duke of Berrie escaped in this defeat. Charles was off to wife and temperate a spirit, as he seemed capable to gouerne this great barke in the C most horrible stormes of confusion, which happened in this Realme, during his fathers imprisonment. Iohn continued five yeares a prisoner, for he was taken in the yere 1356, in September & was deliuered in the yere 1361. in the moneth of May. But let vs describe in order the disorders which chanced in his captiuitie. As soone as the Dauphin (so called vntil he be Regent) came to Paris, he employes all his wits to procure his fathers libertie, and to maintaine the Kings free authoritie in the Realme; the which was as much restrained as the Kings person. But in this good & commendable resolution he found strange difficulties. He presently calls a generall assembly of the Estates at Paris, in October following, an expedient remedie for the greatest affaires of this Monarchie, profitably practised in the most vtgent causes of our Kings.

D There Charles laith before them, not onely the miserie whereunto the King his father was brought; but also the whole Realme in his person; he intreates them to giue him counsell and assistance in this so great an extremitie. The cause spake of it selfe; his person was an excellent Orator. Moreover, he failed in no point of his dutie: for his mournfull countenance exprest his sorrow naturally, and he did well vrge the necessitie of his demand, with so wise and modest an eloquence, as it would haue moued and dissolued euen the hardest Rocks of the Pyrenean mountaines. But the answer which was then made him, and the long continuance of crosses giuen him in so commendable an action, shew wel what an ill counsellèd people is, & how dangerous it is to let slip the reines of restraint to so furious a beast, which growes then most outrageous, when there is greatest need of mildnesse and modestie.

E Without doubt there had beene many disorders in the former raignes: and in this new controuersie for the Crowne, Philip had made great breaches. But is it now time to com- plaine of the sicke, when he lyes at the point of death, and to represent vnto him his fore- passed errors, in stead of applying fit remedies for his griefe? So doe the people (being wit- tie and eloquent) comaine of the errors of their superiors, and are more readie to increase the disease, (by remedies worse then the disease it selfe) rather then to cure it; as shal appeare by the popular actions, during the raigne of King Iohn, who from complaints haue exceeded to audacious seditions: and in the end to cruell and tragicke massacres: not only to tread under-foote, but to ouerthrow the lawfull authoritie of this Monarchie.

The Parliament consisted of all the best Citties of the Realme: but as Paris is the chiefe, F so hauing among the rest the first degree and greatest meanes, it was also the chiefe in credit. So as when order is well obserued, it brings the greatest benefite to this estate: but when as disorder raignes, the greatest confusion comes from thence. The Church holdes the first rancke in Parliament: and then the Prouost of Merchants in the Citie of Paris, whereas the Vniuersitie had then great credite. All partes shall play vpon this Theater, either for good or euill, by strange accidents. But let vs returne to our Dauphin. After that

T 3

he

Edward assem-  
bled for the  
Kings delue-  
rit.The peoples  
influncie du-  
ring K. Iohns  
imprisonment

1357.

he had made his proposition; the Estates being assembled in one bodie, resolved: That to auoide confusion, there should be fittie chosen out of all the Prouinces, to determine of things necessarie, according to the instructions and remembrances deliuered to them. These fittie Deputies assemble in the Gray-friars, where by a common consent they resolve what to say vnto the *Daulphin*: who being intreated to come vnto their assembly, and set to heare some notable offer of assistance, conformable to the necessitie of the time, *Robert le Cœq* Bishop of Laon, spake thus vnto him in the behalfe of the companie: *That the assembly beseeched him to sweare to keepe secret what should be deliuered vnto him by the Estates.* This young Prince being nothing amazed in this perplexitie, answers them presently with a resolution: *That he should greatly forget the degrees he held in the State, in receiving a lawe from his fathers subjects: And therefore he did commaund them, by the naturall authoritie he had ouer them, to speake freely what their hearts conceiued.* Then the Bishop in all their names made knowne vnto him the ill gouernement of the Treasure, demanding reformation thereof, with a commission to call the Receiuers to an accompt; that all such as had managed the Kings money, should be displaced; and that hereafter both the treasure, and the affaires of State should be gouerned by foure Prelates, and twelue Bourgeffes, amongst the which the Cittie of Paris should haue the first degree and credit, and that without this counsell the *Daulphin* should attempt nothing. And for the conclusion of all their demands, they require him most instantly to set the King of Nauarre at libertie. And vpon this condition they promise the *Daulphin* aide and succour for his fathers deliuerie.

The *Daulphin* noting plainly both the intention of this ill-aduised people, and that it was now out of season to take exception at the violence of these popular furies; demands repite to giue them an answer: the next day passeth in this sort, without answer to the Deputies, who intreate him to resolve. He makes his excuse vpon the importancie of these affaires, and demands a new day to consider thereof. And as they pressed him daily to make his answer: so he still prolonged the time by many subtill delaies, grounded vpon sundrie excuses, of purpose to disperse them, and to dissolue their counsels: the which he sees was practised by his enemies. And hauing caused the Deputies to attend many daies, this plot (so hotely pursued) grew cold, and (tired with tediousnesse) they returne home to their houses, without any other fruite; then great shewes: leauing the King languishing in prison, and the Realme in pitifull disorder. But they parted not without leauing the chiefe leuaine of their intended mischiefe at Paris, and too many hands to worke in this masse of confusion, to the great preiudice of France.

An ill-aduised people hath this humor: *To complaine still of the present estate, and to seeke the future with hope of better.* The Parisiens who had seized vpon authoritie, (more carefull for the deliuerie of the King of Nauarre, then of their lawfull King) summon the *Daulphin* to set the Nauarrois at libertie, according to the decree of the Estates: and taking his delaies for a deniall; they practise with *Iohn* of Piqueny, gouernour of the countrie of Artois (to whom *K. Iohn* going to the vnfortunate battell of Poitiers, had giuen in keeping) to deliuer him out of the Castell of Alleux in Cambressis, where hee had remained nineteene moneths a prisoner. This young Prince enuironed with all these difficulties, had yet one which exceeded the rest. The Bishop of Laon the chiefe of his Counsell betrayed him, being a priuate and passionate partaker of the Nauarrois. *Charles* of Nauarre is deliuered, meaning to come to Paris, and therefore he demands a safe-conduct from the *Daulphin*, who grants it, will he or no; that is, he puts a sword into the hands of his most malicious and furious enemy, and lodgeth him in his owne house. These were bitter pilles, but he must digest the, euen the *Daulphin* and all good men that did assist him. But many of them (loth to allow of these confusions by their free consents) retire themselves to their houses.

The Nauarrois hauing his passport from the *Daulphin*, not onely as a gage of the publike faith, but as a sentence against king *Iohn* being prisoner, goes to Paris with a stately traine, where they all prepare for his entertainment. The Bishop of Laon, and the Prouost of Marchants, with a great troupe of his Partisans meete him, who went to lodge in the Abbey of *S. Germaine*. Hee lets the people vnderstand, that he desires to speake publicly vnto them. A scaffold is built, and the people throng in great troupes, bringing both hearts and cares. The Nauarrois (a subtill and an eloquent man) represents vnto them the wrong of his

The Deputies  
of the Parle-  
ment make vn-  
reasonable de-  
mands vnto  
the Daulphin.

The king of  
Nauarre (see at  
liberty, comes  
to Paris.

1357.

A imprisonment, and his interest to the crowne: he desires iustice might bee done him according to his desert and quality; but about all, he spares not to touch that string which should aduance him to the royaltie. The people applaud him, and giue charge to the Prouost of Marchants to make the *Daulphin* acquainted therewith: the which hee performs with a brauado. The Bishop of Laon (a treacherous seruant to his Maister) answers for him (being silent in this necessity) *That the Daulphin should shew grace and fauor to the King of Nauarre, as one good brother ought to another.* He makes the *Daulphin* so humble, as hee prevents the Nauarrois (who kept his lodging but to preach to this seditious multitude) and doth visit him first, whom he doth scarce meet at the doore with a cold welcome. Hee requires audience of his demands. They are read in counsell, which consisted for the most part of men corrupted. Where it was decreed: *That all which the King of Nauarre and his complices had done against the King and his realme, should bee forgotten as neuer done: his goods seized and in the Kings hands, should be restored both to him and his, with their honours, which had bene beheaded by the commandement of King Iohn: their bones should be gathered together, and honourably interred: all acts of condemnation disannulled, and an act of their iustification autentically drawne, to free them and theirs hereafter from all ignominy.* The demand of the King of Nauarres pretended title, was remitted to another time.

But the Nauarrois brings in the King of England, of whom the *Daulphin* demanded a truce: the which hee grants vpon condition, that he might succour the King of Nauar and *Iohn* of Montfort Duke of Brittain in their pretensions. Thus the seeds of war were sowne during the confused calamity of this poore realme, by the meanes of *Charles* of Nauar. At the same instant *Edward* makes rigorous demands of his prisoner *Iohn*, on whom (for all his good countenance) he meant to make a benefit by his captiuitie. He required homage of him for the realme of France, as holding it of the realme of England, and vpon this condition he would set him at liberty. King *Iohn* being of a couragious spirit, though a prisoner in his person, answers him freely. *That hee must not speake to him of that which he neither ought, nor would do, to alienate a right inalienable. That hee was resolved, at what price soeuer, to leaue it to his children, as hee had receiued it from his Ancestors. That affliction might well image his person, but not the inuolable right of the crowne, where hee had the honour to be borne: euer the which neither prison, nor death had any power, and especially in him, who should alwaies hold his life well employed, sacrificizing it for the immortal preservation of France.* This generous resolution of King *Iohn*, gaue as great occasion to pity his calamity, as the strange conditions of the English (being victor) ministred matter of grieve and disdain to all true-hearted Frenchmen: but all this could neither temper the malice of the Nauarrois, nor the furious impudency of this enchanted people. Herevpon the *Daulphin* intreats the Parisiens to take pity of his poore father: who not able to auoide the ineuitable crosses of fortune, common to all degrees, could well shew his constancy in greatest afflictions. But these brutish mindes will not bee moued by any apparant reasons: so as after this poore prince had vsed all the submissions necessity could inuent, to winne the people, in the end after the losse of his paines, he sought to the other Citties of France. Hauing left *Lewis* duke of Anion his brother at Paris, to supply his place, and to maintaine some shew of authority, the effect whereof crept hourly into the Nauarrois power, he went from City to City, crauing aide of the French, for the deliury of his father and the restoring of his Estate. The history doth much honor the prouince of Languedoc, to haue made great shewes of duty to their King being prisoner: for it obserues, That the three Estates of the country (assembled in one body at Tholousa) vnder the authority of the Earle of Armagnac their gouernor, did freely grant a great aide to the King, for the performance whereof, they would not onely employ their reuenues, but their most precious mouables, yea their wiues iewels. And to testifie their general heauinesse, they abandoned all sumptuous apparell and bankets, especially all dances, masks, plaies and other pleasures, during the captiuitie of their King.

Champagne followed this commendable example. But examples did no more moue the Parisiens hearts, then reason had done, who answered the *Daulphin* roughly, when he intreats them most humbly, that hee should call an other parliament, where they would aduise what was to be done. Their intent was to take all authority from the *Daulphin*, & to vsurpe it themselves: to dispose of the treasor, of honours and dignities, of peace and warre, and of the

The bishop  
of Laon a  
traitor to his  
maiesty.

The Daulphin  
yeilds to the  
Nauarrois.

The generous  
answer of  
King Iohn to  
Edward, con-  
cinds.

The Daul-  
phin honors  
the other Cit-  
ies for the  
Kings liberty.



1357-  
The insolence of  
the Parisiens  
against their  
Prince.

the life and death of the Kings subiects at their pleasures. To this end they made this yong A Prince contemptible and odious, assembling together both without his priuity and against his will, in Churches and publike places, in priuate houses, in great and smal troupes without any feare or respect of the royall dignity.

The Daulphin more a prisoner then his father, durst not repine against these disorders, which increased hourly, like to a violent streame which falles from a high mountaine through the force of much raine. This furious multitude (puffed vp daily by the practises of the Nauarrois, who imploied both heart and hand to ruine the Daulphin) falles in the end from threats to blowes. The Apostum is ripe, it must needs breake. An exchanger named *Peter Maré*, pickt a quarrel with the Daulphins treasurer, & kills him in Saint *Maries* street. B Having slaine him, he flies into Saint *James* of the Butchery, and no man pursues him. The Daulphin seeing his authority too much blemished, in suffering himselfe to be thus braued, caused the murtherer to bee drawne out of the Church, and to bee executed: his hand to be cut off in the place where the murther was committed, & from thence to be drawn to the gibet and hanged. And to the end the people should not mutine, hee went accompanied with a gard of fouldiars, led by *Robert of Clermont* Marshal of France.

King John  
sends to the  
Parisiens for  
his deliuey:  
but in vaine.

The same day arriued the Ambassadors of King *John*, being prisoner, to sollicit his deliuey, after many voiaiges made for the space of two yeeres, that is to say two ages for a poore prisoner, to whom delay is a double languishing. But they were too true witnesse, both of the fruitlesse teares of this poore Prince, and of the barbarous cruelties of these Canibals. C They beheld the Bishop of Paris, in the Daulphins sight, and in the view of all the world, to take this murtherers carcase from the gibet, and to carry it to the Church, from whence hee was drawne, and there to bee honourably interred. But this was not all. *John* of Piqueny comes to the Daulphin from the Nauarrois, to summon him to hold his promise, concerning the demands which were granted him in councell. And as the Chancellor replied, that they had beene performed, hee answered (the Daulphin beeing present, and the two Queenes.) That whosoeuer would maintaine the contrary, had lied. And to heape one mischief vpon another: the Prouost of Marchants, with some of the Vniuersity, come vnto the Daulphin, who by a Iacobin Orator called *Simon* of Langres (for it is not at this day alone, that Monkes haue beene medlers in State) require him to preforme the promises made to the King of Nauarre, or else the people would rise against him, if hee refused so apparant and reasonable a duty. D

The insolency  
of John of Pi-  
queny, in the  
Daulphins  
prelence.

A Parliament was likewise called for the Kings deliuey, wherevnto the bloud of France, (which cannot degenerate) caused the cities to bee inclined, so as things seemed in the end to promise some redresse. Being assembled at the *Augustins*, the Prouost of Paris gathered together three thousand men of the basest artificans, and comes armed to the house of Saint *Pol*, where the Daulphin was lodged; having seized vpon the gate, and stopt all the passages, hee ascends to the Princes chamber, beeing followed by his armed men. The Daulphin was therewith much amazed. *Feare not* (saies the Prouost) *for anything you shall see: for what shall be done, hath beene decreed, and it must bee so.* The watch-word being giuen, behold *John* of Conflans, and *Robert* of Cleremont Marshals of France, (two trusty seruants to the Daulphin, are slaine before his eyes, and so neere vnto him, as the bloud rebounded vpon his face. *Ha* (cries this poore Prince) *what is this? will you attempt against the bloud of France? No my Lord* (saies the Prouost vnto him) *feare nothing, it is not against your person we pretend, they bee your disloyall seruants we seeke, who haue so ill aduised you.* Then he tooke his hood, and put his vpon the Daulphins head, being halfe red, and halfe skie-coloured, the citie livery: and he did weare the Daulphins all that day, beeing of a browne blacke, imbrowdered with gold, in token of his Dictatorship. E

Horrible mur-  
ders commi-  
ted in the  
Daulphins  
prelence.

This done, their bodies are drawne to the Marble table, and from thence cast into the palace yard, for a spectacle to this furious people, which flocke thether from all parts, with shouting and clapping of hands. He presently sends to the Daulphin cloth, both red and skie coloured, to make him a hood, and calls the people to the towne-house at the Greue, where he makes them to approue this massacre: and afterwards both the Daulphin and the Estates to doe the like, which were then assembled for very contrary effects. And to confirme and iustifie his vnbridled impudency, he writes letters in the name of the city of Paris, to

A to all the good townes of the realme, exhorting them to ioine with the chiefe cities, and to take their livery as the Daulphin had done, the better to reforme the disorders of the realme. As these confusions encreased daily and hourly, *William* of Mountigu bishop of Terouenne Chancellor of France, with many other officers of the crowne, fle from Paris, and for the most part retire into Germanie, as a shelter to auoide these stormes, expecting a better season.

The Chancellor had left the great seale with King *John*, being prisoner, so as then they vfed none but the small seale of the Chastelet, as well in the decrees of parliament, as in all other publike acts. The Parisiens likewise erect a councell of State, composed of *Steuens Cocq* bishop of Laon (the cocke of this confusion) of *Renauld* of Corby the first president, *Stephen* B *Marcell* Prouost of Marchants (who in the end shall receiue the reward of his wickednesse,) *John Rouffac*, *John Lisle*, with many of the Vniuersity, who had not the least voice in this new commonweale. Aflition is good for something: as the Parisiens (whom their furious ring-leaders had fed with an imagination of the souereigne gouernment of the State, to dispose of all things at their pleasures,) had assured themselves of a willing obedience from all the cities of the Realme, to whom (as we haue sayd) they had written, to ioine with them in a common league. So greatly were they amazed, that for answer to their imperious letters, they receiued a generall deniall from all parts of the realme; the cities refusing to harken to any priuate league, and detesting the execrable example of so audacious a rebellion: standing more carefully vpon their gard, for feare of a surprise by the Nauarrois, whom they confidently beleueed to bee the cause of the Parisiens frensie and confusions. C The Daulphin being thus vnworthily intreated by the Parisiens, retires himselfe out of this great forest of Paris, into Champagne, to the towne of Vertuse, where hee assembles the Estates of the country, and according to the honorable offers they had made him, hee obtained all he could desire, answerable to their meanes and faculties. But the greatest benefit he did reape, was the good example they gaue to other Prouinces, who imploied all their meanes not to yeeld to Languedoc or Champagne, in the honour of their loyalty, wherevnto God and nature bound all good subiects to their King, especially being in necessity. Thus the Daulphins courage beganne to reuiue, seeing by effect (in his extremest danger) that all good Frenchmen were not dead. A lesson for great men neuer to despaire in most desperate extremities. D

1357-

The Daulphin  
leaves Paris.

The Nauarrois had no other care but to ruine the Daulphin. Not satisfied with his practises in Paris, he sollicit the King of England instantly, and represents vnto him by sundy messages, that a fit opportunity is now offred to make himselfe master of this goodly Estate. There was great likelihood (the King beeing a prisoner, and the affaires brought to that extremity) that the English should soone haue preuailed ouer this realme. But God had otherwise decreed, who shewed the rod, but staied his arme, holding in his hands both the hearts of men and the euents of things. *Edward* obserued well the meanes to effect his designs in this confusion, but knowing the ambitious and disloyall humour of the Nauarrois, he could not trust him. Yet not to contemne so plausible an occasion, he assists him with some helpes, by degrees, onely to balance what force should bee offered, expecting some better and more safe opportunity, the which he promised himselfe rather by treaty with his prisoner, then by al the intelligences and practises of this prince, importunately disloyall against his own bloud and the State: the which he should haue maintained with the hazard of his life. This turbulent spirit, not able to containe it selfe within the limits of duty, assembles all his forces, to beginne the game by open hostility against the Daulphin, and to this end he labours to corrupt the Captaines of places; but hee could no more moue their loyalty, then the Parisiens had done the Citties.

The Nauar-  
rois seeke all  
meanes to  
ruine the  
Daulphin.

*Edward*, dis-  
trusts the Na-  
uarrois.

The Daulphin seeing the Nauarrois in armes, vnder the command of his brother *Philip*, doth likewise arme, and very lawfully against so vniust a violence. But herein he did wisely draw profit from his enemy, and maintaine his authority, not duely respected without force of armes, nor pleasing, if armes had not beene taken by necessity: And from hence there grew a great occasion to confirme his authority, in the reasonable and necessary employment of his forces. The disorder and confusion of times had wonderfully incensed the nobility against the people, by reason that the Nauarrois (having imploied them two yeeres to make



1358.

make himselfe redoubtable and fearefull, and keeping certaine troupes in field, which were A abandoned to all licentiousnesse, for want of pay :) they had no other enemy, but the Oxe and the Ass of *Iames the Good man*: (for so did these soldiars of confusion call the countryman in derision,) whom they had long tormented with all impunity. But patience too much moued turnes into fury.

The poore country man thus tortured, in the end resolues to shewe his teeth to this deuourer of the people, and to fall on them with open force, who had so often oppressed them without any resistance. Vpon this occasion they make a popular league in the country of Beauuois: the people being armed in great troupes skirmish in diuers places, and fall vpon the gentlemen, by whom they had beene wronged: they kill them, their wiues and children without respect: spoile, sack, burne and pull downe their houses. This armed multitude in B the beginning did much harme, like to a fire sodenly kindled. A dangerous course and of great consequence, but it was happily suppressed by the Daulphin, repaying the fault, for the which the Nauarrois was blamed.

This popular frenzie quencht in the breeding, was called the *Iaquery of Iaques or Iames* the good man, too common in the souldiers mouthes, as wee haue said, more ready to deuoure the countriman, then to looke vpon an armed enemy. Thus it was suppressed by the Daulphins diligence, who opposing his men of warre to this seditious multitude, vanquished them easily: as the peoples rage moued against reason cannot long continue: dangerous fits of ciuill warre, when as such as haue the gouernment in hand, neither can nor will C doe iustice to the subiect vniustly oppressed, who haue reason alwaies to demand it, and can complaine when it is denied them. But they seeke a remedy worse then the disease, when as being culpable of the infolencies they reprehend in such as oppress them, they will take vpon themselves to seeke reuenge, the which they may not expect but from the hands of such as may lawfully take it, that is from such as haue the publike authority vnder the law.

A Parliament called at Compiègne.

The Daulphin (hauing repaired this confusion) assembles the Estates at Compiègne, to the great dislike of the Parisiens, being partisans to the Nauarrois. They sought (as it were by especiall priuiledge) to hold the possession of the Estates still at Paris, and were much discontented they should bee held in any place else. But the parliament proceeds without regard of their complaints, and decrees, *That Charles the Kings sonne, Daulphin of Viennois, (who had D then had beene called but lieutenant to his father being prisoner) should be acknowledged and called Regent of the Realme of France, and that all good Frenchmen should obey him as the King himselfe.* This new title purchased great authority to this yong prince throughout al France, and (making him to appeare in these obscure times of afflictions, as a lanthorne during the tempest of a cloudy night) it reuiued his courage: seeing himselfe at liberty without the walles of Paris, whereas *Marcell* should not braue him, nor murder his seruants in his chamber, yea in his bosome. Thus did he settle his authority by degrees, wonderfully shaken by the audacious credit of the Nauarrois, who hauing another intent, did runne a contrary course. For as the Nauarrois designe was to vsurpe the State against all order, so hee troude it vnder his feet, hauing recourse to vniust violence. So as in the field he had armed troupes, in the city of Paris a fedicious multitude, and generally passion and fury. The two pillars E of his designs were iniustice and violence, supported by the peoples fauour, who may doe much being wel aduised: but what mischief can wee imagine in an Estate, which a multitude will not attempt, being bewitched by such as abuse them, like a brute beast which goes where he is driuen? The proiect of this prince (otherwise great both by bloud and meanes) had an vnfortunate issue, as wicked attempts must haue a ruinous end. The mischief fell first on him by the people, in whom he had relied, and after by him vpon the people, whom hee had deceiued, to make them an instrument of many disorders, yet was the people lesse punished then himselfe, as lesse culpable.

The Daulphin declared Regent.

But hee who had disloyally abused this brutish multitude, felt in the end the reuenging hand of God, not onely in seeing al his practises proue vaine, but also feeling in his body the fire of Gods wrath iustly kindled against such as confound the society of mankind, and the lawes of State vnder which they are borne. Without doubt bad counsel is alwaies dangerous to the giuer. This prince preached peace, and made warre: reformation of state, and nourished confusion: liberty, and yet brought those cities which obeyed him into cruell slavery.

A slavery. He abused the people with a shadow of liberty, and fought to winne them by deuities, but the contrary effect made him so odious, as hauing plaid the bankerout of his credit, he fell into the hatred, and detestation of all the world, as the following discourse will testify. To teach all men. *That the greatest policy is to be an honest man.*

1358. The Nauarrois begins to grow odious to the Parisiens.

The Regent countenanced with this new title, and the faithfull loue of the French, testified by the former effects not sought for by practises, but bred in their hearts; and encreasing daily in experience of affaires, beganne to amaze the Nauarrois, and to terrifie the heads of this Parisien multitude, hee seized vpon Bois de Vincennes, and Pont Charenton. And not to loose any opportunity, hee approacheth the city of Paris, and burnes and sackes the Parisiens houses, in reuenge of that which the Nauarrois had done to the Kings seruants. B Thus both armies were in field, and doing much harme generally, they multiplied the losses on either side vnder colour of reuenge. The Parisiens thus tired, chose the King of Nauarre for their Captaine, suffering him to bring souldiers, yea Englishmen, into the city, of whom the most of his troupes consisted. The armies approach: the Regents forces incampe at Conflans, and those of the Nauarrois at Saint Denis. The Parisiens heat began to coole amidst so many miseries, and without their commanders it had beene quite frozen.

Two French armies, one against another.

Jone the widow of King *Charles the Faire*, and by that meane ante to the Nauarrois, desired infinitely to see these two Princes at peace. Her degree and age gaue her free access to both. Since visits them and perswades them to concord, with all the best reasons shee C could. In the end, after many iourneys, shee obtaines an enteruiew, to parle themselves of their affaires without any mediators. The Regent (a yong prince, wife and temperate) would not at the first be intreated, but in his heart hee desired nothing more; foreseeing it to bee the onely meane to bring the Nauarrois in ielousie with the Parisiens, who relented daily, growing weary of his actions. The successe was answerable to his designe, for behold the people are presently incensed against the King of Nauarre, and the Prouost, who had accompanied him to this parle. They sodenly make publike and priuate assemblies to preuent the practises of these two traitors (as they terme them) which would make their peace without them. *Iohn Roussac* and others (iealous for that they were not imployed) run from shop to shop, to set fire to this flax, shewing that priuate treaties are very preiudiciall to the D generall good of the City.

Jone desired to make peace.

The Parisiens grow ielous of the Nauarrois.

The Nauarrois amazed at these newes; he leaues his army, and runnes to Paris with the Prouost of Marchants, to pacifie these new tumults, the which hee found to bee practised against him. Being arriued, he imployes all his partisans to preuent it; and by their meanes he renews the league with the Parisiens, protesting to liue and die together. Hee sweares the Regents death with them, and perswades them to admit a new supply of Englishmen for the safety of the city. And to shew that he had his heart free from al intelligence with the Regent (as they had suspected) hee makes a braue sallie vpon his troupes by Saint *Anthones* gate; but hee soone found a stop, for as he did charge boldly, so was hee repulled valiantly, being charged and beaten by the Regent, so as with difficulty he recovered the gate. Within E few daies after, he tries by the other gates, if he might speed any better, in diuerse resolute attempts, but all is in vaine; hee is chased, shotted at and beaten with losse and shame. This charge did so alter the minde of this inconstant beast with many heads, I meane, of this Parisien multitude, who of late had so much loued, honoured and supported him in all his wrongs, as now there is nothing but cries against him, as against a disturber, an ambitious and disloyall man, a prater, a deceiver and teller of lies. That it is no longer time to depend on him, but the Citie must prouide seriously for their owne affaires, and ioyne with their lawfull Lord. During these popular humors, the Nauarrois appeares not, nor any man for him, beeing so odious vnto the Parisiens, as it was very dangerous euen to talke of him. It was in vaine to hide himselfe at Saint Denis, during the heate of this popular rage. But F to bring words to effects, the Parisiens by a common consent in their Towne-house, resolve to treat with the Regent: and to this end they send a messenger vnto him, beseeching him to grant a safe conduct for their deputies to come vnto him. The Regent imbraceth this occasion, and giues them an ample passport; vpon which grant and assurance, the Parisiens send a troupe of their grauest Citizens to the Regent with this petition.

That

1358.  
The Parisiens  
suborn them-  
selves vnto  
the Dauphin.

*That it would please the Regent to pardon the Parisiens ( beeing ill aduised ) what was passed, and to grant them free trafficke, untill a peace might be made to his content.* The Regent hauing receiued them graciously, grants their requests, & makes his troupes retire from about Paris, to the Contesses Vallee, expecting this peoples course, beeing newly reclaimed to their dutie, the which might as suddenly returne to their furie; suffering them to taste of peace, and to see the rod ready, beeing like vnto a furious beast, not to bee trusted but vpon good warrant.

The Nauarrois and the Prouost of Marchants labour to repaire their credit at Paris, supposing (if this fury were once euaporated) they should returne into credit, hauing both the Bastill and the Louvre at their deuotion. But they are deceiued. The chance was cast, and the houre of their ruine was at hand, the people beeing resolute to giue an apparent testimony of their intent; and a fit occasion was offered. The English nation was the chiefe support whereon the Nauarrois relied, hauing lodged them in great troupes both within and without the City, for his owne strength; the which did much harme in all places. The Parisiens crie out, that there was no more need of any fouldiers, seeing that a peace was concluded, and then they began with them within the city, which were in their power. The occasion was small.

The Parisiens  
mutiny againt  
the English  
that had ter-  
red them.

Behold a troupe of English come from dinner at the King of Nauars lodging: the multitude (without any other cause, but that they were English) falls furiously vpon them, they kill 25. at the first, and take forty seuen, whom they drag into prison. Then euery man seized on his guest at one instant; so as there were foure hundred cast into the prisons of the Louvre, without Magistrate and without order. Onely a tumultuous cry was heard in the streetes; That they must punish these wicked Englishmen, which had committed so many disorders, and that the prisoners should answer the spoiles their companions did abroad. The Nauarrois, the bishop of Laon, and the prouost of Marchants, accompanied with their followers, runne to this alarm: they intreate the people to assemble and to doe things by order and reason. The multitude comes to the Greue. The Nauarrois (hauing whetted his naturall eloquence, with a long and artificiall discourse) makes knowne his loue and the good succours the English had giuen him in his necessity. The multitude at this name of English, cries out. That they must kill them without any further speech, and then goe speedily to Saint Denis, to dispatch the rest.

So without any more speech they command the prouost to lead them thither. The assembly being thus confusedly dissolued (the Nauarrois, nor prouost not daring to reply) euery man runnes to armes, especially such as were best furnished, so as in few houres there were fixeene hundred horse and ten thousand foote resolu'd to charge the English, which spoiled the country with all impunity. The Nauarrois and the prouost make a good shew at this fodaine mutiny of the people, and seeme more busie then the rest, to remaine still commanders of this multitude: but they dispatch sundry messagers vnder hand, to wish the English men to stand vpon their gard, and to attend resolutely this multitude of Parisiens, which came against them without all order. The troupe is in field, the drums found, & the ensignes are displaid; but the King of Nauarre made a stand betwixt Montmartre and the windmills, to giue the English breath, who did lay a strong ambuscado at Bois de Bolongne, and sent forth some of their best horsemen to draw this vnwarlike and ill gouerned multitude into danger. These scouts appearing, they are hotly pursued by the Parisiens, but with such disorder, as is incident to people couragious in the streetes, but cowards in fight of an enemy that vnderstands his profession. They runne into this ambuscadoe, who charge of all hands vpon this disordered multitude, and followes them flying euen to the gates of Paris, in sight of the Nauarrois and the prouost, who are beholders of this defeat and relieue them not. The Nauarrois retires himselfe to Saint Denis, where the body of this army was lodged, and the prouost of Marchants to the city, the which is filled with cries, lamentations and iniurious speeches against them both. The prouost fearing the peoples fury goes guarded with a troupe of two hundred men: and least all should bee lost, he seekes to assure himselfe of the Louvre and Bastile. The maske is now vncovered, and the people runnes to armes. *Iohn Maillard* (captaine of a quarter at Saint *Anthones* gate) takes a banner with the armes of France, and running through the City cries *Mountjoy Saint Denis*. At this

The English  
beat back the  
Parisians in  
view of the  
Nauarrois.

crie,

A crie, and the sight of the standard, all flocke together on heapes. The Prouost seekes to saue himselfe in the Bastile, to auoide the fury of this multitude, whom he had so often imploied to shed innocent blood: and with him *Simon Palmier* and *Philip Gupphart*, two torches of popular sedition. They enter but (oh the iudgement of God! which the wicked cannot flie, at such times, and by such means as hee hath prescribed for their ruine) the place they had chosen for their safety, was the pitfall of their misery: for being entred, they wilbe Masters, vnder colour of certaine letters from the King of Nauarre, who gaue the chiefe command of that place to the Prouost.

They fall to great words with them which commanded the place: and from words to blowes: where without any great difficulty they are all massacred, to the peoples great content, who flock to the Bastile to see the end of their Prouost. They require the carcases, the which are presently deliuered vnto them and drawne from thence with all sorts of ignominy before Saint Catherins Church: whither the prouost had dragd the bodies of the Marshals of France, by him so vnworthily murdered: to the end wee should honour God, who appoints the punishment according to the offence, with an equal ballance: and punisheth faults with answerable paines. Thus the cite of Paris was freed from the seditious leuaine of confusion, and restored to the lawfull obedience of their King, in the yeere 1358. the second day of August, remarkable for so notable an act.

This iust execution thus made, the city (as it were recouered of a deadly disease) sends deputies to the Regent: beseeching him to come and take possession of the authority due vnto him. The Regent comes, and is receiued with as much affectionate ioy, as before hee had beene odious and contemptible. Such are the people, such they haue beene, and such they shalbe, that great men may learne by these examples, how to gouerne a multitude. This happy successe troubled the Nauarrois; who imagining the crowne of France vpon his owne head, did (to his great grieffe) see him settled in the State, who had beene almost ruined. Vntill then he had the Kings seruice alwaies in his mouth, as his good Kinsman and subiect, but now passions driue him into such fury and despaire, as hee resolues to cast off the maske of humility and obedience, and all other ciuill respects: and to make warre against the Regent with all violence, not onely by secret practises, but by open force. The Nauarrois, seeing the Parisiens to grow affectionate to the Regent, sought by all means to torment them, making strange spoiles of their houses, especially of such as were his most deuoted seruants, but in general all that belonged to Paris, was abandoned to the spoile. The Regent assembles his army, the which hee had retired to ease the people. But the remedy proues often very hurtful to the champion country, vpon the first application. Behold two French armies are in field in the heart of France, committing that which we haue seene with our owne eyes in the bosome of our miserable country: for what better commentary can there bee then our owne experience? Thus harme growes both from the enemy which affailes, and the friend that defends: so as wee may truly say, that in ciuill warres, the cure is often times more hurtful then the disease. The Nauarrois finding himselfe too weake alone, calls in the English to the sack of France, without a head, and almost without a soule. *Edward* aduertised from the Nauarrois, by sundry messengers, of the Estate of France and the Regents happy successe; condemned himselfe, as hauing failed his owne good fortune, taking the King of Nauarres complaint in no better part: who saied, that he had not beene assisted as the cause required, applying al his wit to the ruine of his country, holding it a gaine to take from his owne blood: so blind are passionate counsels.

Hereupon *Edward* sends new forces to the Nauarrois: who fortified with these succors, and with his goodly promises, begins the war more fiercely then before. He takes the castle of Melun with halfe the city, by the means of *Queene Blanch*, whilst that the Kings soldiers fight for the rest: hee burnes the Abbey of Lis, and all other places alongst the torrent of Brie and Gastenois. Then crossing the Isle of France, to annoy the Parisiens, & to strike a terror by his forces, he takes *S. Germaine* in Laie, Creil vpon Oise, Poissy and many other places, with great booties & many prisoners: running daily to the gates of Paris. Hauing staied some daies at Mans, he goes to meet with the succors from England (taking *Chastre* vnder Montlheri as they passe, the which hee spoils, sacks and burnes) led by *Captal de Buch* in *Medoc*, a country in Bourdelois, a great and a mighty Lord: who resignes them to his brother

1358.

The Regent  
receiued into  
Paris.

The new at-  
tempts of the  
Nauarrois  
against the  
Regent.

*Edward* re-  
pairs on op-  
portunity  
neglected

The exploits  
of the Nauar-  
rois.

V

Philip

1358.

The desolate  
state of  
the cite.The Parisiens  
mourning againe.

*Philip* of Nauarre. With these forces he takes Clermont in Beauuoisin. On the other side *A*  
*Robert Knowles*, a valiant English Captaine, with a troupe of theues, rather then souldiers,  
runs vp the riuer of Loire into the countrey of Auxerre, spoyling, sacking, burning, & car-  
rying away both men and beasts into his forts, bringing the countrey to a misarable defo-  
lation. This was rather a robbing then a warre, as commonly ciuill warres be: the which  
with more reason we may call vnciuill. The cattell taken, houses burnt, men beeing dead or  
beggared, the land remained desolate, vntilled and vnsowne. So as there fell so great a fa-  
mine, as halfe the people died for hunger, lamentable troups of poore families wandred vp  
& down, creeping into towns, like desperate folkes, to beg bread of them which had it not.

The Parisiens seeing that this alteration did nothing reparaire their estates, grew mad: and  
as the common sort values no friendship but for their profit, they abated much of the loue *B*  
and respect which in the beginning of their reduction they did beare vnto the Regent: who  
was not only troubled to encounter armed men in field, but also with mens humors grown  
bitter by affliction, especially in Paris. A sea, subiect to the ebbing and flowing of mens  
sundry humors and affections.

The Nauarrois (who was still watchfull to embrace all occasions to annoy the Regent)  
seekes meanes to nourish the seedes of his ancient credit with the Parisiens, by some of his  
faction, giuing them to vnderstand by diuers writings spread abroad, that hee lamented to  
see France vndermined with this desolation, whereof the Regent was the original cause. He  
founded forth the vaine name of libertie and reformation of State, vexing the Regent more *C*  
by his practises, then by open force; although he were supported by the succours of Eng-  
land. The Regent was thus perplexed with many difficulties, finding himselfe as it were be-  
sieged not only within the walles, but also within the humors of this great city, being igno-  
rant how to counterbalance force with mildnesse, in the perplexitie of so many miseries,  
and the diuersitie of such contrary humors, wherein he sees himselfe engaged.

Amidst all these difficulties, the wisdom and courage of this Prince is very considerable,  
for he seemed to the people of a resolute countenance, and in the managing of affaires he  
had alwaies a care to their reliefe, so as they could not but loue him for his amiable & sweet  
behaviour, yet for the maintenance of his authoritie (beeing come within the cite) he cau-  
sed some notable executions to be done, of certaine desperate and seditious men, and com-  
mitted others to prison. This was done with the peoples liking, incensed against the Na-  
uarrois: but seeing themselves to fall out of one mischief into another, the Parisiens be-  
gan to returne to their old waywardnesse. The Regent hauing worke for both hands, en-  
counters his enemy in field by force, and in the city by eloquence, causing the people to  
assemble at the Greue, sitting vpon that crosse which we see at this day. His tongue preui-  
led more then his souldiers armes, whereof we obserue no great successe: but his eloquence  
was so happy, as the people regarded it as an Oracle, giuing him the title of wise, hauing  
ioyned a wife carriage to his admirable eloquence: as appears in those goodly discourses.

Three yeares passed thus, during the imprisonment of our King *Iohn*, whom it is now  
time to visit in England. *Edward* had caused *Iohn* to be conducted from London to the Ca-  
stle of Windfore, with his sonne *Philip*. There he propounded vnto him new conditions of  
peace, not so rigorous as the former, but yet so hard, as (beeing deliuered to the Regent,  
and by him to the Estates then assembled at Paris) all the Kings good subiects (though very  
desirous to redeeme him) did not allow thereof, for that they did import the honour of the  
King and realme too much, making too preiudiciall a breach in the Soueraignty.

The extremities were notable in the Kings languishing beeing a prisoner, and the pre-  
sent warre: but lest they should suffer all to run to ruine, in so great a suspence of affaires,  
the Estates resolute to comfort the King by aduice, to attend another time for his liberty,  
and to labour by all meanes to maintaine the warres.

The Prouinces did their best indeauours to furnish money for this necessity: & euen Pa-  
ris promised to maintaine 600. Lances, 400. Archers, and a thousand Corselets, that is, *F*  
1000. foote armed with Brigandines, a kind of armour then much vsed. The Nobilitie,  
notwithstanding their priuiledges, offered to contribute toward the charges, and restored  
the orders for martiall affaires, in a maner forgotten through the indulgency of our kings.  
The Clergy shewed a notable zeale, and all those officers which had managed the publike  
treasor

The Daul-  
phin executes  
some within  
Paris.Conditions  
for the Kings  
deliuey not  
granted.Preparation  
to defend the  
Realme.

1359.

A treasor made a great and extraordinary summe of money, by meanes whereof they were dis-  
charged from further accounts, & the realm much eased. This prouision came happily for  
the preservation of France, against the which *Edward* made then great preparation at the  
instance of the Nauarrois. The truce expired, he did forbid the French to traffick into Eng-  
land: in the meane time his army lands at Calais, & himself follows in person with a good-  
ly traine. Being landed & resolute to take possession of the realm of France, or by force to  
ruine it, he marcheth directly to Arras, the which he takes in 3. daies, hauing assured it with a  
strong garison he goes towards Champagne, wheare passing onely, hee besieged Sens, *E*  
which yeelds without resistance, & by their example Nevers. All Bourgongne was strooke  
into such a terror, as they redeemed their country from spoile with a sum of money. Hauing  
thus found means to intertaine his army at his enemies charge, & enriched his soldiers with  
an inestimable booty, hee marcheth towards Paris, as the head city of the whole realm, and  
the chiefe end of his designe, the certain triumph of his conquest, & the goodly Theater of  
his victories. Our Regent was nothing amazed at these threats of *Edward*, for (hauing leui-  
ed a goodly army with great expedition) he attends him at Paris, where the whole burthen of  
this war did lie. He lodgeth his army in the suburbs, & fortifieth against his approaches, be-  
ing taught by the examples of his grandfather & father, not to hazard any thing, resolving  
only to defend himselfe within his trenches. This resolution succeeded happily, for *Edward*  
seeing the impossibility to draw the Regent to fight (notwithstanding al his alarms) raiseth  
his siege; and marcheth into Britany, to refresh his army, to the great content of the Pa-  
risiens, who could not sufficiently commend the wisdom of their Regent, hauing so politickly  
auoided this storme. The Regent imbraceth this occasion, he furniseth Paris with aboun-  
dance of victuals, and commands the souldiers to liue orderly without oppression of the in-  
habitants: he fortifies the weakest places with al speed, and doth so encourage the people, as  
they are ready to sacrifice themselves for the preservation of the State. *Edward* (supposing  
the great wast caused by the men of warre resident in this great city, would haue taken from  
them al means to continue, and haue bred an impatiency in the mindes of this vnconstant  
people, giuing him the better means to enter it) hee returnes with his army being strong and  
lusty, by this good refreshing of Britan. Being returned, hee finds things better ordered then  
before: so as preuailing nothing, but walking about the city, & beholding a far off the great  
towers, and the admirable masse of so many buildings, as a brieft of the whole world, hee re-  
solves to leaue the siege and returne no more. Thus experience teaching him, what the  
strength of our chiefe city was, hee packs all vp, and goes towards Chartres, meaning to be-  
siege it. But whilest he lodged there, his army making a horrible spoile of the whole country,  
there chanced an occasion (as the worke of heauen) which sodenly quailed his ambitious  
designe to ruine France, for behold a horrible and extraordinary tempest of haile, thunder  
and lightning falls with such violence as many horses and men in the army perished, as if  
that God had stretched forth his hand from heauen to stay his course. This amazement caus-  
eth *Edward* to vow to make a peace with King *Iohn*, and the Regent his sonne vpon reasona-  
ble conditions. Hee which had thus thundred, did likewise open the Duke of Lancasters  
mouth, shewing how reasonable it was to limit humane attempts within restrained bounds:  
& not to attend an infinite and perpetuall prosperity in worldly affaires, beeing more safe to  
content himself with a meane successe, then to be transported with the violent course of hu-  
mane hopes, cast in the mould of indiscreet desires. He likewise laied before him the impos-  
sibility of so extraordinary a designe, as to make himself maister of all France, a notable ex-  
ample for princes to behold their owne infirmities and the greatnesse of God to whom they  
owe the homage of their enterprises: being then most happy, when they are most sober &  
temperate, without imagining an infinite power in the short weaknesse of this mortall life,  
whereunto they are subiect like other men. This lesson mollified *Edwards* heart inclining to  
the deliuey of King *Iohn* his prisoner, & to a generall peace: the which was concluded at  
Bretigny, in the yeere 1360. the eighth day of May, vpon these conditions. That the coun-  
ty of Poitou, the Fiefs of Thouars and Belleuile, the countries of Gascony, Agenois, Pere-  
gort, Limosin, Cahors, Tarbe, Bigor, Rouergue and Angoulmois, with the homages of  
the siegnicuries lying in them; Monstreuil vpon the sea, Ponthieu, Calais, Guines, Merg,  
Sangat, Bologne, Humes, Vales & Onis, shold remain in soueraignty to the King of England

*Edward* en-  
ters France  
with an army.He besieged  
Paris, but in  
vaine.*Edward* ama-  
zed with a  
thunder re-  
soles to con-  
clude a peace  
with King  
*Iohn*.A peace con-  
cluded at Bre-  
tigny.  
The Articles

1360. To whom moreouer should be paid three millions of crownes (euery two being worth an English noble) that is to say 600000. ready downe, and 400000. the yeere following, and the rest within two next yeeres after, at reasonable payments. And for this consideration, the said King of England, and the Prince of Wales his sonne, both for themselves and their successors, should renounce all rights pretended to the crowne of France, the Duchy of Normandy, the countries of Touraine, Anjou and Maine: the souereignty and homage of Brittan, and the Earldome of Flanders, and within three weekes they should deliuer King John at Calais at their charge, the expences of the Kings house only excepted. For assurance of which agreement, there should be deliuered into the King of Englands hands, these hostages: Lewis duke of Anjou, John Duke of Berry, sonnes to the French King: Philip Duke of Orleans, the Kings brother: Philip Duke of Bourgogne, the Earles of Blois, Alanson, Saint Pol, Harcourt, Porcian, Valentinois, Grandpre, Brenne and Forest: the Lords of Vaudemont, Coussy, Pyennes, Saint Venant, Preaux, Montmorency, Garencieres, Rocheguion, Estouteville, the Dauphin of Auvergne, Andregel and Craon. A choise of well selected personages, to be a sufficient caution for the money and conditions that were to be performed. The deputies for King John, were John of Dormans bishop of Beauvais, and Chancellor of France, John of Melun Earle of Tancarville, the Lord of Bouciquat Marshal of France: the Lords of Montmorency and Vigny: John Groslee, Simon of Bossy, John Marets Lawiers, and John Maillard and Stephen of Paris, Bourges of Paris. For the King of England were, John Duke of Lancaster, the Earles of Northampton, Warwicke and Suffolke, Renault of Celestan, Gualter of Mauny, Knights, with certain learned men for their counsell. This treaty of a generall peace, signed by the two Kings, was ratified by their two eldest sonnes, Charles and Edward, and proclaimed by Heraulds: first at the windowes of the kings and princes lodgings, and then at the corners of the streetes in great solemnity. The hostages were deliuered to Edward the father, who embarked at *Honfleur*, and lead them into England, leauing the Earle of Warwicke in France, to see the execution of the peace.

The hostages given for the performance of the conditions.

The Deputies that treated.

King John brought to Calis.

The two Kings sweare a mutuall league of friendship.

King John received by his sonne with great ioy.

King John (hauing long expected the time of his deliuey) parts from England with a strong garde, and is conducted to Calis, attending the money promised, the first pawne of his liberty. The Regent his sonne labours earnestly: the city of Paris did contribute willingly a hundred thousand royals, and after their example all other cities paid their portions. Of such power is our head city both to doe good and euill: so by this end they made amends for all former errors. The money is brought to Saint Omer, whether the Regent comes to see the deliuey: Edward returns to Calis, hee is wonderfull kinde to John, and they sweare a league of friendship, and comprehended Charles King of Nauarre (being absent) in this peace; his brother Philip vndertaking for him, to the end that all quarrels might be troden vnder foote, and all men liue in peace, vnity and concord. So John being set at liberty; after a languishing imprisonment of foure yeeres, hee takes his leaue of Edward with all the shewes of loue that might be betwixt brethren and confident friends.

Being parted from Calis, hee findes his sonne Charles comming to meete him, with a great and stately traine. I cannot well expresse the ioy of this first encounter: this good King embracing his sonne (as his redeemer) with ioy mixt with teares, and full of fatherly affection, with the content of his sweete recovered liberty, seeing himselfe in his sonnes armes, who had giuen him so many testimonies of his faithfull loue in his necessity, and set in the midst of his subiects with his first authority, depending no more vpon anothers will. And contrariwise, what ioy was it for this wife sonne to enioy his father, so precious a gage of the authority, order and obedience of a State, and a great discharge for him of this painfull burthen.

Thus discoursing of what had beene done during his imprisonment, and of what was to be done, they arriue at Hedin: whether not onely the whole country repaires, but also the Deputies of Paris, and of all the prouinces of the Realme, to congratulate their good Kings deliuey, where he disposeth of the government of his house.

The King of Nauarre meetes him at Compiegne, hauing first sent backe his hostages, to shew that hee relied onely on his word, and put himselfe into his power. Thus passeth the world; and after a storme comes a calme. King John made his entry into Paris with this goodly traine, being receiued with an incredible ioy of all his subiects. The Parisiens going

A to kisse his hands, offer him their hearts, with a goodly cubberd of plate, worth a thousand markes, for homage of their fidelity and obedience. 1364.

The parliament had surceased about a whole yeere: John, for the first fruits of his recovered authority, would honour the opening of the court with his presence: being set in the seat of Iustice, in the midst of all his officers, to the incredible content of all men, who beheld the cheerefull countenance of this prince, like the sunne beames after a troubled skie. Such was the returne of King John into his realm after his imprisonment, as the catastrophe of a Comedy, in the which after mourning they reioyce. This happened in the beginning of the yeere 1361.

Some moneths were spent in these publike ioyes, but they must seeke to recouer his hostages: in the effecting whereof they found many difficulties: for neither the priuate Lords (whose homage hee had bound to the King of England,) nor the countries (whose souerainities he had yeelded by this accord) would obey. They argue with the King in counsell, and demand an acte, shewing, that the King cannot dispose of the souereignty of his realme, nor alienate the reuenues of the crowne. John on the other side (fearing least Edward should reproach this vnto him, as a practise betwixt him and his subiects,) made them sundry commandements to obey. Hee went to Auignon, to visit Pope Innocent, who died at this time, and Urban the sixth succeeded in his place, both Limosins. To hanfell Johns recovered liberty, and to ease his minde, afflicted with long imprisonment, Urban exhorts him to vndertake the voiage of the holy land, as generall of the action. John (not remembering the examples of Kings his predecessors, Lewis the seventh, and ninth, nor apprehending the present burthen of his great affaires; nor the danger of so mighty and watchfull an enemy, who had so long, and with so great paine kept him prisoner) accepts the charge, and makes a solemne promise: and to hasten the execution thereof, hee returns into England. Some say, the loue of the Countesse of Salisbury (whose husband had the garde of the king being a prisoner) was the principall motiue of his returne. The which I cannot beleue, vpon the report of the English: being vnlikely that his age, his afflictions, his great affaires, and the voiage whereunto he prepared, should suffer this prince to follow so vnseasonable a vanity. But whatsoeuer moued him therevnto, hee died there, leauing his life in England, where he had so long languished, as a preface of his death.

Difficulties in the performance of the conditions of peace.

John dies in England. His daughter, Elizabeth.

Thus John died in England, in the yeere 1364. the eight day of Aprill, leauing Charles his eldest sonne heire to the crowne of France. A good man hee was, but an vnfortunate prince; wise in ordinary things, but ill aduised in great affaires: iust to all men, but not wary how or whom he trusted in matters of consequence: temperate in priuate, but too violent in publicke. To conclude, a good prince, but not considerate: more fit to obey then to command. Truly these heroicke vertues are the proper Iewels of crownes, and wisdom is a companion to the most excellent vertues, especially in princes, who are aduanced vpon the Theater of mans life, to gouerne the rest.

We haue noted that Bourgogne had beene giuen to Robert the grand-child of Hugh Capet for his portion. A little before the decease of King John, it was vnted to the crowne of France, by the death of Duke Philip, a yong man of the age of fifteene yeere, sonne to that John which died in the battaile of Poitiers. Hee was betroathed to the heire of Flanders, but both the Dutchie, and the daughter were for another Philip, the sonne of John: to whom the father gaue this new succession, in recompence of the faithfull seruice hee had done him the day of his taking, and had continued it in prison.

Bourgogne annexed vnto the crowne.



# CHARLES the 5. called the Wise, the 52. French King.



**H**IS Charles, during the life of his father *John*, had giuen so many testimonies of his sufficiencie to gouerne well, that he was held for King before he tooke the Crowne, the which he receiued at Rheims the 19. of May 1364. hauing before his coronation provided hono- rably for his fathers funerals.

He reigned sixteene yeares, being called and knowne by the name of Wise. In his youth he did taste the bitter rootes, and in his age the sweete fruites of vertue; beloued, honoured, feared, and respec- ted, both of his owne subiects, and of strangers. A deuout Prince; wise, temperate, chaste, vigilant, louing Iustice, order, and the people, hauing as great authoritie as any Prince that euer reigned ouer this Monarchie, accompanied with other vertues fit for those times, to preserve a State, the which had more need of counsell then of force, too ventrouly hazar- ded by his Grand-father and father. He was well assisted by the Princes of his blood, and the officers of the Crowne: very wished and worthy aduantages for a King, who beeing the head of an estate, ought to be well serued by the principall members, to guide and gouerne the whole bodie.

We haue said, that he had three brethren: *Lewis* Duke of Aniou, *John* Duke of Berrie, and *Philip* Earle of Touraine: to whome according to his fathers testament, he resigned the Duchie of Bourgogne, with a marriage of great aduancement. He gaue to *Lewis* the Duchie of Orleans, and to *John* he gaue Auvergne, Poitou and Xaintonge, (besides Berry) for his portion, and Languedoc for his gouernment. He was likewise well serued for Militarie actions, by *Bertrand* of Guesclin a Britton, an excellent Capitaine, whome he honoured with the dignitie of Constable, in the place of *Maurel de Fiennes* (hauing deposed him for sundrie crimes) and for affaires of the State, he had *John Dormans* Bishop of Beauuais, and Chancellor of France, and in the end Cardinall, whom his brother succeeded in the same charge. With these helpes of counsell and force, he soone restored the realme, beeing dis-

membered

A membered by the strange confusions of the forepassed reignes. In his youth (during these former broiles) he was poisoned by the practises of the Nauarrois, of whom we haue so often spoken. This was prevented by counterpoisons, yet left it a great infirmity in his body, the which forced him to a quiet life, more profitable both for himself and his whole realme, then if he had beene a man of action: for he dispatched affaires in his cloister without danger, and incountred his enemies with a happy successe.

In the beginning of his reigne, hee married with *Joane* the daughter of *Charles* duke of Bourbon: a Princess of excellent beauty: the which hee preferred before the great wealth of the heire of Flanders, and the benefit of his owne realme: hee had three sonnes and one daughter. In the former reigne there was nothing but warre, desolation, teares, cries, lamentations, despaire, and generally the mournfull image of death. After these long and insupportable calamities, the wildome of *Charles* (reducing things to their first beginning, by his happy dexterities) gaue France a new forme: like vnto a man who hauing a long and dangerous sicknesse, recouers himselfe by carefull keeping. But there remained an infinit number of men accustomed to liue dissolutely, through the licentiousnesse of the warre; the which if he had sought to reforme by any good order, it had bred some tumult in the State; according to the violent and head-strong or restless humour of the French, who must bee doing at home, if they be not imploied abroad.

The English provided worke for these warriors in Britan, in Flanders, in the heart of France, and in Castille: but the wisdom of *Charles* prevented all. I will note what happened, rather according to the subiect, then the order of times; for that matters are so confused, as I cannot represent the dates distinctly, without repetition and tediousnesse. Britan was the first list to trie our men of warre: there might they make warre without breach of truce; and the quarrell betwixt *Charles* of Blois, and *John* of Montfort, continued more violent then before: for that *John* of Montfort had married the daughter of the King of England, and *Lewis* Duke of Aniou, the daughter of *Charles* of Blois, who imbraced their priuate quarrells, by these new occasions.

*Bertrand* of Guesclin a gentleman of Brittan (of whom wee haue before made mention) had done the King good seruice, during the warre with the Nauarrois. *Charles* relying vpon his fidelity and valour, giues him the charge of the warre, to assist *Charles* of Blois, being old and broken; who was pressed by his enemy, being supported with forces from England. *Guesclin* being arriued, the Nobility of Brittain (which were of *Charles* his faction) repaire vnto him, to the number of 1500. lances. The History names the houses Rohan, Laual, Leon, Dinan, Ricux, Chasteau-Briand, Tourne-mire, Raiz, Malestroit, Quintin, Auangour, Loheac, Ancenis, Pont and many others.

This notable occasion was ministred to imploy these forces (seeing that *Joane* the heire, the Dutchesse of Brittain, would not end this controuersie by composition, as her husband *Charles* of Blois desired.) *John* of Montfort besieged the Castle of Aulroy, well defended by the contrary faction. *John Chandos* an Englishman, a wise and well experienced capitaine, commanded the English troupes. Hee had an aduersary in front, no lesse valiant then himselfe, *Guesclin*, who fought for his country, and the despaire of *Charles* of Blois (much grieued with the tediousnesse of so painefull a proceesse), was a new spur to animate him to fight. They ioine with their troupes, the encounter is furious, well charged, well defended. The two commanders made great prooffe of their valours. *Guesclin* and *Clisson* are noted to haue omitted nothing of their duties: but God, who holds victories in his hand, gaue it to *John* of Montfort, and the English army. The ouerthrow was great, for *Charles* of Blois, (the head of the army) with *John* his bastard brother, the Lords of Dinan, Auangour, Loheac, Malestroit, Pont, Quergourlay, and many others were slaine: the Lords of Rohan, Leon, Raiz, Mauny, Tonerre, Rouille, Frainuille, Reneuall and Rochfort, were taken prisoners, and so were *John* and *Guy* the sonnes of *Charles* of Blois, with *Bertrand* of *Guesclin*, the which did greatly preiudice our Kings reputation. The place of battaile, the ensignes and the dead bodies, remained in the power of *John* of Montfort, who sent the body of *Charles* of Blois with an honorable conuoy to his widow. The castle of Aulroy (the cause of this battaile) yeelded to the conqueror. This happened the 29. day of September. 1364.

This great defeat troubled *Charles*, as a thing beyond his expectation. *John* of Montfort sends

His marriage  
and his chil-  
dren.

Warre in  
Brittain.

The French  
and English  
fight in Brit-  
tain.

The French  
defeated.

Charles his  
cugno.

His manners.

He augments  
his brethrens  
portions.



1365. sends his ambassadors, beseeching him (as his Soueraigne) to receiue homage of him and his for the Duchie of Brittain, wonne by rightfull armes, by the defeate of his enemye, as God adiudging vnto him this right and possession.

King Charles reconciles the pretendants for Brittain, 20. 0. pound sterling.

Charles imbraceth this occasion: he assignes him a day for the performance thereof, and to do right and iustice to both parties beeing heard, the widow of Charles of Blois being called, and the matter debated, he reconciles them vpon these conditions: *That, for the interest which Ioane preterded for her and hers, to the Duchie of Brittain, he should haue the Earldome of Ponthieure, the Seigneuries of Auauzour, Guillo, Gincamp, Rochedorie, Lauuion, Chateaulin in Cornuaille, Dualt, Phelgoft and Rospreden, to the value of twentie thousand liures or frankes of rent: and if Iohn of Montfort died without lawfull heires, the Duchie of Brittain should returne to Ioane and her issue male or female.*

This accord drew Iohn of Montfort to Paris, where hauing done his fealtie and homage, as well for the Duchie of Brittain, as the Earldome of Montfort, and other lands he had in France, the widow of Charles of Blois ratified it by the vertue of the decree. *Oliver* of Clifton at the same Treatie was restored to the possession of his lands, forfeited when his father was beheaded, (as we haue said.) He shall be Constable, & giue vs good cause to speak of his life.

The warre continued in Brittain.

This accord was made in the towne of Guerande, in the yeare 1365. but it continued not long: for *Lewis* of Aniou the Kings brother, (sonne in law to the Duchesse of Brittain) was not pleased with this agreement: whereby he said he was greatly wronged, and *Iohn* of Montfort distrusting King Charles, had his recourse to the King of England, to whom he went in person, to require ayde against the forces which he pretended would come against him: leaving *Robert Knowles* an Englishman in Brittain, who not attending *Iohns* returne, began to make warre vpon the French, with all violence. Charles being pressed (both by the Duchesse *Ioane*, and by *Lewis* of Aniou his brother) declares *Iohn* guiltie of high treason: for that hee had broken the accord, and would not appeare vpon sundrie summons daily made vnto him. So the warre beganne againe: the successe whereof we will note hereafter. Thus there passed fixe or seauen yeares, with varietie of accidents in Brittain.

In Flanders.

Whilest that Brittain was thus shaken with sundrie stormes, Flanders was not without trouble, by the accustomed praetises of the English. *Lewis* Earle of Flanders, sonne to that *Lewis* which was slaine at the battaile of Cressie, had one onely daughter named *Marguerit*, who remaining heire of this great and rich estate, was the Leuaine of the ancient ialousie betwixt the two Kings, Charles and Edward, struiuing who should haue her.

The Citties of Flanders, of greatest power in this pursute, held stoutly for the English, Count *Lewis* father to the maid, was in suspence: fearing both the English and the French, for diuers respects: and yet he loued the first and feared the last: but in the end, by the means of *Marguerite* of Arthois, mother to the Earle, a marriage was concluded in fauour of *Philip* the Hardy, brother to Charles the French King, to Edwards great grieve, both father and sonne, who in disdain of this refusall, fought all meanes to breed new troubles in France.

The Treatie of Bretignie ministred a new subiect, and apparent cause of discontent to the King of England, who complained that he had beene deceiued by Charles, vnder a shew of faithfulness, hauing restored vnto him all his hostages, receiuing onely the summes promised for the ranfome, leauing vpon his simple word, the reuenues of those Seigneuries granted him by the treatie.

The cause of new warre betwixt France and England.

Charles had retired all his hostages, in good time paying readie money: and making knowne vnto Edward, the sundrie charges he had giuen to the Countries and places comprehended in the treatie, to yeeld themselues wholly into his power: he likewise signified vnto him his subiects answers; who in the beginning excused themselues ciuilly, by honest delays, but in the end the generall Estates giue Charles to vnderstand, *That the question being for the generall interest of the States, they were not to be forced to yeeld to an unlawfull action, directly contrarie to the fundamentall law of the Realme, which suffers not the King to preiudice the Crowne, nor to alienate the reuenues thereof, which were not to be alienated. That this accord made in prison, for the Kings redemption, was forced, and so by consequence, vnciuill, and not to be allowed by the Law of nations.*

The effects followed this resolution, with such an obstinacie of the Countries, Citties and Noblemen, which were charged by this treatie to yeeld, as they protest freely to Charles, that

1366. A that they will willingly spend, goods and liues, rather then fall into the king of Englands hands: and contrariwise, would employ all their meanes to liue vnder the subiection of the king of France. This faithfull constancie of the interested subiects, must needs be pleasing vnto Charles: but for that he himself had made this treatie: his honour was greatly ingaged, the which he must iustifie by good and auailable reasons: and make it knowne vnto all Europe, who had their eyes fixed vpon these two Princes, playing their parts vpon so famous a Theater. Edward complains by a sollemne Ambassage to the Emperour Charles the 4. who took the paines to come into France, with an intent to employ his authoritie and counsell to reconcile these two Princes: but it was in vaine. The cause of this fruitlesse paine proceeded from Edward, beeing resolute to haue his part tryed by armes, being emboldned by his victorious successe in the former raigens.

Charles had alwaies protested to obserue the treatie of Bretigny inuiolable. But hauing vnderstood the generall resolution of the States, and of the countries and Noblemen, interested by the said Treatie, he resolues to protect them: and hauing excused himselfe both to the Emperour and forraigne Princes, by a publike declaration, he sends a Gentleman of Beausse called *Chapponeau*, to the Prince of Wales being at Bourdeaux, summoning him to appeare before him at Paris, at the instance of the Nobilitie and commons of Guienne; complaining of him. He also sent a Herald to the King of England, to proclaim war against him. The Earle of Armagnac, the Lord of Albret (who had newly married *Isabel* of Bour-

C bon, and by this alliance was become French) the Earls of Perigort, Cominges, & *Carmain*: the Lords of Barde, Condon, Pincornet, Pardaillan and Agenois, began this protestation against the King of England, followed by all those Prouinces, protesting for the crowne of France. At this exaple all the Towns of the Countie of Ponthieure, yeelded to *Guy* Earle of *S. Pol*, and to *Guy* of Chastillon Master of the Crosse-bowes. Then the Kings armies marche into diuers parts, vnder the commands of the Dukes of Aniou and Berry, and the Constable *Guesclin*; to whose wisdom, (and especially to the Chancellor *Tourmans*) they attribute the obedience of the people of Guienne, discreetly praetised by them. *Limoges* and *Cahors* yeeld at the sight of the Kings armie. *Carlat*, *Bergerac*, *S. Seuer*, and in the end *Rochel* by siege, and by the successe of these Citties (reduced to the Kings obedience by force), *S. Tan* d'Angely, Angoulesme, Xaintes, Fontenay, Parthenay, and many other townes obey voluntarily. The fortresses of Mortaigne, Lusignan and Sanzay, are added to this conquest, and in the end Tours stretcheth forth her hands to the King, and shakes off the English yoke. Whilest that the Kings armie performed these happy exploits in Guienne: the Prince of Wales (a hardie and generous warriour) to turne aside this deluge, the which he fees falling vpon the countie of Bourdeaux) resolues to enter by another quarter, which (fearing no enemye) should be found without defence. Hauing made a flying campe of English and Galcons well armed, he slippes into Auuergne, from thence into Bourbonnois and Berry, where hauing refreshed his troupes some daies, he passeth into Forest, and gathering together the boates vpon the riuer of Loire, he passeth ouer at Marigny of Nunnes, and so crossing Masconnois, he comes into Bourgogne, where finding all desert, without victuals, all being carried into walled Townes, by the care of *Philip* the Kings brother, he marcheth into Auxerrois, and from thence into Gastinois: in the end he staves before Espernon, with an armie of twentie thousand men, which terrifies the whole countie, and takes the towne easily, beeing not releued.

Charles recalls his armie out of Guienne, giuing the Constable *Guesclin* commission to stop this streame: the which he executes so happily, as all this cloud was presently dispersed: so as the Prince of Wales could hardly retire himselfe to Bourdeaux, not laden with spoiles, as in former times, but with shame and losse.

This was the successe of the first passage the English made through France. But what is become of our Nauarrois? we haue obserued how he made his peace with King *Iohn*, when as he returned from prison. He thence retired himselfe quietly into his realme of Nauarre, dissembling his ialousie, and watching all opportunities to crosse the affaires of Charles, who spared him with so great respect. The neerenesse of Bourdeaux was a fit meanes for him to continue his praetises with the English vnder-hand: although by meanes of the Queenes, he entertained a shew of friendship with Charles his brother in law.

1366.

Charles proclaims warre against the king of England.

The successe of the French armie in Guienne.

The exploits of the Prince of Wales.

1366. Castille ministred matter of employment for our warriours, with a very notable successe. A  
 Peter King of Castille, sonne to *Alphonfus*, (making great profession of loue to the French)  
 married *Blanche* the daughter of *Peter* Duke of Bourbon, and sister to *Joane* the wife of our  
 Charles the VVise, and to brother in law to the King. Whilest the Castilian loued his wife,  
 the alliance and friendship of our King, was his greatest honour: but abandoning himselfe to  
 a strumpet named *Paërle*, he forsooke all dutie to his wife, left France, and linckt himselfe  
 with the English, against his sworne faith to his allies. To this trecherie he addes the mur-  
 ther of his wife, and a cruell tyrannie against his subiects.

Peter king of  
 Castille murther  
 his owne wife.

These execrable proceedings procured the wrath of God against him, with the hatred  
 both of great and small, which drew him headlong to his ruine: *Alphonfus* his father making  
 him his heire and successor of his realme of Castille, had bequeathed a legacie by testament B  
 to *Henry* his bastard sonne, a vertuous man, that is to say, as lawfull by his vertue, as *Peter*  
 was growne degenerate by his vices; and as greatly beloued of the people, as *Peter* was ha-  
 ted in generall, by reason of his abominable life. He spoiled *Henry* his brother of this lega-  
 cie, the which his father had left him: but thinking to take from another, he lost his owne:  
 for *Henry* thus ill intreated, flies to Pope *Vrbane* the fift, resident at Auignon, beseeching  
 him to vse his authoritie by admonitions to his brother; aduising him to restore that which  
 his father had giuen him. *Vrbane* inclining to his iust request, cites them both to appeare be-  
 fore the Consistorie, to draw them to their duties; *Peter* not onely refuseth to obey the  
 Pope, but doth outrage to his *Nuntio*: *Henry* thus repulsed, repaires to *Charles*, by the means C  
 of *Peter* of Bourbon, brother to the Queene of Castille, whom her husband *Peter* had mur-  
 dered. The indignitie of this fact procured *Henry* great succours from King *Charles*, even  
 at such a time as he wanted worke for his men of warre. The command of this armie was gi-  
 uen to *Peter* of Bourbon, a Prince of the blood, with the counsell and direction of the Con-  
 stable *Guesclin*, who also bare the name, as he tooke the greatest paines. The armie is leuied  
 in Languedoc by the Kings command, and the exceeding care of the Duke of Berry, gou-  
 ernour of that countrie, to the incredible ioy of many voluntaries, who went cheerefully to so  
 iust a warre: the successe was both happie and speedie; soderly as the French armie appeared  
 for the succour of *Henry*, all the Castilians reuolt against *Peter*, who (with great difficultie)  
 saues himselfe with his concubine, and three daughters he had by her, and one onely ser- D  
 uant, carrying nothing with him but a little ready money, and the miserie of a dispossessed  
 Prince.

Charles sends  
 an armie into  
 Castille.

The Castilians  
 reuolt against  
 Peter and ex-  
 pell him.

The King of  
 England in-  
 uades Peter and  
 restores him.

This his calamitie did first moue the Prince of Wales to compassion, and then his father  
*Edward* commanding his sonne to succour him with all his forces; the which hee performed  
 speedily with a goodly armie, meaning to crosse the desseines of our *Charles*: but (oh the  
 patience of God, which giues a sinner so long a time of repentance, that in the end (with-  
 out any excuse) he might pay both the principall and interest!) the successe of this English  
 armie was such, in fauour of *Peter* of Castille, as hauing vanquished the French armie, by a  
 notable defeat of foure and twenty thousand men; taken *Guesclin* the Constable, *Arnoul* of  
 Andreghen Marshall of France, and many other great men prisoners; *Peter* was restored to  
 the possession of his Realme, and *Henry* dispossessed; who escaped hardly in this great dan-  
 ger, and retires himselfe into Languedoc, to *John* Duke of Berry the Kings brother, and gou-  
 ernour of that countrie. But after this gracious assistance of Gods mercie, his iustice must  
 take place, as it did against *Peter* by this meanes. *Henry* beeing courteously receiued by the  
 Pope and the Duke of Berry, and the Constable *Guesclin* set at libertie with all his compani-  
 ons, hauing paid their ranfomes to the Prince of Wales, he recouers a second aide by the  
 bountie of our wife *Charles*, and the diligence of the Duke of Berrie, to attempt a new  
 recouerie of the Realme of Castille. The Constable *Guesclin* was appointed to this charge,  
 to withstand the first checke, if it were possible. The euent answered the proiect, and by an  
 admirable meanes, the which ruined *Peter* through his owne folly.

This tyrant (growne proud by the wishfull successe of the English forces) makes no re-  
 gard to satisfie the Prince of Wales for the charges of this warre (although the successe  
 were for his good,) but busying himselfe to take reuenge on such as had riuen against him,  
 he contemned such as had succoured him: yea treading all pietie vnder foote, hee allyed  
 himselfe with the King of Belle-marine a Sarasin, and (marrying his daughter) hee abjured  
 the

A the Christian Religion; holding the neighbourhood of so mighty a King, to be more cer-  
 taine and profitable, then all the forces of England. But it fell out contrarie to his conceipt,  
 for *Henry* assisted by the Constable *Guesclin* and the French forces, hauing won fise battels  
 against *Peter*, in the end he was quite defeated and taken prisoner.

Hauing him in his power, at the Castilians sute (wonderfully incensed against this Ty-  
 rant) he caused his head to be cut off, reaping the fruites of his impietie, the which made  
 him to forsake the true religion: of his vanitie, trusting to a rotten planke, with the losse of  
 his conscience, and of his exceeding crueltie, hauing murdered his wife, tyrannized ouer  
 his subiects, and spoiled his brother of his estate against all right. He that writes the historie  
 of Spaine, reports that he was slaine by his brother *D. Henry* in *Guesclins* tent, being come  
 out of Montiel vpon his assurance. An excellent lesson for all men, especially for great  
 Princes, not to dally with God, who punisheth haynous crimes with haynous punishments  
 euen in this life, attending the euerlasting paine in the life to come.

*Charles* King of Nauarre was much perplexed, seeing himselfe betwixt two armies, for  
 desiring to be a neuter and to please both, he knew not how to gouerne himselfe. He seekes  
 to intertaine both *Charles* and *Edward*, although he were more ingaged to the English, and  
 could not well trust his brother in law, hauing greatly offended him. So he lets the English  
 armie to passe through his dominions when it marched into Castile, to succour *Peter*, and  
 suffered himselfe to be taken prisoner by *Oliver* of Mauny, a Gentleman of Brittain, who led  
 him into Castile, to make the English thinke he had bene forced, and the French, that hee  
 did willingly employ himselfe for them beeing in their troups.

A miserable hypocrisie, which of a master makes himselfe a slaue, who might haue bene  
 one of the chiefe of the armie, without this wretched dissembling. The good and wise King,  
 taught by the example of his father *John*, that an Eele is lost by ouergripping it, desired onely  
 to pacifie his brother in law, although he were well acquainted with his bad disposition, and  
 the practises he continued with England. So he gaue him a safe conduct to come vnto him  
 and restored vnto him Mantes and Meulan, and the free possession of his lands in Norman-  
 die: but this prince fraught with malice, could not be reclaimed, neither by the Kings pro-  
 peritie, nor by his clemencie, for (not trusting him) hee retires to his realme of Nauarre,  
 where he continues his old practises with the English: he helps the Britton with men out  
 of Normandie, and attempted against the Kings person, seeking to poison him by *Isquet*  
*Rue* and *Peter* of Tetre, his domestically seruants: who were executed, and the Nauarrois  
 places seized on, as guiltie of high treason. Thus *Charles* was forced to fight against his own  
 blood, and to haue the malice of his kinsmen and allies. No small combat for a great Prince.

We haue discoursed at large of the valour and happie successe both of *Edward* the third,  
 King of England, and of *Edward* his sonne Prince of Wales. But as humane things are not  
 durable, so there chanced a great accident vpon his returne from the warre of Castile, which  
 brought them both to the graue. The Prince of Wales finding himselfe threatned with a  
 dropsie, passed from Bourdeaux into England, to take the aire of his natiue countrie, but he  
 died soone after his arriall, the 46. yeare of his age. A Prince of great hope, not onely la-  
 mented of his friends, but commended of his enemies. *Edward* the father, seeing his right  
 arme (as it were) cut off, died for griefe leaving *Richard* the son of his son *Edward* in his place,  
 who was receiued (without any question made by his vncles) as the first by right of successi-  
 on. *Richard* (not to degenerate from the example of his grandfather and father, being crow-  
 ned King) vndertakes a warre in France: whither hee sends a goodly armie vnder the com-  
 mand of the Duke of Clarence his vnkle, who (hauing landed at Calais) passeth the Riuer of  
 Somme at Clery neere vnto Peronne, and bending towards Soisson, hee crosseth the Riuer  
 of Oise and Ain. Then marching towards Chaalons he passeth Marne, and shewing himself  
 before Troyes in Champagne, he spoiles the countrey, and so goeth ouer Seine betwixt  
 Ville-neufue and Soufey, and bending towards Beausse and Gastinois he crosseth into Brit-  
 taine, there to reuiue the warre in fauour of *John* of Montfort, spoiling the countrie with a  
 strange desolation. On the other side there lands another armie at Bourdeaux, the which ha-  
 uing entred the countrie, fortified such places as held for the English, to nourish the seedes  
 of this new warre. In the countrie of Guenaudan (a diocesse in that large Prouince of Lan-  
 guedoc) there was a castle neere to Mande named Randon, whereas the English maintained  
 a strong

1364.  
 Peter taken  
 by the English  
 is taken priso-  
 ner,  
 and beheaded.

The Nauar-  
 rois seek to  
 poison King  
 Charles.

The death of  
 both E-  
 dwards.

The English  
 second pas-  
 sage through  
 France.

1380.

a strong garrison, a retreat for theues, which did infinite harme in the countrie. The countie hauing sued vnto the king, to free them of this encombrance, he graunted them *Guesclin* the Constable, a man of great reputation, but the armie should be defrayed at their charges.

He comes into Languedoc, besiegeth Randon, and brings them to the last extremitie, but as the besieged (not able to hold out) were entred into composition, behold the Constable (sicke to the death) yeelds vp the ghost. At the same instant the place was yeelded vnto the King: so as in signe that the honour of this prize was due to *Guesclin*, the Captaines carried the keyes of the castle vpon his herie. Thus died *Guesclin*, leauing an honourable testimonie of his valour and loyalty: and to *Charles* an extreame sorrow for his death, who honoured him with a notable obsequie, causing his bodie to be interred with the Kings at *S. Denis*: and at the foot of his owne tombe was that of *Guesclin*, with a burning lampe maintained by B foundation, called *The lampe of Guesclin* vnto this day. King *Charles* had giuen all Bourgogn to his brother *Philip* for his portion, according to the will of his father *John*, as we haue said, and had married him with *Marguerite* the rich heire of Flanders. Being in possession of Bur- gogne, there happened another occasion in Flanders, which wonne him great credit with those people, whom he should command after the death of *Lewis* his father in law, who was yet liuing. The inhabitants of Gand, a mutinous people by nature, who neuer want matter to mutine, had then a great discontent, both against their Earle in generall, (by reason of some new impositions) and against them of Bruges in particular (iealous to see them in so great fauour with their Prince, by reason of a channell which they had drawne from the Ri- uer of Lis, for the commoditie of the countrie: which riuer crossing the riuier of Gand, the Gantois supposed it was all theirs in proper: so as none might vie it without their liking. This iealousie grew so great, that this great cittie (as big with their waiward and contentious humors, as it was populous and rich) beeing thus mooued, resolues to make shew thereof, and in this furie they make a league, and choose a head, bearing a marke or token of their faction, and from words they go to blowes. One called *Leon* (a bold practiser of popular seditions) was found fit to be the King-leader of this tumult: their marke was a white cap, for all the troupe. These Gantois gather together, they hinder the worke of this channell, and the gathering of the custome, beeing the cause of this quarrell: they kill Collecters and Recei- uers, and in the end the Gouvernour of the cittie called *Roger*, who beeing there for the Earle laboured to teach them their duties. Their furie exceeded to farre, as they spoile the Earles Pallace, fire it, and in their rage pull it downe to the ground. They run in great troupes to o- ther townes, to draw them to their league. They besiege Ypre, held by the Earles men, cry- ing in all places, Libertie, as hauing a meaning to change their Lord, and then to seaze vpon Flanders. This cruell disorder amazed the Earle, when as beheld *Philip* Duke of Bourgogne, his sonne in law, flies vnto him to quench this fire: and as men admire rather the Sunneri- sing then setting, and that the name of the house of France, and the greatnesse of his goodly portion gaue him great authoritie: so it chanced that he pacified this rebellion, to the con- tent both of the Earle and cities, taking a happie possession of this great inheritance, by a fa- mous and profitable occasion. But Flanders alone was not subiect to these mad mutinies: for those of Montpellier, newly reduced to the obedience of our King, grew into so great a furie, as they slue *James Pontel* a Knight of the Order, and Chancellor to *John* Duke of Berry, Gouvernour of the countrie, *Guy* of Scery Seneschall of Rouergue, *Arnould* of Montelaur, Gouvernour of the said cittie, and other officers of the Kings and Dukes, to the number of foure score, and cast their bodies into a well. As the outrage was odious, so the punishment was memorable. The Duke of Berry comes with forces, assisted by the whole Prouince, de- resting so foule an insolencie, so as the Inhabitants (calling to mind their audacious phren- sie) resolue to submit themselves to punishment, and not to stand desperately against force.

The Consuls of the Cittie hauing halters about their neckes and torne clothes, the keyes of the cittie in one hand, and a red cap (the marke of their office) in the other, met with the Duke their gouernour, beeing followed by the Clergie (carrying a crosse) all crying for mercie, and weeping with a lamentable noise.

In this mournfull sort the Duke enters the cittie gates, being without any guard, he finds the streets full of poore and desolate people, vpon their knees, men and women, olde and yong, crying for mercie, and redoubling their pitifull cries, as witnesses of their repentance. Then

The death of  
the constable  
*Guesclin*.

7 troubles in  
Flanders paci-  
fied by *Philip*.

Sedition at  
Montpellier.

1380.

A Then the Duke commands they should presently bring all their armes into one place neere vnto his lodging, placing a guard at the gates and vpon the walles. The next day, he caused a scaffold to be made in the market place, where hauing sharply rebuked the people for their rebellion, he pronounced a sentence in the Kings name, whereby he declares: That all their priuiledges were taken from them, their Consulship, Town house, common Arches, Vni- uersities, their Bels, Salt-pannes, and al Iurisdictions of the Citie, either of soueraign courts, or of the commonaltie: sixe hundred inhabitants to bee chosen at aduenture, condemned to death, that is, two hundred to loose their heads, two hundred to be hanged, & two hundred burnt, their children declared infamous and slaues for euer, and their goods confiscate. The commonaltie should pay fixe score thousand frankes of gold, and the charges of the Dukes voyage, and his armies. The Consuls with certaine Councillers that were named, should drawe the bodies of such as had bin massacred out of the well, and bury them. A Chappell should be built for their obsequies, with the same Bell which did sound the alarum. The gates and city walles should be beaten downe, and their armes burnt publicly.

The sentence  
pronounced  
against them

This was their doome: but it was moderated at the intercession of Pope *Clement*, then re- sident in Auignon, by the meanes of Cardinall *de la Lune*. The same was qualified, the pri- uiledges restored, the gates and walles preferred: but the Authors of this sedition were put to death, that the rest of the Inhabitants might liue in safetie.

Is moderated.

A notable president for subiects to suppress their furie, euen when they thinke to haue a iust cause of complaint, feeling themselves surcharged or otherwise grieved: considering that errors are sooner committed, then repaired. And for commanders, that it is a dan- gerous resolution to let loose the raines to a mad multitude, which augments the mischiefe, supposing to cure it.

Queen *Isabel* wife to our wise *Charles*, daughter to *Peter* of Bourbon, dies about this time, to the great griefe of her husband, to whom she left two sonnes, *Charles* and *Lewis*, both ve- ry yong: for *Charles* was borne the 3. of December 1371. and was carried to the Font by *Charles* of Montmorency, and baptised by *Dourmans* Bishop of Beauuois, and Chancellour of France. *Lewis* was Duke of Orleans. Shee left him also one daughter, *Isabel*, married after- wards to *Richard* King of England. Necessary obseruations for the course of our History.

D This good Prince after his wiues death, was nothing healthfull, so as broken with poyson, the which had much weakened him, and with the tedious toyles of his youth, more then with age, he decayed dayly, and he himselfe perceiued it, so as feeling the ende of his life to approach, remembring what troubles he had past, during the mournfull imprisonment of his Father, by the contempt of his yong age, lest the like should happen to his son *Charles*, vnder colour of his minoritie, gouerned by Tutors, hee decreed in a generall assembly of the States, by a law, and an irreuoicable Edict, *That after the decess of the King of France, his el- dest sonne should succeed him presently, and at the age of fourteen years, should be declared ca- pable to gouerne the estate alone, and be freed from Tutors.* But (oh the weakenes of mans wis- dom!) he did not foresee that his son should be ill gouerned by his Tutors in his minority, E that the age of fourteene should not free him from Tutors: and that euen his sonne com- ming to mans estate, should giue more scope to the ambition of his own vncles (more wor- thily to be called murderers, then Tutors) then his weakest youth had done.

He had a Fistula in one arme, by the which those ill humors were drawne away, which grew by poyson, and gaue him great ease when it did run. It chanced this Fistula stopt, and then his maladie encreased much.

*Charles* (resolving by this sharpe alarum, to goe the common way of all flesh) calles for his three brethren, *Lewis*, *John*, and *Philip*; and hauing recommended his children and sub- iects vnto them, he giues them particular aduise, for the gouernment of the Realme: lea- ving the custody of his sonne, and the Regency of the Realme vnto them. He died the 16. of F September, 1380. in the Castle of Beauty, seated vpon the riuier of Marne. He commanded that *Oliuer* of Clifton should be Constable, hauing commended his fidelitie and sufficien- cie, and that they should carefully preferue the amity of Germanie.

Thus died *Charles* the wife, wonderfully beloved and lamented of his subiects, leauing his Realme in good estate, after so horrible a desolation. And although the confusions pat- ted had wonderfully impouered the subiects, and wasted the Kings Treasor, (neither

*Charles* dies.

X

was

1380. was his raigne free from warre yet did he leaue the Prouinces of his Realme very wealthy A  
and an infinit treasure in his coffers: although he had built the Louure, S. *Germaine* in Lay,  
Montargis, Creil, the Celestines and some other Churches. Of such power is good husban-  
dry in this realme, as in riches it yeelds not to the treasures of Peru, nor in fertilitie to any  
country vnder heauen, to subsist amidst so many stormes, and to be presently restored by  
good husbandrie. An example for Princes to imitate, and not to despaire in like confusions,  
but to hope for all that may be wished for in the restoring of an estate, by patience and dex-  
teritie, vertues proper to our wife *Charles*. A Prince so much the more praise-worthie, hauing  
His Disposition preferred this Estate, when it seemed lost, religious, wise, modest, patient, stirring and stayed,  
when need required, able to entertaine euery man according to his humor: hauing by these  
vertues wonne a great reputation, both within and without the Realme, and honourable B  
to his posteritie; as to haue saued France from shipwracke.

He loued learning and learned men: *Nicholas Oresme* was his schoolemaister, whome he  
honoured with great preferments. He caused the Bible to be translated into French, imita-  
ting S. *Lewis*. I haue seene the Originall in the Kings lodging at the Louure, signed by king  
*Charles* and his Brother the Duke of Berrie. A goodly obseruation of the auncient simplici-  
tie of those royall characters. I haue likewise seene a Manuscript of the translation made by  
the commandement of S. *Lewis*. He delighted in the reading of the holy Scripture and Phi-  
losophie: hauing likewise caused the *Ethicks* and *Politicks* of *Aristotle*, with many bookes  
of *Tully*, to be translated into French. The fauour he shewed to learned men, stirred vp many C  
good wits, who began to draw the Muses from their graues, both in France and Italy.

The Historie doth particularly note, that he did often visite his Court of Parliament and  
his chamber of accompts: gaue audience vnto sutors, read their petitions, and heard their  
complaints and reasons, imploying some dayes of the weeke, euen in his greatest affaires, to  
do those fatherly and royall workes of Iustice. He tooke great delight to aduance his hous-  
hold seruants, giuing them meanes secretly (and without the priuie of any) to instruct  
their sonnes, and to marrie their daughters. A testimonie of a good conscience, and of a wife  
man. This bond of loyaltie could haue no better foundation, then in transporting it from  
the Father to the sonne, nor almes be better employed then from the master to the seruant.

Royall vertues and worthie of eternall memorie. But alas! what shall be the successe of D  
this bountie and wisedome? The raigne of his sonne *Charles* shall be most miserable. Hee  
hath done the part of a good Brother, of a good master, a good Father, and a good King:  
but God the Soueraigne of Kings, had limited the euents of his cares. To teach vs, (by a no-  
table example) *That while the Lord buildeth the house the workmen labour but in vaine: if the*  
*Lord keepe not the citie, the watchman watcheth but in vaine:* for an eternall Maxime of go-  
uernment & state: *Whosoever glories, let him glorie in the Lord.* But vertues are not heredita-  
rie. *Iohn* not very wife, begat *Charles* a wife and happie Prince, and he begets a frantick man,  
vnhappy both in youth and age. We may on the other side oppose other considerations  
very disputable. Profit aduised him to marrie the heire of Flanders, not onely to pacifie that  
country, but also to enlarge his owne dominions, adding thereunto that great and rich E  
estate of Flanders, from whence so many mischiefs haue sprung to France, but his delight  
made him preferre the faire before the rich. Moreouer, the rules of State did not permit him  
so to aduance his brother, making him in a manner equall to himselfe in power, the which  
must needs be the cause of many inconueniences, as it after happened. The cause of his  
brother *Philip* Duke of Bourgogne, is ordered by the same rule, for who can with reason  
mislike, that *Charles* giues a portion to his brother by his fathers will; and that in the rich  
marriage of a Prince his vassall, and of a neere estate (whereby his Realme was daily annoy-  
ed) he preferres his brother before his capitall enemy? But God had referred the honour to  
himselfe. Bourgogne since *Robert*, the grand-child of *Hugh Capet*, had bene successiue-  
ly in the power of Princes, who had alwaies done faithfull seruice to the Crown, and now it shal F  
be a scourge vnto it: yet in the end it shal be vnited vnto the Crowne again, and taken from  
such as had abused it. Experience doth teach, that in matters of State, the end is not alwaies  
answerable to the beginning, nor the successe to the dessein, to the end that Princes may  
depend of him who is greater then themselves, who hath made them, and can mar them: and  
without whom they cannot doe any thing.

Behold

A Behold the life, death, race, raigne and manners of *Charles* the fifth, called the Wise. But 1380.  
before we enter into the trouble some raigne of *Charles* the sixth, let vs obserue the estate of The estate of  
the Empire and of the Church. We haue said that *Charles* the sonne of *Iohn* King of Bohe-  
mia had bene chosen Emperour, and called *Charles* the fourth. Hee held the Empire two  
and 30. yeares, beginning in the yeare 1350. So the raigns of *Iohn* and *Charles* his son, is con-  
tained in this Empire: for he died in the yeare 1378. Before his death he provided that *Win-*  
cesthis son should succeed him in the Imperial dignitie. At the first he married *Blanche* Coun-  
tess of Valois, daughter to *Charles* Earle of Valois, and sister to *Philip* of Valois the French  
King, being very young, (for she was but seauen yeares old when she was betrothed vnto  
him) he had bene bred vp in the Court of France, and learned the French humors: he loued B  
our Crowne better then our Lawes. A Prince wholly inclined to his owne particular, mak-  
ing shew to loue our kings, but vnderhand he supported their enemies against them.

This was the principall reason why his comming into France prooued fruitlesse, after so  
long a voyage and so great expences, ministring a sufficient cause of ialousie to our *Charles*,  
who gaue him the best entertainment he could, to make him know, that the Soueraignie  
which he pretended to haue ouer France, was but a dreame. Yet he suffered the Country of  
*Dauphine* (which they called the Empire) as a member of the auncient Realme of Arles) to  
be wholly infranchised from that subiection, to cut off all pretensions from his successours,  
embracing the commoditie to settle his affaires euen by their meanes who he knew were not  
his friends.

C This Emperour *Charles* the fourth, did all he could both in Italy and Germany, to apply  
vnto himselfe the rights of the Empire, being wholly incline d to his owne profit, for the  
which he vsed the name of Iustice and good order, being more learned in law, then in doing  
right, and hauing more knowledge then conscience. It is hee which made the Golden Bull,  
both to rule the Election of the Emperour, and the rights and dignitie of the Empire. The  
former confusions of the Empire had so dispenced all priuate gouernours of countries and  
cities, as euery one played the Emperour in his gouernement.

These tyrannicall disorders were the cause of the Cantons in Swisserland, who since haue  
established a goodly commonweale, consisting of thirteene Cantons, who maintain them- Original of  
selves with great order and force, hauing the amitie and alliance of the neighbor Monarchs, the Cantons  
and an honourable place among the Estates of Christendome vnto this day. Their particu-  
lar historie, belongs not to our subiect, it sufficeth to haue noted their beginning, and the  
occasion of their commonweale, newly erected in the disorders of that age. The Church of  
Rome was in a very poore estate, first by the continuall factions of the Guelphs and Gi-  
belins, and of itselfe by a distraction bredde by an open schisme, hauing two Popes, two  
chaires, two seas, and a deadly hatred, the which troubled all the Kings and Princes of Chri-  
stendome, some defending the Pope, others the Antipope as his opposite.

We haue said, that in the raigne of *Philip* of Valois the Pontifical Sea was translated from  
Rome to Auignon, where it continued about 70. yeares, *Clement* the sixth hauing bought  
this citie for his successors; being a pleasant and fruitfull seate. These quarrels (continued  
with such violent passions) had tyred mens minds like as a long processe doth wearie the  
most obstinate pleaders. The Popes being absent from Rome, gouerned the estate of Ita-  
ly by three Cardinals their Legats, but all went to ruine. *Gregorie* the sixth a Limosin, being  
chosen Pope at Auignon, went to Rome to redresse these confusions, wherein there was  
small helpe. Being receiued with an incredible ioy of the Romanes, and of all Italy, he re-  
turnes no more to Auignon, but passeth the rest of his daies at Rome. After his death the  
people with all vehemencie require a Romaine borne, or an Italian for Pope: but there was  
some difficultie in the election, for the Colledge consisted for the most part of French Car-  
dinals, who desired to haue one of their owne nation. They were much diuided: but the  
Cardinals (fearing the peoples furie, armed with an intent to murder them if they did not  
chooe one of their nation) yeilded to the election of a Neapolitane, named *Bartholomew*,  
who was receiued and proclaimed by the name of *Vrbain* the sixth.

But within few daies after, the Male-contents rettyred from Rome (vnder colour to flee  
the plague) to Fundy, a towne in the Realme of Naples (of the French faction) by means of  
Queene *Isaue*, when they did chooe *Clement* the 7. a Limosin, who retired to Auignon, An Antipope  
chosen,  
and



1380. and was opposite to *Urban* the sixth, with open defiance one of another: which schisme continued vntil the counsell of Constance, each Pope with his faction. *Clement* had for him the Kings of France, Castile and Scotland. *Urban* had the Emperour, the Kings of England and Hungary: *Clement* held his seat at Auignon and *Urban* at Rome. In those daies liued *Bartholl*, *Baldus*, *Petrarch*, *Boccace*, *Planudes* a Greeke by nation, *Bonsauenture* and *John Wickliffe*. These hurliburles touched the hearts, and opened the mouthes of many good men, wonderfully grieved to see such diuision in the Church, apparently growne by the ambition of such as had greatest authority in the same. The writings lie open to their reasonable complaints, which euery one may read, without any further discourse.

### CHARLES the sixth, the 53: French King.



Necessary observations for the vnderstanding of this reigne.



It is necessary to haue some direction to passe through a Labyrinth; so this crooked reigne hath need of some order to guide vs, in the disorder of so many obscure confusions, which we are to represent. I will first obserue the most famous acts and worthiest personages of this reigne, and then will I distinguish the subiect according to the occurrents. This miserable reigne continued 42. yeeres, beginning in the yeere 1380. and ending in the yeere 1422. *Charles* the sixth succeeded his father *Charles* the fifth at the age of 12. yeeres (being borne in the yeere 1368.) hee was crowned in the yeere 80. married in 84. dismissed his Tutors to reigne alone in 87. falles into a phrensie in 93. and dies in the yeere 1422. So beeing vnder age with his Tutors, and of age in perfect sense, hee reigned thirteene yeeres, and liued in his phrensie twenty nine yeeres. Who sees not then the iust calculation of forty two yeeres in this reigne?

*Charles* the fifth his father, had three brethren: *Lewis* Duke of Anjou, *John* Duke of Berry, and *Philip* Duke of Bourgoigne. Queene *Joane*, daughter to *Peter* Duke of Bourbon, wife to *Charles* the fifth, and mother to *Charles* the sixth, had one brother, *James* Duke of Bourbon. These foure vnckles shall play their parts vpon this stage in diuers occurrents; but let vs adde the rest, euery one shall haue his turne.

We

A We haue said, that *Charles* the Wife left two sonnes; this *Charles* the 6. whose raigne we now describe, and *Lewis* Duke of Orleans. And our *Charles* had three sonnes, *Lewis*, *John*, and *Charles*: and one daughter named *Katherine*, all by *Elizabeth* of Bauaria, one of the chiefe fire-brands of this Tragedie: an outrageous woman, an vnnatural mother, and altogether vnworthie of this crowne. These three sonnes were *Daulphins* one after another in their fathers life: but *Charles* succeeded him, notwithstanding all crosses and difficulties: and *Katherine* his sister was married to *Henry* the 5. King of England; a mournfull gage of a horrible confusion for this Realme. But alas, how many cruell acts of ambition, vanitie, and treacherie of such as held the helme of this estate, being either royall persons, or serled in the highest dignities? How many changes and reuolutions of these froward humors, daring any thing vnder the libertie of this raigne: the King being either a child, or sick, and alwaies weake and vnable to gouerne so great a charge? In the first Scene of this Tragedie, we shall see the Vnckles of this young King in diuision one against another. *Lewis* Duke of Anjou (declared Regent, as first Prince of the blood) is crossed by his breethren, the Dukes of Berrie and Bourgoigne, and he abuseth his authoritie imperiously. *Lewis* Duke of Anjou beeing dead, *Lewis* Duke of Orleans, brother to King *Charles* the sixth shall take his place, as the first Prince, and shall fall to quarrell with *Philip* the Hardie Duke of Bourgoigne, his Vnckle, who dying, shall leaue *John* his sonne successor of his iealousie, against *Lewis* Duke of Orleans his cousin. *John* shall exceed all humanitie, and kill him; but the hatred shall not die, beeing transplanted into *Charles* Duke of Orleans, sonne to *Lewis* massacred, the which shall breed infinit troubles. The *Daulphins* shall play their parts, sometimes friends, and sometimes enemies one to another. *John* who had murdered *Lewis* of Orleans, shall be slain by *Charles* the *Daulphin*, who shall be King: but from *John* shall spring another *Philip* of Bourgoigne, who shall kindle a new fire, to be reuenged of his fathers death. The stranger is engaged in these ciuill warres: women augment it by their furies. On the one side *Valentine* Duchesse of Orleans: on the other *Isabel* Queene of France. The Constables of Clifton and Armagnac are likewise drawne in: and the subiect growes licentious in these disorders. Passion preuailes with such a furie, as the mother forgets the birth of her owne wombe, and so abuteth her authoritie, as she dares attempt (against the fundamentall lawe of State) to giue the realme to a stranger, who was crowned, and proclaimed King in the heart of France, by her boldnesse.

These be the contents of this wretched raigne, with these two parcels distinctly to be obserued; the Kings Minoritie, and his Maioritie, and thereby we shall diuide our whole discourse.

### THE MINORITIE OF KING Charles the sixth.

FROM THE YEARE, 1380.

When as *CHARLES* receiued the Crowne by the decease of his Father, vnto the yeare 87. that he dismissed his Vnckles, to rule alone with absolute authoritie.

F HE generall estates assemble at Paris, presently after the death of *Charles*, called the Wife, to prouide for the gouernement of the King and Realm, and to auoide all apparant iealousie betwixt the Kings Vnckles, they decreed, That according to the declaration made by their good King deceased, *Charles* his sonne should be annointed and crowned King, and that vntill he were of competent age to gouerne so great an estate, *Lewis* Duke of Anjou, (as eldest of the house of France, and so the first Prince of the blood) should be Regent; and haue the

X 3

an-



1380.

*authoritie of Councell and royall commaund.* And likewise by vertue of King Charles his will, A *Oliuer of Clifton* (a braue and valiant Knight borne in Brittain) was made Constable of France. *Oliuer* of Clifton tooke possession of his charge, preparing for the Kings Coronation: and the Duke of Aniou receiuing the Kings treasure, which they say was eightene hundred thousand Crownes. A very great summe for those times, and after so wretched a season. He forced *Sauvigny* the head Treasurer, to deliuer those summes into his hands, and by this excesse laide the ground of a great presumption which followed.

A controuersie for precedence between the Kings Vnclles at his coronation.

Charles is annointed at Rheims, and crowned after the custome of France, the 25. of October, in the yeare 1380. in a sollemne assembly of his Princes of the blood, Princes allyed, and Officers of this Crowne. The Dukes of Aniou, Berry, and Bourgogne the Kings Vnclles, *Wencelin* Duke of Brabant, the Dukes of Lorraine and Barre, the Earles of Sauoy, of Marche and Eu (friends and confederates to our Kings) did assit. At this tolemnitie there was some question for place, whether should take it: the Duke of Aniou as Regent of the Realme, or the Duke of Bourgogne as first Peere of France and Deane of the Peeres: distinguishing the degrees according to their qualities, to whom the order was giuen.

The King to crowne his infant by some notable act, tooke vpon him to decide this controuersie, and decreed: *That for as much as at the Kings annoyning, the Peeres of Fraunce ought to hold the first rank, in all ceremonies: the Duke of Bourgogne as the first Peere. should take place of the Duke of Aniou:* and so *Philip* was preferred before his elder brother, continuing the possession of the name of *Hardie*, the which hee purchaseth in defending his father *John* so stoutly at the battaile of Poitiers. But he increased this name of *Hardie* too much in his carriage, leauing it hereditarie to his children, conuerting this stoutnesse into an imperious presumption, which bred a huge deluge of miseries to the great prejudice of the whole realme. The day after the Coronation, the States beseech the Regent to prouide for the reliefe of the poore people, whose burthen was too heauie for the great arrearages they were to pay of debts growne in former raignes, and the rather for that there was no warre which imposed the necessitie of so great a charge.

The Regent did not yeeld thereunto, but continued these leauies of money more and more, which was the occasion of tumults in diuers Prouinces of France, as if this popular humor had bene like vnto a pestilent feauer, or an infectious disease. Flanders likewise kindled great fires vpon sandrie occasions, which were quenched with much trouble, after memorable combustions. Flanders shall imbarke first in this storme, and shall come last to land not without danger by strange accidents; to teach Princes, how farre they should presse their subiects; and for subiects, with what respect they should reuerence their Superiours, in seeking out remedies for their afflictions; for in the end (amiddest all these tumults) the victors weepe and lament in the ruine and notable losse and ouerthrow of the vanquished.

The Earle of Flanders seeks reuenge of his subiects.

We haue said, that *Philip* Duke of Bourgogne, made a composition for the Gantois, with the Earle of Flanders his father in lawe. But this accord lasted not long: for the Earle disdain- ing the indignities he had digested, during the sedition, could not forget them: but vnder- fained quarrels (to the end they should haue no cause of complaint, as breaking the accord) E hee pincheth some, and ruines others: and for that the Gantois stood vpon their guard, not suffering the Earles men to attempt any thing within the limits of their Cittie, he made a search in the Cittie of Bruges, (where hee commaunded absolutely) for such as had bene of the faction of White Cappes, where hee executed aboute siue hundred. This execution kindled a new fire: Gand falls to armes, and Ypre followes; to whose succour the Gantois send three thousand men. The Earle beeing the stronger, cuttes them in peeces betwixt Cortray and Pourprigny, as they march: Ypre yeelds vnto him; beeing entred the Towne, he cuttes off leauen hundred of the chiefest mens heades: and then without any stay, he marcheth to Gand, and beseegeth it. But his forces were too small in regard of that great and patious cittie, so as hauing employed all his meanes, they had still the liber- F tie of foure gates.

The Gantois loth to be shut vp, and to endure the discommodities of a siege, hauing a wonderfull aduantage by the numbers of their people, resolute to prouide well for the gaide of the cittie, and then to draw forth a good troupe to spoile the countrie, and to force some of the Earles places, thereby to make a diuersion of the siege. They go to the field with fixe thou-

A thousand choise men, vnder the command of *John de Launoy* one of their Tribunes. They take and burne Tenremonde and Gramont, townes belonging to the Earle, committing infinite spoiles in the country. The Earle leaues the siege, and marcheth away with an intent to fight with them. He findes them nere to Niuelle, chargeth them, defeats them, and puts them to flight. They recouer the gates of Niuelle, and the Earle enters with them pell-mell, some of them (led by *Launoy*) recouer the fort of the towne: the Earle besiegeth them, and cauieth many fagots and bauins to be brought about this Tower, and to bee set on fire. All these poore wretches are burnt, making most horrible cries.

This Tribune intreateth, that they might be receiued to ranfome, and shewing his purse, B but receiuing no answer from them, but scornes and mockes, he casts himselfe from the top of the Tower vpon their halberds and pikes, and so hee dies very valiantly. This fight was horrible, and truly vnworthy of a Lord displeased with his subiects, and yet hee continued it with a new slaughter of this poore people, who beeing amazed with this great defeat, had neither feete to runne, nor hands to defend themselves. All are put to the sword, so as of fixe thousand, there hardly escape three hundred. But the Gantois shall soone haue their reuenge. At the brute hereof, they were as much amazed, as the Earle was puffed vp with pride to pursue his victorie, beeing in so ready a way for the execution and pursuit thereof.

In this disorder, the Gantois choose another head, *Philip* of Arteuille, sonne to *James* of C Arteuille, (who (as wee sayd) was slaine by the people) who aduiseeth them to humble themselves vnto their Earle, and to craue pardon. They are resolute, hauing necessity for their chiefe Councellour, praying and beseeching their Earle, *To haue pittie of the blood of his subiects, who submitted their liues and goods to his mercy, to dispose at his pleasure, either in pardoning them, or suffering them to depart, in abandoning their native Countrie, as a perpetuall banishment, that it would please him chely to graunt them their liues.* The Earle was greatly incensed against them, and in such a choler, as they could receiue no other answer: *But that all sorts within the Cittie, men and women above the age of fifteene yeeres, should barefeete and bareheaded submit themselves to his mercy, and being in this estate he would aduise what to doe.* They sue for mercy.

The Earle makes the Gantois desperate.

D The people of Gant seeing him transported with wrath, and no meanes to pacifie it; They resolute (by the aduice of *Philip* of Arteuille, their leader, in this extreame necessity) to hazard all, and not to hope for any safety but in dispaire, beeing the least of two mitchieues, to die courageously, for the liberty of their country, and defending themselves against the vniuolt violence of so inexorable a man: then hauing scene their wiues and daughters deflowred, they should either suruiue their infamy, or bee slaine and massacred without any defence, like dogges, at the mercy of so cruell an enemy. The euent, or rather God the protector of the afflicted, fauoured this courageous resolution. For the effecting hereof, they make choise of siue thousand of their most resolute and best armed men, to trie their fortunes against the Earle, and provide the best they can for the gard of the city: E with a generall resolution and consent; That if these siue thousand men should bee defeated: to the end they should not attend the doubtfull euent of a siege, nor fall into the hands of so irreconcilable an enemy, they would set fire of the city, and euery one saue himselfe as hee could.

This beeing concluded, *Philip* of Arteuille parts from Gant, with his desperate troupe, and marcheth directly to Bruges, takes a seat of aduantage, and intrencheth himselfe, attending the oportunitie, either to defend themselves with aduantage, or to fall vpon the enemy. The Earle puffed vp with his first successe, imagining them too few for the Laquais belonging to the Gentlemen of his traine, came to charge them within their trenches, and to force them to fight. *Arteuille* not like a Brewer of beere, as hee was, but as a great captain, ordred his troopes with such dexterity, as the Earles army had the sunne in their eyes: F vpon this sodaine change, hauing a full view of the Earles men, he goes resolutely to the charge, leading forth this desperate troupe, which fell vpon them like a great streame of water, breaking forth suddenly, hauing found a passage. The first ranks (troubled with the sunne beames which dazeled their eyes, and not able to withstand so violent a charge) giue way, and turning their backs, they disorder all the rest.

The Earle of Flanders defeated by the Gantois.

The

1385.

The Gantois vpon this aduantage, teare all in peeces, they encounter, as famished Wolues doe in a flocke of sheepe. This braue Nobility flies, as astonied, and is put to the sword. The Earle cries, intreates, and runnes, but all in vaine: hee that had the swiftest horse, and the best legges to fle was the most valiant. The retreat from thence to Bruges was neere: the multitude flies thither, like a current of water. The Earle enters with the rest, not able to gather his men againe together, and shuts himselfe into his castle.

The Gantois following, and killing them that fled, enter pel mel, and seized vpon the gates. *Arteuile* hauing speedily provided for the guard thereof, the Gantois (being victors) disperse themselues through out the city, crying against the vanquished. *The Citie is wonne*: and liberty proclaimed for the good Citizens, killing al such as they found to fauor the Earle, searching all houses for his seruants, and commanding to spare the good citizens. The Earle (foreseeing by this brute) that the enemy would presently pursue him, he fodenly leaues his rich attire, and takes the simplest of one of his gromes, and so forsakes the castle, to seeke some corner to hide his head in. Hee was scarce gone out, but his castle was beset, and easily taken and spoiled, whilest that he saues himselfe in a poore womans house: where in her silly cottage she had onely one roome beneath, and aboue a garret, to the which they mounted by a ladder. The Earle creeps into this cabin, and the woman hides him in the bed-straw, where her children did lie, and comming downe, tooke away the ladder. The Gantois hauing made search in euery corner for the Earle, they came to the house where the Earle was, and searching it, they went vp to the place where he lay hidden. He that could haue read the secrets of this poore princes heart, in this amazement, should haue seene a remorse of conscience, for that he had not intreated his subiects with more mildnesse. Being thus freed, hee creeps out of this cottage, and gets forth of the towne, being alone and on foote: running from bush to bush, and from ditch to ditch, fearing euery one that passed: when as behold (lying hidden in a ditch) hee discouers a household seruant of his owne, named *Robert Marsball*, who takes him vp on horse-backe behind him, and in this order hee recouers Lisle.

This vnexpected successe bred new designes, in the frantick braine of this Tribune: and of this furious multitude, who should haue bene fatished to haue auoied this shipwrack, and (returning to their houses) should haue fallen to their vsuall trades, and haue vsed this profitable successe to good purpose, and made their peace with their lawfull Lord, being sufficiently chastised. But vanity thrusts them on, and the certainty of Gods threats shewed it selfe in the following punishment: to teach vs, *That man hath but the misery which he seeks by his owne folly*. A generall lesson for great and small, both for men, families, and States. *Arteuile* with his *Gantois* (hauing glutted themselues with the sacke and bloud of such as were any way affected to the Earle, hauing spoiled his castle, and left it desolate, beaten downe the gates of Bruges, and filled vp the ditches) from thence they goe to conquer the other cities of Flanders, where hee conceived a new Empire. Presently all obey him. Ypre, Dam, Bergues, Bourbourg, Furnes, Scluse, Pourprigne, Courtray and the lesser townes, Audenard resists. It is presently besieged. At the brute of this successe, all Flanders flies thither: so as in few daies there were aboute a hundred thousand men assembled before the towne. The Earle amazed with so violent a reuolt of all his subiects, hath recourse to his sonne in law *Philip* Duke of Bourgongne, that by his meanes hee might bee relieved from the King: although he were more affected to the English then French, hauing bin too much respected by our Kings. A proud prince in prosperity, and too much deiected in aduersity.

The Regent and the counsell refused to venture the King with this man in so dangerous a cause: but two reasons moued the King thereunto, and made him ouerrule both the Duke of Aniu his vncl, and his whole counsell by the perswasions of the Duke of Bourgongne. The one was *Arteuile* himselfe, who during the siege of Audenard (not content to haue ruined the Noblemens houses of the country) had made some roades vpon the frontiers of France.

The other was, King *Charles* dreamed that hee was mounted vpon a flying Hart, which carried him gently through the ayre, and a Heron vnder him, which did beat downe all other birds, came then flying to his fist, and the Hart brought him to the place from whence he

The Earle of Flanders in great perplexity.

All Flanders rallies and ioynes with the Gantois.

King Charles succors the Earle of Flanders, contrary to the aduice of the Regent and counsell.

1382.

He carried him to his great content. As the King conceived a delight to report this dreame, as presage of some good successe, so the Duke of Bourgogne laboured to drawe him into Flanders. The king vpon these motiues doth presently leaue an armie, and goes to field. *Arteuile* to auoide this storme, fortifies the passages of Flanders, especially Port du Lis, neere vnto Comines. The French surprise this passage politickely, hauing attended all night in the dirtie marsh vp to the ancles, expecting the commoditie of the passage. Their patience was the more commendable, for that it was in the depth of a sharp winter, in December. Comines and Verrain being taken, sackt and burnt, the towne of Ypre kills their gouernour, who would not suffer them to obey the King, and yeeld themselues, paying fortie thousand franks for a composition. By their example, Cassell, Bergues, Bourbourg, Grauelin, Furnes, Dunkerke, Pourprigne, Tourmont, Vaillant, Messine, and other neighbour townes resolute to seaze vpon their Gouernours, being *Gantois*: and to send them bound hands and fetters vnto the king, as testimonie that they had yeelded vpon force.

*Charles* receiues the townes to mercie, and cuts off the heads of these vnlawfull Gouernours. *Arteuile* fearing the reuolt of other Citties, and that his forces (which were great) would fall from him, resolues to preuent *Charles*, and to force him to fight, promising himselfe the like successe as he had against the Earle before Bruges. With this resolution hee chargeth the French army betwixt Cortray and Rosebecque, vpon the Mount of gold, which at the first shooke did somewhat amaze them, they recoyling a little, but without any disorder: yet supported by the Battaile and rereward, they breath, and all together charge this multitude with so great a furie, as all are put to flight, and cut in peeces, or taken with a strange disorder. They number aboute threescore thousand men slaine, and an infinite number of prisoners taken: after the Nobilitie had glutted their choller vpon this seditious rabble, who had made rebellion a vertue, *Philip* of *Arteuile* their leader was slaine: hee was found breathing among the dead carcases, whom the King commaunded to be hanged, and so hee had the reward of his imagined Empire.

This double euent may serue as a lesson, both for great and small, for great men, in the Earles person; for small, in that of this Tribune. For the first, to commaund well, for the others to obey well: and for all, not to passe the bounds of their duties. God punishing the great for their tyranny and crueltye, and the lesser for their disobedience: dangerous plagues of mankind, the which cannot stand but by order and authoritie, well gouerned, and well applied.

They call this ouerthrow the battaile of Rosebecque, which chanced in the yeare 1382. in December: it was the more remarkable, for that the vanquished had soone their reuenge. *Charles* thus victorious, could not manage his victorie; for in stead of surprising the Gantois in this amazement, he lingers too long at Cortray, to seeke out the remainder of those miserable mutines, which remained in this defeate: whereas, in pardoning the vanquished, the victor gets a double victorie.

This place also (being infamous by a great ouerthrow which chanced in the yeare 1312) moued him to choler, for that this ill aduised people, to note the memorie of that day, did celebrate a sollemne feast yearely, and had reserued fise hundred paire of gilt spurs, which they had taken from the French in that battell. *Charles* was so transported with the memory of this audacious indignitie, as he caused this poore Towne to be burnt. An vnworthie reuenge off so great a Monarke, who should hold it the greatest reuenge vpon his enemies, to pardon when he may reuenge. The Duke of Bourgogne in all this confusion, did not forget to seeke for goodly moueables, wherof there was abundance. He carried away that goodly clocke, and that exquisite tapistrie, which is now at Dijon in the Kings house.

The Gantois seeing their ruine; fle to *Richard* King of England: they choose *Francis Arteuile*, one of their Citizens for their head, and renew the league of white caps, more obstinately then before, being resolute to die, rather then to trust their Earle, to whom they imputed the cause of all their miseries, the which had continued fise yeares, and deuoured two hundred thousand men. So fatall are ciuil dissensions betwixt the Lord and his subiects. *Lewis* their Earle hauing laboured to settle his affaires both by the French and English, against the Gantois, feeling daily the inconueniences of this rebellious people, as thornes in his sides, fell into such a melancholie, as he died, leaving his whole estate much troubled,

The townes of Flanders seaze vpon their Gouernours and send them to the King.

The Flemings ouercome by Charles, and therefore thousand slaine.

Gantois fleke for cour from England.

to

1384

to his sonne in law, *Philip* Duke of Bourgogne, who being farre engaged in his father in lawes quarrell, was nothing pleasing to this his people.

The warre was renewed, both by practises of the English, and by the meanes of *Arreman*, the head of that faction, who hauing tasted the sweet of popular command, desired nothing more then to maintaine this diuision: but there fell out a sodaine accident, which pacified all this great trouble, as a little raine doth a great winde. Two citizens of Gant (whose names deserued well to be registred in this history) discoursing one day of their common miseries, and noting the true causes of these calamities within their city, as feeling the wound, they sought the meanes to cure it, the which had continued so long, and cost their miserable country so deere. The Kings pleasure, and the Duke of Bourgognes, must be knowne: they were not ignorant of the peoples humour, being very wearie of so many miseries.

A strange  
meanes to  
pacifie Gant.

Their enterprise was not without exceeding danger, by the absolute authority of three or foure, who had most credit with the people, being susceptible of any mischief, when they are thrust forward with a shew of good. It was requisite in the managing of so important a businesse to vse wisdom and secrecy, vntill the foundation were well laied: and for the execution thereof, there needed one which had both credit and authority with both parties. The God of peace presented one vnto them, which governed this action discretely, *John Delle*, a gentleman of Gant, but bred vp in the court of France. Hee that seekes peace, findes it. This *Delle* goes to the King, and Duke of Bourgogne, he laies open his peace, and is well entertained. He returns with a good answere, both by letters of credit, and priuate instructions, to the Gantois. At his returne the matter is so well furthered by those two citizens (who were in great reputation with the people) as without the priuity of *Arreman*, or the English Negotiators, the banner of Flanders (the signall of their popular power) is follemlly planted in the great market place. All the people flocke thither, where hauing signified vnto the chiefe Magistrats, that they would haue peace, and obey the duke of Bourgogne their Prince; Deputies are appointed with power to negotiate and conclude a peace with him. This was effected after a long confusion, to the content, both of the Earle and Flemings. Of a light beginning, God performs a great worke, when it pleaseth him. Thus the duke of Bourgogne pacified Flanders in the yeere 1384. when as hee feared greatest tumults by meanes of some seditious persons: to whose great grieve a peace was proclaimed throughout all the Estates of Flanders, which gaue an incredible content to all the people after so many miseries.

Peace in Flanders.

Now King *Charles* grew great, and although hee were but sixteene yeeres of age, yet was he desirous to marry. The duke of Aniou his vnckle, according to the aduice which King *Charles* the wife had giuen on his death bed, thought good to seeke him out a marriage in Germany, in the house of Bauaria, to counterballance the credit of the Emperour *Maximilian*, no friend to the house of France, what shew soeuer he made. Hee therefore marrieth with *Isabel* the daughter of *Stephen* duke of Bauaria, a princeesse from whom they expected much good: but she brought infinit troubles to France, as we shal see hereafter. Thus mans wisdom is deceiued, when as he hopes for best: that God might be knowne for the author of all good, both in the family and State. This imperious *Proserpina*, verified the prouerbe, *That a woman raiseth, or ruines a house*. She had almost ouerthrowne the State. But shortly there shal an Italian woman be ioyned to this Germaine, to augment the confusions of this reigne, reasonable good in the beginning, but very miserable in the end. This yeere likewise concluded a peace in Brittain, after many troubles, *John* of Montfort hauing renewed his homage to the King, and sworne fealty, which shall not long continue, to the great prejudice of the King and his realme.

Charles marrieth with Isabel of Bauaria.

Peace in Brittain.

Charles sends men and munition into Scotland.

The truce was continued in shew betwixt France and England, but with no more loue of the two Kings, then betwixt capitall enemies, who sought to annoy one another by new attempts. *Charles* hauing pacified Flanders and Brittain, resolues to be reuenged of *Richard*, who had sought all meanes to annoy him in either province, besides the ordinary brauadoes hee gaue him within the heart of his realme. Hee therefore sends a thousand men at armes to *David* King of Scots, and threescore ships well appointed with furniture to arme twelue thousand men of his country, vnder the command of *John* of Vienne, Admirall of France.

1382.

A France. Their entry into Scotland was pleasing, but the Scottishmen grew soone discontented with our men, either through their fault or ours, they accusing vs of insolency and insolence, and we them of barbarousnesse and cruelty to their friend a stranger, who came to succour them.

This diuision caused *David* to make a peace with *Richard*, and our Admirall of Vienne to returne speedily home with his Frenchmen: but not without obseruing the manners, strength and commodities of this Island, diuided into two kingdomes. And least hee should seeme to haue made a fruitlesse voiage, yeelding an account vnto the King of what hee had done, scene and learned in Scotland, hee lets him vnderstand, that the strength of Scotland consisted but in five thousand horse and thirty thousand foote halfe armed. And that of England in eight thousand horsemen, and 60000. foote men. This relation (were it true or false) gaue aduice to assaile the King of England in his owne country, where he might be vanquished with more facility then abroad, the which so moued the minde of this yong prince (transported with the great harmes suffered with such indignity by the English) as it was easie for the duke of Bourgogne whom it much concerned to haue the English molested, being often disquieted by them in his country of Flanders, to perswade the King to undertake this warre. Opportunity did likewise seeme to inuite him, for that the duke of Lancaster (pretending right to the realme of Castile by his wife) had exhausted England, both of men and money, and the Gantois being pacified, all Flanders would be held in subiection by this check.

Charles resolues to make warre in England.

The Regent acquainted with the duke of Bourgognes humour being his brother (who for his priuate interest would hazard the whole) and noting the eminent dangers in the Kings person (who would imbarke himself in this action) the great want of money, the peoples exclamations, the great danger of tumults by the great exactions which must be made, and in the action it selfe, the inconueniency so apparent to any one that would open his eyes, the impossibility of so great an enterprise, to assaile a great King (so oft a Conquerour) within his owne Realme, not holding any land there; hee was vtterly against it, yet he spake soberly, least he should offend the King, who greatly affected it.

*Lewis* Earle of Touraine the Kings brother (who soone shalbe duke of Orleans) the Count *Cliffon*, the Earle of Saint *Pol*, the Lord of *Coussy*, and others in whom *Charles* had most trust, had beene so perswaded by the Duke of Bourgogne, as they had nothing else in their mouths, norhing founded in this yong Princes eares, but the necessity, profit, honour and facility of this voiage. What my Liege (say they) are you lesse then the King of England? shal the French yeeld to the English in valour, courage or force? what an indignity is it to haue this people alwaies at our gates, to nourish them in our bosomes, and to furnish them with armes to beat vs? what a benefit will it be to take their nest from them and leaue them no place of retreat? The Countries of Guienne, Normandy, Picardy and Flanders, are wholly yours. How much doth that import for the honour of your Maiesty, and the good of your Realme, to returne them their owne, who haue so often defeated your armies, taken your ancestors, spoiled your Estate, braued it in your towns, and besieged your chiefe city of Paris? As for the facility of the execution, who sees not but you may effect it if you please? The Saxons conquered England with a handfull of men, farre from their owne home and with small meanes, and *William* the Conquerour with his sword alone. And you my Liege hauing a realme full of men, victuals and money, euen at your enemies gate, shall not you preuaile? England opens her armes vnto you: your Realme inuites you, which without doubt will employ both heart and purse for so great and generous a designe, the which imports both the honour and quiet of your Maiesty.

Such and like speeches they did continually buzze into *Charles* his eares, but from his Chamber they were published in the Court, and so throughout the whole realme, as that which pleaseth the King doth commonly please all. The designe was to be wished against a capitall enemy of the State, and the proceeding had a faire shew. At the generall instance of all the French, the King decrees in counsell, to leauy a great army, for the voiage of England: letters are sent out to all parts, subsidies, taxes, loans imposed, greater then during the imprisonment of King *John*, but all was shadowed with this reason. That they must endeavour once for all, to roote out the English, who vndermined this Estate and sought

1382.

Preparation  
for the war  
in England.A strong fort  
of wood  
made.The prepara-  
tion of the  
English for  
their defence.

sought to ruine it. This decree was put in execution with great applause of all men, as if France had laied new foundations of her greatnesse, both to warrant it selfe from danger at hand, to haue a reuenge of former losses, and to build a new Estate at the cost of the common enemy of the French nation. The Navy is prepared at Scuse and Blanbergue to the great content of the Flemings. They armed foure hundred eighty seuen ships for war, with an infinite quantity of victuals the which came from all parts like to a flowing streame. The nobility strues who shalbe best appointed. Strange Princes are inuited. The King of Spaine (then a friend to our King) the Earle of Sauoy, the dukes of Saxony and Bauaria send men. Our princes will not yeeld one to another in costly shewes: they adde superfluous curiosity to necessity. They paint and gild their shippes, all glisters with goodly ensignes, pennons, banners, standards and streamers. The masts painted with rich grounds shining with leaues of gold, gaue notice to all men, that they went not onely to a certaine victory, but to some ioyfull nuptials. But all this feast was made without any reckoning with God, who laughs from heauen at these ants, that strue to climbe without a ladder, and at princes, who made these brauadoes at the poore peoples cost, who remembred not that God hath a souereigne court, and a register to controll their actions, and to oppose against their vanities. The army was prepared in two places, in Flanders, and in Britan. It consisted of twenty thousand Knights and Squires, as many Genouois archers on foote, and fise hundred men at armes Britains, vnder the command of the Constable *Cliffon*, who was with the fleet in Britan. They had a care safely to lodge this great army after their descent in England, expecting with safety the variable euent of warre, against a King and people, whom they came to fight with, on their owne dunghill. To preuent all inconueniences, they build a great frame or engine (some attribute this inuention to the Constable *Cliffon*, others to *John* of Viennne, Admirall of France, who had laide the first plot of this enterprise) like to a towne of warre, with towers, bastions, bulwarkes, flankes and other defences, according to the manner of that age. There was a lodging for the King and his court, according to the degrees of princes, officers and noblemen of marke: lodgings for the chiefe of the army, according to their quarters, and space to set vp their tents and pauillions, halls and common places for the munition and victuals which followed the army, and to conclude, conuenient roome to imbattell a great number of men of warre.

This inclosure or frame was round, and made of many peeces with admirable art, and so great abundance of stufte, as if they had cut downe a whole forest: it was finished with wonderfull speed, by the great number of workemen which came from all parts. To the men, ships, victuals, and this engine, the Kings court gaue an extraordinary beauty, beeing accompanied with the Dukes of Lorraine and Bar, the Earles of Sauoy, Armagnac, Geneue, Saint Pol, Longueuille, Eu, Daulphin of Auvergne, the Lord of Couffy, Maister *William* of Namur, with all the great Barons of France, and an infinite number of braue nobility who imbarkeed themselves more willingly then in the voiage to the holy land. Thus was the preparation made in France for England, where they remained in great perplexity, to see so great a storme ready to fall vpon them. They prouide the best they can, first by deuotion, (hauing recourse vnto God) then they fortifie their portes and all passages with great diligence, both with men of warre and all sorts of incombers, to helpe those places which nature had made of hard acceffe in this Island. They say that *Richard* leauied a hundred thousand foote, and ten thousand horse, which was not answerable to the Admirals relation, the first Architect of this ridiculous attempt. But thus are princes oft times abused, imbarkeing themselves in dangerous actions without reason, whose ends are not answerable to their beginnings.

All was ready in the end of September: the King had prouided for the gouernment of the realme in his absence, leauing his brother *Lewis* Earle of Touraine, assisted with the Duke of Berry his vnckle, and the bishop of Beauvois his chancellour. Thus he parts from Paris, and comes to Scuse with great speed, to recouer the time lost. The Regent should not abandon his person in so long and important a voiage, but hee staies behind the King promising to follow presently, but his meaning was to bring this enterprise to nothing. The King beeing arriued, the houres of stay are tedious, hee tels the minutes, and complains of the time lost: hee sollicites his vnckle to come by sundry letters, and sends post after post,

1382.

A hee stamps, he chafes by reason of his stay. The whole Court is of the same humour. The Duke of Aniou answers the King, that hee will part to morrow, but hee staies at Paris to make good chere at leisure, of purpose to draw on winter, to make the voyage impossible, and so to ouer-throw the action, the which was neuer pleasing vnto him, either for that it was pleasing to the Duke of Bourgongne his brother, and so to crosse him, or for that hee held it preiudiciall to the King and his realme.

B But seeing himselfe prest by importunity, and impatient letters from the King, hee parts from Paris, and the same day the Constable *Cliffon* wayes anchor at Lantriguer in Brittainne, with this great Towne of wood, and seuentie two ships of warre, meaning to ioyne with the whole body of the army at Scuse: but it fell out contrary to his desseigne, and other-wise B then the facility of his supposed victory had represented vnto him.

For hauing run his course towards Flanders, to take port at Scuse, behold a contrary wind casts him vpon the coast of England, where (notwithstanding all the diligence of his Mariners) his fleet was dispersed into diuerse parts, three ships (wherein this great Engine was) are driuen into England, and runne on ground at the mouth of the Riuer of Thames. Behold our Argonautes as much amazed to see them selues taken in a weire, as the English were glad, who with ioy and admiration see them selues possessed (beyond all hope, and without any paine) of that which had cost their enemies so much to ruine them. These newes sie speedily to King *Richard*, who commands this great booty to be brought vp the riuer vnto him, whether all the Country flockes to so strange a spectacle, and euery one holds it for a presage of good successe, to haue taken their City, which should haue taken C them. An other part of the Fleet is driuen into Zealand, and the Constable of Cliffon with the rest arriues at Scuse, much amazed at this first disaster.

All their ioy of an assured victory is conuerted into a generall feare, least some new losse should follow this vnfortunate beginning. But whilest this amazement troubled most of the French, the Duke of Bourgongne and those of his faction (who desired the performance of this voyage at any rate) made these difficulties light, as common accidents which should not hinder great enterprises, the which cannot be executed without some crosses, for the which they must seeke a remedy and not dispaire: Hee had perswaded the King againe, D easie to be drawne to what he desired. Herevpon the Regent arriues, who (seeing the King, resolved to imbarke) vales his maske, speakes plainly, and tels the King in his Counsell, That he will neuer consent hee should expose his person and estate to the hazard of the sea, of weather, and of war, and vpon an aduice which seemed apparently false: being most certaine that the King of England had assembled about a hundred thousand fighting men. That these first losses were aduertisements from heauen to bridle those vaine hopes, which are sooner conceiued then brought forth. He had alwayes sufficiently declared, that it was not his aduice, yet for that he would not seeme to contradict the Kings will, and crosse such as gaue him this counsell, as honorable to himselfe, and profitable to his Realme, he would not rashly oppose him selfe. But seeing now that God spake, hee did open his mouth the more boldly, bearing in his heart a faithfull zeale vnto the Kings seruice, and the good of E the State. That shortest errors being best, it were better to retire in time, then to make an absolute shipwrack of the Kings person, and the honour and good of the Realme, too much dismembred by former afflictions. This check from heauen which God had sent, Winter, and the feare of worse, made the Regents aduice to bee allowed, both by the King and his counsell, who changed opinion for their voyage to England. So this great enterprise was disappointed, being very preiudiciall to the poore people, who endured the warre than their enemy should haue felt, by an vnseasonable and excessiue charge.

I haue quoted this action in the yeare one thousand three hundred foure score and one, vnder the Regency of the Duke of Aniou. I know some attribute it to the Duke of Berry, but I haue followed the first opinion, vpon the relation of true Authors, and as it shall appeare by the progresse of this report most likely. This action was the cause of seditions at Paris and Rouen, bred without doubt by the discontent of this bad gouernment: for this great thew so incensed the people (being weary and griued to haue borne so great a burthen for so vaine an enterprise) as they rise at Paris, Rouen, Amiens, Poitiers, Lions, and many other Citties, by this new occasion which presently succeeded the first folly.

The



1382.  
Sedition at  
Paris.

Naples offered to the Regent.

The Regent was blamed by the people, to haue beene too slack in his opposition against this preparation for England, and the chiefe in Court hated him for being so hasty, for that hee was the onely staie thereof. Thus ill thought of by both, he was maligned of all hands. It chanced the realme of Naples was offered vnto him by Queene *Joane* and Pope *Clement* the seuenth. This was his whole desire, but he must conquer it by dint of sword. The title onely was offered him, both by her that might giue it as being heire, and by him that might confirme the donation as being Pope. All the Kings counsell (being weary of the Regents command) wished to see him gone, but they must flie to the people for money; the which was hard to get, as experience did witnesse.

Presently as they heere talke at Paris of a new imposition (although they sweetned these bitter pilles with the goodly name of subsidies) all the world begins to crie out, and from Paris this bruite flies through the whole Realme. The people runne tumultuously to the Greue, they desire the prouost of Marchants to bring them to the Regent, the which he de-laies from day to day by excuses, but in the end hee cannot retaine them. A great multitude runnes to the Regents lodging, they giue him to vaderstand, by their prouost, into what extremity they were brought, and vrge the late superfluous expences. To what end then (say they) serues a new warre to conquer a new kingdome in the ayre with the ruine of the widow and the Orpheline? This was not decreed, nor practised by the good and wise King *Charles*, wherevnto he had bound his sonne, who should not suffer the memory of his fathers ashes to bee taxed with this dishonour. The Chancellour *Dormans* speaks at the Regents request, hee laies before their eyes the necessity of this voiage whereby both the King and realme might reape profit and honour, promising the King should prouide for the reliefe of the people. This was gently put off, to make them loose this humour in diuiding them, but the people continue more obstinate, they require a plaine & resolute answer to their demand, so as the next day, they come in troupes before the Kings lodging, where the whole counsell was assembled with the Regent.

The King giues audience to the prouost of Merchants in the peoples name, who deliuer the same complaints. Then *John de Marais* an aduocate in parliament, an eloquent and popular man, prepared carefully for the purpose, makes a goodly and artificiall oration to diuert the people from this bitterness, laying before them their duties, the necessity of the Kings affaires, and the good which should redound by the enterprise of this forraigne warre. He omitted nothing of the office of a good Orator, but he preuailed not, for the people going from thence, without respect of the King or his counsell, runne presently to the Lewes, Lombards, and such other Marchants houses as had been accustomed to gather all publike exactions, they breake vp their shops and counting houses; they take away what was good, and ill intreate all such as they meet of that profession, yet they kill no man in this first tumult. The Regent winking at this insolency, and fearing least it should encrease by mouing the people already in choller, thinks it best to referre the matter to an other time, vntill the fume of this bitter discontent were blowne ouer, aduertisements coming from all parts of the realme, that the cities grew into the like humour.

But all this dissuades him not from his enterprise; he employs all such as he thinks fit to winne the people. *John de Marais*, *Peter de la Riviere*, *James Andelle* and such like Tribunes, who seemed to bee in credit with the people, in shewing themselves affected to the common good. And to loose no time, he prepares his army, being resolute to leauy this imposition by force, whatsoeuer it cost. The farmers of this leauy, haue charge to begin it. A Collector at the Halles requiring a denier from a poore woman, for a basket of herbs, shee crying out, a great troupe flocke about this collector and teare him in peeces.

But this is not all, in this tumult all runne together on heapes: Porters, Pedlers, Carters, Butchers, Tauerners and such like, the scumme of the baser sort, they goe in troupes to the towne-house, they breake open the doores, and take such armes as they finde. By the constables command they had made beetles or axes to arme their men withall, they take them, and so vse them, as this sedition was afterwards called, by the name of *Mait-totins*. Being thus armed, they goe to the Farmers lodgings, beate downe the doores, breake open cofers, cubberds and counting houses, they drawe forth their bookes and papers, they teare and burne them, they take away money and mouables, and in the end they

A. they kill and massacre all the farmers they can finde, searching all corners of their houles. They crie that one had saued himselfe in Saint *James* church at the Butchery, they runne thither, and murder him holding the Image of the blessed virgin in his armes. Some saue themselves in Saint *Germain* Abbay, where they are presently besieged. But whilest that some labour after this siege, the rest runne to the prisons of the Chasteler and Fourl' Euef- que where they release the prisoners and arme them. They bethinke themselves of a head, there was a very sufficient man in prison named *Hugh Aubriot*, who in former times had beene Prouost of the Marchants, and had with honour executed great charges, both in the Treasury and State, but for certaine dislikes of the vniuersity, (which was then in great cre-

B. on promise to be their leader, but being at liberty hee slips away and retires wisely to *Didoe* flie as plagues in a common-weale. This rable finding themselves countenanced by the departure of *Aubriot*, and recalling themselves from this phrensie, their hearts faint and euerie one bethinkes himselfe how to yeeld an account of that which had changed, all this zeale of publike good vanishing away with the consideration of priuate danger. Such as had most to loose (finding themselves actors in these insolencies) seeke for counsell of *John de Marais* a popular Aduocate, intreating him to bee intercessor for them vnto the King. The Vniuersity is also requested to employ their credit with the prouost of

C. Marchants and other notable citizens, which were not guilty of these phrensies.

There is a number chosen to goe to the King, and to sue for pardon. These deputies, in their habits, countenances and words shew the greatest sorrow that may bee, for an offence committed. *John de Marais* is their aduocate, the King hauing heard them, sends them away, vntill his counsell had aduised what answer to make: who decrees, That for punishment of this popular insolency, the City of Paris should pay a hundred thousand francs, and the heads of this sedition (with such as had broke the prisons, should be at the Kings discretion.

This decree is deliuered to *John de Marais* to make knowne vnto the Parisiens, in whose name hee had spoken to the Kings counsell. Hee acquaints them with the Article for the fine, and conceales the punishing of the Authors of this sedition: whether it were by commandment, or otherwise, the history makes no mention: yet hee kept their heads and his owne for the scaffold, as wee shall presently see, to reape the deferred punishment for dealing in these dangerous affaires, and to pay a deere interest of their popular brokerage. The Parisiens tamed by this reprehension, pay the hundred thousand francs, as a fine for their folly, and the whole taxation imposed for the warre of Naples, without any question.

These summes are giuen to the Regent for his voiage into Italy, where his bretheren, the Constable of Clifton and the greatest part of the council wished him, rather then in France (the Chancellour *Dormans* onely excepted, who soone shall reape the frute of his departure) notwithstanding any shew they made him, to see him in so good a way to settle his greatness. Hee parts from Paris taking an honourable leaue of the King, of his bretheren and of the whole Court, leauing the Regencie to the Dukes of Berry and Bourgongne vntill his returne. But taking the way of Italy, hee takes the way of much paine, and the Rendez-uous of death, which soone swallows vp both his life and all his desires. His army was goodly, some say thirty thousand horse and an infinit number of foote: others thirty thousand men without specifying horse or foot, but all agree that hee went to the conquest of this realme, not onely well accompanied but also well furnished with siluer, the necessary sinewes of a long warre. They gaue out, that it was the Treasor of *Charles* the fifth, the which he caused *Sauoy* to deliuer in the beginning of his Regency.

The order of the History commands mee now to set downe the titles of the Realme of Naples, for the which our *Lewis* of Aniou marcheth into Italy with his army, and the success of this voiage. VVee haue said, that *Charles* (brother to the King Saint *Lewis*) Duke of Aniou and Earle of prouence by his wife *Beatrix*, was called to the Realme of Naples by Pope *Vrbain* the fourth, and conquered the possession by his sword, hauing defeated *Man-froy* and *Conradin* of Sueuia.

That hee was dispossessed of Sicilia at the Sicilian Euen-song, by *Peter* of Arragon, sonne

1383.  
The cruel insolency of the Parisiens.

They sue to the King for pardon.

Lewis of Aniou crowned King of Naples, goes to take possession.



in law to Manfroy, fauoured by *Nicholas* the fourth taking from *Charles* what his predecef. A for *Vrbain* had giuen him, fo as after hee had contended long with *Peter* of Arragon, the realme of Naples remained vnto him, leauing it to his children with more trouble then content. This *Charles* of Aniou brother to Saint *Lewis*, had many children, *Charles*, *Robert*, *Lewis* and *Philip*. *Lewis* furnamed the Lame, married *Mary* daughter of *Stephen* King of Hongary. *Charles Martell* had two fonnes, *Lewis* and *Andrew*, *Lewis* was prince of Durazzo or Dirrachium, and *Philip* prince of Tarentum. All appeered on this Theater in some fort, but *Robert* second sonne to *Charles*, was King of Naples, and Earle of Prouence: he had one sonne named *Charles*, who succeeded him in these two Estates, and hee had but two daughters, *Ioane* and *Marguerite*.

*Ioane* as the eldest, was Queene of Naples and Contesse of Prouence, and was married to B *Andrew* brother of *Lewis* King of Hongary; a loose and an audacious princeesse, who slew her husband (as wee haue said) and married with *Lewis* sonne to *Philip* Prince of Tarentum, her cousin, against all order. *Lewis* King of Hongary, sonne to *Charles Martell*, comes to Naples, to reuenge the murder and adultery of this mastiue bitch: who flies with her incestuous husband into Prouence, yeelding him the free possession of the city of Naples, and that of the greatest part of the realme, some places remayning in Apulia, in the gard of certaine captaines, oonfident seruants vnto *Ioane*, who were the meanes to put her againe speedily in possession of that Estate, soone wonne and soone lost. It is manifest that the inuestiture of the realme of Naples belongs to the Sea of Rome. *Lewis* King of Hongary C being victor, hauing performed the duty of a good brother, and done all hee could against this vilanous murtheresse, returnes home, leauing all his new conquest to the disposition of Pope *Clement* the sixth a *Limosin*, then resident in Auignon.

*Ioane* means  
to recouer  
Naples.

*Ioane* who was neere vnto him, and to whom *Auignon* (where the Popes had now long held their Sea) belonged, had no great labour, for yeelding *Auignon* vnto him shee reco- uered Naples, both by the Popes fauour (who had the chiefe authority, as also by money, wherewith shee did both winne the Gouernors of places most easie to corrupt, and also leuied an army to force them that were most affected to the King of Hongary. Now shee is settled againe in the realme of Naples, with her adulterer *Lewis* of Tarentum, who suruiued not long after this exploite of Naples and the sale of *Auignon*. After his death shee marries presently with *James* of Arragon Duke of Calabria of whom shee was soone wearie, falling in loue with *Otho* of Brunswike, a young Germaine Prince, of a good house, but not of ability to support *Ioane*, so as shee held him not as a husband, but vsed him as a Stallion. Amidst these alterations of Naples, the Sea of Rome, was not quiet, for after the death of Pope *Gregory* the eleuenth, who retired from *Auignon* to Rome, the Colledge of Cardinals fel to a horrible contention for the Popes election: the Romans beeing resolute to haue one of their owne nation, and the French one of theirs, from whence sprong that strange Sichisme whereof we shall speake.

*Vrbain* the sixth, was chosen at Rome, after the decease of *Gregory* the eleuenth, and the French Cardinals yeelded to this election, but for that they said they had beene forced by the Romans, who had them in their power and threatned to kill them, vnder colour to change the aire, hauing obtained leaue to goe to Anagnia, they retire to Fundi, a City of the realme of Naples, fauoured by Queene *Ioane*, French by stocke and humour, and there they choofe *Clement* the seuenth for Pope, to oppose him against *Vrbain*. *Clement* retired to *Auignon*, and *Vrbain* keepes at Rome.

A Schisme in  
the Church.

Two Popes, two Seas, two Factions, which trouble all Christendome with horrible confusions. *Clement* seekes to fortifie himselfe, and as France held for him, so did hee labour to haue Naples wholie at his deuotion, by reason of the neerenesse, much importing for the city of Rome, where the chiefe quarrell was debated. Contrariwise *Vrbain* the sixth to be reuenged of *Ioane* (a partisan to *Clement* the seuenth his enemy) hath recourse to *Lewis* King of Hongarie the first interested, being brother to him whom this strumpet had slaine, that hee might oppose the same scourge which had already corrected her. But *Lewis* excusing himselfe by his age, and the infirmity of his body, sent him *Charles* issued from that *Lewis* Prince of Durazzo, who wee sayd, was sonne to *Charles* of Aniou, seeking e- uen in the race it selfe, a man to punish this wicked woman, giuing him a goodly army to that

A that end. *Lewis* seeing this great storme ready to fall on her, flies to Pope *Clement* the se- uenth, and by his aduice adopts our *Lewis* Duke of Aniou, of whom we now treat.

*Lewis* hauing prepared his army, and beeing crowned King of Naples and Sicile by Pope *Clement* the seauenth in Auignon, hee lands at Naples, to take possession of the realme, wherevnto the lawfull heire and the Popes authority did call him. But hee came too late, for *Charles* of Durazzo (being parted from Hongarie with his army, and happily landed,) entred the Country, ouer-came *Otho*, the pretended husband of *Ioane*, and holding him prisoner, hee forced this miserable woman to yeeld vnto his mercy, the which was to cruell a death as her life had beene execrable. Notwithstanding all these difficulties, *Lewis* B of Aniou (thrust forward by his owne ambition,) proceeded: hauing giuen such order to his affaires (after the adoption, made by *Ioane* in his fauour, and the Popes coronation) as hee procured all the Captaines of places to hold for him, hauing ingaged them by money and golden promises, so as many places held good for him: and the people desired him, being glad to be freed from *Ioane*, and to haue so mighty a Lord, to maintaine them in peace.

Queene *Ioane*  
taken and  
smothered.

*Lewis* enters the realme of Naples: at the first he winnes Tarentum and Beri, but whi- left he determines to proceed in his desseignes, death surpriseth him, making an end of his infinit ambition and of all his toyles; but not of his childrens, *Lewis* and *Charles*, nor of C their posterities. Thus *Charles* Prince of Durazzo, of the race of Aniou (called the Hon- garien, for that hee had beene borne and bred in Hongarie, and brought vp by King *Lewis*) remained peaceable King of Naples, leauing two Children, *Ladislaus* and *Ioane*, who shall prepare a new stage, whereon our Princes shall soone play their parts, as you shall vnder- stand. Let vs now returne to France: The Duke of Anious departure put all authority in- to the hands of the Dukes of Berry and Bourgogne, who began to manage the affaires of State at their pleasures. There was no great loue betwixt them, although they were bretheren, but onely to maintaine them-selues against such as might hinder their ambitious proiects. And for that they had knowne the Chancellor *Dormans*, to bee wholly affected to the Regent, they perswaded the young King to dismishe him, for some reasons, the which are D not specified in the Hiltory. But Princes want no colours when they will disgrace their ser- uants. *Peter Orgemont* was appointed in his place, after the seale had remained some time in the hands of *Robert* of Corby first president of the Court of parliament of Paris, and of *Philip Moulins* a Chanoine of the sayd city. But Flanders (which alwaies bred some mon- in that age) stirred vp by the English, and puffed vp by the ridiculous conclusion of this great and vaine preparation, began new troubles, and had practises with them of Paris, to draw the rest of the cities of the realme into some popular league. These newes put the King into great perplexity, the rather for that he had surprisid certaine letters from the Maillotins of Paris, to the white caps of Gant, to make a correspondency betwixt them, the accustomed Leuaine of rebellion with ill aduised people.

The Chancel-  
lor *Dormans*  
disgraced.

E As these things amaze both the King and his vnclcs, behold *Richard* lands at Calais, with an army vnder the command of the duke of Lancaster, who at the first spoiles Picardy, and then plants himselfe before Ypre, and besiegeth it. The Gantois had made a good shew, both to the King, and Duke of Bourgogne, vntill that time, seeming resolute to ob- serue their former accord: but the English army beeing entred into Flanders, they goe to field, and ioynce with them before Ypre. The Kings vnclcs muste men in all places with great diligence, and intreat their neere friends to come speedily to their succour. The Dukes of Lorraine and Bar make hast, the Duke of Britan comes with a goodly troupe. They haue sodenly assembled twenty thousand Frenchmen at armes, besides the succors of Lorraine and Britan, the number of foote is not specified.

The English  
encoe Picardy.

F *Charles* (thus accompanied) comes to Saint Denis in France and hauing taken leaue of the Martyrs (according to the ancient custome of Kings) and giuen the foreward of his ar- my to the leading of the Constable *Ciiffon*, and the Duke of Britan (the Constable march- ing before the Duke, by reason of his place) the ground of a dislike fell out betwixt them, which being nourished by diuers occasions, shalbe the subiect of a great defaister both for the King and realme.

A great quar-  
rell growes  
for Prece-  
dence.

1384

Charles makes  
a truce with  
the English.

The King followed (accompanied with the Dukes of Berry, Bourgogne and Bourbon) his vnclcs, and the Dukes of Lorraine and Bar: hee lodgeth at Blandelle, two leagues from Cassel, with an intent to charge the English, who presently leaue the siege of Ypre, Cassel and Grauelins, and retire to Bergues, where *Charles* presently besiegeth them. The English demand a parle with the Duke of Britan, they put him in minde of the benefites hee had receiued from their nation, and demand requitall in this occurrent. The duke of Lancaster remaines at Calais, by reason of his weaknesse: the English captaines require respite to vnderstand his pleasure.

In the end the King receiues them vpon honest conditions, to depart with bagge and baggage and to leaue Flanders, the which they performe. Being returned into England, they are accused to haue sold the Earldome of Flanders to the French, so as by *Richards* command they are beheaded. The Gantois made a dutifull answere, and promised obedience and loyaltie to the King. A truce was concluded for one yeere with the English, by meanes of the Duke of Lancaster for King *Richard*, and the Duke of Berry for our King *Charles*. Such was the issue of this sodaine voiage of Flanders, beeing a meane to settle a businesse of a deeper consultation and more dangerous consequence; seeing it concerned not onely the heart, but the whole body of State. They sought how to suppress the sedition, which was apparently bred in Paris, and by their example; in many great cities of the Realme. To this end, *Charles* vpon his returne from this voiage, staied at Saint Denis with his vnclcs, the constable, chancellour, and his whole counsell: they were all troubled to resolve in so important a cause, for what should they doe? To punish the poore people tired with the warres, threatened with losses, halfe dead by the feeling of so great calamities, that were to beat one lying sicke in his bed for his waywardnesse, and not to cure him of the paine which is the cause thereof. It were a meane to driue him to dispaire, to apply a remedy worse then the disease. And not to punish them, would argue feare, and make them grow more proud and insolent, a meane to animate them to all impunity, and to lay the way open to a disordered rebellion.

But the last aduice preuailed, being wel verified, that since the paiment of the fine, the Parisiens were growne worse, and more bitter: hauing had conference with the Gantois audacious mutines, and the right artisans of rebellion, holding it a vertue to play the madde men against their naturall Lords: and also had so farre abused the Kings bounty, as they had presumed to sollicit the best cities of the Realme to the like disorder. It did greatly import for the good of the Kings seruice and of the State, that such phrensies should bee suppressed by an exemplary punishment done vpon the chiefe authors. *John de Marais* was very deepe engaged in these tumults, and the more dangerously, for that he cast the stone, and withdrew his arme, and making a shew of seruice to the King, he fed the people in these mad humours, very torches of sedition, vnder a collour of the common-weale: for who can beleeue they would put so famous a person to death without some iust cause. I know they write diuersly, and euery man hath his iudgement free; yet is it not true nor likely, that in pardoning a whole multitude offending, they would punish him in whom there were no shew of offence. If hee were not culpable at the least, hee was accused of that which was the subiect of a publike condemnation.

*Charles* beeing aduised to punish the Parisiens for the insolencies they had committed in his presence, caused his army to lodge about the city, and on a certaine day he sends for the Prouost of Marchants and the Sheriffes, who come vnto him to Saint Denis, with a countenance full of humility, and shew of amendment. The King gaue them to vnderstand, by *Peter Orgemont* his Chancellor, that he ment to goe to his city of Paris, to punish the rebels and seditious, who had not respected his presence. The prouost makes answere. That the whole body of the city was wonderfully greeued for that which had beene committed by men in despaire, worthy to be seuerely punished, but the good citizens had no community with these rascalls, and that the whole city was ready to doe him faithfull seruice.

There were many about the King which made all odious that concerned the Parisiens: but *Charles* made them no other answere, but that hee would bee soone at Paris, and doe what reason and the ducitie of a good King required. Hee causeth his foreward to march, led by the Constable *Cliffon* and the Marshall of Sancerre, who seize vpon the gates,

The King enters Paris  
with his army.

1385

A the which they found open without any guards. The King accompanied with the Dukes of Berry, Bourgogne, and Bourbon, with other Lords of his Councell, and an infinit number of Noblemen and Gentlemen in great shew, terrible to the people, marcheth into the Cittie. Being come to Saint Denis gate, he causeth the barres to be beaten downe. The Prouost of Merchants, the Sheriffes, with the chiefe Inhabitants of the Cittie, carrying the keyes, beseech the King to giue them audience: he denyeth them, and passeth on to the house of *S. Pol*, but the army is disperfed throughout all the quarters of the Cittie. Presently they take away all the chaines, and send them to Bois de Vincennes. They search all houses for armes; the which are instantly carried to the Louure, and the Bastile. The Dukes of Berry and Bourgogne, with the Prouost and his Archers, go throughout the city, causing 300. of the most seditious to be apprehended.

The next day many heads were stricke off at the Halles, and amongst the rest, that of *John de Marais*, whom all men had heard of late discourse so eloquently with admiration, beeing held for the Oracle of France. These executions were done by fitts, with such a shewe of grauitie, as the seate of Iustice did more terrifie, then the executioners arme vpon the scaffold. A whole day was spent in these slow proceedings, the cittie gates beeing kept so straitly, as no man might issue forth: houses and shops were shut vp, with so great a silence, as if all had beene dead, euery man beeing hidden in his house, or else so amazed as he durst not looke into the streetes. The Vniuersitie (which then was in great credit with the King) becommeth sutor for the people, and beseecheth him not to include the innocent with the culpable. The King answereth coldly, that he would aduise what to do, willing them to retire. In the meane time a great Scaffold is made on the highest staire of the Pallace, before the great image of *Philip* the Faire, with great shew and pompe: in the midst was a royall throne, and seates on either side.

The Herald giue commandement throughout the cittie in the Kings name, that euery man should repaire to the Pallace at a certaine houre. The King sitting in his seat of Iustice hauing on either side of him, the Dukes of Berry, Bourgogne and Bourbon, his vnclcs, with all the rest of his Councell in order, he commanded *Pe. er Orgemont* his Chancellor, to deliuer his mind to the people of Paris. The multitude beeing disarmed, compassed in round about with armed men, beeing bare-headed, they fall vpon their knees, seeing *Orgemont* rise from his chaire: who hauing made a great obeysance to the King, he turnes to the multitude. If thou hadst (quoth he) O Cittie, as much care of thy durie, as thy Kings haue alwaies mildly and fatherly intreated thee, thou wouldest remember the soueraigne bountie and clemencie of our late King of happie memorie, *Charles* truly wise, who (desirous to tame thy folly and rashnesse by a wife mildnesse) pardoned the strange and cruell errors which thou haddest committed against his father being a prisoner, without any respect, afflicting the afflicted, and supporting his capitall enemy against him, with all trecherie and insolencie. Thou canst not denie, ingratefull people, how much thou wert indebted to that good Prince: duty did bind thee to sacrifice thy selfe cheerefully for him in his afflictions. But all these things being troden vnder foot, he vied towards thee all the humanitie, which the most affectionate and faithfull subiect may hope for of his Prince. His sonne our King seated at this day in the royall throne, and heire to his vertues, hath followed his fathers steppes in this mildnesse and clemencie, hauing supported thee more then a father could doe his child. But thou hast followed (beeing mad and ingratefull) thy wretched disposition, suffering thy selfe to be furiously transported by thy wicked Councillors (the firebrands of sedition and disobedience) and by the vnruely passions of thy blind furie. The goodly worke thou hast made of late, the disloyall intelligences thou hadst with those mutines, enemies of all command & policie: the audacious practises thou hast presumed to make in the Cities of this realm: and the blood which thou hast spilt in the bowels of this thy countrie, whereof she hath horror, feeling her bosome polluted with the blood vniuently shed by thy violent hands. All these horrible and tragick effects are knowne to the world: for the which thou canst yeeld no excuse, which doth not double the offence. O wretched people! be not these authentick testimonies to the whole Realme, yea to all nations, of thy ingratitude, disloyaltie, crueltie, villanie, and fury. Miserable, what hast thou deferred? The Kings bounty? But thou hast treacherously abused it. Thou hast made shew to contemne publike authoritie, drunke with thine owne phrensie

*John de Marais* a famous  
a. uocite with  
many others  
executed.

*Orgemont*'s  
speech, to the  
Parisians.

1387. " phrensie and of thy wicked Councillors. The King, the King I say, shall make thee seele, that A  
 " he hath one arme to support and maintaine the good, and another, to punish and roote out  
 " the wicked. Thou hast seene examples vpon these wicked heads, which made thee to forget  
 " thy duties; but the punishment is light in regard of the offence: neither doest thou seele any  
 " sinart, whereof thou thy selfe art not the cause. *Orgemont* hauing thus ended, turnes vnto the  
 King. My Liege (*with le*) is this it which your Maiestie commanded me to say vnto the  
 people. It is (answered the King) but this sufficeth not, in regard of what they haue deserued.  
 This short and rough answer from the King, the Chancellors speech, vttered with great ve-  
 hementie, and especially the bloud freshly spilt, which they did see as it were rebound vpon  
 the place of execution: the fearefull armes wherewith the people were compassed in, had B  
 brought them into extreame perplexitie, like men already in the graue: so as euery one be-  
 thought himselfe, according to his offences he had committed: and such as had wealth, ac-  
 cording to the enemies which did maligne them, beeing terrified with the tragicke specta-  
 cle of *Iohn de Marais*.

They stand all mute, their eyes fixed on the ground, prostrate before his throne, men and  
 women, young and old, infinite in number. In this great silence the Dukes of Berry and  
 Bourgogne rise from their seates with a very mournfull countenance, and fall at the Kings  
 feete, beseeching him to haue pittie of his poore Cittie of Paris, and not to comprehend the  
 innocent with the culpable, good men with rascals vnworthy of his grace. Presently after  
 their speech, without expecting any answer from the King, the sorrow of this miserable peo- C  
 ple, suppressed during these complaints and threats, burst forth into so lamentable a crie, as  
 if the whole cittie had bene lost. All cryed for mercie: there was nothing but cries, lamen-  
 tations and howlings of women and men, old and young. The Ladies and Gentlewomen  
 of the Cittie, with their heire hanging downe, full of teares, cry out: *Lege Lord, will you*  
*ruine your cittie of Paris for some rascals: let it begin by vs and ours, we desire not to suruine this*  
*miserie: take pittie (Lege Lord) of your people, who sue for pittie.* The people crie out againe  
 with a fearefull voyce; *Mercy, Mercy.*

The Parisiens  
cry for mercy.


This spectacle was pittifull to behold: there was no heart so hard but relented. The King  
 in the end answered, (the noise beeing quieted,) *That he would not punish the good for the bad,*  
*and that he did pardon the people, vpon condition, they should be better aduised hereafter, and not*  
*suffer themselves to be seduced by these wicked ring-leaders of sedition. That for Gods sake, and*  
*at his Vncles sute, he gaue life vnto the prisoners, paying such fines as his Councell should decree.*  
 Those to whom the prisoners belonged, cryed out, *God saue the King:* and the people freed  
 from their feare, redouble their cries with great ioy, and so they all depart. The Councell  
 decrees, *That forasmuch as the Cittie of Paris had bene engaged in this sedition, they should be*  
*deprived of their Magistrates, chaines and armes, and should loose all priuiledges vntill the King*  
*had otherwise determined. That for recompence of this capital crime, as well the prisoners, as*  
*all others guilty of the sedition, according to information duly made, should pay the moitie of*  
*their goods.* The which was speedily put in execution, to send home the men of warre, by  
 means of the great summes of money which they leuied by this exaction. Thus the sediti- E  
 on at Paris was suppressed, and afterwards at Rouen or Orleans, but with farre more rigor  
 then at Paris. An example for all subiects, how to oppose themselves against their Lords:  
 who soone or late make them to reape the fruites of their rashnesse and insolencie. Their  
 Magistrates, chaines, armes, and all priuiledges, were soone restored to the Parisiens, by  
 means of the Duke of Bourgogne, who from that time sought all means to creepe into  
 the peoples fauour, which he and his sonne shall vse no lesse then the Nauarrois had done:  
 this happened in the year of our Lord God 1387. in the moneth of December. This iust  
 execution did greatly countenance the young age of *Charles*, for that in so sollemne an act,  
 he had carried a countenance worthy of a royall Maiestie: His age and the name of a King,  
 made him know that he was a King; together with the daily instructions which did found in F  
 his eares, by his most inward and trustie seruants: yet his Vncles kept him stil in his minori-  
 tie, disposing of matters in counsell by their authoritie. *Charles* was much discontented with  
 this proceeding of the Dukes of Berry and Bourgogne, who should rather haue preuented  
 him, then he them, experience hauing taught all Frenchmen what he was. Hee therefore  
 seekes a remedie for their errour,

He

A He caused a Councell to be held at Rheimes, where it was decreed, *That Charles should*  
*be free from the government of his vncles: for that both his age and the prooue of his iudgment*  
*discreetly plainly that he was worthy to gouerne his realme.* This resolution greatly displea-  
 sed the Dukes of Berry and Bourgogne, who would gladly haue held a longer possession of  
 this royall authoritie which they enioyed, beeing discontented with such as had put this spi-  
 rit into the young King. The Cardinall of Laon (one of the first authors of this Councell)  
 enioyed it not long, for he died (not without suspition of poyson) *Iohn* of Montague shall  
 pay both principall and interest in his time. *Iohn Mercier* and the Lord of Noiant shal haue  
 their parts, these shall now enter into quarter, and haue all the credit. It is this Noiant which  
 caused the golden Hart in the Pallace to be made for a modell of that which he would make  
 B of gold, of the Ingots he had gathered together in the Tresurie, hauing reduced the coyn-  
 ed money into this forme, least *Charles*, a young Prince and very bountifull, should giue  
 it away prodigally. The Dukes of Berry and Bourgogne retire themselves quietly to their  
 houses, making a shew to be very well satisfied, although they hatched a great discontent,  
 and especially *Philip*, beeing a man of an imperious and insupportable spirit.  
 We haue drawne *Charles* out of his Minoritie, the first parcell of our discourse. Let vs  
 now see his Maioritie, into the which I tremble to enter, foreseeing so happie a beginning  
 to haue so lamentable an end. But alas! what shall we see therein, which we haue not seene  
 in our miserable age. Our experience shall be vnto vs a mournfull commentarie, most true  
 C in the raigne which we are to represent.


## The Maiority of King Charles the sixt.

Remarkable in two respects: Of Health, and Sicknesse.

D  E rained thirteene years, either with his Vncles or alone in his good sense,  
 and 29. in phrensie, not ruling but ruled, or rather rauished by the sundrie pa-  
 sions of others. So we will distinguish his Maioritie, according to the calcula-  
 tion of these two seasons, and in either of them the most famous acts of these  
 home-bred confusions.

## The first time of the kings health.

FROM THE YEARE 1388. VNTO 1393.

E  RANCE enioyed a long rest, the tempest of these popular tumults  
 being pacified, Flanders subdued, and the English forced to hold a  
 truce (by reason of their home-bred quarrels, the which brought  
 forth strange effects, as we shall hereafter shew.) *Charles* then under-  
 tooke the charge of his realme, to gouerne alone, without any Tu-  
 tors. The flower of his youth, framed to great affaires, and commen-  
 dable for his milde disposition, promised the fruites of a raigne both  
 wise, moderate, peacefull, and most happie. But oh the vanitie of  
 mans hopes! a dreame of him that wakes, a fruitlesse paine which hunts and gets nothing.  
 Being freed from the government of others, hauing absolute authoritie he was desirous  
 F to marrie *Lewis* his onely brother, and to giue him authoritie: neither would hee abandon  
 his cousins of Aniou, *Lewis* and *Charles* in their pretensions to the Realme of Naples. The  
 Estate of Milan did wonderfully import to aduance this action, for the commodities it hath  
 in Italy. To this end he married his brother *Lewis* with *Valentine* the daughter of *Iohn Galeas*  
 Duke of Milan, a marriage which succeeded not according to his desseine, no more then his  
 owne. An Italian woman ioyned with a Germaine, shall make strange worke; to shew, that  
 ill

1389. all is not gold that glisters: for both these marriages were built vpon grounds of apparent good, as farre as humane reason could comprehend, to the end they might haue great intelligences both in Germanie & Italy, alliances which import much for the good of France. *Philip* of Valois, the Kings brother, and *John* Duke of Orleans, were dead without children, and the Duchie returned to the Crowne. *Charles* giues this Duchie to his brother *Lewis*, who was but Earle of Touraine, and now shall be Duke of Orleans, and by this name shall be much spoken of.

In this profound peace, it was necessary for *Charles* to make himselfe knowne to his subiects, after so many confusions. He makes a progresse into Languedoc, one of the remotest Prouinces from his chiefe citie, lying vpon the Mediterranean sea, and yet one of the most fertill and best affected to the Crowne. Hee had especial reasons to visit this goodly Prouince, for the great complaints they made against the Duke of Berry their gouernour, who committed great extortions by his officers, vnder colour of authoritie. *Charles* passeth by Dijon to see his Vncle the Duke of Bourgogne, who accompanies him to Auignon. The Earle of Sauoy comes vnto him, the people of Daulphine and Viuarz shewe a wonderfull ioy to see their King after so troublesome a time. So he comes to Auignon, being kindly receiued and much made of by Pope *Clement* the 7. who could not stand without him, hauing *Vrbain* the sixt, for his competitor. The widow of *Lewis* Duke of Aniou repaired thither, who by the fauour of *Charles* caused *Lewis* the 2, her eldest sonne to be crowned King of Naples. This course we must hold for the continuance of our historie.

From Auignon he went into Languedoc to settle his authoritie, the which was much respected by the people of that countrie, but had beene greatly blemished by the gouernment of the Dukes of Aniou and Berry his Vncles, Gouernours of that goodly Prouince one after another. Hee stayes at Montpellier, a Cittie of a goodly and pleasant situation; where he heard many complaints against the Duke of Berry, his Vncle, for his great oppression of the contrie. But the absence of this Prince, and the authoritie of his name stayed the remedie to another season. The Estates of the countrie made sute to haue the Earle of Foix for their gouernour, hauing heretofore liued quietly vnder him; but he would not accept of this gouernement, without the good liking of the Duke of Berry, so as all the punishment fell vpon *Betizac* his chiefe Treasurer, who was burnt at *Beziers*, purging in the fire the extortions he had committed vnder his maisters authoritie.

At that time *Charles* King of Nauarre died, so often blemished in the truth of this historie: we haue noted how he had retired himselfe from Court, into his Realme of Nauarre. As this retreat was vnto him a reprochfull banishment, so this shamefull solitarinesse was a ciuill death. But the Catastrophe of his tragicall life was a famous prooffe, that God doth often reuenge notable sinnes by notable punishments euen in this life. He was much broken by the excesse of venerie, and all sorts of dissolutions, the which he had exceedingly vsed with his wonderfull tyrannie and crueltie. As they did annoint him with medicines fitte to warme and comfort his benumbed members (some say they had chafed him with *Aqua-vitæ*, and wrapt him in a sheete) behold, fire takes hold of this sheete with such violence, as (being vnable to quench it) he was consumed by degrees, liuing some daies, as suruiuing his paine; and that which increased the horror of Gods iudgement, his death made both great and small to reioyce, and was receiued in France with as great content, as the winning of a great and famous battaile. There was a generall truce betwixt the French and English, so as the garriisons lying still, the souldiers bred vp and nourished in armes, fighting no more by order vnder their ensignes, sought now their prey by disorder vpon the labourer and merchant. The countries of Rouergue, Perigott, Limosin, Auuergne, and La Marche, had English garriisons, who spoiled these countries, and did runne vp into the neereft parts of Languedoc, Velai, Genaudan, Viuarz and Suenes, where the villages are for the most part walled in, to preuent these sodaine incursions. There were many theues amongst them: *Teste noire* or *Black-pate* in the Castle of Ventador; *Ameriqor Marcel* at Roch-Vandais, who breaking the truce, fought to be supported by the King of England, but in the end they all fell into the hang-mans hands, or perished miserably by some strange death, an Image of our late confusions. Libertie had bred vp these warriors with so great abundance, as the English passed the sea to make Turneys, and to fight at barriers, as they vse at great Triumphs.

Notice the Dukes treachery banish.

The tragical death of the Nauarrais.

1389. Aumphs. There was a Tilt set vp betwixt Calais and S. Iaquelvuert, where the Nobilitie made small of their valour, as in a schoole of Fence. To take away this troublesome abundance, they took occasions to make long voyages into Castile and Italy, but in the end there was a very famous one offered against the milcreants of Barbarie, at the Geneuiois request, who suffered many discommodities in their trafficke, by these barbarous Africans. *Charles* granted them succours willingly, and gaue the charge of this warre to *Peter* Duke of Bourbon, assisted with the Earles of Auuergne and Foix, the Lords of Coucy, *Guy* of Tremouille, *John* of Vienne Admirall of France, *Philip* of Arthois Earle of Eu, *Philip* of Bar, Harcourt, Antioing, Linge, Pyquiny, and many other great men from all parts of the Realme, which ranne to so famous an action, vnder so worthy a commander, and at so great leysure, more painfull then the toyle of warre to men that desired nothing but employment. *Richard* King of England, to imitate *Charles*, granted succour to the Geneuiois, vnder the command of the Earle of Salisburie, accompanied with many Noble men and English Gentlemen, moued with desire like vnto the French, in the enterprife of this pleasing paine. The Deputies of the Kings of France and England assembled to treat of a generall peace, but not able to effect it, they continue a truce for foure yeares, with goodly prouisions against robberies, for the safetie and quiet of their Estates. *Charles* gaue free passage to the English, by the Countries of Languedoc and Daulphine, to passe the Alpes safely.

All come to Genoa, to the great ioy of the Geneuiois. Being shipt, they land within fewe daies in Barbarie. Presently they beseege the Cittie of Affricke. So our historie teares it, as bearing the name of all the vast and barbarous countrie. They call the African commanders *Agadinquor* of Olfierne, and *Brahadist* of Thunes. But our *Argonauts* found them which stayed their furie. The Barbarians defended themselves with an obstinate resolution. But their force did them lesse harme then the ayre, and diet, being very contrarie to their complexions, so as our armie decreased daily, especially of men of accompt. This siege continued fixe weekes with much losse and no hope to preuaile. The Geneuiois hauing conceiued a hope of a sodaine victorie, began to grow cold and slacke in furnishing of the armie. The Duke of Bourbon foreseeing the difficulties which might grow in continuing obstinate at this siege, fearing the winter, and not trusting the Geneuiois (who are famous for that they haue no faith) remembering the example of the King *S. Lewis*, resolved to returne, without any greater losse. He trusteth vp his baggage, and brings backe his troupes into France, continuing the example to all such as are capable of reason, how difficult it is for Christians to performe these strange attempts, after the experience of many ages. The French and English hauing liued louingly together in this voyage, returned to their houses, without doing of any memorabile act, but to haue indeuoured to doe something worthie of memorie, to auoid idleness during so peacefull a time.

Brittaine did then conceiue, and afterwards bring foorth more preiudiciall effects then Barbarie it selfe: and the way was made by light occasions to horrible and monstrous effects, to the great preiudice both of the King and Realme: for a notable testimonie to posteritie, what Councillors enuie and ambition be in a State: we like wretches seeke for peace, and when God giues it, we flie from it, we maligne another mans good, and deprive our selues of our owne. But alas! it were a small matter for a great personage to hurt himselfe by his owne passions, if this poison did not spread abroad to the preiudice of the commonweale. We haue said that *John* of Montfort remained peaceably Duke of Brittain, by the death of *Charles* of Blois, and the agreement he made with his widow, whose eldest sonne *John* of Brittain, Earle of Ponthieure was redeemed from prison out of England by the Constable *Cliffon*, who gaue him his daughter in marriage and payed his ranfome. The Constable was a Britton, and so a subiect to *John* of Montfort Duke of Brittain, his antient and capitall enemy, and yet by this new succession was become his Lord.

Doubtlesse in this qualitie *Cliffon* could not but yeeld vnto him as his vassall, but as Constable of France and deerey beloued of his master, the greatest Monarch in Europe, and Soueraigne to the Duke of Brittain, herein the Duke must needs respect him, his place giuing him authoritie in many notable actions, ouer the greatest personages within the Realme. This was the ground of their hate, which not onely embarked King *Charles*, Lord vnto them both, but carried him so farre into the maine, as hee could not auoide a notable shipwracke

A voyage into Affricke by the French & English together.

The Geneuiois alwayes faithfull.

1371.

Complains  
against the  
Duke of Brit-  
taine.He is reconcil-  
ed to the King  
& Constable.The Duke of  
Brittaine  
zeith treache-  
rily on the  
Constable.And repents  
what he had  
done.

shipwrack by their means. By the former accord, *John* of Montfort was to yeeld vnto *Cliff*. A  
*on* all his patrimony, whereon hee had seized vnder colour of a confiscation, reuoked by  
*Charles*, the which he had not yet performed. And although he had promised the King and  
 giuen him a new assurance, yet did hee not trust the King, but continued his intelligences  
 with the English, fortified his places, and coyned both gold and siluer against the Lawes of  
 State. Hee refused likewise to acknowledge *Clement* the seventh for lawfull Pope, whom  
 France approoued: not to suffer the Earle of Ponthieure aforesaid to beare the name and  
 armes of Brittain. These were the chiefe causes of their complaints and differences. The  
 King and his most secret Councell, *Mercier*, *Montagu*, and *la Reuiere* held for the Constable.  
 The Dukes of Berry, and Bourgongne, and the Chancellour *Orgemont*, for the Duke of  
 Brittain, a cunning dissembling Prince and high minded. Hee spake proudly, by reason of  
 his intelligence with England, which could not faile him and mildly when as hee found  
 meanes to do his businesse vnder-hand, and not to breake with the King. Hee comes to  
 Tours vnto *Charles*, where after many discourfes, their quarrels are ended by marriages: the  
 Kings daughter (beeing yet young) is promised to the Dukes sonne, and the sonne of *John*  
 Earle of Ponthieure (borne of the Constables daughter) to the Dukes daughter, who prom-  
 iseth likewise to restore *Cliffson* his lands, in shew friends, but in their hearts irreconcil-  
 able enemies. Here vpon *Cliffson* goes into Brittain to receiue his lands. The Duke held a  
 Parliament at Vannes, whether he called his Nobility. The Constable comes, fearing no  
 enemy: the Duke had built a Castle called the Hermine, where hee feasts the States. The  
 Constable is called, and welcomed with the first: this countenance did not shew what was  
 prepared for the end of the banquet against the Constable. After dinner the Duke taking  
 him by the hand, vnder colour to shew him his building, and to haue his aduise, as of a great  
 Capitaine and well scene in Architecture, hee leads him from place to place, through halls,  
 chambers, and closets, vntill hee had brought him to a great Towre, hauing an Iron doore,  
 wherein were armed men. The Duke enters first, the Constable followes him, as view-  
 ing the proportion of this worke, and the thicknesse of the walles by the windowes.  
 But behold the Duke slips out of the Towre, where hee leaues the Constable, and shuts  
 the doore after him.

This signe giuen, the armed men seaze vpon the Constables sword, and keepe him priso-  
 ner, putting Irons on his legges. The Constable was not so much amazed at this strange  
 vsage, as the Duke reioyced at this sweete content of reuenge, thinking to attaine the full  
 of his desires, to be reuenged of a capitall and cruell enemy, and in the heate of his fury he  
 commands a faithfull seruant of his, called *John Baualan*, to dispatch the Constable presen-  
 tly. *Baualan* accepts this charge, but he doth not execute it. Hee goes to the Towre and as-  
 sures him selfe of the Constables person, retaining the souldiours, whom the Duke com-  
 manded to obey him, and so he passeth the night with the Constable. But the night gaue  
 him Councell. The Duke transported with ioy in the heat of his choler, goes to his rest,  
 but care awaked him, and reason (of more force then his passion) lets him know the fault  
 he had committed, and repentance followed this first act. A wise seruant in not obeying  
 his maisters passion. The Duke lying restlesse a great part of the night, riseth early in the  
 morning, calleth *Baualan*, and demands what is become of the Constable; his passion be-  
 trayes his minde before he spake, witnessing the shame he had of his choler, and his griefe  
 for this furious charge. *Baualan* comforts him, and assures him that the Constable is well.  
 The Duke wonderfully glad of this newes, which freed him from so cruell a torment, com-  
 mands he should be well intreated and with respect, attending newes from the King: from  
 whom there comes post vpon post with complaints and commandements to the Duke.

The Duke without any great delay excuseth himselfe of his imprisonment, and sends the  
 Constable to the King. It had bene more auailable for him to haue suppressed his chol-  
 er, in committing this errour. But hee did verifie; *That hee which offends doth neuer forgive.* F  
 The Constable goes to the King to Blois, hee thanks him for his care in his deliuey: the  
 Duke doth likewise send vnto him, to craue a safe conduct to come him selfe to make his  
 iust excuses, and to shew what reason had moued him to put the Constable in prison.  
 The Dukes of Berry and Bourgongne holding openly for the Britton, obtaine leaue for  
 him to come vpon the Kings word. Hee comes well accompanied, and not onely iustifies  
 the

1398

A the taking of *Cliffson*, being his subiect, and in his owne countrey, but also he would haue  
 the King beholding vnto him for the respect he bare vnto his officer, whom otherwise hee  
 might iustly haue put to death. It is an easie matter for great men to manage their affaires  
 at their seruants cost. This Constable digested quietly this new affront, being glad to haue  
 recovered his libertie; but the Duke of Brittaines malice shall be the cause of great miserie  
 both to the King and Realme, seeking new deuises to satisfie his choler, a furious beast which  
 can neuer be tamed by flattery. It burst forth vpon a light and ridiculous subiect, which  
 bred a horrible Chaos of sundry confusions.

B *Peter Craon* a noble man of the Countrey of Aniou, had great credit with the King, and  
 with *Lewis* Duke of Orleans his brother, who loued him so deere, that he trusted him with  
 his greatest secrets, euen with his amorous passions, whereunto his loose disposition, his  
 age, ease, and Court made him too proane, to the great discontent of *Valentine* his wife,  
 who exceeding ielalous of her husband, and an Italian, seeking by all meanes to learne  
 how hee was affected, feeling him so cold to her, shee findes no better expedient then  
 to gaine *Craon*, whom shee handled so cunningly, as shee drewe the worme from his  
 nose.

Hauing speciall aduertisement of her husbands loues, shee threatens the Lady that was  
 beloued, and complains to her husband, naming the reporter. The Duke of Orleans find-  
 ing himselfe wronged by this disloyall affront done him by *Craon*, in a very light subiect,  
 C but a prooffe of his rash treacherie, vnworthy of so strict a friendship wherewith he had ho-  
 noured him, he complained to the King his brother, who loued him exceedingly. Both  
 of them detesting this disloyall rashnesse of *Craon*, as a trea-herous and an insufficient man,  
 holding him vnworthy of their seruice, dismisst him with great disgrace, refusing to see him  
 or to heare his pretended excuses.

This *Craon* retires to his house wonderfully perplexed with this disgrace, and finding  
 himselfe not greatly safe, hee retires to the Duke of Brittain his kinsman and deere  
 friend, to whom hee reports his misfortune. The Duke embraceth this occasion, and  
 with a deeper reach, perswades him that the Constable is the cause of this disgrace, ma-  
 king his profit of the passions of these young Princes, and proceeding in his discourse,  
 D (thrust on by the inueterate hatred he bare him) he perswades *Craon* to kill him, to ridde  
 the world of so pernicious a man: and thereupon offers him his meanes, vpon all oc-  
 casions.

This was that miserable counsell which hatred and malice gaue him, two bad counsellors:  
 for if choller be a short furie, who sees not by the effect, that hatred is a continuing rage, the  
 mother of reuenges, the seede of all miserie to mankind.

As it was simply concluded betwixt them, so was it vainly executed by *Peter* of *Craon*.  
 He had a house at Paris, whither he findes meanes to send men fit for this murder, and fol-  
 lowes himselfe secretly: (an easie matter in this great Forrest of Paris) who knowing the  
 howers of Court, and hauing set spies to obserue when the Constable should goe from the  
 E King at night to his lodging, he attends him with his murderers in a little house where he  
 should passe, and sets vpon him with twentie armed men.

The Constable thinking at the first, that the Duke of Orleans had done it in ieast, made  
 no great regard thereof, but vnderstanding it was *Craon*, hee defends himselfe, with a  
 great skene (such as they did vsually weare in those daies,) who beeing charged of all sides  
 by these twentie murderers, and crying for ayde, hee saues himselfe (all wounded) in a ba-  
 kers shop.

The people that were neare, came running at this noise: *Craon* saues himselfe on horse-  
 backe by Saint *Anthones* gate, with the greatest part of these murderers: three onely were  
 taken in this disorder.

F The Constable was carried to his lodging called the house of Mercie (it is now the  
 house of Guise, as the Historie obserues) all wounded. The King and Court (disquieted by  
 so audacious an attempt,) are all the night in tumult. These murderers beeing examined  
 confesse, that *Peter* of *Craon* had not onely caused them to commit this acte, but was also  
 present at the execution, and so they are beheaded.

The King comes to visit the Constable lying in bed: he doth comfort him, and assures  
 him,

Peter of Cra-  
on disgraced.The Duke per-  
suades him  
to murder  
Cliffson.The Consta-  
ble assaulted  
by Craon.



124

him, that he will not leaue fo execrable an act vnpunished. But in effect this affront so impudently done to his Constable in the bosome of the head Cittie, in the view of all his Court, and in his presence, together with the scorne of his audacious imprisonment, and the patience of *Cliffon*, who keeping silence, the indignities he had so oft receiued of the Duke of Brittain, pleaded for him, beeing sealed by these outragious wounds. All these things put *Charles* into such a choller, and made so great an impression in his heart of settled hatred against the Duke, as he was farre more sicke then the Constable himselfe.

Crown condemne  
ne for attempt  
ing against  
the Constable

King *Charles* assisted by his Councell, declares *Peter* of Craon guiltie of high Treason, and enemy to the Crowne of France, hauing attempted against his chiefe Officer, and doth cite him to come and iustifie himselfe speedily. He is called, and (not appearing) is condemned for his contempt: he is declared a banished man, and his bodie and goods confiscate. And in the execution of this sentence, his house at Paris was razed. The Tragedie began by this act, in the yeare, 1393. in the moneth of May, but it shall continue with many other mournfull acts, and shall cause new Scenes vpon this Stage. This sentence thus executed at Paris, it went into Aniou and Brittain. All *Craons* places and houses were seized on: and put into the Kings hands: and the Duke of Brittain was commanded by the same Commissioners to deliuer him. The Duke of Brittain excuseth himselfe, sweares that hee hath him not in his power: discouers the place where he is: makes offer of all his meanes, for the execution of Iustice: he sends to the King to reiterate his excuses, assuring him, that he was not priuie to this murder. *Craon* was fled to the towne of Sable in Maine, which appertained vnto him.

*Charles* (transported with choller) lost both meate and rest, incensed by the Duke of Orleans his brother, and his most trustie seruants, *Noyant*, *Mersier*, and *Montague*, dreaming of nothing more then to be reuenged of the Duke of Brittain, whom he held to be the very cause of this attempt. Such as were of iudgment and without passion, thought no otherwise. But alas! how weake is mans vnderstanding, euen in the best things, wherein there often wants a good proceeding. *Charles* had great cause to be grieved with the Duke of Brittain, but he should moderate the heate of his choller, by the temper of wisdom, expecting wisely a fit oportunitie to punish, not troubling the quiet of his mind with such violence, in seeking reuenge of his enemy.

We may well say, *That Charles had a good cause, but it was ill managed, and the Duke of Brittain a bad, the which he gouerned with policie.* Wherein our *Charles* should haue vsed cunning to crosse his enemies cunning, following the example of his wife father *Charles* the fit, who vanquished the Nauarrois with patience, and flying the vntempered rashnesse of *Iohn* his grandfather, who seeking hastily a reuenge of the same Nauarrois his enemy, did thrust himselfe into a mortall prison.

The children are neither heires of their fathers vertues, nor of their happinesse, whose bodies they haue by the will of God, beeing the instruments of their essence, but hee referres to himselfe the soueraignie of vertue and happinesse, to gouerne them in the difficult Labyrinths of this world. The Dukes of Berry and Bourgoigne aduise the King their Nephew to leaue the deciding of this quarrell to the Constable and *Craon*, and not to attempt any thing against the Duke of Brittain, who disauowed the fact, who feeling himselfe oppressed, would seeke for extraordinarie remedies to defend himselfe, whereby strange inconueniences might ensue.

But the King was resolute at any hand to make warre against the Duke of Brittain. All are sent for, euery man doth march, the *Rendez-vous* is at Mans. *Peter* of Craon retires from Sable, whilest this storme riseth: but the King marcheth on, assuring himselfe that hee was in Brittain, although some say that he was in Arragon, and that the Queene of Arragon had giuen him intelligence, that she held a French Knight prisoner at Perpignan, who would not discouer his name. This distempered choller had much impaired the Kings health, who carried in his face the disease of his mind.

His Physitians dissuaded him from this voyage, as most preiudiciall for his health, and the Duke of Brittain by a new excuse, beseeched him to belecue, that he had no dealings with *Peter* of Craon.

The King could not bee diuerted by all these difficulties, from passing on in this jour-

The Kings  
Vncles dis-  
suade him  
from the war  
of Brittain.

The King mar-  
ched against  
the Duke of  
Brittain.

A journey so wilfully vnderaken by him, although his Vncles found new deuises to stay him, both at Chartres and at Mans, employing his phisicians, to tell him, how dangerous it was to march in Sommer, beeing extreemly hote, considering the debilitie of his health, much impaired since his burning choller, the which had altered all his blood, whereof hee had part by daily feauers. But this passion of choller had so possessed his poore afflicted spirits, that such as were about him, besides himselfe, perceived his grieffe to be the greater, in that he was sensible of what he suffered: and his seruants espyed that which they could not but see in him, by the extreame apprehension they had of the harme which was at hand. Moreover, the Duke of Brittain (to calme this great storme which was readie to fall vpon him, although in truth he had hidden *Peter* of Craon at Sufmet, and was sorrie that hee had not

1393.

*Beardel*, a very famous man for the integritie of his life: to beseech him to belecue that hee was nothing guiltie of this attempt, neither did he know what was become of *Peter* of Craon, whom he would send vnto him with his hands and feete bound, if he were in his power. That he should not make warre against his owne Countrie, and against a poore people, which must suffer for another mans folly. In the end, this man pronounceth the threats of Gods iudgement against *Charles*, if he should proceede vnto warre, so lightly vnderaken against his vassals and subiects, and against the articles of marriage concluded betwixt his daughter and the Dukes sonne, as a seale of their loues. This Bishop was heard in Councel, and the Duke of Berry speaking more boldly then the rest (for the authoritie which his degree and white haire gaue him) laid open all that might hinder this voyage. But *Charles* stopp his eares to all good counsell, hauing his braine disposed to the distemperature which shall presently seaze vpon him, running headlong into the mischiefe which should afflict him and all France. He parts from Mans in Iuly, (in an exceeding hote day, as the Historie sayes as if all things had conspired to afflict this poore Prince) at nine of the clocke in the morning, to receiue the coolenesse of the greatest heate at Noone-tide, weake in head and mind, distempered with choller, grieffe, despiight and languishing: his bodie wearied with watching and distaste, not able to eate nor sleepe, hauing his head muffled with a great hood of Scarlet, and his bodie couered with a thicke Ierkin of Veluet: (too waightie for a sharpe winter) marching on a sandie plaine, so sealt with the Sunne beames, as the strongest did melt in sweate, and were out of breath. Beeing entred the forest of Mans, behold a man bare-headed and bare-legged, attired in a coate of white rugge, steps sodenly forth betwixt two trees, taking hold of the reynes of his horse: he stayes him, and sayes vnto him, *King, ride no farther, but returne backe, for thou art betrayed.*

The Duke of  
Brittain labors  
to fardie the  
King.

A strange ac-  
cident befalls  
the King.

*Charles* (whose spirits were otherwise dilled) was amazed at this voyce, and his blood greatly distempered. His seruants runne to this man, and with blowes make him leaue the reines of his horse, and so without any farther search the man vanished. After this accident there presently followes another. *Charles* and his Noblemen did ride in troupes deuided, by reason of the dust, and he himselfe all alone pensiuie with the pages of his chamber, who were so neere vnto him, as they trod on his horse heeles. He that was neereest carried his helmet vpon his head, and the next his lance, beeing garnished with crimfon silke. As the heate of the Noone day makes men drouisie on horsebacke, it chanced the Page which carried his Lance, (beeing very sleepe) let it fall vpon him which carried the helmet, making a great noise, like the rushing of armes: the King starts with amazement at this noise, and seeing the crimfon banderolle of the Lance, hauing his spirits weakened with the former distemperatures, transported with the imagination of this voyce, sleepe with labour and heat he imagined himselfe to be compassed in with many armed men which pursued him to the death.

F

Z 2

The

## The second season, from the time of the Kings sicknesse.

*From the yeare 1393. to the yeare, 1422. This time of his  
infirmities is distinguished into many acts, where-  
of this is the first Scene, of a long and  
mournfull Tragedie.*



Charles falls  
into a phrensie

**H**VS Charles transported with this phrensie, layes hold on his sword, drawes it, runnes violently after his pages, and cries amaine, *At these Traitors.* The Pages conceiuing at the first, that he had bene displeased for the disorder of the Lance, flie from him. The King fol- lowes after, doubling his crie. At this noyse the Duke of Orleance runnes towards him, to vnderstand the cause. The King layes at him, not knowing him: the Duke flies, and the King followes. The Duke of Bourgogne rides to him: all gather together with great outcry: Squires and Knights compasse in the king, till that beeing wearied, and his horse out of breath, his most trustie Chamberlain takes hold of him gently behind, and stayes him, chea- ring him with flattering words, and speaking vnto him with that familiaritie that befits a faithfull seruant to a good master. Then all draw neere vnto him, they take his sword from him, they lay him on the ground, and disrobe him of his thicke velvet ierken and his scarlet cap, to giue him breath.

The pitifull  
estate of the  
Court.

A generall  
consequence of  
this accident.

His Brother and Vncles salute him: but he knowes them not, neither makes he any shew to moue, being perswade, his eyes troubled, turning vp and downe, mute, sighing, panting, mouing both bodie and head with great amazement. All signes of phrensie appeared in this poore Prince. The Physitians are sent for in hast: they come, but he knowes them not. Bro- ther, Vncles, Lords, Physitians all sigh: all lift vp their eyes to heauen. Teares fall from the Duke of Orleance eyes: he beates his brest and crosseth his armes, he approacheth neere to his poore brother, and he recules from him. All are amazed, all confounded.

O my Country! what trouble shall this poore head giue vnto thy body? but may I law- fully sigh with my Countymen who sighed then, foretelling the miseries that should befall them by this phrensie, as if my selfe had bene (in this disorder) a witness of so great an af- fliction, both to this poore Prince and to his Estate. The Historie doth very fitly set downe the diuers Censures that were giuen of this accident, both at Rome and Auignon (famous places beeing then the seates of Popes) and also in England and in France.

The poore subiects (as men whom it concerned) spake soberly, and with great griefe: some blaming the Duke of Brittain, and Peter of Craon: others the Constable of Clif- son, and Mignons of his chamber, who had drawne the king into this action: but all in ge- nerall lamented bitterly this great disaster. England was amazed at this report, and sorry for it: especially the Duke of Lancaster, who had conferred with our Charles very priuately in the treatie of peace which they had at Amiens. He wept, commending this good and wise Prince, beeing desirous of the good of all Christendome. Rome and Auignon (beeing then banded one against the other, by reason of the Schisme of Antipopes) reioyced at this cala- mity befallen vnto our poore King. Urbain (as his professed enemy) triumphed in his mis- erie, whereinto he said he was fallen by a iust iudgement of God, hauing supported Clement his competitor against him. Clement reioyced, for that he was not fully confirmed in his au- thoritie by him: the King hauing busied himselfe with his subiects quarrells, whereas his greatest charge was to restore the dignitie of the holy See to her auncient beautie. This the Historie obserueth of the Censures of these Antipopes.

But the diuine Oracle saies, *O how happy is he that iudgeth wisely of the afflicted*, represen- ting an admirable example in the person of Iob, to gouerne themselves discreetly in this

Cen-

**A** Centures. Iob hath the testimonie of a very good man, and yet he had great afflictions, ha- uing lost goods, children, house and health, tormented by his wife, and not onely abando- ned, but also persecuted by all his friends, in that which was more deare vnto him then his goods and life, his credit, whereof they seeke to depriue him, accusing him that he had liued wickedly like an hypocrite, hauing but the shew of a good man, and not the integritie of a good life whereof he made profession. Such is the vaine iudgement of this world, which holds aduersitie for a vice, and prosperitie for a vertue; measuring things according to their passions, and not with reason, but the truth doth teach vs another lesson. *O Lord how great are thy workes, thy thoughts are very deepe, the ignorant man doth not know them, nor the fool doth not vnderstand them.* That we might know the chastisements of God to be alwaies iust, although the causes be vnknowne vnto vs.

We cannot denie but there were errors in Charles; but yet we must confesse, in acknow- ledging things as they be, that he was one of the least vicious Kings of France, and if wee shall examine the zeale he had to the government of his Estate, he must hold an honorable ranke among the most vertuous Princes that haue at any time deserued wel of this Monar- chie. Many nearer causes of his infirmities, may be truly and soberly obserued: the disposition of his bodie, his manner of life, the surcharge of affaires, the weaknesse of his braine, the a- bounding of choller, griefe, and waiwardnesse, the want of rest and foode, the importunity of his voyage, the terror of this voye, and the noise of armes, to weigh downe the ballance C ouercharged with so a heauie a burthen. But why from man doe we not ascend to God?

Truly God doth hold and gouerne this rod: and as Charles was the head of this great E- state by his wife decree, so he not onely punished the person of Charles, but the whole body of this Realme: that both great and small might learne by this pittifull spectacle, to humble themselves vnder the mightie hand of God, who hath created the spirit of man, to worke according to his good and wise will; and disposeth absolutely of men and their affaires, as he pleaseth: and that this saying may be the scale of a true and sober humilitie, *I haue held my peace O Lord, for thou hast done it*, drawne from this Maxime, *G d doth all well, whatsoever he doth.* O Kings! this famous example belongs to you, in so famous a King. O subiects! you must learne by the head of Charles, of what price his head is, whom God hath giuen you for D King: that you may pray vnto him with all your hearts, to make him fit for the government of the whole bodie, without the which it cannot subsist. But I will returne to our Charles. Pardon courteous Reader this digression, for the search of the vse of so famous an Acci- dent.

This new and strange accident made them presently to dismishe the troupes, hauing other worke in hand then to make warre in Brittain. All the Court is wholly affected to the kings health. He is presently carried backe to Mans: his sicknesse increaseth, he must be transpor- ted to a better aire. The Physitians aduise it should be to Creil vpon Oise, one of the royall houses, in the country of Beauuoisin, betwixt Beauuais and Senlis, a pleasant and wholsome seate vpon the riuer. He is conducted thither with great care; but his franticke feuer con- tinues still. They seeke to conceale it, lest the fame thereof should be dishonourable: but truth speakes generally. *James Harfeldy*, an excellent Physitian of Laon is sent for, and per- forms his dutie happily, as shall appeare by the euent. Nothing wanted that mans witte could deuise to helpe and cure the infirmities of so great a King. Let vs leaue Charles in the Physitians hands, and returne to the Crowne as sicke as the head, hauing as great neede of a good and speedie remedie.

A Parliament is presently called: they assemble at Paris, with all speed: all France mournes for the affliction of their King, whom they loued deere, for his mildnesse, and the singular hope they conceiued of his reigne: whereby Charles purchased the name of *wellbeloued*. The Estates assemble to resolue what was necessarie for the gouernement of the Realme in this F accident. They determine first, what might bee fittest for the forme of gouernement, hoping verily of the Kings speedie recouerie, beeing loath to seeke a remedie that might any way preiudice his authoritie. It was therefore set downe for a lawe, *That they should abstaine from the name of Regent, vnist in this sodaine accident, the king beeing aliue and of years.* And they concluded, *That during the kings infirmities, and without any pre- iudice to his authoritie, the Soueraigne gouernement of the Crowne of France should bee giuen*

The second  
cause of his  
phrensie.

The army dis-  
solved.

An order for  
the gouern-  
ment of the  
Realme.

1394

Concession  
to the govern-  
ment.

the Princes of his blood. But this point being decided, there was another of no lesse difficultie. To what Prince? The order of the fundamentall Lawe, called *Lewis* of Orleans the Kings brother, as first Prince of the blood: but neither his age, nor the present necessitie cold allow thereof. The States yeelding vnto reason, decreed: *That being apparantly necessarie to provide for the State, by reason of the Kings weaknesse, being very sicke, it were not conuenient to lay so heauie a burthen vpon so weake shoulders, as the Kings brother, a young Prince: but that the Dukes of Berry and Bourgogne, his Vncles, next to his brother, should haue the gouernement of the Realme, untill the Kings recoverie.* John Duke of Berry was elder then *Philip*, but hauing purchased an ill fame in Languedoc, to be couetous and violent, he was nothing pleasing, so as the French were better affected to *Philip* the Hardie, Duke of Bourgogne, a cunning, cold, temperate, mild, patient and popular Prince, but ambitious, factious, reuengefull and malicious. Being therefore pleasing to the States, the chiefe charge was imposed on him: the title was common to both brethren, but the effect of the authoritie was proper to him alone. The Estates adde to their decree (especially in his fauour) that the Duchesse of Bourgogne should haue the first place next to Queene *Isabel* our sicke kings wife, and by consequence, they giue her access to her chamber, and the gouernement of the Children at all euents. This was *Marguerite* the heire of Flanders; a woman of a manly courage, raised for her great possessions, and wholly bred to ambition. This new precedence displeased *Valentine* the Duches of Orleans, who yeelded nothing vnto her in greatnesse of courage. We stand now vpon good rearmes, that must be gouerned by three women, a Germane, an Italian, and a Fleming, all which had absolute authority ouer their husbands: whose distaffes did cut like swords, whercof they will giue vs presently a sufficient prooffe.

### Philip Duke of Bourgogne aduanced

to the gouernement of the Realme by a  
Decree of the States.

Two factions  
in Court.

Behold the Kings Vncles now at the helme, to the great discontent of the Duke of Orleans, and of *James* of Bourbon his Vncle by the mother side. The wind changeth, and the sailes turne, the Court is transformed. There are two factions: but that of Berry and Bourgogne is the stronger. The Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon make the other, but there is no equality. The authoritie of the whole gouernement, and of the treasure, is in their hands to whome the States had decreed it. Such force hath this sollemne consent of the French in matters of State.

Such as had bene of *Charles* his most secret Councell, were out of fauour: the Constable, *Begue de Villaines*, *Montague*, *la Riviere*, and *Mercier*, they are all in bad estate, for their ouerthrow is plotted, by what meanes soeuer. The Dukes authoritie must begin with them, yet there was no loue betwixt the two brethren (for who can beleue that ambition and couetousnesse are fit to vnite friendships) but onely to ruine their common enemies, and to suppress their authoritie. Such as were in their rowle, had their turnes, but diuersly. The Duke of Bourgogne standing vpon his guard, restrained his imperious wife, who at his first aduancement to this great command, would haue turned all toply turuy: but hee seekes all meanes to preuent his enemies, being resolved to begin with the Constable, as with the strongest, and this he concluded with his brother of Berry. *Montague* cunningly smels out this practise, and withall the best he could carry away, saues himselfe at Auignon, attending some better opportunitie: but he shall returne too soone to loose his head on a scaffold. The Constable *Cliffon*, at his first speech with the Duke of Bourgogne, is so checkt and threatned by him, as swallowing this pill quietly, he steales out of Paris, and retires to his house at Monthery, from whence with extreame danger he saues himselfe in Brittain, hauing the Duke for his capitall enemy. But he had his sonne in Law there, the Duke of Aniou, the Earle of Ponthieure, and so many friends within the Countie, as in the end the equitie of his

The minions  
of Charles are  
all in reated.

1394

his cause shall draw the Duke of Britan to reason, being his most dangerous enemy. After notice, that the constable was fled, *Begue de Villaines* a gentleman of Beausse, (who had married the Contesse of Rebelde in Castille) *la Riviere* and *Mercier* were coopt vp, but all elcaped by sundry meanes, only *Montagu* in the end shall loose the mould of his doublet, although hee seemed to haue better provided for his safety then all the rest. That wee may hold for an vndoubted *Maxime* in all the resolutions which mans reason can set downe in greatest dangers, *That what God keeps, is well kept.* Yet not rashly to omit the lawfull meanes of our preferuation, neither to rely ouer much vpon our owne wisdomes, no more then to a rotten planke in passing of a great riuer.

The Duke of Bourgogne had nothing lesse in his heart, nor more in his mouth then the sacred name of Iustice. Hauing the Court parliament of Paris at his deuotion, he begins to plant his artillery against the constable, by this authority. The Kings aduocate hauing framed a complaint against him, commissions are sent into Britan to summon him, who not finding him, they proceede against him by exceptions: all formalities being obserued, they condemne him by a decree of the Court of parliament (in the presence of the dukes of Berry and Bourgogne) *as guilty of high treason, hauing attempted against the Kings person by poison, and against the state by theft and treason. That as guilty of these crimes, hee was degraded of the office of Constable, condemned in a hundred markes of siluer to the King, and banished the Realme.*

The Constable  
condemned  
and being  
absent.

A strange alteration, the which the history represents in these verses.

*Inconstant Fortune neuer stales,  
her motions turning are alwaies:  
The highest mounted on the wheel,  
is strangely cast behinde the beere.*

But truth corrects the vanity of this popular opinion. *Go as Iudge, hee raiseth one, and casts downe another. Aduancement comes not from the east, nor from the west; but God doth raise up and pull downe by his wise providence:* for God that hath made the world, should not he gouerne the world? the eye sees not the Sunne through a thicke cloude, and yet it is in heauen, notwithstanding the weakenesse of our sight. That which the ignorant call fortune in diuers euents of worldly things, is a secret operation of the wisdom of God, alwaies iust, euen when it is most vnknowne vnto vs: the which is no more polluted with humane passions, then the Sunne beames with the most infected carion, whereon it workes by his heate. Oh man! distinguish the rod from the hand that rules it: doe thou thy duty, and leaue the euents to God: feare God and thou shalt haue no neede to feare Fortune. An assured pasport not onely to auoide the strange alterations of Court, but all other accidents of mans life, which hath nothing constant in it, but inconstancy it selfe. But euery man treads on him that falls, saith the same history. Euery man speaks infamously of the disgraced constable, they crie out against him, as hauing bewitched the King. Thus the afflicted is alwaies held culpable, according to the censure of this wise world, which iudgeth onely by outward circumstances. But who would beleue, that *Cliffon* and his companions (who had so great an interest in the Kings health) would make him sicke? The issue will shew the contrarie, verifying; that as sclander is the touchstone of vertue, so there is nothing more courageous then a good cause, nor more victorious then the truth. *Cliffon* stirres not at all this brute, hee stands vpon his gard, purchaseth friends, and attends the time, which in the end brought him to a safe port, as wee shall see hereafter. After his condemnation, the Dukes of Berry and Bourgogne halted nothing so much, as to aduance one to this goodly charge, whereby they might tie some great person vnto them. They offer it to the Lord of Couffy, who refuseth it, wherevpon *Philip* of Eu Earle of Arthois is aduanced, and for a confirmation of this new league, he giues his sonne to the Duke of Berryes daughter.

Philip of Eu  
made Constable.

Thus passed the beginning of this new authoritie, when as *Charles*, by rest, a good ayre, the coolnesse of the winter, and good vsage, beganne daily to recouer his health, coming first to the knowledge of such as were ordinarily about him, and of his wife, children and brother, who parted not from his bed whilest his vncles made this goodly worke at Paris. Hauing recouered his health, and *James Harfely* dismissed with an honorable reward,

Charles recou-  
uers his health.

all France was reuiued with incredible ioy, to see their King as it were raised out of the graue and giuen deuotly to his prayers, but hee hath a greater relapse into this miserable disease by a new accident, and this was the occasion. *Charles* returned to Paris to his subjects great comfort, who sought to delight him with all kindes of sportes. Euery man imployed his wits thereto; So as there was a new inuention of a maske, of wilde men, attired in fine linnen cloth, all couered with very fine flaxe, from the foote to the head, being glued to the cloth so artificially, as if it had growne to the skin, and that they which did weare it had beene naked. They were fixe, and the King would make the seuenth, to lead the dance. For the auoiding of all danger of fire, which might easely take the flaxe, commandement was giuen to put out all torches; but it chanced that the Duke of Orleans, vnacquainted with this maske, came into the Hall, followed by his pages, who carried torches (according to the vsuall manner) euen as these Sauage men (tied one to another like prisoners) present themselves vnto the Companie, the King (who marched first) goes presently to the Duchesse of Berry, shee holds him, and refuseth to let him goe without knowledge what he was.

The King falls  
into a relapse  
by a strange  
accident.

And euen then the Duke of Orleans, with an actiue resolutenesse answerable to his age and naturall wantonnesse, takes a Torch and comes neere to these Sauage men, to know them by the lifting vp of their maskes, when as fire takes hold of this flaxe, so sodainely as all were on a flame, not able to free themselves beeing all tied to one line. The violence of the fire kindled with the rozen, caused a most horrible crie, but generally all men crie out, *Sauie the King*, whom they knew to bee one of the Sauage men. The Duchesse of Berry wraps him in her gowne, being long and large after the manner of those times, and so drawing him out of the Hall, they led him into the next chamber, without any hurt to his person. But the amazement was such, by the horrible cries of these poore men which burnt in the flames, (not able to be helped well in so sodaine an outcry) as the King could not be staid in this amazement. They lay him on his bed, but his spirits could take no rest. Thus the night passeth away, this poore prince being much disordered in minde, and all his seruants distressed with griefe. There fell out another unhappy accident. In the morning it was bruted through the city, that the King was dead, so as the people did runne in flockes to his vnles lodgings, exclaiming against them for the ill gard they had kept of his person, whom they desire to see either dead or aliue, so as the Dukes of Berry and Bourgongne yeelding to this violence, were forced (euen when as the King beganne to take some rest) to raise him out of his bed, and to leade him through the city to our Ladies Church, to pacifie the peoples fury. At his returne his spirits faile him, hee falls into his former phrensie, and neuer after were they settled, notwithstanding all the helpes men could apply.

He languished two and twenty yeeres in this pittifull Estate, and in the tediousnesse of so long an infirmity the Realme was not without languishing. Sometimes hee was in good temper, (as phrensies haue their respits, and doe not alwaies disemper the faculties of the minde) but still he fell, and euen when as he thought to doe best, he erred most, when as hee sought to retaine the authority to himselfe, and that nothing should be done but by his command. Hence sprong the horrible confusions in this reigne, for that diuers passionate men ruled his weake braine diuersely, one vndoing what another had done, couering their passions with the Kings name and authority. And all the liberty to doe ill, grew from this spring. But let vs returne to the end of our painefull webbe. The duke of Orleans wonderfully perplexed to haue beene the cause of this scandale, excuseth himselfe presently in the hall, and to the King his brother, but all this did not satisfie. The duke of Bourgongne reprocheth him, and exceeds the censure of an vnkle, for hee laies hold on this occasion, to make him odious to the people, as if it had beene done of purpose to kill the King.

Ielousie be-  
twixt the  
Dukes of Or-  
leans and  
Bourgongne.

This maske of burning men (which chanced in the beginning of the yeere 1394.) shall burne farther, and kindle a greater fire betwixt the vnkle and the Nephew, for the space of tenne yeeres, vntill the death of *Philip* Duke of Bourgongne, leauing this hatred hereditary to his posterity. There is no meanes which the Bourguignon doth not attempt to wrong his Nephew of Orleans. Certaine Augustine Fryars undertake to cure the King, by incisions in his head, whereby hee was in great danger of his life. These counterfitts were brought

A brought forth publicly in their habits, and beheaded, but the scarres of these wounds will remaine in *Lewis* his face, who recommended them vnto the King.

The women are dealers in these actions. The Duchesse of Bourgongne perswades Queene *Isabel*, that *Lewis* his meaning was to kill the King her husband, and his children. These impressions are confirmed by the graue and sweete discourses of the duke her husband, who by degrees sealed a hatred in the Queenes minde against her brother-in-law. Thus this faction is much fortified by the authority of Queene *Isabel*, and by her, with her husbands name, whom she makes to speake what she pleaseth, sometimes as her will directed him, but not alwaies. Yet this weake braine is the checker of all these courtly policies, by the meanes of women, who are continually about his bedde or his chaire, to distemper his braine with variety of newes springing from their wretched passions: and this poore prince is sometimes wonne, sometimes lost, and alwaies tormented with these importune discourses.

*Valentine* wife to the Duke of Orleans, an Italian and daughter to *John Galeaz* (one of the cunningest and most subtil wittes of her time, which subtilty some held shee increased by coniuring) would not yeld to the brauadoes of these two princesses: against whom shee opposed her selfe, not onely by her husbands degree, but also by so politike courage bred in her selfe, visiting the sicke King with such ciuill entertainment, as her greatest enemies could not finde any honest collour to deny her the dore. So as the King did not onely willingly see her, but did call for her, and in his greatest fits did know her onely, among all the rest, refusing to take anything but from the hands of his good Sister of Orleans. The more the Kings loue kindled a ielousie in these two princesses her enemies, the more it rayed vp the minde of *Valentine*, and by her meanes, of her husband: who remembring (too hatefully) the degree whereunto he was borne, and the wrong done him in reiecting him, yet hauing neither dexterity, nor meanes to winne many seruants, hee gaue the Duke of Bourgongne all aduantages, beeing graue, cold, pleasing and modest: so as by his wife temper hee disclued the heate of the Duke of Orleans immoderate vehemency, who tryng himselfe with the shew of his greatnesse, makes it knowne by effects, that all the authority was in the Duke of Bourgongne, for whosoeuer had neede of any publike helpe hee must passe through his hands, and what businesse soeuer chanced, either within or without the realme, the true rendez-uos was at his lodging. Thus the vnkle made his Nephew to walke horses (as they say) although hee chafed and stamped beyond all measure. These diuisions troubled the whole court, making them to neglect the affaires of state, and what can wee obserue more famous in so disordered an estate? All busineses are done in the Kings name, yet without the King, vnlesse the parties would haue him to countenance some great passion. I doe purposely omit all that which passed in this reigne touching the Schisme of the Church, and the house of Aniou in the realmes of Naples and Arragon, nor to breake off the course of my intent, meaning to represent in due place all that concernes this foraine history. *Richard* King of England sends his Ambassadors to *Charles*, to congratulate his recovery, offering him a generall peace, and demanding his daughter in marriage. The Kings relapse delayed the conclusion for a time, but soone after, by the care of the Duke of Bourgongne, who had a great interest in this alliance, by reason of his country of Flanders, it was concluded, in the yeere 1395.

*Richard* King  
of England  
marrieth with  
*Isa* Clot  
France.

*Charles* had some intermissions, by meanes whereof hee could ride: *Richard* repaires to Calais, and *Charles* to Ardres, whether *Richard* came to ratifie the peace concluded betwixt their Ambassadors, and to receiue his new spouse. The Kings encountred one another with loue and kindnesse, making shewes of great good will: but it was a short ioy for either of them. For as it seemed that the quiet of these two realmes had beene settled by this generall peace, sealed by this marriage, and seasoned with so many reciprocall shewes of cordial affection betwixt these two great Kings, behold a great combustion in England, which intangles both these Kings in this common calamity. *Richard* being of himselfe effeminate, carelesse, voluptuous and idle, grew more delicate by this profound rest built vpon the alliance of his enemy, who alone might haue quickened him. He is alwaies with his yong wife, embracing her, dallying with her, and attiring her, with such contempt of his authority, abasing himselfe too much to his subjects, so as hee grew contemptible vnto his enemies,

1394. enemies, who presumed to attempt against his person. The ordinary warres of England against France, had caused many necessary impositions without any grudging of the subjects: but when as necessity ceased by this generall peace, the people require to be relieved: *William More* makes an oration vnto the King in the name of all the English in generall. *Richard* hauing no meanes in these infinite exactions to supply the charges of his idle and voluptuous life, contemned his subiects request, and in the end pressed vpon the same matter by the Duke of Gloucester and the Earle of Arondel, in the name of them all, hee puts them violently to death. The English madde with rage for the death of their deputies, flie to such remedies as despaire giues to necessity. From this generall discontent sprong a strange Tragedie against *Richard*, for the English seeing themselves thus despised by their King, they cast their eyes vpon *Henry* of Lancaster his cousin: and hauing called a parliament, they put *Richard* (being forced in open assembly) to resigne the crowne, and to condemne himself to perpetuall prison, as hauing abused his royall authoritie and his subiects. But this tragick change concerns the history of England. This may briefly suffice for ours, in the conference of our estate with theirs.

The King of  
England  
and  
France  
from the  
crown.

The King of  
Hungary  
desires succours  
against  
Charles.

*Charles* did greatly grieve at this deiection of *Richard* his sonne in law, from whom hee expected great loue and quiet for his subiects. But who seeth not the vanity of this world, both in great and small, to feare a shower euen when the Sunne is hottest? Hee sends for *Isabell* his daughter of twelue yeeres old, whom *Richard* had not yet toucht, beeing content to behold her (like a puppet) vntill shee came to age, satisfying his humour by some other waies: howsoeuer it were, it prouoed to the dislike of his subiects, and scorn of neighbour nations. *Isabell* beeing returned to her father, shalbe married to *Charles* Duke of Orleans, sonne to this *Lewis* who is now in quarter, and from her shall spring a goodly plant, which in the end shall giue vs many Kings in their order to preferue this Monarchy. But, as if France had bene the store-houise, or rather the common Sanctuary of all Christendome, to whom the afflicted Christians might repaire in their greatest extremities, it happened in those daies, that *Sigismond* King of Hungary intreated *Charles* to succour him against the Turke, the common enemy to the Christian name, who got footing in the Empire of the East. For, the Schisme in the Church, the confusion of the Empire, and the daily wars betwixt France and England, had so mortified all Christians zeale, from all care to support the affaires of the East, against the Turkes our fivorne enemies, as the way was made easie for the planting of themselves there to our ruine. But all the fault was not in the Westerne Princes: the Christians of the East were in horrible confusions, and euen at Constantinople, whereas the *Paleologues* had in some sort maintained the name of the Empire of the East, since the bad government of our French.

All the Lords of Greece, vassalles to the Empire, ioyning with the Despote of Bulgaria, against the Emperour, did strue to ruine one another. This ciuill warre drew the Turke out of Asia (where hee was yet confined) into Europe, overthrew all the rest of the Empire, and in the end shall bury the whole body of this great Estate, with the Christian name, in the ignominy of our disordered passions, as in a common sepulchre. It sufficeth to note the motive of this warre, which was to expell *Batizet* (of the race of the *Ottomans*, who yet holds the Empire of the East) being called in by *John Paleolog* Emperour: but seeing so mighty an enemy entred within his dominions, vnder a colour to succour him, hee fought to be freed from him by the meanes of Christian Princes his friends. The next was *Sigismond* King of Hungary, who had reason himself to feare this overflowing deluge, the which in the end hath ouer-runne Hungary, beeing at this day for the most part vnder the Turkes tyrannie. But the euent was not answerable to his designe. *Charles* beeing solicited for succours, granted them, as freely as his infirmity would suffer. But the Duke of Bourgongne made the prouision: the charge of the army was giuen to his sonne *John* Earle of Nevers, beeing two and twenty yeeres old, and married to the daughter of *Albert* of Bauaria, Earle of Hainault, Holland and Zeland, by whom he had then one sonne, who shall succeed him. The armie was goodly, beautified with the presence of many great personages, as *Philip* of Eu Constable of France, the Earles of La Marke, Saint Pol, and Bar, the Lords of Couilly, Tremouille, Vienne, Bouciquault, Roye, Monterel, Saint Py, and Brezay, to the number of a thousand Knights and Squiers.

The French  
p. 11. no  
Hungary.

Being

A Being ioynd to *Sigismonds* army, which consisted of many Hongariens, Bohemiens and Germans, they desired at any hand to haue the vangard, and to march in the face of an unknowne enemy, of whose discipline they were ignorant; and to make prooue of their valour, against the aduite of *Sigismond*, they cast themselves desperately into the midst of the Turkes auantcours, all the Christian army being too farre behind to second them, but it chanced, that *Batizet* (followed by a farre greater troupe then theirs) compassed them in easily as with a net, so as after they had fought valiantly, and made a great slaughter of Turkes, not able to withstand so great a force, they were all cut in peeces, or taken prisoners. *John* of Bourgongne, and all the aboue-named Lords, were either slaine or taken, not one escaped the sword or slavery.

1396.  
The French  
defeated in  
Hungary.

B *Batizet* mouued with the great losse of his men, would haue slaine all the prisoners, but the greedy desire of ranfome was helpfull to some few of the Noblemen. The historie of Germany notes but fiue, all the rest were murdered after their taking, by the commandement, and in the presence of this Barbarian, who hauing resolved to kill *John* of Bourgongne as the head of the army, was dissuaded by an old Turke a Necromancien, who saye vnto him; *Preserue this young man, who shall kill more Christians then thine armie*. A Prince borne to the spoile and ruine of his countrie, whereof hee shall bee shortly a more cruell scourge then the Turkes. They spared him, but he spared not the blood of his cousin germane, to defile his incestuous hands, and to prophane the bosome of France, which had so greatly honoured him. *Enguerrand* of Couilly, a great man in his time, died in prison, and *Philip* of Eu Constable of France, (by whose death the Earle of Sancerre was aduanced to this great dignitie,) but after him there shall bee other Constables in this confused reigne. This defeate chanced in the yeere 1396. before Nicopolis a citie in Misia, neere to the which Traian vanquished the Daciens. This victory of the Turkes had proceeded farther, by the terror it gaue to those countries, but God gaue those Christians some time of breathing before the last stroake, the which came but too soone for the scornors of God: yet after this ouerthrow, as *Batizet* prepared to pursue his victorie against the Christians, *Tamberlan*, another scourge of mankind, overflowing Asia like a great dgeuge, overthrew him, and tooke him prisoner, and so God staid the Ottomans power for that time, but the Christians malice (abusing the patience of God) prouoked his wrath, which beeing iustly kindled against them, he suffered the Turkes to take Constantinople, the capitall city of the Easterne Empire, as we shall see else-where, but let vs returne to France.

*Charles* had some truce with his infirmity, who notwithstanding this indisposition of his braine, was in reasonable good health of his body, so as hee had children during this time. Before his sicknesse hee had *Isabell* (of whom wee haue made mention) and *Lewis* the Dauphin Duke of Guienne. But *John* Duke of Touraine, and *Charles* Earle of Ponthieu, *Michele*, *Mary* and *Marguerite*, two sonnes, and three daughters (a goodly issue to keepe the Crowne from beeing an Orpheline) were borne to him by *Isabell* of Bauaria, during the weakenesse of his spirit. And much happinesse befell him.

The Kings  
children du-  
ring his infir-  
mity.

E After the taking of *Batizet*, the Turkish Emperour and the returne of *John* of Bourgongne into France, hauing paid his ranfome, the Lord of Bouciquault, (beeing sent to Genoa, to receiue it to the Kings obedience, to whom they had willingly giuen themselves) hee made a voiage to Constantinople with a new army, more happy then the first, freeing the city, and returning victorious into Italy. Milan belonging to Valentine, by the decease of *John Galeaz* her father, had bene surprised by *Francis Sforce*, but at the return of the Marshall *Bouciquault*, it yeilded to the French obedience, and so did *Placentia* and *Pavia*, cities in Lombardy. But these conquests continued not long with them, no more then the rest of Italy, by the fatall influence which hath alwaies made it a Sepulcher for the French, so as this suddaine yeelding of those Italian cities to the French obedience, was like vnto a fire of straw.

F *Verdun* being ill intreated by the Duke of Lorraine (although it were an Imperiall town) cast it selfe into *Charles* his protection. *Charles*, the sonne of *Charles* of Nauarre, rightly marked with the name of bad, made great instance for his Seigneuries of Eureux, Cherebourg, and other lands in Normandie, the which *Charles* the fifth had taken from his father, who resigned his interest by an agreement made with him, for two hundred thousand franks that



1398. that were given him, and the Seignury of Neimours, then made a Duchie vpon that occasion. But in these happy euents the ieaousie betwixt the Dukes of Orleans and Bourgongne continued and encreased hourly, through the violent practises of their *Proserpinaes*, of whom we haue made mention, who failed not to bring fuell to this fire, not onely making coales to scorch one an other, but also a burning flame to fire both their houses and the whole Realme. The occasion and meanes was very strange. *Valentine* Duchesse of Orleans (whom King *Charles* did know and loue during the sharpest fits of his infirmity, euen when as he knew not his owne wife *Isabel*) being in the Kings chamber, (whether she had brought her little sonne to play with the Kings children) shew cast a faire apple, after the which the children did runne, but *Valentines* sonne caught it, and hauing eaten it, fell presently sicke, and within few daies after died. Therevpon they concluded directly, that this child died of poyson, prepared for the Kings sonne, which confirmed the old opinion, that the King had bene bewitched by her, so as all respect laide aside, they cried out against her, as against a rauening Wolfe. There was no other talke in Court, Paris, and through all the Prouinces of France.

The hatred  
betwixt the  
houses of Or-  
leans & Bour-  
gongne in-  
creaseth.

*Valentine*,  
Duchesse of  
Orleans, for-  
bidden the  
Court.

The Duke of Bourgongne seemed very busie, and sent all complaints to the Kings counsell, who decreed, *That, to auoide a great scandale*, *Valentine should retire from Court*, the which shee did to the Castle of Asiniere, vpon the waie from Paris, to Beauvais: the Duke of Orleans disdayning it much, who must needs be toucht with this ignominy, and the peoples hatred encreasing mightily against him by this new accident. Whilest this homebred hatred continued in Court, betwixt the vncle and the Nephew, the Constable *Cliffon* fortified himselfe in Britan, both with friends and meanes, hauing by his dexterity gained the greatest Noblemen of the country, by whose meanes hee made a profitable peace for himselfe with *John* of Montfort Duke of Britan, to whom hee had bene a capitall enemy. The manner of this vnlooked for reconciliation is worthy of memory, to giue after-ages the subiect of a notable iudgement in so famous an example. The Duke prickt in conscience, and moued by necessity, hauing banded all his subiects against him, seeing apparently the notable wrong he had done to the Constable *Cliffon*, hee resolved to be reconciled vnto him, and to winne his loue. But foreseeing, that hauing so often deceiued him, he would no more trust him but vpon good assurance, hee resolues to secure him by an extraordinary meanes, sending him his eldest sonne as a pledge of his faith. The Constable seeing himselfe possessed of this yong Prince, without any other security then his fathers letters, stand amazed at so vnexpected a prooffe of the Dukes loue, and resolues to haue his reuenge by a curtesie not onely strange, but lesse expected, for although hee had all the reason in the world to distrust the Duke, who had detained him prisoner vnder colour of a banquet, and had sought all meanes to ruine him, yet taking a new aduise vpon this new occasion, hee parts from his house, and bringing backe this yong man to his father, puts himself into his power. The Duke more amazed at this strange confidence of the Constable, so changeth his minde, as after that time hee became his most affectionate friend, hauing built a firme friendship vpon this foundation, the which continued betwixt them the rest of their daies, to the mutuall content of either, and the profitable quiet of their subiects, verifying, *That curtesie is a wife and happy counsellor of State*, teaching great men, that patience triumphes in a good cause; and that wee must hate as if wee should loue, euen in the greatest heat of passionate quarrels, being well said by the Ancients, *That hatred must bee mortal, and loue immortall*.

The Duke of  
Britan and the  
Constable re-  
conciled.

Deadly ha-  
tred betwixt  
the vncle and  
the Nephew.

The hatred betwixt the vncle and the Nephew ended not so quietly. The Duke of Orleans hauing receiued this disgrace in the person of his wife *Valentine*, growing very impatient, redoubles his complaints with great vehemency, saying, that it was no longer time now to obiekt his age, against the degree wherevnto both nature & the fundamental law of State had openly called him, seeing it was now ten yeeres since this borrowed authority of the Duke of Bourgongne, had giuen him respite to be of age to enioy his right, the which they could not take from him without preiudice to the crowne, that it is a visible vsurpation, being no longer able to disguise his grosse practises. The Duke of Bourgongne did frustrate these complaints by his coldnesse and authority, but the Duke of Orleans grew more vehement, falling from words to deeds, and hauing had conference with the Duke of

Guelldres,

A Guelldres, hee raiseth a good number of men at armes by his meanes, and lodgeth them about Paris, where he enters with the said duke, hauing aduertised no man thereof, but onely the King, who fauoured his brother exceedingly, when hee came to his right sence. The duke of Berry made shew to be a neuter, but seeing the duke of Bourgongne to vlturpe all to himselfe, tyred with his ambitious dissimulation, he inclined more to the duke of Orleans his Nephew, although in shew hee laboured to reconcile them. The dukes of Bourbon and Aniou princes of the blood were of the like humor. The Kings council labours by al means to end this quarell betwixt these princes, disallowing the government of any one in particular, and confirming a command of all the princes together, supporting it by alliances: for, *Charles* the eldest sonne of *Lewis* Duke of Orleans, married *Isabel* of France, the eldest daughter to our King *Charles* the sixth. *Lewis* the Kings eldest sonne, Duke of Guienne and Daulphin of Viennois, was betrothed to *Katherine* of Bourgongne, daughter to *John* Earle of Neuers, sonne to *Philip*. To *John* the Kings second sonne, Duke of Touraine, *Iaqueline* is promised, the onely daughter of *William* of Bauaria, Earle of Hainault and to his heire. To *Philip* of Bourgongne, sonne to the aboue named *John*, *Michelle* the Kings second daughter is promised, for these marriages were all but future promises, by reason of the yong age of the parties.

The counsell  
seekes to re-  
concile the  
princes by  
alliances.

This was to ingage the faith to come, & now present to satisfie the discontented. *Queene Isabel* was twise pleased, both in her children and her race, which by this meanes was transplanted into the royall blood of France, by her cousin, who also carried the name of *Bauaria*: but what? as ambition cannot be tamed, so in all these marriages, there was more alliance then friendship, and more dissembling then truth. God must needs reconcile them at the last by a stronger conclusion.

PHILIP Duke of Bourgongne dies, leauing his sonne  
JOHN the heire of his passions, against LEWIS  
Duke of Orleans, in the yeere 1404.

The beginning of the ciuill warres.



Hus *Philip* duke of Bourgongne, raised vp with a new hope to maintaine himselfe against his enemy *Lewis* duke of Orleans, as well by the ciment of this alliance, as by the increafe of power which his sonne *John* brought him, (becing his right arme, the true Image of his great and haughty courage, and a new fire-brand of his ambition) dies at this time, when as hee dreamt least thereof, for hee died at Hal, going to visit his townes in Flanders, and to crosse the practises of the duke of Guelldres, who was a principall support to the Duke of Orleans. *Marguerit* his wife (a companion in his ambition) did not suruiue him a whole yeere, who fearing to finde her husband too farre indebted, renounced his moueable goods, laying downe her purse and girdle vpon the place appointed, according to the vsuall custome, and so required an act from a publike notary. Griefe for her husband did not hasten her death, seeing that she feared not her liuing should faile after him. *John* of Montfort duke of Britan (who had kept such a stirre vpon this Theater) died foure yeeres before him, yet more wise and happy in one thing, hauing mortified the hatred hee bare to the Constable *Cliffon* before his death. So death doth sodainly stay mens designs, which else flie most violent. How wretched are we to be thus blinde, in these goodly examples. But let vs returne to our discourse.

*Philip* of  
Britan, onane  
and his wife  
die.

Duke of Bri-  
tan dies.

*Philip* left three sonnes, *John* *Anthonie* and *Philip*; but *John* Earle of Neuers, his eldest sonne succeeded him in his great Seigneuries of Bourgongne and Flanders; and the chiefe heire of his hatred and other vices. Hee was equall to him in ambition, malice, dissembling, and policy, but herein hee did surmount him, that his father *Philip* hauing for the

Aa

space

1404. space of tenne or eleuen yeeres, crossed the designs of *Lewis* his Nephew, yet hee carried A himselfe with such a cunning temper, as holding the helme and making him to carry the bal- ble, he made his vnlawfull gouernment supportable by his modesty, and reasonable by the order which had confirmed him in this authority. But *John* continues his practises with such violent fury, as within three yeeres (hauing giuen the duke of Orleans a thousand crof- des, and plunged France in a ciuill warre) he murders his cousin germaine most cruelly, de- files his country and his blood, and continues his furious designe with so great presumpti- on, as countenancing this murder with a free confession, and seeking to maintaine it by reason, he omitted no kind of mischiefe, but brought in al disordered confusions, as if France had bene the Rendezuous of villany and impiety. A text, the commentary whereof may be read at large in the following discourse. Behold the beginning of a ciuill warre among B the French, both long and furious, bred by the ill counsell of the princes of the blood, abut- ting their authority. A history the more worthy the noting, for that it serues vs to marke the fits, and accidents of diseases, wherewith we haue bene afflicted, to applie the vse thereof to our owne experience.

The Duke of Orleans ad- uanced to the gouernment.

After the death of *Philipp*, all the gouernment of publike affaires was without all contro- uersie deliuered into the hands of the duke of Orleans. The King loued his onely brother deere, and desired to grace him what hee could. The Queene (to please her husband) made shew to reioyce thereat, hauing no more a Duchesse of Bourgongne to incense her, reason gaue him this preheminance, and the French obeyed him willingly, as the lawfull C gardian of the French Monarchie. All things fauoured this yong prince, if hee had not fai- led himselfe: but this choleric hatched in his brest, hauing for so long a time swallowed vp so many indignities, the immoderate heate of command, so much desired, and the ambition and couetousnesse of his wife *Valentine*; all these pluckt from him the fruit of these fauour- able occasions to settle his greatnesse, and gaue his enemy meanes to ruine him. These D errors were accompanied with indiscretion, which commonly shakes the miserable. The dukes of Berry and Bourbon, his vnclcs, had fauoured him much, during the Bourguignons reigne, and their age had greatly countenanced his authority, if hee could haue vsed them rightly. But this young Prince was so pleased with the sweete of command, as hee was loath to impart it to any: the which must needs discontent them, although (being D wife) they dissembled it, yet this dislike incouraged the Bourguignon his enemy to attempt against him.

The couetousnesse of *Valentine* prepared the way to these disorders. *Lewis* was desi- rous to purchase the Duchie of Luxembourg, his wife vrged him thereunto hourly, wish- ing him to deuise some meanes to make the King to pay for it. Vpon this aduice *Lewis* propounds in counsell, that for the Kings important affaires there must bee a taxation made. There neuer wants some pretext to colour these exactions, but in effect it was for this purchase. *John* duke of Bourgongne opposeth for the good of the commorweale. On the one side it was a goodly meanes to shew both his loue to the people, and his zeale E to the Kings seruice, and on the other, a reasonable subiect to make the duke of Orleans odious. Yet this proposition passed in counsell through the absolute authority of the duke of Orleans. The Bourguignon imbraceth this occasion, and flatters the Parisiens, to ioyne their loues, and to oppose them against his enemy, who could not bee more odious then in this cause; and euen then they grew into such dislike of him, as they could neuer loue him. This was spred throughout the realme, and the duke of Bourgongne ha- uing protested that this charge was imposed vpon the subiects against his consent, lay- ing a good foundation of firme correspondencie with the Parisiens, hee retires into Flan- ders, to take possession of his mother *Marguerits* inheritance, and credit, with that rich peo- ple, but in effect it was to build vpon the hereditary hatred hee had against his cousin and capital enemy.

To omit nothing that might anile him against the duke of Orleans, being at Brussels he sends his Ambassadors to King *Charles*, beseeching him, with all affection to consum- mate the marriage betwixt *Lewis* his eldest sonne, duke of Guienne and Dauphin of Vien- ne, and *Katherine* of Bourgongne his daughter. *Charles* thought it fit to content his cousin *John* vpon this demand, but his brother *Lewis* crossed this marriage, as prejudiciall to the house

The duke of Orleans grows odi- ous to the sub- iect, by reason of an imposi- tion.

A house of France, being already weakened by the vniing of Bourgongne to Flanders, the which would be much more fortified by this alliance with the Kings sonne. *Johns* Amba- sadors (after long delays) retorne home without any effect, making their master acquainted with the cold proceedings of the Court, the which required his presence. In the end, hee resolves to goe in person, to sollicite a matter of so great importance. But being ready to march, behold the King of England sends an armie into Flanders, to besiege Sluse, which makes him yeeld to necessity, and to demand succours of the King, as his soueraigne, against the common enemy of the State, staying himselfe in Flanders, to prevent these practises of the English. *Lewis* of Orleans (pretending a truce betwixt France and Eng- land) causeth succours to bee denied him, as if they should draw a warre vpon France being B already tired with so great and long troubles. *John* held himselfe much wronged by this deniall, and to haue the better meanes to retorne to Paris, he compounds with the English, being desirous to make it knowne, that hee would oppose himselfe against the duke of Or- leans designs, taking hold of the occasion which hee himselfe offered him to his great prejudice.

The imposition was leuied by the duke of Orleans his command, and commissions were brought into Flanders. At Paris it was exacted with all rigour, but *John* commands his subiects of Flanders not to pay it, and goes well accompanied to Paris to assist the people, who greatly discontented with this burthen, durst not yet vtter their grieve, expecting the C countenance of a great commander. The Parisiens incensed against *Lewis* of Orleans, sol- licite *John* of Bourgongne to come to Paris, being resolved to employ all their meanes in the defence of this cause, which they held to bee very important for their reliefe. *John* de- sired nothing more; so as redoubling his courage at these calles, hee goes in haste to Paris, and staies at Louvre in Paris, giuing the Parisiens notice to come vnto him. The King remained at Paris, as hee was accustomed, the Queene and *Lewis* of Orleans hauing dis- covered the duke of Bourgongnes intent, and fearing least (being the stronger, and hauing the Parisiens at his deuotion) he should force the King to marry the Dauphin *Lewis*, made D sure to his daughter: they thought it best to conueigh this young prince into Germany, to some place of safety. And going together from Paris they left the Dauphin with *Lewis* of Bauaria (his vnclc by the mothers side) who should conduct him secretly in a litter to Corbeil, where a goodly troupe attended him. The Bourguignons followers giue him present intelligence of their departure. *John* followes so speedily as he ouertakes the Daul- phin *Lewis* at Ville-Ivisue, conducted in a litter by *Lewis* of Bauaria his vnclc, & brings him backe gently to Paris, where they receiue the duke of Bourgongne with great ioy, and are glad of the Daulphins retorne, going to meet them in great pompe, as at a ioyfull triumph. *John* being come to Paris, hath conference with them of this faction, and findes them at his deuotion. The prouost of Marchants, and the Vniuersity, assure him of their faithfull ser- uice, they intreat him to undertake the reformation of the State, a charge which hee doth willingly imbrace, as a fit maske for his ambitious humor.

The Parisiens sollicite *John* of Bourgongne to come.

*John* of Bour- gongne lea- ueth on the Daulphin sper- son.

E Hee then presents a petition to the King, beseeching him to reforme the State, strange- ly corrupted by the ill gouernment of the treasure, whereby the subiects were oppres- sed with insupportable charges, and sacred iustice ill administred, the ordinary subiect of the peoples complaints: but in effect it was to araigne the duke of Orleans. The King forbore to make any answer vntill his brothers retorne, being president of the coun- sell, and greatly interessed in this complaint: but these were words without effect, if force had not followed this admonition.

Hee sues to the King for re- formation of the State.

The Bourguignon, had brought great troupes, vnder the conduct of *John without Pitty*, bishop of Liege, and the duke of *Cleues*. The duke of Orleans had also assembled an armie from diuers parts, by the Lord of Harpendanne, fortified with the forces of the duke F of Lorraine and the King of Sicily, being made ready for the voiage of Naples. Thus the Isle of France is full of souldiers of one Iuiery, but of contrary humors, as the manner is in ciuill warres, French against French, and kinsman against kinsman, all making profession to main- taine the good of their country in ruining it.

Ciuill warre begins.

*John* of Bourgongne in shew had the aduantage, being in the capital city, and posses- sed of the peoples hearts: hee had the King in his power, and (for a gage of this newe authority,

authority, which men honour like the sunne rising) the Daulphin of the house of France, A whom hee pretended to bee his sonne in law. All these considerations made his heart swell, and his tongue to speake proudly. But *Lewis* duke of Orleans founds forth the name of publike authority, which then remained in his hands, as in a sacred gard. The most passionate make a stay at the name thereof, to attend the euent of so great a quarrell. Such force hath the name of lawfull authority and order in a State, whereon it depends as on a firme foundation.

These armies thus lodged about Paris, the Generalls mindes appeared in the deuises of their standards. In that of the duke of Orleans was written *Je l'enueie*, with a staffe full of knots painted in it, signifying that hee would knocke him on the fingers that should presume to touch his authority. In the duke of Bourgongnes was written in Flemish, *Ick Hond*, B that is to say, *I hold it*, with a ioyners plane to make smooth the knotty staffe, and so to intcounter the force that threatened him, yet these passions were suppressed by the only respect of authority, without the which all had tended to a violent spoile. The Princes of the bloud (who were not engaged in these quarrels) labour to reconcile their cousins, seeing the Kings infirmity will not suffer him to vse his absolute authority.

*Lewis* of Aniou, King of Naples and Sicilia, and *Lewis* of Orleans, were with the Queene at Melun, the dukes of Berry and Bourbon, and the King of Nauarre, are at Paris with the King, and al the faction of Bourgongne. The King of Sicilia comes to Paris, he lets the dukes of Berry and Bourbon vnderstand, how necessary it was to quench this fire in time. All these C Princes are willing to mediate an accord, but the indiscretion of the duke of Orleans had almost spoiled all.

At the first he grew amazed, but seeing no man to stirre, and hauing some feeling of his authority, he beganne to speake bigge, writing to Paris, and to the best cities of the realme, against such as had made this petition. And (contrarie to the aduise which the Princes his cousins gaue him, not to part from Melun) hee resolues to come to Paris, and to oppose himselfe against the duke of Bourgongne. The city and Vniuersity of Paris send an honorable deputation vnto him, excusing themselves, beseeching him to hearken to a good reformation, but hee lo checke the deputies, as they returned ill satisfied, to a people bigge with a seditious humour. He shewed himselfe indiscreet in two sorts, excusing himselfe when no D man accused him, which was properly to accuse himselfe, and in w. king of a sleeping dog, incensing this mutinous people, who were then kept in awe by his onely authority, not daring to mutter against him but in secret. The Bourguignon desired nothing more then to haue some apparent cause to draw this people into mutinie, giuing it out openly that the duke of Orleans came in armes to spoile the city of Paris. Behold the Parisiens are in armes, prepared both within and without, to withstand the duke of Orleans comming, they beate downe pentises within the city, to make the streetes more free for to cast stones. The people troupe with the duke Bourgongnes men, and issue forth armed about Montfaucon, in view of the Orleanois, lying in great numbers vpon the plaine.

The Chancellor of France, accompanied with the Presidents and Councillors of the Court of parliament, goe to the Princes, aduertising the Duke of Orleans of the danger of a great confusion, if hee did not foresee it. Herevpon *Lewis* commaunds his troupes to retire, and staies at the Castle of Beautie vpon Marne, to haue the better meanes to heare from his Vncles, who (by the authoritie of reason and alliance, after many voiajes) reconciled *Lewis* of Orleans, and *John* of Bourgongne, hauing seene and embraced one another like kinde Kinsmen, with all outward signes of perfect and cordiall loue. This was but a coloured peace, the which in the end was so heauie a burthen to them both, as it weighed them downe, and by their owne wilfull follies, as if they willingly sought their owne ruines, verifying this assured maxime: That man hath no harme, but what hee seekes himselfe; confirmed by the truth of these Oracles. *Ther F haue no harme; but by their owne iniquitie: and; My people haue not obeyed my voice: and, I sell would none of mee*, ratified likewise by the experience of all men, all Estates, and all ages. The duke of Orleans sought his owne death, in prouoking his enemy without reason, and the duke of Bourgongne in murdering him, erected a scaffold to shed his owne bloud.

This

A This agreement made; *John* of Bourgongne informs the King and his counsell, how much it did import to take the towne of Calais from the English, where the commoditie of landing, and the necernesse of the Kings estates, gaue the common enemy great means to molest the prouinces of Flanders and Picardie, requiring aide and succours from the King to besiege it; the which he grants. Wherevpon he with all his cities, make great preparations to fortifie the French army, the which enters into Picardy, attending a commandment to beleager Calais. The artillerie and munition was ready to goe to field, through the great diligence of the Duke of Bourgongne, stirred vp with hope to pull this thorne out of his foote, and to free the trafficke betwixt his subiects and France; when as suddenly the Kings letters pattents come to the heads of the army, commanding all men of B war, of what condition so euer, not to passe any farther, vpon paine of their liues. This vnexpected countermand, accused the Duke of Orleans as the author thereof; and gaue occasion to all men that desired the good of France to detest him, as seruing his owne passions, to the preiudice of the commonweale, but aboue all it gaue too important a cause of discontent to the Duke of Bourgongne, who infinitely grieued with so inexcusable an affront, and such inhumane circumstances of a cruell indignity (for whereto serues it to discover in particular, the grieues of so apparant an iniury) hee resolues to haue his reuenge once for all. Thus farre the Duke of Bourgongne had reason to complaine of the Duke of Orleans, but he exceeds, from reason hee flies to passion, the which is a dangerous counsellour; which presented vnto him a pernicious remedy, being then pleasing to his troubled minde, leauing C him nothing but a late repentance, and his body taken in the trappe which hee himselfe had made.

Thus *John* resolues to free himselfe of his cousin the Duke of Orleans, who hee supposed would bee a perpetuall and irreconcilable enemy. The motives of this cruell resolution, are visible by the forepassed actions. But they added ielousie herevnto, an intestine fire, which consumes him that lodgeth it in his bosome. The original of the historie speaks nothing hereof, for this shamefull iniurie (which the wise conceale) was not spoken of by those that were chiefly interested. But the learned obserue, that the Duke of Orleans had vied his cousin of Bourgongnes wife too familiarly, when as her husband was in the voiage of Hongarie. A young Flemish Princeesse and browne, of whom they had made a D song, the which the Duke of Orleans caused to be put into musick, and to bee sung before the ielous husband, at a banquet which he had made him, hauing the Princeesse picture in his Cabinet, and vinting that it was the triumph of his loue. These are stabbes which pierce the hearts of generous men with an incurable wound. This they set downe for one of the motives of the Bourguignons hatred against his cousin of Orleans. This vanity cost *Lewis* of Orleans deere, being giuen exceedingly vnto women, and as it was one of the causes of his death by the iust iudgement of God, so is it considerable, for being slaine by his enemy, amongst his other vices, he shall reproach him of luxury, to iustifie the murder. But let vs obserue the sequele of this Tragedy.

A new cause of discontent betwixt the Duke of Orleans and Bourgongne.

The Duke of Bourgongne resolues to kill his cousin of Orleans.

Lewis Duke of Orleans is slaine by *John* Duke of Bourgongne, and in the end *John* makes a counterfeit peace with the children of *Lewis*, but it is the renuing of greater troubles.



*John* of Bourgongne hauing resolued to kill *Lewis* of Orleans his cousin german, went to Paris, with so good a thew, as if hee had no intent to breake the accord so solemnly made betwixt them. That which most troubled him, was to see his enemies authority confirmed by this reconciliation, hauing the absolute gouernment of the State, respected as the Kings brother, and the first prince of the bloud. And (to giue him greater authority and power) the good King *Charles* had giuen him for a new yeeres giift in the

The Duke of Orleans discontent the Parisiens.

A peace betwixt the Duke of Orleans and Bourgongne.

1407. yeere 1407. the Duchie of Guienne for his portion, whereof the Daulphin then carried the A title. This new fauour and great aduancement, kindled the coale of iealousie in the Bourguignons braine, beeing already much transported, and holding it for certaine, that hee should neuer by any ordinary course preuaile against so passionate and powerfull an enemy, who as his meanes did increase, so would his desire augment to ruine him. Hee therefore thinks it convenient to preuent him, and drawes vnto him men fit for so audacious a murder, *Raoulet* of Autouille a Norman, an ancient seruant of his house, and discontented with the Kings brother, for that hee had taken from him the office of Generall of Normandy, and a fouldiar of Guines called *William Corteheuze*, with others of the same humor, to the number of eighreene. This *William* had a brother called *Seas* of Corteheuze, a groome of the Kings chamber, who should be the instrument to draw this poore Prince in- B to the pitfall. The Queene lay then in child-bed, the Duke of Orleans goes to visit her after supper, when as this *Seas* of Corteheuze goes to the Queenes chamber to tell him, that the King desired him to repaire presently vnto him for very important affaires. The Murderers were lodged secretly in a house by the which the Duke should passe. Being mounted vpon his moile, accompanied onely with two Squires vpon one horse, and one that followed on foote, his pages carrying torches both before and behind him, as the horse (which carried the two Squires) came before the house where this ambuscadoe lay, hee beganne to snort and to runne. The murderers issue forth instantly and charge the Duke, at the first they cut off his hand which held the reignes of his horse. Hee cries out, *I am the Duke of Orleans*, and they answer, *It is you we seeke for*. They double their blowes with such violence, as they beate him downe and cleaue his head, so as the braines lay scattered vpon the pavement.

The duke of Orleans murdered by the Bourguignon.

The yong Squire that remained with him, runnes desperately among their weapons, and is presently slaine vpon his poore maister. The pages had already giuen the alarm at his lodging, and many came running to succour their Lord, whom the finde thus massacred. There was nothing to bee heard but cries and lamentations, whilest they murderers (having fired a house and cast Calthrops in the streetes) gette themselves into the Duke of Bourgongnes house. Thus the night passeth in miserable lamentations. *Valentine* doubles the terrour of this horrible accident with fearful out-cries. The Princes his cou- D sines runne thither to participate in this sorrow. All weepe and lament, all crie out in this mournfull house. When the day appeeres, they finde his hand on the one side, and his braines scattered on the other. The reliques of his head are gathered together with teares, and all is kept for an honorable funerall.

O head! how many mischiefs attend thee? Oh murderer! thou shalt be murdered, disloyall, thou shalt be disloyally slaine. I haue horror, yea I tremble to shed this blood again by my report. The very enemies of *Lewis* were amazed at this audacious murder, foretelling the miseries that should follow. The Queene wonderfully passionate, causeth herselfe to bee remooued to the Kings lodging, and doubles the gards. In the end the King hath notice thereof, and apprehends it according to the weakenesse of his braine, but the Princes provided presently for his safety and their owne, euery man fearing for himselfe in so strang E an accident.

Such was the violent death of *Lewis* Duke of Orleans, traiterously slaine at Paris by *John* Duke of Bourgongne, the twenty daie of Nouember in the yeere of our Lord 1407. who thinking to kill his enemies, slew himselfe, and left this blood prodigiously shed, as a mournfull Legacy to his posterity, and hoping in his ouerweening spirit, to vsurpe France from the lawfull heires, hee lost Bourgongne for his posterity, neither could hee hinder his issue whom hee had so treacherously murdered, from the happy enioying of the whole realm, for *Lewis* Duke of Orleans left three Sonnes by *Valentine* the heire of Milan, *Charles*, *Philip* and *John*: from *Charles* the eldest (beeing duke of Orleans,) is issued directly King F *Lewis* the twelfth, the father of the people, and of *John* Earle of Angoulesme, father to King *Francis* the first the father of the mules, who hath giuen fower Kings successiue to our monarchie. But of *John* of Bourgongne we can reckon but two successors, *Philip* and *Charles*. *Philip* was his sonne, who by the patience of God left *Charles* in his place, but *Charles* suffered for his grand-fathers errors and his owne, for hee died in blood: his pride

The issue of Lewis of Orleans.

A pride was interred in an vknowne tombe, and Bourgogne was pluckt from the felonious hands of this murdering race, and vnted to the Crowne. Now *John* of Bourgogne shall commit strange disorders during twelue yeares, from the date of this massacre, and it seemes that blind Fortune hath adorned his temples with bayes and triumph, to guerdon these execrable crimes: but he is not freed that drawes his haltar after him. Hee shall soone pay both principall and interest to Gods iust iudgement, which slackes not, although it seeme slacke, but comes in due season, marching slowly, to take all excuse from the obstinate and impudent sinner, recompensing in the end this apparent slacknesse of punishment, by the greatnesse of eternall paine.

But let vs returne to this desolate house: *Valentine* widdow to *Lewis*, with her three sons, B and *Isabell* of France the Kings eldest daughter, wife to *Charles*, the eldest sonne of *Lewis*, now Duke of Orleans, by the decease of his father, come all to our poore King *Charles*, (beeing sicke) to demanda iustice. All cast themselves at the Kings feete, as much discom- forted as themselves, for the cruell death of his onely brother, whome he had alwaies loued dearly both found and sicke. *Lewis* of Aniou King of Sicily and Naples, the Dukes of Berry and Bourbon; with all the Princes of the blood, accompany them in this lamentable state, wherein *Charles* promisseth to giue them satisfaction.

Valentine demands iustice for the death of her husband.

The Kings Councell being assembled, they require an account of the Prouost, what hee had done in search of these murderers. He answers, that hauing done his duty he could not find any thing. That there were no places vnsearcht, but Princes and great mens houses,

C where if he might be suffered to enter, he would do his best, to discover the murderers. The Princes were all in Councell, and the Bourguignon amongst them, all promise it freely: *John* of Bourgongne (guiltie of the crime) holds his peace: and as they beheld one another; he riseth, and drawing the King of Sicile and the Duke of Berry apart, he confesseth, that through the devils motion he had committed this murder. These Princes (beeing amazed) concele it for that day. The next day comming to Councell, the Duke of Berry willed him to retyre himselfe. Thus amazed he returnes to his lodging, and presently without any staie he flies with fure more into Flanders, where the murderers likewise finde a sure re- treat. That conscience which at the first had terrified him, is now hardened: and that which had mooued him to confesse himselfe the author of this murder, doth now animate D him with new motions, to become obstinate, and to maintaine by vniust force, that which hee had committed by furious violence. Hauing sought the loue of all the Cities of Flanders, he finds them willing to support him, in right or wrong in his necessitie: vpon this assurance he calles an assembly at Gand, to leuie those succours whereof he stood in need.

John of Bourgogne confesseth the murder.

Flies from Paris.

At the newes hereof, the zeale of iustice growes cold in Court: they seeke an accord with him whom they should pursue: the King of Sicile, and the Duke of Berry goe to him to Amiens, beeing prouder then if he had done a meritorious acte, where making open profession of his pride, he had placed ouer the doore of his lodging, a table wherein were painted two Lances a crosse, whereof the one had a well steeled head for the warre; and the other a burr head for the Tilt, as giuing the choice of warre and peace: publishing generally that he not onely had done the murder, but that he would and ought to doe it. And to the end he might be mad with reason, he findes Diuines in those daies that confirme him in this passion, and protest to maintaine it by the Scripture, as the sequele will presently shew. The Princes that were sent vnto him, (not able to mooue him to confesse his fault, and to humble himselfe:) they command him in the Kings name not to come to Paris. He answers them boldly, that he would presently go, to informe the King what reason had mooued him to punish the common enemy of France.

Fortifies himselfe.

And hauing reuiued his practises at Paris, by meanes of his intelligences, he gathers together a great armie, and accompanied with his two breethren, and the dukes of Lorraine and Cleues, he comes to *S. Denis*, and lodgeth his troupes about this great Citty, who willingly stretch forth their hands vnto him, as to their redeemer, who should purchase them perpetuall rest. The Princes go vnto him, and intreate him in the Kings name, not to enter into Paris, but with his ordinarie traine of 200. men. *John* makes them answer: That for the suretie of his person, hee could doe no lesse then to go well accompanied, and the next day he

Offers to rise the murder by armes.

1409.

he arriues at Paris with all his troupes, beeing receiued by the Parisiens with cries of ioy, as a new Monarch. He fortifies himselfe in Bourgogne house, where he is visited by the whole bodie of the cittie and the Vniuersitie, who seeke to support this execrable murther. The next day the game is played with a strange præludium. *John Petit*, a Doctor of Diuinitie, maintained (with wonderfull impudencie) that the Duke of Bourgogne had caused the duke of Orleans his cousin to be worthily slaine, by reason of many notable crimes, whercof he doth accuse him. The Originall of the historie doth set downe these detestable phrenesies, to shew how much disorder preuailes in an estate without a head. The Councell of *Constans* shall condemne this Impostor, beeing accused by the Colledge of Sorbonne, who shall disauow this mercenarie man, after the death of the Duke of Bourgogne.

And is absolved for the murther.

The issue was answerable to his speech. The King beeing sicke in mind, and the Princes fainting, *John* of Bourgogne is absolved of the murther committed on the person of his Cousin germaine. The King (to couer this bad act) declares by his letters pattents. *That in case he died, he would that Lewis his eldest sonne, Daulphin of Viennois, should haue the gouernment of the Realme, and after him John and Charles his younger sonnes, one after another, without any Regent.* But the Bourguignon was ignorant, that this decree gaue him authoritie that should punish him: beeing also aduised (for some speciall considerations) not to deale any more with the affaires of France, but with his owne. So he retires into Flanders, not daring to attempt any thing, beeing thus iustified and absolved.

This insolencie, accompanied with some indignities against the Kings maiestic, displeased the whole Court: and not iustificable by the Bourguignon faction, it caused *Valentine* and her children to renew their complaints to the Kings Councell, who stoutly made a decree against *John* Duke of Bourgogne, for satisfaction of the murther committed by him on the person of the Duke of Orleans. But what auails it to report that which tooke no effect, but onely to proue, *That when lawfull authoritie is suppressed, iustice is of no force, and the stronger treades under foote the right of the weaker.* As it proued in this ridiculous and imaginative sentence, giuen in fauour of the children of Orleans against the murtherer of their father: for it was scarce recorded for the benefit of the interested, when as newes came of the victorie which *John* of Bourgogne had gotten against them of Liege, in fauour of *John* of Bauaria surnamed Without-pittie, their bishop. This did quite change all their thoughts, countenances and words in Court; all Commissions for the leauying of souldiars, for the execution of this decree, by force are reuoked. There is no talke, but how to warrant the King and *Daulphin* from the Bourguignon, who without doubt would (according to his humor) bring his victorious armie to Paris, disannull the decree vpon their heads that should maintaine it. So as the *Daulphin* with the Dukes of Berry, & Bourbon conduct the King to Tours for his better safetie, beeing vnwilling to leaue him in the Parisiens power, who were passionate partisans of the Bourguignon.

The King forsakes Paris.

The Parisiens are wonderfully discontented at this departure: they arme, drawe their chaines, as in a time of warre: and call in the Bourguignon, assuring him of their hearts and meanes. He comes speedily with a great armie, and staies at *S. Denis*, contrarie to the Parisiens expectation, who thought he would haue kept more firme, hauing so great forces. But he wisely weighing the vanitie of popular tumults, resolues to husband this occasion; and to make his peace with the King and the house of Orleans, hauing so great an aduantage ouer them, to ratifie the abolition which he had obtained against all euent, Hee then sends his Ambassadors to King *Charles* to Tours, *William* Duke of Bauaria, the Lords of *S. George*, *Croy*, *Vieufille* and *Dolehaing*, to treat a peace with him and the children of Orleans, making great shewes of humilitie and loue.

Valentine Duchesse of Orleans dies for griefe.

This new course moued the King and Princes, the which they expected not from the Duke of Bourgogne, beeing so late a Conqueror: so as they easily yeeld to an agreement, vpon conditions; but still to the preiudice of the poore widow, and afflicted Orphans. In this confusion, *Valentine* Duchesse of Orleans (seeing her paines lost in the pursuite of so iust a cause) dies for thought within few daies after: leauing great trouble and few friends to her children, and great ioy to the Bourguignon, seeing his cause wonne by the death of this couragious woman, who onely might oppose her selfe. The King comes to Chartres, to solemnize this peace, he sends for *Charles* Duke of Orleans and his breethren, and for

John

*John* Duke of Burgogne; and all appeare at a prefixed day. A scaffold is made, where the King sits in his seat of Iustice, enuironed with the Princes of his blood, in great state. *John* Duke of Burgogne (approaching neere the King) kneeles downe with *Dolehaing* his aduocate, who speaketh thus. Liege Lord, behold the Duke of Burgogne, your seruant and Cousin is come vnto you, for that he vnderstands you are much offended with him, for the deed done and committed on the person of my Lord the Duke of Orleans your brother, for the good of the realme and of your person, as he is ready to let you vnderstand whensoever it shall please you, and therefore my Lord, he doth humbly beseech you, that it would please you to forget the wrath and indignation you haue conceiued against him, and to receiue him into fauour.

After these words, the King commaunded the Duke to retire himselfe: which done, the Queene, the Daulphin, the Kings of Sicile and Nauarre, and the Duke of Berry fall on their knees before the King, and the Queene said; *Dread Lord wee beseech you to grant the request of your Cousin the Duke of Burgogne.* The King answered, *wee will and doe grant it for your sakes.* The Duke of Bourgogne beeing called againe, kneeles before the King, who saies vnto him, *Faire Cousin we grant your request, and pardon you all.* The Duke, hauing thanked the King, riseth. Behind the Kings chaire stood *Charles* of Orleans with his breethren weeping bitterly. The Duke of Bourgogne goes vnto them accompanied with his Aduocate, and hauing saluted them with a very humble countenance, the Aduocate spake thus vnto them, *My Lord, the Duke of Bourgogne here present, intreates you to put out of your remembrance that hatred which you may haue against him, for the outrage committed on the person of my Lord of Orleans your father, and that hereafter you will remaine good kinsmen and louing friends.* The Duke added, *And hereof I pray you.* But they answered nothing. Then the king said vnto them: *My faire Cousins, I will haue it so.* And they answered: *Lege-Lord, seeing it pleaseth you to commaund vs, wee yeeld thereto: for we will not disobey your commandements in any thing.* The Duke accepted it, thanking the King and his Cousins of Orleans. Then the Cardinall of Barre brought the holy Testament, whereon both parties did sweare a peace, neuer to remember what was past, and to hold a perpetuall league of friendship. And the King said, *we will that hereafter you liue like good Kinsmen and friends together, and we strictly charge you not to wrong one another, nor any other person that hath fauoured you: neither shew any malice or hatred vnto them, as you tender our displeasure, except such as committed the said murther, whom we banish our Realme for euer.* These are the very words faithfully collected out of the Originall of that age. This happened the ninth of March, 1409. Then followed nothing but mariages: the Duke of Bourgogne married his two breethren, *Philip* earle of Neuers with the heire of Couffy, and *Anthony* duke of Brabant, with the heire of Luxemburg. He is greatly in credit both with the King and Queene, his traine seemed greater then his masters, the bountie of his Kitchin drawes men from all parts: but hee had not made his peace with God, neither (in his heart) with those poore Orphelins, destitute both of friends and meanes, at whose cost this peace was made, the which was but counterfeite and continued not long.

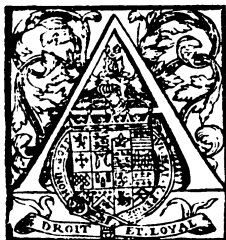
John



# IOHN Duke of Bourgongne gouerning all in the Kings name and the DAVLPHINES. The Fa-

ction of Orleance opposeth. The ciuill wars reuiue: ended with a peace, and the new Authority of this DAVLPHIN, who dispossesseth the Bourguignon, and restores them of Orleans.

From the yeare, 1409. to the yeare, 1413.



To governes the Court.

**A**FTER this accord the Court takes a new forme. *Queene Izabell* thinks no more of her poore Nephewes of Orleance, she is wholly the Duke of Bourgongne. The Duke of Berry follows the same traine. For prooffe of a cordiall friendship, the *Queene* doth openly fauour the marriage so long promised, of *Lewis* the *Daulphin* her eldest sonne, with *Katherine* daughter to the Duke of Bourgongne, which marriage was solemnized. Now *John* of Bourgongne is father-in-law to the *Daulphin*: it is he which gouernes both his heart and house. Moreover, *Charles* King of Nauarre, *Lewis* Duke of Bauaria, the Dukes of Lorraine, Brittain, Barre, Alençon, Cleues, Vaudemont, and (after their example) the greatest Noblemen in Court, are all on his side. There is nothing but feasting in his house, all ioy, whilest the Orphans of Orleans weepe. Paris honours him as their protector, and trusts none but him, and *John* doth affect nothing more carefully with the King and *Daulphin*, then the loue of the people. He doth all he can to please them. The chiefe subiect of his discourse, is to reforme the State, to seeme thereby more affectionate to the common weale. In a sollemne feast, (where all the Court was present) he gaue to his friends, in stead of a banquet, plomets of gold and siluer, shewing by this figure, that his desire was to rule the State well: and to shew the effect of his words he procured this notable occasion. All men cryed out of the Treasurers, as horse-leeches of the common treasure, and the chiefe causes of bad husbandrie, whereby the King and people were so much impouerished. We haue made mention before of one of the Kings chiefe minions called *Montagu*, who had too soon fled the storme: beeing returned he growes in greater credit with the King then before, who giues him the office of Lord Steward, and marries his eldest sonne to the sister of the Lord of Albret, his Constable, although *Montagu* were but of a meane calling. The shew of his traine exceeded Princes houses, and made him odious to all in generall, so as they accused him to haue robbed his Prince and the publike Treasure. The Bourguignon beginnes with him, in the reformation of the State. The Princes of the blood were easily drawne to allow of his proceedings: so as *Montagu* was taken, condemned, and speedily beheaded. Whether this were done by commissioners, or iudicially (as it was said to be iustified after his death) it is not certaine. This is a good lesson for meane men, that grow rich by the publike treasure, not to abuse their wealth by excessiue pompe: to keepe their credit in Court, and to flie the furie of great men, vnder his protection that hath power of life and death, arming themselves with a good conscience and vnreprouable in their charges. But the Bourguignon had a farther reach then *Montagu*: for vnder colour of the publike good, he reuenged himselfe of him, who else might haue crost his desires. His meaning was not to reforme the State, but to gouerne it absolutely. Thus he seeks to vsurpe all, and in the ruine of *Montagu*, he will haue all men know that he hath power to hurt and helpe. This first insolencie furthered his enemies, beeing in a manner forsaken of all men, euen of their owne blood: for *John* Duke of Berry (carried away with the vent of this new fauour) had subiected himselfe to the Bourguignon: but finding himselfe contemned by him, who tooke all to himselfe, and reiected such as had serued him to rise, *John* resolues to ioyne with the house of Orleans, and to oppose themselves against the Duke of Bourgongnes greatnesse.

Montagu put to death.

This

**A** This is the beginning of the two factions of Orleance and Bourgogne, which troubled all France during this raigne. This league (whereof the house of Orleance bare the name (as the first and most interested) was concluded at Gyen in the yeare 1410. the 10. of March, beeing defensiu and offensiu against the house of Bourgogne. The chiefe were *Charles* Duke of Orleance and his breethren, *John* Duke of Berry, *Lewis* Duke of Bourbon, *John* Earle of Alençon, *Francis* Earle of Clermont, *Bernard* Lord of Armagnac, and *Charles* Lord of Albret, Constable of France, with their friends and followers in great numbers. Of the Bourguignon faction, were *John* Duke of Bourgongne with his breethren, *Charles* king of Nauarre, (sonne to that wretch, of whom we haue made mention) the Dukes of Lorraine, Brabant and Brittain, the Marquis of Pont, the Earles of Neuers, Vaudemont, *S. Pol*, *Ponthieu* and many others. This murtherfull diuision continued vnto the yeare 1419. in the which *John* was slaine, but it ends not so. During these eight yeares we shall see diuers changes, one in, and another out, as they could enable themselves with the Kings authoritie, which is the strongest barriere of ciuill warres. Now the Duke of Bourgongne is in quarter, and plants his Ordinance against the Orleanois, as guiltie of high treason: but shortly hee shall be dispossessed, and they of Orleance shall take their turne.

The house of Orleance complains, that they are not respected according to their degree: they sue to be admitted to the priuiledges due to Princes of the blood, and that the Duke of Bourgongne should not command absolutely, holding (as they sayd) both the bodies and wils of the King, Queen, and *Daulphine* in captiuitie. They assemble in great troupes, first at Chartres, and after (to manage their affaires with greater shew neere vnto the capital Cittie of Paris) they lodged at the Castell of Winchester, then called Bicestre, but now ruined. The Duke of Bourgongne accused the Duke of Orleance for practising to take the Crowne from the King and *Daulphin*, perswading the King to what he pleased against them as against rebels and disturbers of the publike quiet. This fire continued but seauen or eight moneths, wherein there chanced no memorable accident, but onely the death of *Lewis* the good Duke of Bourbon, who died for griefe in the beginning of this warre, beeing accused as the motiue of these troubles.

**D** *Queene Izabell* laboured to reconcile these Princes, but she preuailed not, beeing suspected by the Orlean faction, whom she had left without cause, to ioyne with the Bourguignon. After some Edicts of confiscation, not executed (like Canon shot spent in the aire) a peace was made by meanes of the Duke of Berry, vpon condition that he and the Duke of Bourgongne should ioyntly haue the *Daulphin* in guard, and the house of Orleance should be respected in their degree, and that *Peter* of Eflards (a sworne enemy to their partie and a most passionate seruant to the Duke of Bourgongne) should be no more Prouost of merchants. This was concluded at Winchester, whereof it beares the name, the twentieth day of *November* in the same yeare, hauing contended this sommer about Paris onely, to the hurt of the poore people, discontented chiefly with the *Gascons* that came out of Armagnac, who gaue their name to the troupes of the Orlean faction, called for this occasion Armagnacs, wearing for their colours a white scarf, the which they haue vsed in our last troubles. This first peace continued not long, neither were all promises performed. The Bourguignon did eate the cake alone, and yet he complained first, as hauing to do with children. He sends the Lords of Croy and Douries, to the Duke of Berry, to disioyne him from the Duke of Orleance his Nephew; who hauing intelligence of their negotiation and passage, caused them to be surprized in Sologne, and brought prisoners to Blois: but he sent backe Douries, and detained Croy, as suspected to be guiltie of his fathers death, and by consequence punishable by the treatie of peace. The King commands him to set him at libertie: and he demands iustice of his fathers murtherer. Hereupon they go all to armes. They cause the King to summon him by his Edicts, whereunto *Charles* duke of Orleance answers, by a challenge to the Duke of Bourgongne, as the murtherer of his father, and the author of all the miseries which then raigned in France.

**F** Thus beganne this second warre, the twentieth of *July* the yeare following, 1411. the Princes passions giuing the poore people scarce seuen moneths respite to breath in so many calamities, which they suffered through their voluntarie diuisions. The Orlean faction assembles at Gergeau vpon the riuier of Loire, to resolue of the meanes to make warre against *John*

Beginning of the second warre.

*John* Duke of Bourgongne, whom they challenge by a publike cartell, as the murderer of a Prince of the blood, the Kings onely brother: and as vſurper of the royall authoritie, holding the perſons and wils of the King and *Daulphin* captiue. *John* Duke of Bourgongne had great aduantage; the Kings authoritie, and the *Daulphins*, (who was heire apparent to the Crowne of France) the capitall cittie of the Realme, the approbation of the beſt Citties, moſt of the Prouinces, and without compariſon greater meanes of himſelfe, both for men and money.

This ſecond warre continued a yeare, it began in *July*, 1411. and ended the yeare after, 1412. in the ſame moneth, farre more variable and violent then the firſt, and memorable in this, that the vanquiſhed was victor, and the victor vanquiſhed. The ſame authoritie which had ſupported the ſtronger, was in the end fauourable to the weaker: ſuch as moſt pleaſed their maiſters humor, receiued death of him for their reward. Very neceſſarie obſeruations to iudge of theſe ciuill warres. The Orlean faction went firſt to field. They were about ſeuene or eight thouſand horſe. The number of their foote is not ſpecified. *Charles* Duke of Orleans makes the bodie of his armie in Gallinois: the Duke of Bourbon in Bourbons, and the Earle of Alanson in Vermandois. Peronne, Chauny, Neele and Han, yeeld vnto them. Clermont (which belonged to the Duke of Bourbon) is fortified: they ſeek to ſurprize Reſteuil and Bapaumes, but in vaine. This was the firſt ſally begun by them of Orleans: but the Bourguignon takes another courſe, he prepares the Kings Edicts againſt them, he employes the peoples force within the Citties, and armes in field, and all auails him at the firſt. He had a great armie both of horſe and foote, the which doth preſently march into Picardie, where the Orleanois had begun, and eaſily recouers what they had gotten. Han ſtands reſolute: they beſeege, take, ſpoile and ſack it.

The Flemings which were vaſſals to the Duke of Bourgongne, being laden with ſpoile, craue leaue to returne home, neither could the Dukes promiſes, nor threatnes retaine them, but they leaue his armie and depart. This had almoſt ouerthrowne his affaires, he abandons Mondidier, the which was preſently ſurprized by *Peter* of Queſnes, Lord of Gannes, of the Orlean faction, and putting his armie into Garrifons, doubting the euent of this warre, he ſends with all ſpeed to *Henry* the fourth, King of England, crauing ſuccors in this neceſſitie. *Henry* makes his profit of theſe ciuill diſſentions in France: he preſently ſends twelue hundred men to the Bourguignon, to ſupply the Flemings want, vnder the command of *Thomas* Earle of Arondel. The Orleanois looſe no time; and for their nearer approach to Paris, they ſurprize *S. Denis*, and *S. Cloud*, places of importance, and fortiſie Corbeil for the paſſage of the riuer, of purpoſe to ſaniſh this great Cittie, which liues by daily prouiſions brought from diuers parts. But he finds one to countermine his practiſes, vſing the ſame inſtrument he had employed to hurt him. The Orleanois keeping the field about Paris, muſt needes be the cauſe of great calamities. And all this was acted in the view of the King and *Daulphin*.

*John* informes the King of his enemies inſolencie, who (without appealing to his Maieſty) preſumed to ſpoile the heart of France, as if they were ſtrangers or enemies. *Charles* apprehends this error but too eaſily, deſiring nothing but reſt: but *Lewis* the *Daulphin* eſpecially is incited by theſe informations, and his choller increaſeth daily againſt his Couſins of Orleans. The Bourguignon ſaid, that they played the Kings, and could not conſeale their intention, which was to ſeize on the Crowne, ſeeing they preſumed to take armes againſt the King. There are rigorous Edicts made againſt the Orlean faction, as againſt rebels and guiltie of high treaſon. All their goods, honours and perſons are conſiſcate which remaine in this armie, if within fifteene dayes after publication of the Kings letters patentes, they retire not them ſelues to their houſes. And to begin with the greateſt, *Charles* of Albret Conſtable of France, and *Arnold* of Corby the Chancellor, are diſpoſſeſſed of their dignities, and the Earle of Saint *Pol* preferred to the firſt place, and *Dolehaing* the Duke of Bourgongnes aduocate to the laſt.

This ſtorme makes worke at Paris, they ſeek out all of the Orlean partie, and preſently caſt them into priſon: *Peter* of Eſſars being reſtored to his place, remembers the article made againſt him at Wincheſtre, and armes the people againſt them. Whoſoeuer is found out by the *Parifienſis*, being of the Orlean faction, he is brought with hazard of his life

A to priſon. All is lawfull in this popular rage, ſo it be againſt the Armagnacs. All theſe engines forced from diuers parts, doe ſtrangely ſhake the Orlean partie. Such as were reſtrained within any townes, durſt not breathe: and many in the armie ſlippe away daily, ſcaring the rigour of theſe Edicts, which were executed with all ſeueritie. *Charles* Duke of Orleans (hauing taken counſell of the Princes and Noblemen, his aſſociates, what courſe to follow in this alteration, before a greater inconueniency) reſolues to draw the Bourguignon to battell, although he were fortified with theſe new forces from England. So as hauing paſſed the riuer of Oyle, vpon a bridge of boates (all the paſſages being ſeized on by the Bourguignon in the Kings name) he preſents himſelfe before the gates of Clermont in Beauuoſis, where *John* his capitall enemy remained. The Orlean armie is faire, beautified with the preſence of great perſonages: the Duke of Bourbon, the Earles of Alenſon, Clermont, Albret, Vertus, Vienne, Bouciquaur, the Archbiſhop of Sens, (brother to that *Montagu*, which was beheaded) *Craon*, *Montbaſon*, *Hangeſt*, with many Barons, Knights, and Squires, all reſolute to end this quarrell by battell: and to that end (hauing deſied the Duke of Bourgongne) they attend him, betwixt Clermont and Catherenay. But the Bourguignon leauing them there to ſpoile that goodly and fertill cuntry of the Iſle of France, whereby they increaſed the hatred and curſe of the people, more incenſed then euer againſt theſe Armagnacs, exclaiming of him as of a coward that durſt not fight, he arriues at Paris, to the peoples great content, who attend him with all deuotion. He preſently takes *Saint Cloud* and *Saint Denis* from the Orlean partie, to their great loſſe, notwithstanding any diligence of *Charles* their head, who proclaimed a victorie before the combate. Thus Paris is freed without any reſtraint, and all the Orlean partie brought very lowe. Neither *Charles* nor his Aſſociates, talke any more of fighting with the Bourguignon: they had worke enough to retire themſelues, and to defend their Townes, expecting a preſent ſeige. *John* of Bourgongne ſaies not to huſband this good ſucceſſe, and (to countenance his forces) hee doth engage the King and *Daulphin* in the purſuite of his enemies traſe vanquiſhed. So his victorior armie enters into Beauſe, turning head towards the Duchie of Orleans, the inheritance of his chiefe enemy. *Eſtampes* yeelds to the King. The Duke of Bourbon is there taken priſoner, and ſent preſently into Flanders.

D Whileſt that all things ſucceeded thus happily for the Duke of Bourgongne, *Henry* the fourth King of England calles home the troupes he had ſent to his ſuccour, vnder the Earle of Arondels command, intreating the Duke to hold him excuſed, if he did vſe his owne at his neede. He had no meaning to fauour the ſtronger partie, but to ſuccour the weaker, as experience did ſoone teach. This ſodaine alteration did ſomewhat ſtay the Bourguignons deſſeine to attempt Orleans: but making warre aduiſedly, he attends his enemies proceeding and taking an honeſt leaue to retire, by reaſon of the winter, he comes to Paris, where (not to looſe any time) he continues the Kings thundring Edicts, and executes many of his priſoners, to ſheſh the people. To blood hee addes Eccleſiaſtical Excommunications againſt the Armagnacs, whileſt the Orleanois take cold by making warre in Charolois, and ſending for ſuccors into England, ſeeking for releefe in the ſame place where their enemy had found E a ſcourge to whip them.

Certaine letters (carried by a Monke from the Duke of Orleans to the King of England) were intercepted, and brought to Paris, being examined in full aſſembly of the Vniuerſitie, and from thence imparted to the people, with the Bourguignons Commentaries. They made the Orlean faction ſo much the more odious, as if the Dukes of Orleans, Burgie, and Bourbon (combined together) had fought to take the Crowne from the King and *Daulphin*, and to diſmember the Realme in giuing part of it to the Engliſh, and to deuide the reſt among themſelues. Strange newes without any ſubieſt, which vaniſh at their breeding: but yet they ſerue to purpoſe, according to the deſſeine of their Architects.

F The King and *Daulphin* (being poſſeſſed by *John* of Bourgongne) haue no thought but to ruine the Orlean partie, and put vp with this firſt ſucceſſe, hoping to finiſh the reſt, they imploy all their meanes to leaue a great army, the which (through the Bourguignons care) was held to be an hundred thouſand men. A notable number, after ſo many miſeries, and in ſo great a conſuſion.

The Bourguignon craues aide of the king of England.

The Engliſh troupes leaue the Bourguignon.

1412. The cittie of Bourges was of great importance, for the vnting of the Prouinces on that side Loire, where the associate Princes had their greatest supplies of men. The Bourguignons greatest malice was against the Duke of Berry, who not onely had forsaken him, but (for his degree and age) vnderstood much in his enemies affaires. They resolue therefore to beseege it, to make the way more easie for the conquest of the rest. In the beginning of the Spring, the King and *Daulphin* go from Paris to their armie, which assembled in Gastinois: being entred into Berry the lesser Towns yeeld without question. Dun le Roy, Fontenay, & Sancerre. Bourges beeing summoned, makes answer: That neither the King nor *Daulphin* did make this warre, but the Duke of Bourgongne, who holding their persons and willes captiue, would depriue the Princes of France of their right, hauing imbrued his murdering hands in the blood of the first Prince of the Crown, seeking to vsurpe the State. There were very many good souldiers within the Cittie, which were supplied with all that might be wished for in a long sege. They intreated the enemy (in scorn) that hee would approach neere the Cittie; and they leaue their gates open in a brauerie. Many fortunate sallies are made by them, crying in field, *God save the King*. They take many prisoners. The waters abroad are poisoned, and many die before they discouer the cause.

The King and  
Daulphin be-  
sige Bourges  
by the Bour-  
guignons  
meane.

All rings out with militarie railings of Armagnacs and Bourguignons: but the greatest defeat is in spoiling of the Countrie. All the prouision beeing carried into the cittie, what a spoile should an armie of an hundred thousand men with their followers make; and (to increase the miserie) all the houses of the champion countrie were either sackt or burnt. The English (beeing victors in France) neuer committed greater spoiles then these French armies.

As the Duke of Berry (the Lord of that countrie) was much grieved to see these spoils, so the *Daulphin* (the heire apparent of the Crowne) was discontented with his father in lawes ambition, growing odious vnto him. His blood (which could not degenerate) mooued him to compassion, and the blood vnjustly shed, troubled his conscience. For, to what end should they ruine a whole Realme to execrable a murder? If zeale to reforme the State (saith he) be the Bourguignons intent, is this the way? His father (beeing sicke) could not apprehend these things, by reason of his infirmities: what reproch then were it for him (beeing his eldest son) to suffer himselfe to be bafled by his father-in-law, like vnto an infant? These apprehensions mooued this young Prince, who nothing dissembling his conceptions, told his father openly, that he was not pleased with these confusions, and that they must find out some meanes to pacifie them. It chanced one day, as they aduertised the King, that in a sally made by them of the towne, they had slaine some one of his seruants, the *Daulphin* cried out in the presence of the Bourguignon: *Shall we neuer haue an end of these miseries? I am resolved to make them cease.* The Bourguignon hauing before discouered some coldnesse in this young Prince, found his mind now to be wholly changed. Hee therefore replied mildly: *That it should be well done, so as they of Orleance would acknowledge their error. How (saith the Daulphin) shall they acknowledge their fault. If we do not know them for our bloud?* And then they resolved to make a peace. The Duke of Berry had layed the foundation by Lignac, great master of Rhodes, who failed not to embrace this occasion, seeing the *Daulphin* so well affected. The Earle of Sauoy had sent his Ambassadors, to exhort both parties. After a moneths sege they begin to treat of the meanes to pacifie these troubles. The Bourguignon makes halt to be the first in all things, and parles with the Duke of Berry betwixt two barres. One accuseth, the other excuseth, but in the end a peace is concluded by Deputies.

The Princes, at an interview imbrace one another, with all shewes of cordiall loue, such as their blood makes shew of, after long bitternesse. The Bourguignon onely is troubled, doubting this peace to them would be a warre to him, for that he had no peace in his owne Conscience.

The King enters into Bourges, where the place is signed, and for that reason it was called the peace of Bourges, the 25. of Iuly, in the yeare 1412. A Parliament is called at Auxerre, to confirme it by sollemne oth. The Princes are receiued into fauour with the King and *Daulphin*, all Edicts made against them, were disannulled and of no force. They and theirs restored to their degrees and dignities: all things to be forgotten. The names of Armagnac & Bourguignon

(45)

A (as infamous markes of ciuill dissensions) forbidden vpon paine of death: and the English (come to the succour of the associate Princes) to be satisfied out of the Kings Treasure. Without the cittie of Auxerre, neere to the Abbey of S. Marian, a stately scaffold was made, where the king sitting in his seate of Iustice, enuironed with his Princes, the officers of his Crowne, and the chiefe Deputies of the Parliament, the peace was proclaimed with as great ioy, as the warre had bene tedious and mournfull. To confirme this peace with *Iohn* of Bourgongne, *Philip* Earle of Vertus married his daughter: but all this could not reconcile him to the house of Orleans. The *Daulphin* teiocyed much at this peace, and made all shewes of loue to his Cousins lately reconciled, beeing grieved that there had bene so long dissention betwene them: desirous to repaire what was past, and aboue al to maintaine an inuolable peace within the Realme. The good sicke King present at all, yeelded his consent and authoritie, sometimes inclined to good, sometimes to ill. Queene *Izabel* held with the strongest: but all these good motions were crossed by the Bourguignon, so as all the confusions of this reign are not yet ended.

### IOHN Duke of Bourgongne seeing himselfe crost by

LEWIS the *Daulphin*, and the house of Orleance restored to grace, stirs vp new troubles, from the yeare 1412. vnto 17. when as the *Daulphin* died, but the troubles ceased not.



D FRANCE began to hope for better, by the meanes of *Lewis* the eldest sonne of King *Charles*: hauing a desire to make a peace against the Bourguignons will. But this was not all they expected of the *Daulphins* first resolution: yet the weaknesse of the sicke King, and the inconstancie of this young Lieutenant gaue the subtil braine of *Iohn* of Bourgongne too great an aduantage to suffer the French to enioy the fruites of peace so much desired, who neuer yeelded to bare threats, but grew more resolute. And notwithstanding this alteration of the *Daulphin* his sonne in law, yet hee left not the Court, beeing alwaies neere the King, keeping the Councell in breath, who were for the most part all of his faction: and although they worshipped the Sunne rising, yet seeing the spirit of this young Prince to be weak and inconstant, and the Bourguignons firme resolution, they stood vpon their guard, doing nothing that might openly offend either the one or the other, but vnder-hand they fought to please the most politicke and reboubted master; who else might prooue a most cruell and dangerous enemy.

Thus were affaires handled in the Kings Councell. And as not onely the Court, but the whole world, is an ebbing and flowing of diuers humors, the which doe change according to occasions: and the scaffold whereon dissembling, trecherie, and treason play their partes diuersly. So at that time the Bourguignon (a principall artizan of these goodly shewes) found an ample subiect wherein to employ his filthy trade. But although he seemed to haue gained all, whatsoeuer he desired that should come to passe, and to haue attained the full of his desires, yet all his enterprises came to nothing, and in the end he payed (with the price of his blood) the great debt of his horrible wickednesse. But this Act shall haue many Scenes. In the first, our Historie shall set downe the new gouernement of *Lewis* the *Daulphin*. This young Prince was not capable of so great a charge, hauing an idle braine, beeing carelesse and voluptuous, giuen to his owne will, obstinate, taking no aduice from any but of himselfe, or from young men of his owne humour: loth to yeeld to any that vnderstood more then himselfe, and especially to his vncles, whose graue haire he disdaind: neither could he loue his father-in-law, beeing resolved to gouerne the Realme alone. The Queene seeing her Sonnes humor inclined to loue the house of Orleance, made shew to fauour them: but in effect she was indifferent, beeing wholly giuen to flatter with her husband, and to gouerne him according to the time.

The Bour-  
guignons pra-  
ctises in court.

The estate of  
the Court vn-  
der *Lewis* the  
*Daulphin*.

1417.

The Bourguignon dissembling his sonne in lawes wayward humours, was alwaies neere A the King, giuing him such goodly reasons as the good Prince could not gaine-say him. The subiect of his sutes was pleasing to the Parisiens, whose good liking he entertained chearefully, but alwaies with an intent to be reuenged of his enemies, vnder this goodly name of the common-wealth, as the soueraigne end of all his desseins: but in effect he held still one of the chiefe places, not yielding in any thing, to gouerne them which seemed to rule, and to keepe backe such, as might crosse his authoritie. By the peace of *Bourges* the Constable of Albret should be restored to his dignitie, and *Arnold* of Corbie to his Chancelorship. They delay him from day to day, but in the end they are restored with much difficulty. The meanest haue many delays, more troublesome then a flat repulse, beeing more willing to leaue all, then to make these fruitlesse poursuites. *Arnold* of Corbie beeing honorably restored to his place, resigned it into the kings hands, to auoide the daunger of so confused a time: more wisely then *Henry* of Marle that succeeded him, beeing slaine at the massacre at Paris, with the Constable of Armagnac. But the Bourguignon flew a higher pitch, then to preiudice the house of Orleance in their goods and honours, or to crosse their affaires and their followers. He found no better expedient, then to do as he had done with *Lewis* their father: For a dead Lyon doth no harme. To this end he assembles some of his most trustie followers at Paris, to find meanes to murder the Dukes of Orleance, Berry and Bourbon: but *Peter* of Essars (one of his most violent partisans) discovered this practise, for the which he soone after smarted.

By the treatie of *Bourges*, the English (which came to the Duke of Orleance succour) must be satisfied. They presse for payment, one part beeing discharged (to the Duke of Orleance great hinderance) he was forced to leaue his brother *John* Earle of Angoulesme in hostage for the rest: beeing carried into England he was in the end redeemed, after much trouble and many delays.

In this article the Bourguignon made shew of his good husbandrie, solliciting the English vnder hand, on the one side for to presse *Charles* his principall debtor, and on the other side he cried out against the disorder of the Kings treasure, so ill gouerned as there was not sufficient to furnish the ordinarie expences of his house: pretending all these great sums to be wasted, either by the Treasurers, in gifts, or in superfluous expences. This complaint was very plausible, but it was a pit-fall to catch his enemies, and to mutine this discontented people, by reason of their great oppression, beeing easie to be moued at the name of the commonweale. He soone obtained from the King a generall conuocation of the chiefe cities, to reforme the abuses of the Realme, and especially of the treasure, for the releefe of the poore people. To make this partie good, the Cittie of Paris must make the first point: but the Vniuersitie which stood as a neuter (dealing with nothing but their bookes) should make the proposition and first instance.

The cause was vehemently set downe by a Doctor (chosen for the purpose) and auowed by the Cittie and Deputies of the Prouinces: such as were subiect to accompts, were much terrified, and the greatest number fled: such as were taken, lost their heads at the Halles or Greue, to the peoples great content, who highly commend the Duke of Bourgongne, as the onely Prince which loued the good of the Realme. The *Dauphin* growes ielous at the sound of these praises (as prejudiciall to his honour) vowing neuer to suffer the Bourguignon to attempt any thing against his authoritie. Such as were interestted, fedde the young Princes humor: who (by the meanes of *Lewis* of Bauaria his Vncle by the mother side) perswade him to take the name of Regent for a marke of his greatnesse.

He takes this title, and giues notice to the Duke of Bourgongne, that it is now high time hee were knowne in his degree. The Bourguignon (protesting that he hath no other obiect but the good of the Realme) makes no shew to deale in these affaires, leauing the gouernment thereof to whome it appertained: yet vnder-hand hee caused the Parisiens to arme, and (least the better sort should bee called into question) hee employes the basest, beeing led by one *Cabech* a butcher, followed by a multitude of rascalles, who (being armed) come in troups to the Regents lodging, and require of him by rowle the chiefe enemies of the Bourguignons house, who (they sayd) had gouerned the treasure, or had beene enriched by excessive gifts. Amongst the which was *Peter* of Essars, who (without any

A any long processe) lost his head, receiuing a iust reward for his great wickednesse, by his hands, who had then caused him to commit them. But this was not one daies furie: the next day the people assemble in great multitudes, and taking white cappes for their badge, they come to *Saint Pol*, where the King lodged, and demand audience, hauing seized on all the passages to his lodging, after a terrible manner. A Carmelite Friar was speaker for the people, accompanied with the Deputies of this multitude as his ruffians. Beeing entred into the Kings chamber, after many tedious speeches, he demands reformation of the State, protesting they would not be fed with words: they vrged the King to punish such, whose names they had contained in a list, being guiltie of capitall crimes. The Duke of Bourgogne makes a good shew, and answers: That the King would consider thereof. This Friar replies impudently, that they would not depart before they had such as they demanded. Their rage was such, as the King and Princes tooke white cappes, the marke of the seditious. They demand the chiefe seruants of the King, Queene, and *Dauphin*, not onely men, but also women which had beene in any credit: and about all, *Lewis* of Bauaria the Queenes brother. There was not any one but stood amazed at these audacious impudencies.

The Queene comes weeping, she intreats the King, the Monke and the deputies of the people. They answer, it is their charge, and they cannot alter it. The people crie from the base Court with a violent noise, that if they deliuer not these prisoners, they will force the lodging. So as after all these intreaties, *Lewis* the queenes brother with the rest (specified in the rowle) both men and women, yeeld vnto the mercie of these madde and furious men, and are by them led into diuers prisons.

This night passed not without many murders; many were strangled, and many cast into the riuer, without any other formes of iustice, but the Bourguignons secret commandement: who (with his cold and graue countenance) made shew to haue no interest in the action. The cittie was neuer in so lamentable an estate, by this shamefull contempt of Law, order, and of the King, Princes and Magistrates. There is no talke but of blood, killing, hanging and drowning of poore prisoners.

The horror of this confusion toucht the hearts of the most passionate. The Vniuersitie (which had beene the mouth of these captious complaints) repaires to *Henry* of Marle the first president, and to *John* *Luuenall* of Vrins the Kings Aduocate, protesting that they were not guiltie of these infamous disorders. And hauing taken aduice, they resolue to go to the King, as well to purge themselves of the suspicion of these abominable confusions, as to intreate him to giue eare to a good peace. They giue him meanes to winne the heads of this popular faction, and set vp an Ensigne with the Kings armes, and crie in all parts of the cittie, *Peace, peace, good people*: an inuention which preuailed much in this action.

Euill counsell is most hurtfull to him that giues it: the Bourguignons practises light on his owne heade. The people seeing themselves disauowed by the Vniuersitie (who then had great credite for their esteeme of wisdom and knowledge) hauing the King and his Parliament opposite, beeing abandoned by their Tribunes, they hide themselves in Bourgongne, and hee himselfe feeling the storme to approach, retires to Compiene, attending the event.

The Orlean faction repaires to Paris with speede, and were receiued ioyfully by the people, as the anchor of their hope. All the world exclames of the Bourguignon as the onely moriue of the troubles of France, and vnworthie to hold so honorable a rancke among the Princes of the blood. The queene feeds this dislike, for the interest of her brother imprisoned, and the King thunders forth his Edicts against the Bourguignon, the which are seuerely executed vpon such as are apprehended. Scaffolds, riuers and streetes wirnesse the reuenge of the murders committed by the Bourguignons vpon the Orleanois. All Officers preferred by the Bourguignon are displaced, and all such as had supported him are ill intreated. *Valeran* Earle of *S. Pol*, is put from the dignitie of Constable, *Guthard* *Dauphin* of Auergne, from that of great Master, and *Charles* of Rambures from being master of the Crossebowes, the which is at this day as the Colonell of the infanterie. Three hundred men and women of the Bourguignon faction are banished by a decree of the Court of Parliament. *John* Duke of Brittain leaues the Bourguignon and comes to court against him.

To conclude, all bandie against the Bourguignon, yet he is nothing amazed, but continues

1414.  
A strange  
union at Paris.

The King in-  
cented against  
the Bourguig-  
non.

And his facti-  
on disgraced  
and banished.



1415.

rinues constant against all stormes. He craues ayde of his citties in Flanders in this necessity: A being thus perplexed, there fell out a fauourable occasion to raise him vp againe. The queene beeing much discontented with him, incenseth the *Daulphin*. This yong Prince had some of his household seruants from the Bourguignon: she vsing the authoritie of a mother, takes them from him, and puts them in prison: the reason was, for that she feared these men were of the Bourguignons faction. The *Daulphin* takes this as an affront, and writes to his father-in-law to assitt him. The Bourguignon imbracing this vnexpected occasion, calles a new assembly of his subiects, and shewes them these letters. And making his profit thereof, he giues them to vnderstand how needfull it was to leaue an armie, to free the King and *Daulphin*, whom the Orlean faction held in captiuitie: and vpon this cause he writes to all the Citties of the Realme, intreating them to assitt him in so good a worke, and worthe of good subiects to their Prince. Herupon he leaues an armie, and goes to field, making a public declaration, That he takes armes to set the King and *Daulphin* at libertie, and is followed by many French, so as his armie increaseth daily. Hauing passed the riuer of Some he enters into Compiene, and doth summon *Senlis*, to send him the keyes of their gates, as marching for the Kings seruice: but a countermaund comes from the *Daulphin*, which doth frustrate his desseine.

The *Daulphin* drawes the Bourguignon.

The *Daulphin* (wonne by the Orleanois) protesteth that he had neuer written these letters, and disauowes the Bourguignon: he writes letters vnto him of a contrarie tenour, requesting him to forbear to torment the people vpon so vniust a cause: protesting that hee was not onely in full libertie, but doth also enioy his authoritie, by vertue whereof he commands him to dismisse his troupes, and to leaue France in quiet. The Bourguignon goes on his course, meaning to enter Paris, and to stirre the people to a new sedition, and so he marcheth with his troupes neere to the cittie, and stayes at Saint *Denis*, but his proiect had no successe.

The *Daulphin* assures the Cittie walles and the peoples hearts against him, who seeks by all meanes to speake to the king or people, approching himselfe neere the cittie, sending his Heralds with letters, planting his colours neere the gate, and in the end conueys a staffe with letters in it, but all this would not preuaile. The King doubles the batterrie of his Edicts against him, as guiltie of high treason, and a disturber of the publicke peace: commanding all men that were in his armie to leaue him, vpon paine of confiscation. Hereat the greatest part of his troupes fle away, yea his Flemings abandon him, who had alwaies protected vnto him in all his assemblies, neuer to carry armes against the King nor *Daulphin*. In the end the King and *Daulphin*, accompanied with the Princes of his blood, march with a goodly armie, they besiege Compiene (where the Bourguignon had left a garrison) and take it by composition: from thence they march to Soissons a Towne of greater strength: hauing taken it by force, and *Enguerrand* of Bournouille his right hand in it, he leaues the towne in peace, and cuts off Bournouilles head at Paris, with many of his companions, to the peoples great content, glad of this new bloud: and in the end he passeth to Arras, the which he beseegeth with his victorious armie.

The Bourguignon amazed at these vnexpected euent, demands peace of *Charles*, and obtaines it with much intreatie, by the meanes of the Countesse of Hainault his sister, and the Duke of Brabant her brother. It is called the peace of Arras, beeing made at that siege. This was grieuous to the Dukes of Orlean and Berry, who said, that both the King and *Daulphin* had promised them, not to lay downe armes, before they had viterly ruined the house of Bourgongne. But God wiser then they, would vnite all the French, to oppose them with a common consent, against the English their common enemy: and will soone shew, that it is a meere vanitie for mortall men, to nourish immortall hatred against their enemies, to satisfie their insatiable reuenge. We haue said, that *Henry* the fifth King of England watcht all opportunities to feede the confusions of this miserable raigne: and to that end he did sometimes succour the Bourguignon, sometimes the Orleanois, still supporting the weaker. And knowing well the Duke of Bourgongnes humor, seeing the *Daulphin* incensed against him, he leaues a goodly armie, to make a benefite of these diuisions. The euent fauoured his desire, but not his proiect: for meaning to assitt the Bourguignon, he findes that he had made his peace with our *Charles*.

Hauing

A Hauing landed at Harfieu, a sea towne seated vpon the Riuer of Seine, hee sends his Herald to demand his daughter *Katherine*. This was a matter farre fetcht, and a strange course, but this daughter must be the ground of many miseries for this Realme, and likewise an occasion to free this Realme absolutely from the English by a strange meanes, and (as we may say) admirable, as the course of our History will shew.

*Henry* takes Harfieu by composition. Before hee takes possession of this conquest, hee goes bare-footed to the Church, to giue God thanks. Hee had not his whole army with him, one part attended him at Calais, hauing an intent to ioine with them, and so to fortifie his troupes. With this resolution hee lodgeth at Fauille, and passing through Caux to the county of Eu, hee comes to Vimou, to passe the riuer at Banquetacque (an infamous place by out losse) where the passage being surprised, he takes his way towards Arennes and from thence to Baillu in Vimou, seeking to passe the bridge at Remie: but not able to force it, hee recouers himself vpon Some, and so passeth the riuer at Voyenne and Bethencourt, places ill garded by them of Saint Quintin: and then hee lodgeth at Mouchy la Gache towards the riuer of Misamont.

He had in his army fixe thousand horse and twenty thousand foote. That of King *Charles* was farre greater of itselfe, besides the Burguignons troupes (which were drawne together for another intent then to fight with the English). They were in all aboue twenty thousand horse and threescore thousand foote, and therefore *Henry* did shunne the battaile and sought how to saue himselfe through the fennes. Our accustomed rashnesse, and wilfull forgetfulnesse of two experiences past against the same nation, and in the like occurrents, made vs to note with blacke and mournfull letters that ouerthrow and calamitie. *Henry* demanded passage to returne into England, yeelding vp Harfieu and other places conquered in this voiage, but wee fought our owne decay, The Constable *Albret* commanded the forward that day, and with him were the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the Earles of Eu and Richemont, the Lord of Bouciquault Marshall of France and the Lord of Dampierre, Admiral. The battaile was led by the duke of Bar and the Earles of Alenson, Vaudemont, Neuers, Blamon, Salines, Grandpre and Rouffy. The reereward by the Earles of Marle, Dampmartin and Fouquembergue.

D *Dampy* (being denied passage by the Constable) resolues to fight, putting his trust in God and in his owne valour, determining to vanquish or to die, he made choise of a place of hard acceffe, and the better to fortifie his archers, every one had a sharpe stake planted before him. The French ordered as before, attended their enemies, either looking who should beginne the game. Impatieney forseth the weaker, like desperate men, the English Archers beginne the fight with such a furie, as the French forward cannot endure the violent fall of this furious storme; the Constable *Albret* was slaine fighting in the foremost ranke. The duke *Anthony* of Brabant, brother to *John* Duke of Bourgongne, (seeing this disorder) leaues his troupe to redresse it, but hee was also slaine by the English bow-men, with his brother *Philip* Earle of Neuers. The battaile was likewise forced after a great fight. The reereward

E fled, and saued themselues in the nereest places of retreat. So as the losse was not so great as the shame and ouerthrow. They number tenne thousand men slaine, but their rashnesse was inexcusable. The head snarted for it, and the Bourguignons brethren had there an honorable tombe. *Charles* duke of Orleans and *Lewis* of Bourbon, the Earles of Eu, Richemont and Vendosme (the strongest pillars of the Orlean faction) with many Noblemen and Gentlemen, were taken and led into England. This defeat chanced the twentieth day of October in the yeere 1415. called the euill battaile of Agincourt. And as one mischief comes neuer alone; the bodies slaine at this defeat were scarce buried; before *Lewis* the *Daulphin* dies. This *Lewis* (eldest sonne to our *Charles*, sonne in law, and a terror to the Bourguignon) was little lamented of the people, and lesse of his father in law, who hated him to the death. A prince of little valour and much toile, more busied with himselfe then with the affaires hee managed, the which he made troublesome by his insufficiency and presumption to know much, vnwilling to learne from others what hee vnderstood not, for the good of the State and his owne duty.

*John* duke of Touraine his brother, succeeded him in degree, as the first Prince of the bloud, and the Earle of Armagnac was made Constable, in the place of *Charles* of Albret, who

1415.  
Henry the fifth King of England enters France with an army and demands Katherine the Kings daughter.

Hee marcheth into Picardy.

The numbers of the English and French army.

The battaile of Agincourt.

Lewis the Daulphin dies.

His disposition

The Duke of Berry dies.



1416. who shall minister good occasion to speake both of his life and death. *John* duke of Berry A brother to our *Charles* the fifth, augmented these losses. A wise Prince and loving learning, commendable in all things, but for his couetousnesse, the which made his vertues of lesse fame. A blemish very ill befeeming a generous and heroicke spirit. These great losses should haue made the Bourguignon humble, but he became more insolent, making new practises to raise himselfe, hauing no competitor. Imbracing this occasion, he gathers together what troupes he can, with an intent to goe to Paris. The Queene and Constable of Armagnac (vnwilling hee should come armed) command him in the Kings name, not to approach. The Parisiens were not then so well conceited of the Bourguignon, beeing restrained by the court and vniuersitie, but especially by the Kings authority beeing present, who spake whatsoeuer his wife and the Constable would haue him, being then alone in authority in the Kings Councell.

The Bourguignon in re-  
solves the  
warre.

The Bourguignons troupes kept the field, committing all kinde of insolencies & spoiles: against whom the King made Edicts as against common theues, giuing the people liberty to kill them. But this did nothing mollifie the heart of this reuengefull Prince, borne for his countries misery, hauing no other intent but to afflict it with new calamities. To this end (as in the Kings sicknesse the Daulphin had the name and authority of the State) hee fought to winne the fauour of *John*, succeeding in the right of his brother deceased. This occasion was offered, but the issue was contrary to his designe.

The Emperor  
Sigismund  
comes into  
France.

The misery of our France was such, as the common duty of humanity, mooued forraine nations to pittie, foreseeing our ruine, if the warre betwixt France and England continued. In this common desire, the Emperour *Sigismund* (by the consent of the Germans) came into France. His traine and the good worke he vnderooke, deserued an Imperiall Maiesty, but the end will shew his intent to be other then he protested. Beeing arriued in France (to the great content of all the French) he findes our *Charles* at his deuotion, who receiued him with all the pompe hee could giue to so great a Monarch, making shew of the great desire hee had to make a peace betwixt the French and the English, for the generall good of both Estates. But this accord was but halfe made.

The Emperour (hauing remained some time with *Charles*) goes into England, where he findes *Henry* of an other humour, puffed vp with the happy successe of his affaires and the weakenesse of ours, and in truth the measure of our miseries was not yet full. So *Sigismund* (hauing perswaded *Henry* in vaine) returnes into France. *Charles* (to honor him) sends his sonne *John* Duke of Touraine and Daulphin of Viennois into Picardy, to meet him, hauing married the daughter of the Earle of Hainault, as great a friend to the Bourguignon, as ill affected to the French. The Emperour seeing his labour lost, in seeking this reconciliation, takes his shortest course into Germany, leauing a reasonable subiect to the deere-sighted, to iudge that he had an other intent then to settle a peace in France, by countenancing of the Bourguignon, the instrument of her miseries, for after this yong Prince had spoken with the Emperour, hee is wholly changed in fauour of the duke of Bourgongne, and resolues to bandy with him against the duke of Orleans. This foundation being laid by the Emperours policy, it was fortified by the Earle of Hainault, father-in law to *John* the Daulphin. Now he imbraceh the greatest and most dangerous enemy of all true Frenchmen with a wonderfull affection.

The Daulphin  
John dies.

But the subtil is taken in his owne snare, and the end doth bewray the intent. As all things tended to a manifest change by meanes of this young prince, enchanted by his charmes, hauing a spirit like vnto waxe apt to receiue any impression, from so subtil an artisan as the Bourguignon, behold death cuts off all these hopes, cast in the mould of this new authority, buried in *Johns* tombe, who died during these practises, at Compiigne, when as the fire beganne to kindle in fauour of the Bourguignon, and to the apparent reuiuing of troubles in France.

To *John* succeeded *Charles* Earle of Ponthieu, the yongest sonne to our *Charles* the sixth. He remained also the first Prince of the blood, with the prerogatiues of the fundamentall lawe. A prince that shall minister much matter to talke of his life in the course of our history, guided by the singular prouidence of God, to raise vpon this monarchy, almost ruined. The least, but the happiest of all his brethren, for this is that *Charles* the seuenth, who (ha-

uing

A uing corrected that furious giant of Bourgongne) in the end shall expell the English, and leaue a faire way to his posterity, to restore this Estate so neere the ruine. But this shall not be without many painefull difficulties, the which the order of our History commands vs to represent in their due places.

*JOHN* of Bourgongne, the murtherer of *LEWIS* of Orleans (hauing added new troubles to the former) ioynes

B with *ISABEL* Queene of France.

Who hauing declared her selfe Regent of the Realme, makes war against her sonne *Charles* the Daulphin, seith vpon Paris, and there commits a cruell massacre, where the Constable of Armagnac, and *Henry* of Marle Chancellor of France are slaine.

The Queene  
takes vpon her  
the Regency.

But this *John* of Bourgongne is in the end slaine  
by the Daulphin.

From the yeere, 1415. to 1419.

C



D

New kind of misery now supplies the stage, to despight Nature by the frantike drunkenesse of our confused passions. An vnnatural mother forgets her onely sonne, she bandies with his capitall enemy, against her owne blood, seeking to transport the hereditary crowne to strangers, a crowne inalienable by the law of State, to the end this *Medea* might fight both against nature and the lawes of the Realme. A horrible phrensie, a fit of ciuill warre, that is to say, of the assured ruine of the State. They call it ciuill (being the ruine of citizens) but very vnciuill indeed, for if we shall iudge thereof by the barbarous and brutish cruelties, what is there in the whole world more vnciuill? But alas! behold the Image of vnkinde confusions, whereof the fury of our warres hath made vs eye-witnesses, for haue we beheld lesse? Hauing seene the crown set to sale, and our Kings blood shed vpon our Scaffold. But the History requires audience, to report things in their order, as they haue chanced according to the causes and motiues.

A strange  
confusion, the  
mother a-  
gainst the son.

*Charles* Earle of Ponthieu had married the daughter of *Lewis* of Anjou, King of Sicilia; a capitall enemy to the Bourguignon. So this young Prince bred vp from his youth in hatred against the house of Bourgongne, must bee the instrument to ruine him and his whole race. He loued his pleasure much, and sometimes hee gaue himselfe vnto it with too great a scope, yet he could employ himselfe well to serious affaires, and force his spirit in necessity, firme in his resolutions, and immouable in his designs, wherein hee happily ended his daies, restoring the Realme strangely shaken by the errors and losses of his predecessors. In this beginning of his new authority, he was faithfully (though not profitably) assisted by the Constable of Armagnac, one of the chiefe pillars of the Orlean party, and almost alone, since the imprisonment of the duke of Orleans and the death of the duke of Berry, the King continuing in his infirmity, sometimes better, sometimes worse, but alwaies weake both of body and minde.

*Charles* an e-  
nemy to the  
house of Bour-  
gongne.

The Bourguignon had his troupes together, to the great spoile of the country, who complained still without any redresse. This Prince beeing resolute in his course seekes all occasions of new garboiles, his hatred encreaseth daily against the contrary faction, seeing them aduanced in credit, being out of hope to haue any interest in this new Daulphin, who was wholly possessed by *Armagnac*, an old fox and an irreconcilable enemy.

He hath practises in Amiens, Abbeuille, Peronne and all other good townes of Picardie: who by reason of neighbourhood are easily drawne to his party, making goodly protestations

1417. protestations to maintaine them in peace and liberty vnder the Kings obedience. Hee writes likewise to all the good townes of the Realme, complayng of the death of *John* duke of Touraine, a Prince whom hee assured to be wholly giuen to the good of the State, and for this cause had bene poisoned by the enemies of the publike quiet. But his true intent was, to make such odious as were in credit about the Kings person, although hee named them not in his letters, but in noting them, hee made a still and dangerous warre against them, encouraged by his forces and perswasions, who entring the cities freely, and causing his letters to bee publicly read, hee moued their hearts by the feeling of former confusions, the blame whereof the Bourguignon laied vpon his enemies.

The Bour-  
guignon  
armes, and  
drawes in the  
English.

The King, (that is to say) his Councell, being incountried both by writings and force, should likewise oppose armes and writings against the Bourguignon, but he sends the Lord of Cagny to treat with the Bourguignons, which negotiation was fruitlesse, both for that the person sent vnto him was odious, as also by reason of his charge which was not pleasing vnto him. Hee had an intent to put Cagny to death, but the respect of his maister withheld him, making answer to all his instructions, specified at large in the originall of this History. But what auails it to repeat many vaine words without any effect? In brieft, these are but accusations and excuses, plaints, and counterplaints. All protest to bee the Kings seruants, and all ruine the King, in troubling his Realme. What plainer Commentary can we desire of these factions, then what we haue heard and seene in our times? The Bourguignon made a more dangerous warre then with papers; he had secret practises within the cities, to winne the inhabitants. He also drew the English into armes, and armed himselfe, ioyning their forces together, but with diuers intentions, yet their generall designe was to afflict France, fishing in a troubled water, making their profit of our confusions, & building their affaires vpon the ruine of the realme.

A mutiny at  
Rouen.

The Dauphin Charles plaies an other part, he had scarce knowne the Court, when as hee was forced to goe into Aniou, to the funeralls of *Lewis* duke of Aniou King of Sicilia his father in law, and to assure the Duchie, being in some danger, by reason of the neighbourhood of the duke of Britan, a doubtfull friend in the incertitude of those confused times. Being arriued, behold a charge of difficultie for the first fruites of his new authority. The people were mutined at Rouen, they had slaine *Gaucourt* gouernour of the city, the Aduocate and the Kings proctor, and besieged the Castle; and to multiply these calamities, the Bourguignon is in field, and besiegeth Saint Florentin. The Kings armie is not dismissed, but dispersed into diuers parts, according to the necessitie of his affaires. The Dauphin hauing need of the greatest part for Rouen, sends the lesser to the besieged, but the succours being weake and slacke, Saint Florentine yeelds to the duke of Bourgongne. This hard beginning might haue bene preiudiciall to his affaires at Rouen, but they succeed better; for the chiefe of the city met with the Dauphin, and excuse themselves of this tumult, imputing it to the people ouer-charged, they beseech him to pardon this fault, and to receiue their voluntary obedience. Thus he is honourably receiued into the city, already pacified, and settles all things with mildnesse.

The Daul-  
phin incoun-  
tered by three  
great enemies.

The Bour-  
guignon.  
The English.

His mother.

But there are other newes of harder digestion; for the Bourguignon marcheth to Paris with a great power, and the English takes port in Normandy with a thousand faile. There were reasons on either side to ballance these great difficulties, and to trouble the Dauphin, for whether shall hee goe first? If hee march to Paris, the English will conquer without resistance. If hee make head against the English, then Paris is lost, being wholly inclined to the Bourguignons practises: who sees not but the losse of the capitall citie of the realme would be his ruine, and the ouerthrow of all his designes? but Charles did not foresee a greater difficultie at hand by his mother, more wayghty and dangerous then all the rest, yet must hee auoide all these three stormes, not without great danger. That the providence of God, (the preseruer of this Monarchie) might shew it selfe more admirable, restoring this estate, being in shew vterly lost. For Charles (who in so sharpe an encounter reaped so worthy a victory) owes the homage vnto God, who gaue him meanes both to fight well, and to vanquish happily. The Dauphin standing doubtfull betwixt these two great extreames, resolves to goe to Paris, to defend the citie against the Bourguignons practises, and to assure the Kings person, who hee knew would speake whatsoeuer hee pleased, being in his power.

Henry

A Henry of Marle Chancellor of France, remained at Paris with the King, being wholly at the Dauphins deuotion. The people stir not, being kept in awe by the Parlement and Vniuersity, who were then well vnited. But experience will soone discouer the inconstancy of humane attempts, when they seeme most assured, and the vanity of a multitude, being the actors of great mens proiects.

1417.

The Bourguignon at one instant, doth publish his protestation, and displaies his colours, causing his troupes to march. He makes a declaration, conteining the causes for the which he takes armes, that is; *To reforme the State, extremely desolate, by the ill gouernment of such as (abusing the Kings infirmity) managed the affaires of the realme at their pleasure, and without pity of the poore people, oppressed them with extraordinary charges, against all right and reason.* He protested to haue no other intent, but to restore the realme to her former liberty. But he shall change his copy, imposing new exactions, to the preiudice of the people, and shall grow offended with such as shall oppose themselves: so as it seemes, all this was but a maske to abuse the people, vnder the goodly shew of ease and liberty. But as at the first all seemes goodly, so these glorious beginnings wonne him great credit with the French nation. Thus his armie beginnes to march through Picardy towards Paris. All cities open their gates, where hee doth presently proclaime an exemption of all Subsidies and other charges, except of salt, as the gentlest imposition, seeing that all men without distinction paid their part. But about all, hee was very carefull, that his armie should liue orderly and modestly, without any oppression to the poore people, being his ordinarie discourse, as one greatly grieved for their afflictions, and being very desirous of their quiet and content.

These examples proclaimed his vertues, and wonne him the peoples hearts. Other cities in Picardy follow this example: Beauvais yeelds willingly vnto him, and shout out for joy at his entry, he goes presently to Senlis, kept by *Robert Deu* for the Armagnacs. The ciizens (desirous to imitate the rest) seize vpon their gouernor, open their gates willingly, call in the Bourguignon, and receiue him with all ioy. From thence hee marcheth speedily to Beaumont, the which hauing indured some Canon shot (being subiect to the house of Bourbon) yeelds vpon an easie composition. Ponthoise and Melun obey without any dispute. So by degrees hee comes before Paris, and to shew his army to the Parisiens, hee lodgeth at Mont-rouge, but to approach neerer, hee incamps lower, in a place called, The withered Tree, vnto this day; by reason there stood a great dried Tree. A preface what should after befall his greene and flourishing designes. Being there, he writes his letters to the King and city of Paris, full of cunning admonitions, beseeching the one, and exhorting the other, to hearken seriously to a good reformation of the State, the true and souereigne end of his armes.

The Bour-  
guignon with  
an army be-  
fore Paris.

In the meane time hee loofeth not an houre. *John* of Luxembourg (during this his necessary aboad at Paris) goes with a part of the army, to trie the voluntary cities, and euery day made new conquests. Chartres, Eitampes, Gaillardon, Montchery, Auneau and Rochefort obey, and after some daies of rest (to annoy Paris) he besiegeth Corbeil, a place of importance for the victualing thereof. But whilst hee pressed Corbeil with exceeding hast, behold he suddenly abandons it against the opinion of all men.

The Dauphin and the Constable of Armagnac supposed, that seeing that hee had lost his labour at Paris, he would seeke to possesse himselfe of places of easier conquest, according to his course begunne. But the effect will shew, that his rising was to an other intent, which bred a horrible combustion throughout the whole realme, for *Isabel* Queene of France, (discontented with her sonne Charles) intreates the Duke of Bourgongne to free her from captiuitie. Shee was then at Tours, with some gard, by the Kings commandement, for the which shee blamed her sonne, and the Constable, who then had the government of the Court. They kept not so strict a garde of the Queene, but shee had liberty to walke both within and without the City, euen to the Abbay of Marmoustier, where shee had her chiefe deuotion. This was a meanes to giue intelligence vnto the Bourguignon, and to slip into his hands, as wee shall shew. Reason requires, the History should let downe the motiue of so vnnatural a discontent: but shee is silent, and reports onely a very light occasion, That the King comming from visiting of the Queene, who held her State at Bois-de-

The Bour-  
guignon goes  
to Queens  
Isabel at  
Tours.

Vincennes,

1417. The King dislikes of the Queene  
 Vincennes, and returning to Paris, hee met *Lewis Bourdon* a Knight, going to Bois-de-Vin-A  
 cennes, who comming nere to the King, bowed himselfe on horle-backe, and so passed on  
 lightly, without any other reuerence. The King sends presently his prouost of Paris after  
 him, commanding him to apprehend him, & to keepe him safely. The prouost executing his  
 charge, tooke the said Knight and brought him to Chastelet where by the Kings command,  
 he was cruelly tortured, and drowned in the riuer of Seine: and some few daies after, by the  
 commandment of the King, the Daulphin, and such as then gouerned at Paris, the Queene  
 (accompanied with her siter in law the Duchesse of Bauaria) was sent to Blois, and so to  
 Tours, to remaine there in meane estate. *William Toret, John Picard* and *Laurence Dupuis*,  
 were appointed for her gard, without whose consent shee durst not attempt any thing, no  
 not to write a letter. These be the words of the Originall.

The Queene  
 sent with a  
 gard to  
 Tours.

This her imprisonment, was aggrauated by a new rigour. All the treasure which she had  
 in Churches, or priuate houses within Paris, was seized on by the Constable of Armagnac,  
 a free executioner of these proceedings. This shewed a notable dislike betwixt the husband  
 and the wife, and the mother and sonne: but the cause is not specified. If it be lawful to serch  
 into this secret, shall wee say, that Queene *Isabel* mother to our Daulphin, louing the one  
 better then the other (as the variety of the mothers affection to her children is too com-  
 mon) had strained all her credit to countenance *John*, after the death of *Lewis*, being thus in-  
 gaged with the Bourguignon, whom shee did hate deadly, by reason of the imprisonment of  
 her brother *Lewis* of Bauaria? but as she had first loued, and after hated him, might she not  
 in like sort receiue him againe into fauour, as the diuersity of her passions did moue her by  
 new occasions, to loue or hate the same man?

The Emperor *Sigismonds* proceeding, made it very suspicious, being the greatest instru-  
 ment of the alliance betwixt *John* and the Bourguignon. And to what end did the Bour-  
 guignon goe to him into Sauoy after al this? It is likewise to be considered, that the so-  
 daine death of *John* encreased this womans fury against her sonne *Charles*, holding it for cer-  
 taine, that by the Constables counsell he had caused him to be poisoned. Ambition and  
 choller are furious beasts, not to be restrained by respect, especially in a woman, in whom  
 hatred and reuenge make deepe impressions. Jealousie might likewise be a violent coun-  
 cellor vnto *Charles*. As if *Charles* (animated by the Constable of Armagnac, fearing least  
 his mother had some great practise with the Bourguignon and his associats) had incensed  
 the King against her, hauing moued him with some other pretext. But in effect it was who-  
 ly to reitrame this womans power, depriving her both of liberty and treasure; but the euent  
 will shew, that shee was not alwaies busied at her distaste, or in her deuotion. The search of  
 the motiues is necessarie in a History, especially in famous actions, but the doubt-  
 full coniectures are free to euery mans iudgement. This is all the certaintie of this  
 action.

The Bour-  
 guignon  
 ioynes with  
 the Queene.

The Bourguignon being called by *Isabel*, leaues the siege of Corbeil, lodgeth his foot-  
 men in the townes of Beaufe, that were most fauorable vnto him, and with his horse (which  
 were about tenne thousand) hee goes into Touraine; when as behold (the Queene, being  
 one morning at her deuotion in the Abbie of Marmouster, according to her custome) hee  
 arriues with his horsemen at an houre appointed. Hee meetes the Queene, receiues her  
 and enters the citie with her, without any difficultie, hauing first cunningly seized vpon  
 the gates. Being entred, hee proclaimes an exemption of charges in the Queenes name,  
 and (being accompanied by the people) hee presents himselfe before the Castle, which o-  
 pens vnto the Queene, being exceeding glad, to see her selfe at liberty and to command  
 freely. Shee referres her selfe wholly vnto the Bourguignons will; who likewise seekes to  
 vse her name to make his designs more plausible. Hauing therefore assured Tours, they  
 march to Chartres, a more conuenient towne for their affaires, lying so neere vnto Paris.  
 Being there, and hauing assembled all the Clergie, Nobility, three estates, and such Citties  
 as they could of their faction, she causeth *Philip* of Morueliers to make knowne vnto them,  
 That by reason of the ill government of the Realme, through the great weakenesse of the  
 King her husband, and according to the degree wherevnto God had raised her, being  
 Queene of France, she desired infinitely to reforme it. And the rather for that *Charles* her  
 sonne (corrupted by the ill counsell of the enemies of the State) shewed her not the duty  
 of

The queene  
 declares her  
 selfe Regent  
 of France.

1418.  
 A shewed her not the duty of a child, to her griefe. So as to prouide good and wholesome re-  
 medies for the preferuation of the state, and for the seruice of the King her husband, by the  
 good aduise of her cousin the Duke of Bourgongne, a Prince of the blood, shee declares  
 her selfe Regent of France. The which was pleasing vnto them all, with this title: *Isabell by  
 the grace of God, Queene of France, hauing by reason of the King my Lords infirmity the go-  
 uernment and administration of the realme, by an irrevocable grant, made vnto vs by our said  
 Lord and his counsell.* And for confirmation of this new authority she caused a seale to be  
 made, whereon was grauen her image, standing right vp, with her armes hanging downe to  
 the earth, as one without comfort and requiring helpe: on the one side were the armes of  
 France, and on the other that of France and Bauaria quartered, with these words. *This is the  
 seale of Causes, Soueraignties and Appellations for the King.*

There were two Soueraigne Courts of Iustice erected, one at Amiens, and the other at  
 Troy in Champaigne, with expresse charge not to goe to Paris. The office of Constable  
 was giuen to the Duke of Lorraine, by the deprivation of the Earle of Armagnac, and the  
 Chancellourship of France to *Enschache* of Laftre, by the giuing ouer of *Henry* of Marle.  
 As these things began to kindle a new fire of miseries, there were certaine Bishops which  
 laboured to reconcile the Queene and Daulphin. The Bourguignon accepts of the moti-  
 on: but the Constable of Armagnac breakes off the treaty. An article which shall make  
 him more odious with the people. The Bourguignon hauing retired his army, and put his  
 men into garrison, goes into Sauoy, where at that time the Emperour *Sigismond* was, (who  
 erected the Barledome of Sauoy into a Duchie) and there did conferre with him at  
 Mommellian. This was not without some great desseigne.

In his absence *Philip* of Bourgongne his sonne held a Parliament, to resolue vpon the  
 meanes to make warre with more aduantage. Thus the Bourguignon wrought for his part.  
 The Daulphin seeing the fields freed and without any enemy; thinkes good that the Con-  
 stable of Armagnac should besiege Senlis, and the better to countenance his armes, the  
 King himselfe goes with the armie. The Towne being prest, they take a day to yeeld, it by  
 the leaue of Aprill they be not releued. *John* of Luxembourg (whom the Bour-  
 guignon had left in Picardy, for the surety of those places) gathers together what troupes  
 hee can, and comes at the day prefixed: at which time the townes-men made a great rally  
 vpon the Kings Campe, firing their tents and pauillions. The Constable (moued with  
 this affront) cuts off the heads of foure of their hostages, and they kill six and fortie of his  
 men that were prisoners. In the meane time *John* of Luxembourg approacheth towards  
 Creill, meaning to fight with the Constable, vrging him by sundry skirmishes, hauing sent  
*Charles Dailly* towards Dampmartin with a good troupe to stop the passage.

The siege of  
 Senlis.

The Constable (fearing the euent of a battaile, being loth to hazard the King) would  
 not ioyne, but desirous to finde some honest colour to auoyde the fight, hee sends a trum-  
 pet, to know who commanded these troupes. And vnderstanding it was *John* of Luxem-  
 bourg, hee answered in a brauery. Seeing it is neither the Duke of Bourgongne, nor his  
 sonne, they are not for vs, let vs goe to Paris. So hee returnes without fighting, whether  
 the chiefe of his affaires drew him, nor fore-seeing the mischiefe which attended him, by  
 reason of this retreat, being too preiudiciall to his honor: for the Parisiens who hated him,  
 and yet feared him for the reputation of his valour, began now to contemne him, noting  
 in this retreat a kinde of cowardise, as hauing refused to encounter *John* of Luxembourg,  
 who had so brauely offered him the battaile. The brute of this shamefull deparrure was  
 published by the Bourguignon faction to their maisters aduantage. They embrace this oc-  
 casion being loth the peoples heate should grow cold by any better successe, obseruing  
 likewise that the King, Daulphin, Constable, Chancellor, and all the chiefe of that party  
 were at Paris, to be all surprised together. The Duke of Burgongne was vpon his returne  
 from Sauoy, but he departed not without good instructions from the Emperour.

But leauing the Bourguignons army in field, let vs note the estate of that great City of  
 Paris, *Perrinet Clerc* a Smith; *John Thiebert* a Broker, *Perrin Bourdichon* a Cooper (such  
 were they whom the Bourguignons had made his Colonels at Paris) hauing practised all their  
 friends with great secrecie, and ingaged many; they aduertise the Lord of *Liste-Adam* (who  
 was

C c

1418. was gouvernour of Ponthoife for the Burguignon of their enterprife; the which was to A deliuer him a gate, and a good troupe of the Inhabitants within the heart of the Citty, so as they might haue soldiars to second their attempt. *Lisle-Adam* accepts thereof, and the euent was answerable to the desseigne: for these vnder-takers assigne him Saint *Germaines* gate: *Perrinet* had the Keyes. *Lisle-Adam* presents himselfe at midnight, being the houre appointed, with eight hundred armed men. He findes the gate open, and *Perrinet* attending him. Then he puts his men in battaile, least he should be taken in disorder, *Perrinet* shuts the gate and casts the Keyes into the ditch: and then without any noise, hee marcheth with this troupe to the lesser Chastelet, where hee had left a Squadron of foure hundred men vnder the great vault, to lye more covertly.

Sedition at  
Paris

The King  
taken.

The Daulphin  
saues himselfe.

The Chan-  
cellor taken.

The Constable  
taken.

The Daulphin  
seeketh to re-  
couer Paris.

*Lisle-Adam* hauing ioyned his troupe with the Cittizens, (so as the one might assist the B other) hee sends forth diuerse troupes to giue the alarum in diuerse quarters of the Citty, with charge to moue the people to armes. Euery troupe marcheth speedily to his quarter, crying out with a terrible voyce in the dead of the night, *Rise good people, peace, peace, God saue the King and the good Duke of Bourgongne*. At this noise all rise, some to hide themselves, others to arme: so as in short time a great multitude (being armed) wander vp and downe the streetes ready to fight. Their Captaines appoint them what houses of the Armagnacs they should force. The first troupe must seaze vpon the King, but before all was ready, the alarum was general. Such as had most interest are soonest vp. *Tanneuy* of Chastell, Prouost of Paris (a very trusty seruant to the Daulphin) wrapps him in a sheete C and carries him into the Bastile. A good Leuaine which shall one day raise the dow, and the hand of him that kneads it. Some others also retired themselves thether, which shall serue in this Scene. *Iohn Louuet*, *Robert Masson*, the Vicont of Narbone and Bouciquaut. The Constable of Armagnac in a disguised weede saues himselfe in a neighbours house. But all this troupe flies to the Kings lodging at Saint Pol. These Tribunes cause this poore sick Prince to rise without any respect: they force him to promise what they please, and to ride through the Citty, crying: *God saue the King, and peace*, thinking by his presence to increafe their troupe, and to countenance their confusion.

This done euery troupe seekes his quarter: and many are taken. The Chancellor of Marle is surprisid in his lodging and *Raimond de la Guerre*, whoe were good supporters D of the Armagnac faction: many Presidents, Councillors, and Maisters of the Accompts were taken, with-out any respect of persons. The Cardinals of Bar and Saint Marc, the Archbishop of Rheims, the Bishops of Senlis, Bayeux and Constance, were carried away and imprisoned: all the prisons are filled with honorable persons. But what is become of the Daulphin and Constable? they search, they hunt in all places; yet finding nothing, they command, by sound of Trumpet, that euery man should presently vpon paine of death, discover the Armagnacs. The Daulphin was safe, but the Constable (discouered by his host) is taken, carryed away by one of these Tribunes and imprisoned, hee was in danger as hee past through the streetes, riding behind him that had him in garde.

Thus was the night spent vntill day, yet without any murder, and it seemes this was by E commandement. This happened in the yeare one thousand foure hundred and eightene, the five and twenty of May, a pleasant day, the fore-runner of a mournfull winter. The Daulphin hauing escaped this danger miraculously, by the good aduice of *Tanneuy* of Chastell, hee resolues to doe his best in retyring him-selfe else-where, and not to hazard his person with this furious and murderous people. By the faithfull meanes of this good seru- ant, hee goes forth secretly in the night, and slips into Melun, leaping from place to place, like a bird that flies from bough to bough. From Melun he goes to Nemours, whe- ther he sends for his most trusty seruants, of whose helpees he had neuer greater need. The Marshall of Rieux comes vnto him with many of the Nobility: they consult of the meanes F to recouer Paris, before it be supplied with soldiars.

So they gather together fiftene hundred horse with all speed. The Marshall of Rieux hath the charge to lead them: while the Daulphin preferues the fortune of France in safe- ty. A dangerous enterprife, which had no successe, but the honour to haue attempted a thing altogether impossible, the which was executed with much lesse losse then the danger was

A was great. The Bastille held Saint Anthonies gate sure, for the Daulphin. The Marshall of Rieux enters it with his troupes, and marcheth boldly to the Kings lodging, but he finds it empty, the King being retired to the Louvre. The alarum is giuen throughout the whole city, they must thinke of their retreat, stones, tyles, arrowes and all things else flie from the houses and windowes, the chaines are drawne, and the streets full of armed men: all crie, kill, kill the Armagnacs. The Marshall of Rieux leads his men happily in this retreat, and fea- ring Saint Anthonies gate, he drawes them forth so closely, as he escapes this great and im- minent danger with little losse.

This alarum had put the people into armes, who hauing chased their enemies out of the heart of their citie, were quiet for that time, expecting some further command from the B Bourguignon, and an end of this terrible tumult, whilst they take breath, others are drawne into the like mutinie by their example. All the townes of Picardie, fauouring the Bourguignon greatly, make bonfiers. Compiagne, Creil, Saint Maxance, Mouchy le Preux, Pont a Choisi, Noion, Laon, Soissons, Chauny, Peronne and Gisors (expelling their garnisons) declare themselves of his party. Some daies are spent thus quietly, since the first taking of prisoners.

But behold a new tumult like vnto a violent winde, which chanced the twelfth of Iune. In the morning all the people arme by the command of their Leaders. This furious mul- titude goe forth off their houses (like a swarme of Bees creeping from their combs) armed with all sorts of weapons. In short time there are fortie thousand men assembled in the streetes and market places. *Iohn* of Luxembourg, *James* of Harcourt, the Vidame of Ami- C ens, *Lisle-Adam*, *Fosseaux*, *Chastellus*, *Coblen*, *Lambourg* the new Prouost of Paris, (with many others most trustie seruants to the Bourguignon,) are on horse-backe in troupes, to second this multitude on foote, ready to fight as in a day of battaile, when as about foure of the clocke (like as when the heauens darkened with thick clouds, and the ayre ouercast, the thunder tumbling in the ayre, sodenly when the lightning appeeres, the crak breakes forth and teares a Towers top) this furious multitude, flocking from all parts of the citie with a sy- lent stillnesse, burst forth into diuers parts. They open the prisons and kill such as they meete without any pittie.

D They murder Iaylors, their wiues and children, men and maides, but especially the poore prisoners are their obiekt. In this tumult, all crie, all howle, all are amazed. The confused cries of the murderers and murdered rebound vp to heauen. The Constable of Armag- nac, and *Henry* of Marle (being brought forth with shouts and reproches) are beaten down and laied by for the triumph. The Bishops of Constance, Bayeux, Eureux, Senlis, Xaintes and the Abbot of Saint Cornille goe the same way. The Earle of Grandpre, *Raimond* de la Guerre, *He-Tor* of Chartres, *Enguerand* of Marcouffy, *Charles* Poupard, the officers of the Court of Parliament, Chambers of Accompt, Requests and Treasure, to conclude, all that are of any account are massacred. The blood runnes through the citie, the streetes, and wallles ouerflow. The noted Armagnacs are thus murdered, but the furie of this E made multitude extends farther, euen against such as had bene with them, and of their owne faction, for many affectionate Bourguignons were beaten downe, euery man seekes his enemy to kill him vnder this pretext. The rascalles fall vpon the rich, and killing them as Armagnacs, they spoile their houses, as a lawfull prey of their conquest. They eye of this furious multitude spares neither sexe, age, nor quality. The duke of Bourgongnes fol- lowers are lookers on of this spectacle, and watch that none escape.

The Historie makes mention of sixteene hundred cruelly murdered on this mi- serable daie, noted to the dishonour of these detestable murderers, and to the grieve of France, to see her owne bowelles thus defiled with her blood, and her memorie F blemished with this crueltie. This furie continued from foure of the clocke on the twelfth daie, vntill tenne the next daie, nothing ceassing for the nights rest. These made men (hauing refreshed themselves) seeked out the rest to finish their most cruell worke.

The prisoners of the great Chastelet made resistance against their furie: they are be- seeged, forced and massacred, the greatest part are cast from the toppe of the Towre, and fall vpon their pikes, halberds and other weapons. The bodies of the Constable and Chancellor,

1418.

A horrible  
massacre of  
the Armag-  
nacs at Paris.

The number  
of them that  
were mur-  
thered.

1418.

Chancellor, lying naked vpon the stones, are carried to the marble table in the pallace hall. A To note the Constable by his accustomed scarfe, they flea a bend of his skinne and tie it about his bodie. This spectacle is drawne about the citie three daies together, and then carried out in a dung-cart, to a place where they cast all their carrion and filth, without any buriall.

The Queene  
and the Bour-  
guignon come  
to Paris.

The Bourguignon was at Dijon during this tumult at Paris, who was presently aduertised thereof. The History saies, that hee seemed very glad of the taking of the citie, but very forie for the murder of the prisoners, but God who kept a true register, shall one day put him in minde thereof. And in truth, hee that shall duely consider all the circumstances of this confusion, cannot imagine, but it was done by his command. Hee gathers all the forces he can together, to gard the Queene to Paris, as it were in triumph. The Parisiens meet him with great pompe, they offer him their most affectionate seruice, and present the Duke of Bourgongne and the Earle of Saint Pol his brother with purple veluet gownes, pouldred with Saint Andrewes crosses, the which at their requests they presently put on, and so (drawing nere the Queenes coach) they enter the city of Paris, the people attending at their entry, and crying, *God save the King and the good duke of Bourgongne*, the Coach being couered with flowers which they cast vpon it. And this was the Queenes and the duke of Bourgongnes entry after the massacre.

A plague after  
the massacre.

But this Parisien ioy was soone turned into heauinesse, for within three monthes after this butchery, the plague entred the citie, and slew aboue foure score thousand persons in three monthes. The History obserues, that *Perrinet* and his companions (after they had eaten what they had gathered in together by spoile) perished miserably, little enioying their thefts. Most of the Noblemen and gentlemen which had assisted these murderers died of the plague, except *Lisle-Adam*, who was referred to receiue his punishment from *Henry* of England, although vpon another occasion as you shall see hereafter. And was not this God who reuenged this crueltie? But let vs returne to our discourse, for seeing the punishment was so sodaine, we might not well remit the rehearsal to any other place. *Charles* looks but coldly vpon his wife, whom hee loued not, neither in health nor sicknesse. Hee welcomes the Duke of Bourgongne with a cheerefull countenance, who had wonne his heart, by framing himselfe to his weakenesse with milde speeches, shewes of honour and apparent humility, impressions of common sense, whereof phrensie for the most part doth not deprive madde men.

The Kings counsell assembled presently, many things were propounded the first day, they beganne with Officers; the Constables place was confirmed to the Duke of Lorrain, and the Chancellorship to *Eustache* of Laestre. *Lisle-Adam* and *Chastelus* are made Marshalls of France, for their well deseruing at the massaker at Paris. Our Bourguignon creates *Charles* of Lens Admirall of France, being captaine of Paris; and *Philip* of Moruilliers the Queenes Adiuocate, first president of the Court of parliament.

The English  
take all Nor-  
mandy.

During this confusion, *Henry* King of England makes other worke. Hee was in Normandy, taking townes and castles without any resistance. Touques (a castle held impregnable) was forced by him, during the passions of our mad-men, as the first fruites of his conquests, Louviers, Pont Larche, Caen, Cherebourg, Falaise, Argenton, Alencon, Constance, Saint Lo and other places followed, to make the way open to Rouen without any great difficulty.

Rouen is besieged in a manner the very day of the massacre at Paris. *Henry* doth assault it with all the force and policie hee can, as the Dongeon and chiefe strength of all Normandy. The citizens giue a testimony of good and faithfull subiects, by their valour and constancie. They demand succours from the King, with a protestation of the euent. The Court makes shew to stirre and to provide for their defence, but what remedy can the dead giue vnto the sicke? In the end after all their resistance seeking to maintaine themselves vnder the obedience of France, Rouen yeelds to *Henry* King of England vpon hard conditions. To pay him three hundred sixty five thousand crownes of gold, and three cittizens at his choise to doe his pleasure with. And so hee suffered them to inioy their priuileges. Of the three which hee had chosen to punish, he pardoned two, and caused *Alain Blanchart*, captaine of the commons to bee beheaded, worthy to bee eternized in our History, dying for

1418.

A for the seruice of his King and country, in a time so famous for so desperate a confusion. The sequele was great, for not onely all the townes of Normandy yeeld vnto him, but also the Isle of France was so amazed, as all obey him euen to the gates of Paris, where the fury of our miserable dissentions prepared a Throne for the sworne enemy of our Realme.

I am weary to report our shamefull losses, as reuiuing our old soares. *Henry* might haue grauen in his triumph. *I came, I saw and overcame*, onely Mont Saint Michel in Normandy was maintained vnder the obedience of our crowne, through the vallour of some Gentlemen Normans, whose names the history owes to posterity. *John* of Montfort Duke of Britan (seeing this happy successe) makes composition with the English, shrowding himselfe vnder his protection, but hee shall soone leaue him, when a more happy season shall make him turne to the Daulphin. In this shipwracke the Queene and the Bourguignon had meanes to glut their ambition and fury at Paris, beholding the ruine of France, hoping that in all extremities they should make their peace with the King of England at their countries cost, hauing a daughter for a pawne and confirmation of this accord.

They send Ambassadors to *Henry* King of England being a Conquerour, and for a baite they carry the portrait of *Katherine* of France, the Kings daughter, a Princess of excellent beauty, who must likewise bee the Leuain of our miserie. But *Henry* finding this figure to be faire, desires to see the essentiall substance, so as the Queene and the Bourguignon (gouerning the spirit of this poore sicke King) conducts him in person with his daughter, to their enemy nere to Meulan, to aduise of a meanes for a generall peace; but they departed without any conclusion, by reason of the great demands which *Henry* made, puffed vp with this victorious successe, seeking to sell his friendship at too high a rate. Yet the Image of *Katherine* had made an impression in his heart, beeing much discontented that they had refused her with these conditions.

The Bour-  
guignon  
creates with  
the English  
but in vaine.

The Bourguignon likewise found lesse kindnesse then hee expected, and returned discontent, for that *Henry* (puffed vp with these fortunate encounters, and carried away with hope of future victory) spake more proudly then the Bourguignons humour could well digest, which was the cause of his destemperature: for *Henry* said in his choler, *That hee would haue both daughter and Realme, whoeuer said nay, and that there was no sufficient security for what they promised, seeing the Daulphin did not consent thereto*. A pill which the Bourguignon could not easily swallow. So hee chawed vpon this speech of the English, which drew him to his ruine, for euen then hee began to study by what meanes he might reconcile himselfe vnto the Daulphin, hoping to finde a better composition with a young Prince his kinsman, and weary of the warres, then with the English growne insolent by his victories. *Charles* was not quiet in minde, fearing least in these treaties, they should conclude something to his preiudice. So as they both inclined to an accord, but vpon diuers causes, to oppose against their common enemy with a common force. But before wee shew the effect of this common desire, wee must see both the Estate of our Daulphin (since hee retired himselfe from Paris) and of the Bourguignon, since hee became Tribune of the people.

He growes  
discontented  
and seeks to  
reconcile  
himselfe with  
the Daulphin.

Although this terrible storme might haue shaken the young yeeres of the Daulphin *Charles*, vnacquainted with the affaires of the world and his disposition (inclining to pleasure) seemed vnfit to endure much paine and toyle: yet the effects at neede shewed his constant resolution against all difficulties. They attribute this constancie and resolution to the faithfull counsell of his seruants, yet was it much for him to follow it. *Tanneguy* of Chastel, *John Louvet* president of Prouence, the Vicont of Narbone, and *Robert Masson*, were those which serued him most for Counsell in the beginning, but God soone after did raise him vp strong hands to mannage armes courageously and valiantly, *La Hire*, *Pothon* of Saint Treille (whom commonly they call *Zintrailes*). The bastard of Orleans, with other braue and fortunate captaines which shalbe famous in the course of our History.

But the Realme was strangely diuided into these factions. The Kings authority and the capitall city were for the Queene and the Bourguignon. Picardy, Bourgongne and many townes in Bry, Champagne and Beaufe obey them absolutely after these massacres.



1419. Onely Sens in Bourgongne held out, the which they could not pull from the Daulphin. A The Prince of Orange (of the Bourguignon faction) makes warre for him in Daulphine and Languedoc, to crosse the affaires of our *Charles*, who notwithstanding had the greatest part of the country at his deuotion, with the friendship of Auignon, and of the Earldome of Venaisioin or Venisse. The English possessed all Normandy, and a great part of Guienne, but Rochell, Poitiers, Saint Iohn d' Angely, Angoulesme, Fontenay and some other towns acknowledged the Daulphin. All Aniou was his, Auvergne, Berry, Bourbonnois, Forrest & Lionois obeyed him, so as they are deceiued which thinke that he only held the city of Bourges in those daies, vnder colour that his enemies called him King of Bourges, because hee made his chiefe residence there, when as his mother called her self Regent. He likewise tooke vpon him the name of Regent: A name which fortified his title with great authority, and B did countenance his affaires in those difficulties and confusions.

The Queene and the Bourguignon secke vnto the Daulphin.

The Queene and the Bourguignon laboured by all meanes to winne him, they sent him his wife honorably attended, with all her Jewels, promising him his place with respect and obedience, but their meaning was to bee ridde of him, not able to know how to conforme him to their humours. In keeping himselfe farre from them, hee preferred his head for the crowne; the which attended him; hee prevented the ambitious designs of his enemy, and made himselfe to be more respected throughout the Realme.

At these horrible massacres, his captaines roused vp their spirits. *Bocquiaux* seized of Compiene, Pierre-Fons, and Soissons for him, who (molesting Picardy and the Isle of France with their daily roades) held Paris in ieaousie. He himselfe had part of the honour in the execution of these conquests, not leauing all to his seruants, for hee leapt out of Aniou into Touraine, besieged and tooke the cite of Tours. The duke of Britan seeing the happy successe of the Daulphins affaires, leaues the English, and ioynes with the Daulphin, as the strongest part.

The Duke of Britan leaues the English, and ioynes with the Daulphin.

Behold the Estate of our Daulphin, who growes constant and resolute amidst these tempests, and what was the Estate of our Bourguignon? In the beginning his partisans were all fire & flame, for the zeale of his seruice, but finding not what they expected at his hands, or any successe in his affaires, but rather the discommodities of Paris, and other places vnder his obedience to increase; this heat abated dayly, finding by experience that the cause of these warres was light, being but humors and priuate quarrells, very preiudiciall to the State, the which the English did sappe, vndermine and ruine, seizing dayly vpon whole Provinces, without any difficulty.

Thus *Henries* victories were plaine demonstrations to the most passionate, to discover the Bourguignons dissembling: for, who sees not but his end was to gouerne, to the ruine of France. In the end euery one comming to his right wittes, findes that of a Frenchman he is become an Englishman. The folly or fury of a faction could not mortifie the feeling of lawfull obedience, vnder which they were borne. To what end (saies the common sort of these cleere-sighted) shall wee vndoe our selues, for the passions of the Duke of Bourgongne, opposing himselfe against the lawfull heire of the crowne? Thus E the Bourguignon sees the affections of his partakers to growe daily cold. A worme, which tormented him hourelly, hauing grounded his chiefe hopes vpon their constancies, who promised to stand firmly to him at all euents. Doubtlesse, whatsoeuer the Giants of States haue imagined, setting one hill vpon another, the Pirenees vpon the Alpes, with all the Appenin, to scale the throne of the French Monarchy, promising vnto themselves euents according to the mouldes of their imaginations, yet cannot the French yeild to any strangers commaund, no more then to change nature and become a stranger.

The people grow in dislike with the Bourguignon.

But, to increase the Bourguignons hearts grieve, his chiefe instrument not onely failes him, but is ready to turne violently against him. For what hath hee not attempted to winne the loue of this multitude at Paris, and of the greatest citties of the Realme, making them beleue, that hee burnt with zeale of their good, and the publike weale, the onely end of all his designs, feeding them with these goodly and popular promises of exemption of charges and impositions? But they beginne all to mutine, seeing hee spake one thing, and did thinke another, and oppressed them more then those whom hee had

A had condemned as the causes of publike oppressions: for whatsoeuer hee imagined, yet had he need of money. For how could he else make warre? how could he entertaine his great traine? his partisans, and his reputation among Strangers? And where should he raise it, but vpon such as obeyed him? to seeke it at such as could resist, were to mistake, and to make his reckoning alone in vaine. Moreouer, this people (whom he had so much countenanced, making themselves masters by his power, to become by their meanes master of his enemies) would be generally obeyed, and why not of the Bourguignon? seeing he had opposed himselfe, and prescribed a law to a sonne of France? If the Bourguignon doth worse then he hath done, shal not the people reduce him vnto reason? He hath promised exemptions of subsidies, and they are more grieuous then before. We haue preuailed (say they) against a Constable, against a Chauncellor of France, yea ouer the King and Queene, making them to yeeld her brother, and most trustie seruants, and shall we not suppress some few gallants, seruants to the Duke of Bourgongne? This was the Parisiens ordinary discourse: and their Tribunes (who were not so well entertained as before) begin to mutine. They resolute to seaze vpon some of the Bourguignons favorites, and to punish them, who had perswaded him to renew the impositions, contrary to his promise.

These men (the concealing of whose names, notes the baseness of their qualities), hauing intelligence of this search, fled into the Bastille, and the people follow after as if they would ouerthrow it. A great multitude begins to vndertake it, and had preuayled, if the Bourguignon had not instantly come much discontented, who seeing himselfe enuironed with so great a troupe of armed men, fearing the losse of his head, hee was forced to deliuer his seruants to the people, who put them all to death, to teach the Bourguignon that they had no lesse authoritie and power ouer him, then ouer the King, and the Daulphin his sonne. This occasion thrusts the people into greater furie, who (being thus armed) choose a head, called *Cappeluche Bourrel*, to finish their executions vpon some such as might receiue these impositions and publike charges. They march through the Citie, and enter into many houses to robbe and spoyle, vnder colour of apprehending of such as had assisted at these innovations. The rich men feared for their owne particulars, but the Bourguignon more then all, knowing himselfe to be the Author of this disorder, hauing thrust the people into D armes: for what successe should this disordered libertie haue, but to fall vpon the Authors thereof? Hauing therefore won some of the chiefe Commanders, they choose out a troupe of the most wilfull mutinous, to be freed of them, vnder color of sending them to the warre against the Daulphinois, which had surprised the Castle of Montlehery, and began to run euen to the gates of Paris. Yet they retayned *Cappeluche Bourrel*, vnder colour of some speciall seruice. But the Bourguignon being growne the stronger, with the chiefe of the City, he causeth *Bourrel* to be taken, and hanged, with some number of his associates. This multitude being at Montlehery, discontented with the Bourguignon, leaues the siege, and returns to be reuenged: but the gates were shut, and the walles well guarded, so as all passed without any more adoe. But the Bourguignon was much perplexed, being troubled in E minde to haue put a sword into a mad-mans hand: being afraid of an vnure guard, and a foretelling that his Empire should not continue long.

The Parisiens mutine against the Bourguignon faction.

So, the repulse he receiued from the English, the coldness of the Nobilitie of his partie, and the peoples change, were the motiues which made him wish for the Daulphins friendship, who now prevented him, although he had often refused it. That which moued *Charles* thereunto, was necessitie, and the hope of a greater dessein, finding no better meanes to stop the current of the English victory, and the Bourguignons treachery, then to ioine with him, attending some better occasion. The successe fauoured this counsell of his followers. He sends *Tannequoy* of Chastel to the Duke of Bourgongne, to make the first proposition, and after him the Lady of Giac (in whom the Bourguignon had great confidence) to appoint a day and place for a parle, and to seeke the meanes of a good peace. They meet at Pouilly, the strong, neere vnto Melun, in the open field with their guards. The Bourguignon talked to the Daulphin on his knee, and held his stirrup, although *Charles* refused this submission. Proofoes to shew with what necessitie he sought his friendship, as a man that is beaten with all winds and out of breath. So they conclude an inuiolable peace, and to bandie themselves against the common enemy of France, promises are made on either side, with

1419. with all demonstrations and protestations of a firme and inuolable friendship. The articles of their accord and contract are set down at large in the originall of our historie. This peace betwixt *Charles* the Daulphin, and *John* Duke of Bourgongne, was made neere to Pouilly the strong, vpon Ponchiel, a league from Melun, in the yeare 1419. All France reioyced, as after a long and sharpe winter, when the Sunne appeareth in a pleasant spring. The King and al the Parlements ratified this accord, which euery man held for the gage of firm friendship betwixt these Princes, and their loue for a firme pillat of the Realmes quiet. But the prouidence of the protector of this French Monarchie had otherwise decreed. These reconciliations could not serue for sufficient cautions against his iustice, worthily incensed against the Bourguignon, beeing guiltie of horrible crimes, and the wilfull abuse of his patience. The courle which *Charles* held to be rid of his enemy, is not commendable: but in one and the selfe same worke, we must wisely distinguish of that which is of God, and that which is of man, to approue the good which is alwaies iustified in Gods ordinances, and to blame the ill, alwaies to be blamed in man: that we may stoppe our mouthes, and open our eyes, and not reply against the iust iudgements of God, but view the strange and extraordinarie punishment of the Bourguignons strange and extraordinarie crimes, who during the weaknesse of our poore King, hath so much troubled the Realme.

We haue said, (and the course of the Historie will shewe it very plainly) that the Daulphin *Charles* suffered himselfe to be gouerned by his seruants. By their aduice hee had made this accord with the Bourguignon, wherein they had either of them feuerall respects: although eithers intent was to make his profit with the others losses, in circumventing of his companion. But he that made his account to deceiue (hauing not yet changed his minde, although the present necessitie made him to change his countenance) was deceiued: and which is more, he which built his greatest desseins vpon murder, is murdered, beeing the onely expedient the Daulphins seruants could deuise to free him from these troubles, in dispatching the Bourguignon once for all.

Reasons to induce the Daulphin to kill the Bourguignon.

The resolution was very great, but to perswade this Prince thereunto, was of greater difficultie. A young man, iust, wise, moderate and of a very mild disposition, so as they had much adoe to perswade him to so bold and violent a remedie. Why my Lord (say they) can you beleue that the Duke of Bourgongne is any thing amended? although he stoupe now to necessitie, can he bend his heart to reason? Haue you forgotten what he did to your deceased Vncle the duke of Orleance, when as he held the same degree that you do now? did he not kill him, and maintained it as well done? braued the King in Paris, armed himself against him, and forced him to iustifie this execrable murder? He masked himselfe with a shewe of good meaning, to make his accord with your poore cousins of Orleance, but was it not with an intent to ruine them with the more facility, seeking to diuide them from your deceased vncle the duke of Berry, incensing the king & your eldest brother against the, making Edicts against them, as guiltie of high treason, and pursuing them with cruell force; when as your brother (discouering his wickednesse) had forsaken him, and that hee (yeelding to necessitie as hee doth now) concluded a peace? did he not arme himselfe by a new deuise, to ruine your blood, opposing both Paris and the States of the Realme, vnder the name of the Commonweale, to put to death the best seruants of the King your father, incensing the people against them, beeing the furious executioners of this execrable rage? And when as he found these popular furies not to succeed well, hath he not fled to force? yea seeing his great enemy your Cousin of Orleance prisoner, and your Vncle of Berry dead, hath hee mortified his cruell desseins in these common calamities? Hee hath rather stirred vp the Emperour to trouble the State, laboured to draw your deceased brother *John* to his humor, to kindle new fires, and to consume you in them. You (my Lord) are hee who onely trouble him, who onely may frustrate his desseins, and therefore hee strues to take away your head, and set your Crowne vpon his: what hath he not attempted against you? His last actions are worse then the first: there he sought to abuse your brother with your Cousins, here he opposeth your mother against you. There he did openly fight against the law of State, here he doth openly oppugne the law of nature. There (by his policie) he did nourish ialousie betwixt kinsmen, here by his audacious violence he teares in sunder the wombe wherein you did lie, to ruine the State. For to what end doth he giue the Regencie to your mother,

A (the King your father liuing) and you beeing borne Regent during his life, and king after his death? To what end should hee flie to a furious multitude, to decide your controuersies? He hath armed fortie thousand men, in the capitall Cittie of your Realme, and accompanied them with his men at armes. To what end serued all that, but to make a tragicall conclusion of his violent passions? why did hee cause that massacre to be made when you were in the citie, and sought for you so carefully, but to vse you as they did your Constable and Chancellor, and as many of your good seruants as fell into their hands? And after all these exploits, the Bourguignon must call the English King into France, to giue him your sister in mariage: nay rather to take your Crowne from you by peece-meales: for seeing he cannot haue it at all, hee seekes to diuide it. This is the apple for the which he sowes so much diffention. The Law reiects him, and he appeales to faith, to shadow himselfe with her cloake, and to deceiue you with more open shew. He therefore kisseth your hand, hee kneeles, hee holds your Stirrop, to hide his trecherie with a shew of humilitie. Will you beleue (my Lord) that he is in bad tearmes with the King of England. They ayme both at one common obiect. They haue sworne both to take away your life, but the Bourguignon may effect that which the English cannot. And that which they cannot worke by open force, they pretend to effect by policie, couering it with this goodly shew of peace. What effects hath hee giuen you of this reconciliation? What towne hath hee rendered? nay, what men hath hee dismissed? Continuing still in armes, hee discouers his intent: hee means to ruine you with his forces, being lodged in your bowels. His desseins beeing well knowne vnto you (my Lord) will you suffer him to preuent you? We ought to watch for you and seeke the meanes to crosse him. It is lawfull to repell craft by policie. Faith is a holy thing, but who can with reason gaine-say, if a theefe denies his name to circumuent vs, but that it is lawfull to surprise him with his owne armes? To draw an enemy into a mischief which he had prepared for a good man, is no trecherie, but wisdom, especially when there is question to preferue the State. Are you (my Lord) a priuate person? All this great bodie (whereof God hath made you the heade) stretcheth forth the armes, and craues your aide against this theefe, which hath sworne the ruine thereof. He attends but the houre to dispatch you, and to seaze thereon. The safest course is to preuent him: your enemies head shall preferue yours, and all your good and faithfull subjects. My Lord, we protest there is no priuate interest of ours, all is yours, and the publike weales. The faith we haue vowed vnto you, commands vs to deliuer our free aduise. Wee haue liued, doe liue, and will liue, your faithfull seruants, euen vnto the death. The heart makes the mouth to speake, but our hands shall execute your commandements.

The Daulphin (incouraged by these perswasions of his seruant) resolues. Wee haue said, that he parted from Tours, to parle with the Bourguignon; but after that accord, he made a voyage into Berry to assure those places, and to leaue men, in shew to ioyne with him, and to oppose against the English with their common forces, but in effect, it was for the murder of his greatest enemy. He had then twentie thousand fighting men with him. With this troupe he comes into Soulogne, approaching neere vnto those places where his men might be best employed. Montreault-faut-Yonne, (a Towne in Bry, where the riuer of Yon looeth her name, ioyning with Seine) held for him. From thence hee sends *Tannequy* of Chastell (a very sufficient man of his household, and his trustie seruant) to Troyes in Champagne, to the Duke of Bourgongne, desiring him to come vnto him to Montreault, to resolve vpon the effecting of their accord, and to employ their common forces against their common enemy, hauing brought them to that end, protesting that hee should be much grieved to see them burthen some vnto the people without vse. Moreouer, he had some vne priuate affaires to impart vnto him, as vnto his best and dearest friend.

*Tannequy* had no other answer from the Bourguignon, but that it were better for the Daulphin to come to Troyes to the King and Queene, his Father and mother, to conclude things in their presence, and by their authoritie, the which should be very necessarie, to reduce the affaires to some good course. Some daies are spent in refusing and re-intreating. The Bourguignons conscience caused him to feare, and the proceeding was suspicious, but that the apparent dislike betwixt the mother and the sonne, needed the mediation of such a friend as the Bourguignon. This was a goodly pretext, to draw the Duke of Bourgongne to be a mediator of peace betwixt the Queene and the Daulphin; and the charge of their armies

The Daulphin resolues to kill the Bourguignon.

1419. armies, (being idle) was not small, the which vrged this interview. The Ladie of Giac of A whom we haue spoken) was employed againe to sollicite this treatie. So as the Bourguignon comes to Bray vpon Seine, whether the Daulphin sent the Bishop of Valence vnto him, he was brother to Charles of Poitiers, bishop of Langres, in whome he had great confidence. This Bishop had in the end power to perswade him to go to Montreau, where the Daulphin attended him. The Bourguignon goes accompanied with fūe hundred horse, two hundred Archers, and many noble men, among the which was Charles the eldest Son of the Duke of Bourbon, whom the Duke of Bourgongne had corrupted, to weaken the Daulphins partie, being a Prince of the blood. The Daulphin had prepared the Castell for the Bourguignon, but he vnurnished it of all munition for warre and victuall; and causeth the bridge to bee fortified with three turne-pikes, to stoppe their free entrance into the Towne, whether the Bourguignon must come by dutie vnto the Daulphin. This succeeded according to his desseine, but it carried the shewe of an enemy. The Bourguignon sends three gentlemen of his household to the Daulphin, *Thoulongeon*, *Ermy*, and *Soubresier* to aduertise him of his coming. They giue him notice of the two Barricadoes made vpon the bridge, and wish him not to aduenture. Hauing referred it to his Councell, all being on horsebacke, he resolues in the end to passe on: he lights at the Castle where his lodging was assigned, and sets his guards at the entrie of the gate towards the town. Hereupon *Tannequy* of Chastell comes vnto him, who after a due reuerence saluted him from the Daulphin, saying, that he attended him at the bridge foote, at the town gate.

The Bourguignon comes to the Daulphin.

The Daulphin causeth the joining of Bourgongne to be flaine.

Then *John* of Bourgongne, hauing chosen out ten of his most trustie followers, (*Charles* of Bourbon, the Lords of Nouaille, Fribourg, *S. George*, *Montagu*, *Vergy*, *Ancre*, *Pontauillier*, *Lens*, *Giac*, and his Secretarie *Seguinat*) he approacheth to the first barre, where he encounters with some from our *Charles*, who intreate him to enter vpon his masters word, and assure him by oath. Before he enters, (as if his heart had foretold his harme) he staies suddenly, and askes aduice of his companie, who encouraging him to passe on, hee enters the second barre, the which was presently lockt, and then he causeth some to go before him, and some behind, he remaining in the midst. *Tannequy* of Chastell comes to receiue him, and the Duke laying his hand vpon his shoulder very familiarly; This is he (sayes the Duke) in whom I trust. I will conclude this bloudie Catastrophe with the very words of the Originall. And so he approached neere vnto the Daulphin, who stood all armed with his sword by his side, leaning on a barre. Before whome he kneeled with one knee on the ground, to do him honour and reuerence, saluting him most humbly. Whereat the Daulphin answered nothing, making him no shew of loue, but charged him with the breach of his promise, for that he had not caused the warre to cease, nor drawne his men out of garrison, as he had promised. Then *Robert de Loire* tooke him by the right arme and said, Rise, you are but too honorable. The Duke hauing one knee on the ground, and his sword about him, which hung not to his mind, somewhat too farre backe, kneeling downe he laid his hand on his sword to pull it forward for his ease. *Robert* said vnto him, Do you lay your hand vpon your sword before my Lord the Daulphin? At which words *Tannequy* of Chastell drew neere vnto him on the other side, who making a signe, said: It is time, striking the Duke with a little axe so violently on the face, as he cut off his chin, and so he fell on his knees. The Duke feeling himselfe thus wounded, laid his hand on his sword to draw it, thinking to rise and defend himselfe: but he was presently charged by *Tannequy* and others, and beaten dead to the ground. And suddenly one named *Oliuer Layet*, with the helpe of *Peter Fortier*, thrusts a sword into his belly vnder his coate of Maile. Whilst this was doing, the Lord of Nouailles drew his sword halfe out, thinking to defend the Duke: but the Vicount of Narbonne held a dagger, thinking to strike him. Nouailles leaping forcibly to the Vicount, wrested the dagger from him, being so fore hurt in the hinder part of the head, as he fell downe dead. Whilst this was acting, the Daulphin (leaning on the other side of the barre) beholding this strange sight, retired backe as one amazed, and was presently conducted to his lodging by *John Loumet* and others his Councillers. All the rest were taken except *Montagu*, who leaped ouer the Turnepike, and gaue the alarum. There were none slaine vpon the place, but *John* Duke of Bourgongne and Nouailles: *S. George* and *d. Ancre* were hurt. The Dukes men charged home vnto the turnepike, but they were easily repulsed. His troupes retiring to

A to Bray are purtued by the *Daulphinois*, with losse, and in the end the castle is abandoned by him that had it in guard. The Dukes bodie (stript off all but his Doublet and Bootes) is drawne into a Mill, and the next day buried. This happened the tenth of September, in the yeare 1419. Behold the end of *John* Duke of Bourgongne. Seeing then this murther troubled the Daulphin, who had caused it to be committed, what stonie heart would not be amazed thereat? Truly the breach of faith is vnexcusable, howsoeuer it be disguised: for as faith is the ground of humane societie, so doth it extend euen vnto enemies, with whom it must be inuiolably kept.

1420.

This blow shall be deare to *Charles*. Through this hole, the enemy shall enter so farre into the Realme, as he shall put him in danger, and in the end hee shall be forced to confesse his fault, not able to excuse himselfe without accusing of his Councillours. But from vniust man, let vs ascend to the wisdom of that great Iudge of the world, who is alwaies iust. The Oracle cries, *He that strikes with the sword, shall perish with the sword*: and, *The disloyall to the disloyall. They loued miserie, and miserie found them out*. And, wise antiquitie sayes, *God punissheth great wickednesse with great paines, euen in this life*. And, *Hardly can tyrants descend into the grave with a drie death*, that is, without blood or murther. Oh iustice of God, alwaies iust, alwaies wise, and alwaies good! Thy iudgements are righteous O Lord: I condemne the error of men, yet I held my peace, because thou diddest it. Draw the curtaine. *John* of Bourgongne hath played his part vpon this Theater. He had slaine the Duke of Orleans traitorously, and now he wallowes in his owne goare, being treacherously slaine by the Daulphin *Charles*. Now let vs see the care his sonne *Philip* Earle of Charolois had to be reuenged of *Charles* for this cruell murther: but all is not yet ended.

### The Catastrophe of this miserable raigne.

*Philip sonne to John Duke of Bourgongne, stirres up great troubles against Charles the Daulphin, in reuenge of his fathers death.*

D Y whose meanes *Izabel*, an vnkind mother, makes warre against *Charles* her Sonne, and peace with *Henry* the fifth King of England, then a capitall enemy to the State. Shee giues him her daughter *Katherine* in marriage, and procures King *Charles* the sixth, her husband, to declare *Henry* his lawfull heire, and to dis-inherit his onely sonne *Charles* the seuenth from the Realme of France.

E During these occurrents *HENRY* the 5. and *CHARLES* the sixth die, leaving the Crowne of France in question betwixt *Charles* the seuenth, and *Henry* the sixth, proclaimed King of France, at the Funerals of *Charles* the sixth.

From the yeare 1419. to the yeare 1422.



F T E R this tragicall and strange murther of *John* of Bourgongne, *Philip* his sonne, Duke of Bourgongne, by his decease, seekes to be reuenged vpon *Charles* the Daulphin, and *Charles* to defend himselfe. *Philip* was then in Flanders. The Parisiens (passionate partisans of the Bourguignon) who had seene the Duke of Orleans murdered without mouing, and they themselues had massacred the chiefe officers of the Crowne, and had shed the blood of many good men for his pleasure and passion, hauing repayed the blood soo treacherously slaine by him in the same coyne, they now grow into a greater mutinie then if the King himself had been slaine.

the exploits of the Daulphin and of Philip. But go no ster this murther.

1420. slaine. They send their Deputies to *Philip*, and promise not onely to be faithfull, but to assist him with all their meanes, to reuenge the murther committed on the person of his father. And at the same instant, *Montagu*, beeing escaped from the Turn-pike, writes to all the Citties vnder the Bourguignons obedience, of this accident, the which he could report as an eye-witnesse. *Charles* on the other side, writes to all the good cities of the Realme, yeelding a reason of this murther, and imputing the fault to the Bourguignons bad dealing, who would haue slaine him at a parle, exhorting the people not to mourne for the iust execution of a man borne for the ruine of France, who had willingly thrust himselfe into this mischiefe: offering all his meanes to settle the Realme in peace according to the authoritie whereunto God had called him. But in talking, hee seekes to assure himselfe of some countries, *Stephen* of Vignoles, called *la Hire*, and *Poton* of Xaintrailles, winne *Crespy* in Laonois, and *Caradoz* of Quesne with *Charles* of Flaue take *Roye*, places very important to trouble the citties of Piccardie, where the Bourguignon was chiefly obeyed. The strong castle of Muin opposite to *Crespie*, and *Roye* is surprized by the industrie of his seruants, and keepes all Vermandois and Laonois in alarme. This beginning caused *Philip* to seeke all speedie meanes to crosse *Charles* his proceedings, beeing resolute to continue what he had begunne: yet the Parisiens were in some feare, pressing *Philip* againe not to abandon the seruants of his house, the which made him more prompt in the execution. *Philip* being assured of his Flemings, obtaines a suspension of armes from *Henry* the fifth, King of England, and a day and place appointed to treat a generall peace betwixt the two realmes. Then *C* marching with his armie through Picardie, he recouers *Crespie*, *Roye* and Muin, to the great content of his partisans: and so he arriues at Troyes in Champagne, the appointed place for this treatie.

Queene Isabe-  
l hates the  
Daulphin her  
sone deadly.

*Isabel* Queene of France (a cruell *Medea*, and an vnnaturall mother,) continued her tragick choller against her Sonne, who hauing defaced the common feeling of nature, did soone forget the honour she had receiued to be married into the house of France. Being thus wedded to the Bouguignons passions, she tormented her poore husbands spirits being exceeding weake, perswading him, that his best course was to disinherit this wicked sonne, to declare his daughter heire, and (in marrying her to the greatest King vpon the earth) to giue her likewise the Realme after his decease, and to her issue, as descended from the blood of France. *Philip* comming to the King, found new worke: for presently *Henry* the fifth king of England concludes a peace with King *Charles* the sixth, weddes *Catherine* his daughter, and doth obtaine by Letters pattents, *That establishing a firme and free peace in both the Realmes of France and England, in regard of the marriage of Catherine of France, he is declared Regent of the Realme during the life of king Charles, to whom the title of king remains, and to Isabel his wife the title of Queene, during their liues. But presently after the kings decease, the Crowne and Realme of France with all their rights and dignities should remaine vnto him, whom king Charles the sixth calles by his letters pattents, his most deere and welbeloued sonne, and to his heires in chiefe.* They cause this poore sicke King to sweare vpon the holy Bible, and to promise this for him and his, with all exemptions and necessarie clauses in so great and important a businesse. This goodly act (the fruite of the furious passions of ciuill warre) was made at Troies, the 21. of May, in the yeare 1420.

The lawfull  
heire reiecteth,  
and Henry the  
5. declared  
heereof France

This done, the French and English forces ioyning, and marching vnder the same colors, acknowledge one Commaunder, and for their first exploite they winne Montreau-fut-Yonne, where they take vp and burie *John* of Bourgongne againe, and so marching on as against Rebels, they take Melun, Meaux and Moret, and beseege Compiegne. But least matters should grow cold, *Henry* of England (whome they call Regent) returnes to Troies, and with a goodly traine, conducts the King, Queene, and his new wife *Catherine* to Paris, being better followed and ferued then the King himselfe. The Parisiens folly did wonderfully imbrace the comming of this new Royaltie, promising vnto themselues a new heauen, but this humor lasted not long, hauing tried the power of forrain Princes, and the command of their Kings by very contrarie effects.

Henryes pro-  
ceeding in his  
new Royalty  
of France.

The Regent held a councell presently in great state, in the pallace of Saint Pol, beeing the Kings lodging. Two throanes were erected for the two Kings, and a seate vnderneath for *Philip* of Bourgongne. The Kings councell (beeing few in number) is supplied by the

A the Court of Parliament, and the Vniuersity. *Philip* demands Iustice of the murther committed on the person of *John* of Bourgongne his father. His Aduocate *Rollin* made this instance. The Kings Aduocate, and the Vniuersity assisted him in the pursute. King *Charles* promisseth Iustice against his Sonne the Daulphin, and to do all good offices for King *Henry* his new Sonne. This was the first act of the new Regencie, against the onely Sonne of his house. And moreouer they decreed, that hereafter all the treasure should bee governed by the Regents authority and command. *Henry* resolues presently to call a Parliament for the necessity of his returne into England, whether he meant to conduct his new Spouse. A Parliament was held, according to this decree, but all were amazed at this sodaine alteration, euen the very report of my History hath some feeling thereof, for what canst thou see here-  
B in gentle reader, but frozen Ice, in the remembrance of these confusions, renewed by the feeling of our owne. Thus the Regent caused *Charles* Duke of Touraine, and Daulphin of Viennois to be called to the Marble table. All solemnities obserued, and he not appearing, by a decree of the Councell, and of the Court of Parliament, he was banished the realme, and iudged vnworthy to succeed in any of the Seigneuries, as well present, as to come. The Daulphin appeales from this sentence, *To God and his sword*, who in the end doing him iustice, shall blesse his sword, and make it victorious ouer his enemies.

The Bur-  
guig-  
non craues  
iustice aga-  
nst  
the Daulphin.

The Daulphin  
banished.

The Parisiens (discontented with the violent courses of the new Regent) began to abate their ioy within few dayes after, before *Henry* returne into England. *Philip* of Bourgongne Earle of Saint Pol, Cousin germaine to the Duke of Bourgongne, was gouernour of Paris, by the appointment of King *Charles*. *Henry* displaceth him, and appoints *Thomas* Duke of Clarence his brother. He sets English gards in all the strong places of the City, and displaceth the French and Bourguignons, and yet durst they not mutter. The Lord of *Lisle-Adam* made Marshall of France, (for that he had assisted at the taking and massacre of Paris) was as much out of fauour with this new King, as he was pleasing to the Parisiens. The Regent sends men to apprehend him, whom (as they led to the Bastille) the people made an offer to rescue, but they were sharply repulst by the English, and well beaten: a iust reward, hauing wished for a strange King: but they shall soone after haue other employments, to teach them to know new bread from old, which they had so much disdained. Thus *Henry* the fit made the Parisiens to know in time that he had authority to force obedience, in punishing fooles and rebels growne licentious in confusion.

On the other side the Daulphin faints not at the first bruit of this new royaltie, but growing resolute against all stormes, hee looserh no opportunity to aduance his affaires. Wee haue shewed how that Aniou obeyed him. The new Regent commands the Duke of Clarence his brother to make warre in those parts. So hee enters the Country with his army, as it were to take possession of his owne. Hee presents him selfe before Angiers the chiefe City of that Prouince, presuming that all would presently obey him: but the issue did not answer his hopes, for he found all the French resolute to defend them selues against a stranger, and to obey their naturall King. Herevpon the French ioyne together, they arme and goe to field. The English being out of hope to take Angiers, turne head against the French army lodged at Little Bauge, which attended resolutely the force of a mighty and victorious enemy. On the other side, the imaginary hope of victory thrust on the Duke of Clarence against our men, whom hee held to bee halfe dead, but hee findes them reuiued, ready to sell their liues at a deare rate. The battaile was very bloody, the one fighting for Empire and honour, and the other for their liues and altars. The euent was vnfortunate for the English. The Duke of Clarence was slaine, and the English army lost fiftene hundred men vpon the place, for the first fruites of their new Regencie, and a gage of their pretended royaltie. This famous incounter hapned in the yeare 1420. the ninth of Aprill. As in the fit of a dangerous disease the first motions of nature are very important, so is it in State. A light beginning after a great danger, drawes a great consequence eyther to good or euill. This first action had a great traine. *Charles* his party began to rise, as if the good hap of the lawfull heire reuiuing, had taken a new forme in setting his authoritie. *John* of Montfort Duke of Brittain fauoured this first successe of Aniou. After that the English had seized vpon Normandy, hee put himselfe vnder his protection: but now hee turnes taile, and allyes himselfe with our *Charles* against him, in a defensue and offensive

The English  
defeated, and  
the Duke of  
Clarence  
slaine.

Dd

league.

1422. league. What remaines of the historie of Brittain, I will referue for another place: let vs A  
now returne to our discourse. At the same instant *James* of Harcourt leaues the Bourguignons partie. He makes warre in the Countie of Vimeu and takes diuers places, Pont Remy, Saint *Riquier*, la Ferte, Mareuill, Diancourt, Araines and other small places. The Bourguignon goes to field, the smallest townes yeelds vnto him. He beseegeth Saint *Riquier* beeing well defended by the Lord of Offemont, but newes comes that the Daulphins armie approacheth. The Bourguignon resolues to meete them: he sends forth part of his forces; they are dispersed vpon a false alarme, that the Duke of Bourgongne was dead. As they were in this disorder, behold, he shewes himselfe to his souldiers full of resolution, and so fitly, as hauing rallied his men and encouraged them, he not onely repelles his enemy, but defeats them, takes Saint *Riquier* and frees Picardie from feare. Such is the varietie of our incounters: the conqueror is here conquered.

The great exploits of Henry.

The Bourguignon beeing in field, our new Regent comes from his Realme of England with new forces: hauing resolved to employ all their meanes ioynly to ruine the Daulphin, before he should fortifie himselfe with any new successe: they disperse their forces into diuers parts of the Realme, hauing more men and money then the Daulphin. The Prince of Orenge held the Daulphine in awe. The Lord of Roch-baron made warre in Forest and Auergne, and the bodie of the armie with the Regent and Duke marched against the Daulphin, who was retired to Bourges a strong cittie, and of a fit scituation, lying in the midst of such Prouinces as obeyed him. This armie marching with a victorious shew, beseegeth Dreux, and takes it by composition. Chartres yeelds willingly: from thence he marcheth with an intent to draw the Daulphin to fight, but the Regent (seeing him retire to a place of hard access) resolues to free all the Townes about Paris, but especially Senlis and Soissons, townes of importance. Hee hoped to vanquish him by degrees, and in the end to giue him the mate.

But all enterprises succeed not: Man purposeth, but God disposeth, who meant to trie, but not to ruine France. All succedes not wishfully to the English, beeing King of France in conceit. The Prince of Orenge is beaten in Languedoc, and *Lanneguy* of Chastell Steuard of Beaucaire, hauing happily recovered Pont Saint Esprit, (a towne of importance, vpon the passage of Rosne) all the rest yeelds to the Daulphins command: so as hee could hardly keepe his towne of Oranges. Auignon fauoured the Daulphin. *Roch-baron* was taken at Seruere by *Imbert* of Grotte, Seneshall of Lions, and so Auergne and Forest were subiect to the Daulphin: who seeing himselfe without any enemy, and forces readie for his defence, he beseegeth la Charite and takes it. From thence he goes to Cosne, where he finds great resistance, yet he doth presse it with such violence, as they are forced to come to a parle. They prefixe a certaine day to be succoured by the new Regent, or to yeeld to the Daulphin. The Regent assures them of releefe, exceeding glad of this occasion, to draw our Daulphin to the combate, wherein he hoped to vanquish him.

But he had not made his accompt with death, who holds his assignments more certaine, then all Monarches: for resolving vpon this voyage, although he had many other affaires in hand, he fell sicke, and of a strange disease, which the vulgar sort tearme Saint *Fiacre*, and Phisitions \* *Phyriasis*. *Enguerand* assures, that the chiefe disease whereof he died, was Saint *Anthomes* fire: but it is more credibly reported, that he died of a Pluresie, a disease in those dayes so rare and vnknowne, that Phisitions being not therewith acquainted, nor with the cause whence it proceeded could not prescribe nor apply any remedie therefore. *Henry* hauing his mind fixed vpon this voyage, and his supposed victorie, parts from Senlis, hauing taken leaue of the King, Queene and wife, (whom he shall see no more) hee caused himselfe to be carried to Melun in a litter: but feeling himselfe prest by his infirmitie, he returned to Bois-de-Vincennes, where hauing taken his bed, he sent his armie into Bourgongne vnder the command of the Duke of Bedford his brother, and the Earle of Warwicke, commaunding them to pursue the Daulphin. At the bruite of this great armie, the Daulphin *Charles* leaues Cosne and retires to Bourges: and so the towne was freed.

*Henry* was not so freed from his sicknesse, the which increasing daily, made him to thinke of his ende, disposing as he pleased touching his sonne *Henry* the sixt of that name, whom hee had by *Katherine* the daughter of Fraunce, and the Duke of Excester his Vncle to bee Regent

\* A disease of worms or lice.

A Regent of England, commaunding them expressly to liue in concord with *Philip* Duke of Bourgongne, and neuer to make any peace with *Charles* of Valois (for so he called him) vnlesse they might haue Normandy in soueraignty, neither to releafe the Dukes of Orleance and Bourbon, vntill his sonne were of a competent age.

And thus *Henry* the fift dies, beeing neare about fortie yeares old, in the vigor of his age and spirit, borne and aspiring to great matters, hauing already giuen prooofe of what hee might haue done if he had liued longer. But God would punish France by an Englishman, yet would he not suffer France to haue any other King then a French-man. This vnexpected death, in the great course of *Henry* the fifts victories, happened the last day of August, in the

Henry the 5. dies.

B yeare 1422. followed soone after by one no lesse memorable. For *Charles* the sixt our good King, (but subiect to the miserablest raigne that France had euer seene to that day) fell sicke and died the 22. of October in the same yeare, fiftie daies after the decease of *Henry* of England. A sicknesse and death remarkable in so great a King, for after that hee had languished in so long and infamous an infirmitie, he died in a manner alone. They name but the Chancellour, the first Chamberlaine, his Almoner with some groomes of his chamber which were present at his end. After his death he was visited by such as had caused him to die liuing, and by his miserable life had made all the Realme to languish. At the funerals of this poore Prince, after the Herald had proclaimed *The King is dead*, another cried, *God save the King, God send a long and happie life to Henry the sixt by the Grace of GOD King of France and*

Charles the 6. dies.

C *England our Soueraigne Lord*. To the end that passion might triumph ouer the infirmitie of our King, euen in his graue. This *Henry* shall be crowned King at Paris soone after. But where is that *Isabel*, or rather *Iezabel*, who had so much tormented her poore husband? I seeke her in all the corners of this Historie, yet cannot find her. She who caused so great diuisions, dies without any memorie, but to haue liued too long for France and her children. Oh the vanitie of this world! which doth interre the most busie in the forgetfulness of the graue, when as they thinke themselves raised to the toppe of their desseines.

Henry the 6. proclaimed King.

Thus *Charles* the sixt raigned, thus he liued, and thus he died, miserable in his raigne, miserable in his life, but most happie in his death, as well to free himselfe from paine, and by this occasion, his whole realme from confusion, as also by death to change his tumultuous and miserable life, into a quiet rest and eternal happinesse, for what else can we say of him, whose miserie gaue him the title of Welbeloued, hauing nothing reprochfull in his life but his afflictions? This is all I can speake touching the iudgement of this raigne, after the repetition of so many miseries: so as measuring others by mine owne apprehension, I thinke to ease them in not reuiuing so tedious a subiect, noting that this raigne was alwaies miserable, both in the minoritie and maioritie of our King. His manners, his race, his raigne and his age do appeare by that which we haue written. Hee liued foure and fiftie yeares, and raigned two and fortie. He had many sonnes and daughters. *Katherine* is famous, hauing bene the mournfull gage of many miseries. Of three sonnes which came all to the age of men, *Charles* onely remained successor of his Crowne, but not of his fortunes, for he shall settle the Realme, redeeming it out of Strangers hands, as shall appeare in the following discourse.

D d 2

Charles



## CHARLES the feuenth, the 54. French King.



After the long and painefull Carriere of the fore-passe raigries, were it not time now to breath? Since the vnfortunate battaile of Crefsy, wee haue felt nothing but thornes, tempests, combustions, and shewes of ruines. And if we shall abate that little happinesse which Charles the fifth brought vnto our Auncestors, there are not lesse then seuentie yeares of confusion. But all is not yet ended: we must passe thirtie yeares more before the conclusion. And as if we felt the crosses of our fore-runners, we must shut our eyes, recouer new forces, grow resolute against all stormes, and end couragiously with them, the remainder of this painefull course (in the troublesome discourse, which we shall find in the beginning of this raigne) to see in the end a happie Catastrophe in the restoring of this Estate, and the vnion of the Church, diuided by a long and dangerous schisme, which disquieted Christendome, during the troubles of this raigne.

Notable particularities of this raigne.

Here our Frenchmen may reade with admiration and profit, that, as it is not now alone, that France hath bene afflicted, so God doth not now beginne to watch ouer it, deliuering it by miraculous meanes, when as it seemed neere to ruine. Here Charles the seuenth the least and last of his brethren, shall deface the ignominie of France, and triumph ouer the victories of a stranger, who had in a manner dispossessed him of his Realme. Of a truth God meant to punish vs by meanes of the English, but not to ruine vs. The French cannot be commanded but by a French-man. The Ocean is a strong barre to diuide these two Estates, content with their own rights. This raigne abounding in miraculous accidents, is the more considerable being the perfect Idea of the raigne of Henry the 4. lately murdered.

The order of this discourse.

But to represent so variable a subiect with proficite, it is necessarie to distinguish it in order. There are three parts famous both for the subiect and successe. The first shewes the confused and troublesome beginning of this raigne, vntill our Charles was solemnly installed King,

A King, and thereby acknowledged of all the French, for vntill that day the greatest part called him Earle of Ponthieure, or King of Bourges, in mockerie: and such as were more modest termed him Dauphin of Viennois. The second puts him in possession of his royall authoritie, shewing by what meanes he reduced the Citties subdued by the English to his obedience, beginning with the Cittie of Paris, and so proceeding to the rest of the Realme, expelling the English from all, but onely Calais. The third shewes the end of this raigne, discovering the Kings domesticall discontents, which hastened him to his graue, after the happy euents of all his difficulties.

So this raigne continued thirtie nine yeares, variable in good and euill. The beginning difficult, the midst happie, and the end mournfull. This is the Theater of mans life, where B sorrow, happinesse, and misfortune, play their parts diuersly both with great and final. Charles the seuenth was one and twentie yeares old when he began to raigne, and raigned 39. yeares: for after the decease of his father Charles the sixt, he tooke vpon him the name of King of France, (notwithstanding the pretension of the English) the 22. of October in the yeare 1422. and he died the thirteenth of Iuly, 1461. He was married at eleuen yeares of age, to Marie the daughter of Lewis Duke of Aniou and King of Sicily. By this marriage he had three sonnes and fiue daughters. His sonnes names were Lewis, Philip, and Charles. Lewis the eldest shall succeed him to the Crowne. Philip died very young. Charles liued somewhat longer, but without any great successe, hauing onely the titles of the Dukedomes of Berrie, Normandie and Guienne. His daughters were Radeconde, Yoland, Katherine, Jane and Magdaleine. The first died, beeing betrothed to Sigismund Duke of Austria. Yoland was married to Amedee Duke of Sauoy: Katherine to that great Charles Duke of Bourgongne, who shall be his owne ruine: Jane to Iohn Duke of Bourbon, and Magdaleine to Gaston earle of Foix: and this was his race; His manners will appeare by his life: he was of a tractable and gentle disposition, capable of counsell, but louing his ease too much, and suffering himself to be often carried away by his seruants. And yet as God would vse him for the establishing of the French Monarchie, so did he bring him vp in the schoole of affliction, to fortifie him against all difficulties, assisting him with great and worthe persons, both for warre and counsell, by whose meanes he did raise vp this estate, yet with great and confused combats, D and by a long and painefull patience. But let vs proceede to that which hath chanced vnder his raigne, most worthe of obseruation.

### The miserable estate of this raigne, vnto the Coronation of Charles the 7. during seauen yeares.

From the end of the yeare 1422. vnto 29. in the  
moneth of Iune, when as he was solemnly  
installed King in the citie  
of Poitiers.



VCH was the estate of Charles, when his fathers death called him to the Crowne. We haue scene after that the miseries of France had caused his mother Isabel to forget her owne bloud, making him to be reiectd from the Crowne, and Henry the 5. King of England substituted in his place, yet he fainted not in these extremities, but did valiantly withstand the pretended desseignes, by whose death God soone laid the foundation of this realmes restoring. Yet after the death of King Henry the 5. Charles was incountred with infinite difficulties. He had small meanes, fewer friends, and many mightie enemies. He scarce enioyed the least part of his estate, followed by intreatie, and obeyed by halues, euen of such as made profession to be most faithfull. The Citties had diuers motions, as priuate interest drew mens mindes to that partie which they held most profitable. There were but too many which followed the fortune of the English, beeing a Conqueror, the corruption of man inclining commonly to the stronger. But amidst these vncertaine humors of people, he had

Diuerstie of humors in the Court.

1422. enemies which encountered him with aduantages apparently victorious: for *Henry* the sixt A although he were very yong, yet did he exceed him in all things: he had a realme hereditarie and absolute: the best part of the French Monarchie: the assistance of the Duke of Bedford his Vncle, with many worthy men, and great meanes. To these enemies were ioyned some great men, which fished in a troubled streame, euery one imagining to haue a part of this garment, building their desseignes vpon the Sepulcher of *Charles*, and the alteration of the State. Among the chiefest were *Phillip* Duke of Bourgongne, *Amedee* Duke of Sauoy, *Peter* Duke of Brittain, with his Brother the Earle of Richemont. Diuers instruments vnder that great engin of England: but all these motions were to ruine France, and to build their greatnesse vpon her ruines.

The Duke of Bourgongne. The Burguignon (who had a great hand in the State) was most interessed and most opposite to *Charles*, being apparently the author of his fathers murder. Yet *Philip* (a iudicious Prince) so hated him, whom necessity commanded him to hate in this accident, as if he should loue him in time, not wedding him selfe absolutely to the English: yet did hee fo worke for him in shew, as making him selfe in effect the stronger, hee might counterpeise him, if necessity required, and strike the last stroake for him to whom the French should incline. Reason likewise taught him, that the people would respect the lawfull heire of the Crowne, louing their Prince naturally, and in the end would reiect the Stranger, as an unlawful tenant, who made him selfe daily insupportable by his imperious carriage. *Amedee* Duke of Sauoy being on the Stage, and farre from blowes, kept the stakes, and entertained *Charles*, as if he should be an assured mediator in these quarrels, to end them with more aduantage than any Christian Prince: and so he nourished this diuision, by a strict intelligence which he had with the *Bourguignon*. As for the humour of the two brethren of Brittain, the course of the History will soone shew it: Thus *Charles* charged by many enemies, had few faithfull and confident friends, and in that golden age, so small meanes to entertaine his friends, as he could hardly supply the ordinary charges of his traine, selling and ingaging peece after peece, of his inheritance. So as he had nothing more assured then the equity of his cause, and his resolution in this great necessity. He had yet some good friends remaining in Scotland, whom hee bought dearly, aduancing them to the greatest dignities of the realme: for he made *Charles Steward* Earle of Boucquan his Constable, and *James* Earle *Douglas* Marshall of France: and to honour the Scottish-mens faith, he gaue them the gard of his person, an institution which continues vnto this day. He had likewise some friends in Spaine and Italy, who succoured him in due time, according to their meanes. Wee haue shewed what Prouinces followed the party of our *Charles*, amongst the which *Languedoc* was a principall. The importance of this country did much aduance his affaires. This reason moued both the *Bourguignon* and the *Sauoiard* against this Prouince. The instruments fit for this enterprife, were *John* of Chaalons Prince of Orange, & the Lord of Roche-baron, a Nobleman of Velay, one of the 22. diocesses of Languedoc. The first by the commodity of his neighbourhood did win Nismes, Pont saint Esprit, Aiguemortes, and all the rest of bafe Languedoc, vnto Beziers, except the castell of Pezenas, the tower of Villeneufue by Auignon, and the castell of Egaliers, now wholly ruined, neere vnto Vzez. This losse was somewhat repaired by the fidelity of the inhabitants. Aiguemortes set vp their Ensigne of liberty, by the direction of the Baron of Vauuerbe, and kills the garrison of *Bourguignons*, which the Prince of Orange had placed there. To this day they shew a great vessel of Stone, wherein they did salt the *Bourguignons*. The example of this strong and important city, awaked the rest, and euen vpon the approch of the Earle of Foix, (who came with a goodly army) all the townes yeeld vnto him, except Nismes and Pont S. Esprit, townes of great importance in that country, the one being the head of that Seneshauce, the other a passage vpo the Rofne towards Dauphine. But as the liberty of time made the seruant presume above the Maister, so it chanced, that the Earle of Foix, (hauing tasted the sweet of command, and transported with the common humor of men, seeking to make their profit of the common confusions of France) deteined the reuenues of Languedoc, by his absolute authority, imparting none to *Charles*, being exceeding poore in this confused time. This necessity was accompanied with a cruell warre, stirred vp in Velay, by the Lord of Roche-baron, a partisan to the Dukes of Sauoy, and Bourgongne, who furnished him both with men and money, for this

The Duke of Brittain. The Duke of Bourgongne. The Duke of Sauoy.

A strange cruelty where by they are called *Bourguignons* to this day.

A this rebellion, for it was rather a horrible theuery then a warre. These two occasions, drew *Charles* into Languedoc, to confirme his authority, and his voiage succeeded according to his intent: for he chased the Prince of Orange out of Nismes and Pont Saint Esprit, he pacified the troubles of Velay, and put the Earle of Foix from his gouernment, giuing the place to *Charles* of Bourbon, Earle of Clermont, a prince of the blood, to the great content of all the people. Hauing thus happily provided for his affaires, he takes the way of Velay, to returne into France, being arrived at Espaly, (a castle belonging to the bishop of Puy) hee is aduertised of his fathers death, after *Henry* the fift his Competitor. Hee falls presently to teares and mourning, yet hee buries not his affaires in care. His counsell aduiseeth him to change his blacke robes into scarlet, to set vp the banner of France in his name, and to B proclaime himselfe King, for the first fruites of his coronation: the which being performed at Puy, to the peoples great ioy, *Charles* goes to Poitiers, where hee caused himselfe to be crowned King, and receiued the homage and othes of the officers of the crowne, princes, noblemen and gentlemen that were about him, with such pompe as the strictnesse of time would permit. Then he intituled himselfe King of France, and made shew of more authority and greater pompe. But on the other side, the duke of Bedford beganne to bandy more strongly against him. *Henry* the sixth, his pupill, a yong infant, was in England. Hee caused him likewise to be crowned King, till the seuen yeeres after he should be solemnely installed at Paris, in the yeere, 1430. Hee set his name vpon the money of France, making a new C stampe, but without any other change, then of his name.

So that hereafter two Kings, two factions, two armies shall contend for this goodly crowne. The heire being the weaker shall fight against a strong pretender. Law fauours the one, and force the other: but the protector of this estate, will giue a fauorable doome for the weaker, that the honor of so memorable a preservation of this monarchy, apparently drawne out of the graue, may bee giuen to him, who rules the deluge of our confusions, by his miraculous prouidence. Scarfe had *Charles* receiued the first fruites of his royall authority, when as the dukes of Bedford and Bourgongne, his capitall enemies, assemble at Amiens, to crosse his new dignity in the breeding. There shall be seuen yeeres of exceeding bad time, but after this sharpe winter, there will come a goodly spring, when as all seemed D lost, and in the end Sommer shall follow with a plentiful harvest of rest to this Realme, whereof the lawfull heire shall remaine in quiet possession, and the pretender expelled with losse euen of that which he might haue ciuilly inoyed.

In this assembly at Amiens, great plots are laid against *Charles*, whose ruine was their souereigne end. All is done at the charge of the English. *Peter* duke of Britan and *Arthur* Earle of Richmont his brother, are there present. *Amedee* duke of Sauoy, sends his Ambassadors, vnder an other colour, but he casts the stone and hides his arme. The dukes of Bedford, Britan and Sauoy, make a defensiu and offensiu league against *Charles*. The souereignty of the crowne should remaine to the English: the commodities to the Dukes. They set the scale of marriages to this alliance. *John* Duke of Bedford marries with *Anne* the siter of *Philip* duke of Bourgongne, and *Marguerit* his other Sitter takes *Arthur* the E Earle of Richmont. Then they seeke the fruits of this alliance with the preiudice of *Charles*. Euery man takes his quarter, to torment him on all sides. The *Bourguignon* vnder takes *Picardy*, where hee settles *John* of Luxembourg, to expel the *Dauphinois* out of some places which they held there. *Henry* of Lancaster Earle of Salisbury, went into Champagne and Bry, to clesse the country about Paris, and to bridle Orleans. The Earle of Warwick vnder-tooke Guienne, to make warre against those townes that held the *Dauphins* party. *Lewis* Prince of Orange, had charge to arme in Languedoc and Dauphine. Behold a great storme rising against the lawfull heire of this crowne.

Amidst all these difficulties, *Charles* must needs bee in great perplexitie: but I read with ioy, that hee whom God had chosen to restore this estate, was not amazed, nor daunted, F but hauing commonly in his mouth this Oracle, wee must haue God and reason on our side. Hee hath recourse vnto God, and falls courageously to worke. Hee flies to Rochell, to assure it vnder his obedience. Being in the towne, there happens a notable accident, as hee was in counsell, a part of the chamber funke, and *James* of Bourbon with diuers others were slaine in this ruine. The King was but hurt. From this danger, hee passeth on to the chiefe of

1422.

*Charles* mournes for the death of his father.

The Dukes of Bedford and Bourgongne hold a counsell at Amiens.

A great league against King *Charles* confirmed by alliances.

1422. of his affaires. He sends into Scotland *Milan*, and *Castile*, to summon his friends to succour A him, who speedily will send him notable aides. He provides for all the passages vnder his obedience. He assures himselfe of Languedoc (from whence hee drew his chiefe helpees) by the Earle of Clermont: from Daulphin, by the Lord of Gaucourt: from Lions, Lyonnois, Forrest, Beauuiculis and Masconois, by *Imbert* of Groslee, *Senehall* of Lions: from Gascogne, and other countries of Guienne, where hee was acknowledged, by the Vicont of Narbonne, and the maister of Oruall. Hee sends *James* of Harcourt into Picardy, accompanied with *Pethon*, the Xintrailles, or Saint Treille, and *Stephen Vignoles*, called *la Hirre*, the flower of his captaines. And likewise of Bourguignon sent thither the greatest part of his forces. *Ambrose de Lore* goes into Maine and Perche, *Pregeance of Coigny*, into Champagne. The Earle of Dunois (a bastard of the house of Orleans) keeps Orleans. The townes lying vpon B the riuer of Loire, above and beneath Orleans, were vnder the obedience of the French, La Charite, Gyan, Jargeau, Meung, Baugency, Blois, Amboise, Tours, Saumur, diuerse small townes in Beaufle, La Ferte of Gaules, Januille Espernay, Pluviers. And in the countries of Gastenois and Vrepolis, Montargis, Chastillon, Milly. Nearer vnto Paris, Mont-leher, Orsay, Marcouffy (very strong places then, but now desolate) kept Paris in alarum.

Thus the cardes were shuffled, but the English had the better part, keeping the great cities and the Kings purse, and (as the stronger) hee begins the game, which had this issue for the remainder of that yeere. The English besiege and take Bazas, and the French win Meulan, vpon Seine, with great slaughter of the English, but the duke of Bedford (loth to indure C such a thorne in the sides of Paris) doth presently besiege it. *Charles* sends them succors, vnder the command of the Earle of Aumale, the Constable *Boucquham* and *Tanneguy* of Chastel. Too many commanders, to doe any great exploit. Jealousie of command bred such a confusion, as all these troupes marched in disorder, no man acknowledging but his private commander. Herevpon the English army arriues, who had an easie conquest of these disorderd troupes, and then Meulan yeelds to the duke of Bedford.

The sharpnesse of winter could not temper the heat of these warriors: and, as the fortune of the warre is variable, one winnes, another loseth, *Ambrose de Lore* and *John* of Be- lay (thinking to take *Frensy le Conte*) lost a notable troupe of their men. The Lord of Fontaines hath his reuenge vpon the English, and defeats eight hundred of them at Neuuil- le, and *John* of Luxembourg, a Bourguignon, defeats the Lords of Gamaches and Amaul- ry with their troupes. The Earle of Salisbury, takes the townes of Vertues and Espernay, and the strong places of Montaguillon and Osny neere vnto Paris. The composition is strange, the souldiers yeelding at the Regents discretion, are brought to Paris, bare-headed, halters about their necks, and swords at their breasts.

This miserable troupe thus tyed, and led in triumph, passeth through Saint *James* streete to goe to the Tournelles, where the Regent was lodged, and from thence to bee drawne to the place of execution, if the Duchesse of Bedford (moued with the pittie of a French woman, at so pittifull a spectacle) had not begged the liues of these poore condemned men. Thus that yeere passed, wherein *Charles* the sixth, and *Henry* the fifth died, but God to re- store our Monarchie, beganne in the same yeere to lay a leuaine against the attempts E of Strangers, who sought to ruine it. *Jaqueline* of Bauaria, Countesse of Hainault and Holland, the onely heire of those two states, had married with *John* Duke of Brabant, who by a blind and ambitious auarice, gaue her selfe to *Humfry* duke of Gloucester, vncle to the King of England, and married with him, reiecting her lawfull husband. Her excuse was, that the Brabantin was her cousin germaine, but this shalbe a meanes to dissolue that alliance so cunningly conioyned by the dukes of Bedford and Bourgonne, who shall breake vpon this occasion. The yeere begins while that losses came by heapes vpon *Charles*, as the current of an vnauoidable ruine: whatsoeuer he vndertooke, succeeded not.

*James* of Harcourt was Gouverneur of Picardy, placed there ouer some remainders of the shipwracke of that country, hee surpriseth *Dommar* in in Ponthieu from the Bourguignon, and spoiles the neighbour Abbaies, and the country. Hauing ruined these poore dis- armed men, he is charged by *Ralph Butler* and English capitaine, looeth all his conquest, and escapes hardly with his life, and sees *Crotoy* taken before his face, the chiefe dungeon of his designs, Rue, Saint Valery, and in the end the goodly city of Abbeuille, sufficient to stay

The French defeated by the English, & Meulan yeelded.

The cause of diuision betwixt the Dukes of Bedford and Bourgonne.

Charles hath diuers likes.

A stay the English forces, if it had beene garded by good men. After these shamefull losses he comes to *Charles* to excuse himselfe, he pardons him, but God made him soone pay the interest of his thefts, being the cause of his owne ruine.

Hauing no place of aboad, hee retires to Parthenay, to his vncle, who entertained him courteously, but *Harcourt* not content with this kinde vsage, would be maister of the castle, his practise fell vpon his owne head, being slaine by the gardes, suffering the punishment of his treachery, as he had done of his couetousnesse and cowardise. A lesson for bad seruants to their Princes, detestable either for their robberies, or for their treacherous cowardises, whom God paies in due season.

B The entrance of this yeere was also infamous, in two shamefull losses, happened to two great captaines, to *Ambrose* of Lore, who looeth the castle of Tenny in the country of Maine, and to *Oliuer* of Magny beaten by the English, at the Bishops parke neere Auranches, but from small accidents, we must come to great actions. Champagne was in no better case then Maine. The Earle of Salisbury made warre with all violence, against *Pregeant* of Coigny, who defended the Kings party the best hee could, but not able to beare so great a burthen, hee flies to *Charles*, who sends him his Constable with forces, the which were im- ploied both in an other cause, and with other successe then hee had designed, for behold the towne of Creuant in Bourgonne (situated vpon the riuer of Yonne, vpon the frontiers of Champagne) is surprised by the bastard of Baume, for the King. The Constable flies thither, but too late, for la Baume, not able to take the castle, abandons the towne. In the C mean time, the brute thereof draws forces thither, from all parts, as a cupping glasse doth humours. The Dowager of Bourgonne (mother to duke *Philip*) sends a goodly troupe vnder the conduct of *Toulangeon* Marshall of Bourgonne. The duke of Bedford doth sodainly furnish a notable supplie, for the respect hee bare to the duke of Bourgonne his brother-in-law: *Charles* fearing least his Constable should miscary, assembles what tor- ces hee can with all speed, and sends them vnder the conduct of the Lord of Senerac Marshall of France, the Earle of Ventadour, the Lords of Fontaines, Velay, and Gamaches. The number was very equall, but the incomber fell vpon our army. And this was the occasion.

D The Constable hauing made his choise of a little hill, a place of aduantage to attend his e- nemy, the English comes with a conquering brauery, as hee that was accustomed to gaine euery where, without any stay: hee forceth our gard, placed vpon the bridge to keepe the passage. Hauing thus passed in view of our army, impatience seizeth on our men by this proud contempt, and they cry out to the Constable, who galled with despight for this affront, resolves to the combat. So all with one fury leaue the hill, march towards the Eng- lish and offer him bataille.

The Earle of Salisbury makes a stand, to temper the heat of our French, who durst not approach very nere, fearing the furie of their English arrows. This first motion thus slackt, the Earle of Salisbury giues the signe to bataille. Those of Creuant halfe madde, hauing beene some daies besieged, issue forth, and charge on the one side. On the other side, the

E body of the English army, doth march with such violence against the Scots (which were in the first battaillon) as not able to withstand this storme, they open, and giue them entry against the French, who hauing fought resolutely, in the end they leaue the place to the victors. All are in rout. The Marshall of Senerac, forgets his honour, and flies in this disorder. They account the losse about three thousand men. Of marke, the Lords of Fontaines, *Gutry* and *la Baulme*, of Scottis men, the Lord of Karados, nephew to the constable, *Thomas Seton*, *William Hamilton*, with his sonne *David* and *John Pilot*, all worthy of the memory of France, seeing they died for her in the bed of honor.

There were many more taken prisoners then slaine, by the resolution of the captaines, who in this generall ouerthrow (rallying their troupes) intrenched themselves, and fought F for their liues with the English, and saued themselves honourably with their armes. The chiefe prisoners were the constable of Boucquhan, and the Earle of Ventadour. It is a thing worthy remembrance, that either of these two lost an eye in the bataille: this was the 29. day of Iuly. The gaine of this victory to the Bourguignon, was, that Mascon, a towne of the French obedience, yeelded vnto him without any force, but feare.

This continuance of so many losses, was exceeding greuous: but as God ment to chastise

The notable bataille of Creuant vnder the name of France.

1423.

chastise France, and not to ruine it; so he counterpeysed these great losses with some small A  
 gaine. These victorious troupes returning without feare, all disordered, were defeated by  
 the Earle of Aumale, sent by the King to preserve the rest of Champagne: eight hundred  
 English were slaine. But this checke awaked the Earle of Salisbury, Gouvernor of Champag-  
 ne for the English, who having recovered new forces, goes to field to cleere the country.  
 Hee besiegeth and taketh the strong towne of Sedan, in the county of Vertus, and then  
 Rembouillet in Bry, and Neele in Tartenois. Then the tide flowes for the French. The  
 Bourguignon exceeding glad of the seizure of Mafcon, (a towne very important vpon  
 Saone) commanded *Thoulangeon* his Constable, to rid all that the enemy held there a-  
 bouts, and to leaue the trafficke free. La Buissiere a most strong castle betwixt Tournon B  
 and Mafcon, did much annoy it. He resolues to take it by one meanes or other. But hee did  
 not foresee, that in seeking to take, he should be taken. Hee had some familiarity with the  
 captaine of the place. And trusting to the vsuall practices of those times, he did confidently  
 hope to corrupt him with money. He sounds him, and findes it pregnable: they agree vpon  
 the price, but he was ignorant of the captaines meaning, to haue more then his money. A  
 faithfull seruant to the King, and worthy to be named in this Register. The captaine doth ad-  
 uertise *Imbert* of Groslee, the Gouverneur of Lions, of this trafficke, who wisely prouides to  
 take him.

*Lewis* of Cullant Admirall of France, was then happily at Lions, attending some horse  
 for the King, from *Philip Maria* duke of Milan. The plot is laide to surprize this constable C  
 of Bourgongne, and the successe is answerable. *Thoulangeon* comes to Buissiere at the ap-  
 pointed houre, and brings with him men and money. Hee enters the castle, with as many  
 men as he held sufficient, and counts the money to the captaine. Hee having left his troupe  
 in the field, behold the Lionois issue forth their Ambuscado like Lions indeed, some seize  
 vpon the castle gate, and assure the place, others charge his troupe, which was easily defea-  
 ted. The constable with the chiefe that had followed him into the castle were taken, a coun-  
 tercharge which shall deliuer the constable of Boucchan and the Earle of Ventadour, af-  
 ter the battaile of Cullant.

And almost at the same instant, *Stephen* of Vignoles, called *la Hire*, and *Pothon* of Xain-  
 trailles, roused themselves. *Vignoles*, surprisid Compiègne, and *Pothon*, *Han*, vpon the riuier D  
 of Some. But this ioy lasted little, for *John* of Luxembourg, gouernour for the duke of  
 Bourgongne, in Picardy, flies thither, besiegeth, and recouereth both the one and the other  
 with a happy celerity. *Pothon* saues himselfe with much difficulty in Guise (being pursued by  
 the Bourguignons, to their cost that were ill mounted.) Luxembourg managing his victory  
 wisely, attempts other places: he takes Oisy, Broissy, and other small townes of Tirasche, and  
 in the end he besiegeth Guise, where *John Proisy* commanded for the King: *Pothon* (to annoy  
 the besiegers) issues forth of Guise, but being too farre engaged in the fight, hee is taken pri-  
 soner, to make the siege of Guise the more easie, but *Proisy* doth his best indeauour to de-  
 fend it. The towne belonged to *René* of Aniou, duke of Bar, and brother to the King of Si-  
 cilia. He intreates the duke of Bourgongne to leaue it him in peace, but it was in vaine. The E  
 siege is vehemently continued, so as in the end Guise falls into the Bourguignons hands,  
 and so he remains maister of all Picardy. And, as if this storme had fallen vpon *Charles*  
 from all parts, *la Charite* (a very important towne vpon the riuier of Loire) is surprisid by  
*Perrinet Graffet*, for the Bourguignon, and so the terror of the warre came into Berry, much  
 troubling the quiet and commerce of the Court, for that the King most commonly was  
 resident at Bourges, or at Meung.

The like mishap fell vpon *La Hire* at Vitry, the which hee yeelds to the Duke of Bour-  
 gongne, by a composition very preiudiciall for the King and the Realme. And at the same  
 time Beaumont vpon Oyse surprisid by the French, was taken againe by the English, with F  
 much blood and sacke. In like sort the fort of Saint Michels Mont, is besieged by the Eng-  
 lish, and well defended by the French, which caused the victory of Grauelle, happily taken  
 by the baron of Colances from the English, as it were to coole the heat of our continuall  
 feuer with some little water. In sooth the Estate of France was then most miserable. There  
 appeared nothing but a horrible face of confusion, pouerty, desolation, solitarinesse and  
 feare. The leane and bare labourers in the country, did terrifie euen theeeues themselves,  
 who

The Consta-  
 ble of Bour-  
 gongne taken  
 by his owne  
 practice.

*Pothon* of  
 Xaintrailles  
 taken prisoner

A who had nothing left them to spoile but the carcasses of these poore miserable creatures,  
 wandering vp and downe like ghosts drawne out off graues. The least farmes, and hamlets,  
 were fortified by these robbers, English, Bourguignons, and French, euery one struing to  
 doe his worst. There was no speech but of efforts and contributions. All men of warre were  
 well agreed to spoile the countreiman and the naked Marchant, euen the cattell accustomed  
 to the Iarume bel (the signe of the enemies approach) would run home of themselves with-  
 out any guide by this accustomed misery. This is the perfect description of those times, ta-  
 ken out of the lamentations of our Ancestors, set downe in the original. Who seeth not  
 here the Image of our times, during the confusions of our vnciuill warres?

But amidst this horrible calamity, God did comfort both the King and Realme, for a-  
 bout the end of the yeere, hee gaue *Charles* a goodly sonne by *Queene Marie* his wife, a  
 happy gage for the establishing of this realme, whereof hee shalbe a peaceable King. Hee  
 was borne at Bourges, and there was honorably baptized in Saint *Stephens* church, and was  
 named *Lewis*, King of France after the decease of his father. *Charles* would haue *John* of  
 Alençon a prince of his blood, and then his trusty friend, to bee his godfather. But alas!  
 both by this godfather, and this godsonne, shall growe a horrible confusion, euen when as  
*Charles* expected an end of all his troubles. Whereby we may learne, that there is nothing  
 but vanity in worldly affaires, remarkable for great men, in that which seemeth most firme  
 in mans life.

This was the flux & reflux of this yeere. The beginning of the new yeere shewed a better  
 countenance: but these small gleames of good hap, were soone ouercast by horrible losses,  
 which seemed to giue the last wound to this Monarchy, and to alter the name, if God had  
 not staied it with his mighty hand, in laying a foundation whereon hee shall build the  
 meanes to restore it to her ancient beautie, without any shew of the industry or force of  
 man, when as all things seemed desperate. But the prouidence of God creepes on insen-  
 sibly by degrees to perfect his worke. The losse of the Scots was very great in the vnfor-  
 tunate battaile of Cullant. To repaire this losse, *Charles* sends into Scotland, *Kenauld* of  
 Chartre his Chancellor and Archbishop of Rheims, accompanied with the Earle *Douglas*,  
 Marshall of France. And being reduced to a miserable want of money, he ingageeth the Du-  
 chy of Touraine vnto him. A title which *Douglas*, shal not long inioy. But whilest they make  
 this leauy in Scotland, and shall returne to their troupes, let vs consider the humour of the  
 French and English during this medly.

As the successe of the English was happy, so their hearts swelled with pride, and they ex-  
 ceeded daily in Insolencie, especially in great cities, where they braued it disdainfully, as  
 treading the name of Frenchmen vnder foote. This contempt bred an extreame discontent,  
 euen in the most senselesse, to see themselves thus intreated, their Kings suppressed, and  
 their lawes abolished. There were not two yeeres past of this new royalty, and yet dispu-  
 table. How farre, say they, will this English Empire exceed, being augmented and fortified  
 by the authority of many yeeres? Shall it be either to transport new Colonies beyond the  
 seas, or to plant others here, and in the end to extinguish the name of the originall French,  
 to the end that no man shal dare to repine at the ruine of his country, reduced into the pow-  
 er of Strangers? these imaginations were generally in all mens mindes, but com-plaints in the  
 mouths of few, the which they whispered softly to their wel assured friends, but the time was  
 not yet come, although the blood (which cannot degenerate) shewed many signes of hearts  
 discontented with this seruitude, both at Paris, and especially at Rouen, where the English  
 government was most heavy. One *Michell Lailier*, was the beginner of this liberty, and was  
 put to death at Paris, and a woman was burnt, worthy to liue amidst the flames, and to shine  
 in the goodly light of our History.

The Nobility of Picardy was much discontented with this new command. Tournay be-  
 gan first to stirre for the Kings seruice. So immouable is the French obedience to their  
 Kings, and so sweete and pleasing is their command. It was a capitall crime to speake of  
 the King of England, but as the lawfull King. Spies were let in all places, to restraine the  
 liberty of the French. These executions were threatnings of worse, if any should murine.  
 Yet the Nobility of Picardy were so wearied with the English and Bourguignon yoke, as  
 they resolue to free themselves at what rate soeuer. The heads of this resolution, were the  
 Lords

1424.

*Lewis* the xi.  
 the eldest son  
 of *Charles*  
 borne.

New supplies  
 come out of  
 Scotland.

The French  
 grow uncon-  
 tented with  
 the insolency  
 of the English.



Lords of Longueval, Saint Simon, Mailly, M. incur, Recourt, Blondel, and many other gentlemen which had followed the Bourguignons party. These are named. The original should not conceale the rest, whom I could not specific without some author. Behold the first fruits of the French liberty. These Ensigne-bearers assemble at Roy, they fortifie themselves for the King, against the English and the Bourguignon, and take diuers townes in Picardy at a prefixed day. *John* of Luxembourg, thunders against them that were suspected, & some he takes and hangs. At these terrors, some draw back, and left this league. Yet the greatest part remained constant, though with the apparent danger of their liues. These were the pure and true sparkles of the French fidelity to their King, but the day-spring was not yet come, which mounting to our horizon, should in the end shew forth the goodly light of liberty to all France.

These first motions put Charles in some hope of a better Estate: but behold a new check which cooles his courage. At the same time that hee made his leauy in Scotland, the duke of Exeter prepared a great army in England, to relecue the duke of Bedford, his brother, that he might haue means to continue the warres in France. There comes vnto him eight thousand archers, and eightene hundred men at armes. For the imploying of these men, he besiegeth Galardon, and taketh it at his first approach, and without the losse of any houre, hee plants himselfe before Yury, and at the same instant all his forces come to him, vnder the command of the Earle of Salisbury. The army being thus increased, hee preseth the siege. *Girault* of Paliere, held the towne for the King.

The Duke of Bedford summons him to yeeld it. *Girault* demandes respit to aduertise the King. Charles was then at Tours, well accompanied both of his subiects and forraigne friends, for after the defeat of Creuant, fore-seeing that the English would pursue the cause with more violence, he had provided men to oppose against them. The Marshall *Douglas*, Duke of Touraine by his new purchase, had brought him succors from Scotland. The Vicont of Narbonne a goodly troupe from Languedoc, the which was the flower of the whole army. The duke of Alençon, the Earles of Aumale, *Ventadour*, *Tonnerre*, *Douglas*, *Moiry*, the Vicont of Narbonne, the Lords of Falette, Tournon and other Noble men of Marke with their followers were ready to doe their best endeavour. So as he had eightene thousand fighting men. The rendez-uous is in Perche, and they were shortly to march to Yury. The King staies at Chasteaudun. The Constable of Boughan sends to view the enemies countenance. The scouts report the greatnesse of the English army and their diligence at the siege, who being discouered and pursued, hardly escape. They resolute, that in stead of charging the English army, they should besiege Vernueil, (a towne obeying the English,) either to take it, or to make a diuersion from Yury. The first succeeded, for our men approaching to Vernueil with a victorious countenance and bragge, as if the English army had bene defeated, Vernueil opens the gates without any question, and yeelds to the Kings seruice. But this shew of victory cost our French-men deere, who had done better to succour Yury, then in loosing it, to hazard their owne ruine, as it happened afterwards.

*Girault* of Paliere, hauing long and in vaine expected succors, and doubled the prefixed time, hee yeelds to the duke of Bedford, who hauing now no other impediment, hee resolues to fight with our army at his aduantage, for the effecting whereof, he had the better means, by their long stay. Hauing intelligence of the Estate of our army, hee resolued to draw them to battaile, knowing how much it did import to send a victorious soldiär, against one, whom hee hath visually beaten. Hee therefore sends a Herauld to desie them, giuing him charge to direct himselfe to the duke of Touraine, a Scottish-man Marshall of France. To whom he saies. *The Duke of Bedford my maister commanded mee to tell you, that hee comes to drinke with you.* *Douglas* answers him. *That he should be welcome, but he must make some halt, for that ainner was ready.* Vpon this brauado they goe to Counsell. The mischief was, the army had no head, hauing indeed too many. A multitude of Commanders and commandements, is a plague to all good order, and especially in military discipline, which consists wholly, in authoritie. Euery one had varied in his opinion. Some were of aduice to attend the enemy, others thought it fittest to take him at his word, without induring of these brauadoes.

Thus

A Thus their diuident opinions diuident the army, and those which in shew made the armie, ouerthrew it, *Douglas* and Narbonne. *Douglas* said, *Seeing the army is well lodged, hauing a good towne to backe it, to what end should they runne rashly against a victorious enemy? The Narbonnois replies, to endure these brauadoes, were to take away the hearts of the French soldiärs, and to coole their courage without any reason: and what greater indignities might a vanquished man beare?* The duke of Alençon, and the Constable were of the first opinion, but the contention grew so great, as the Vicont sayd, *That if the wiser had nominated to fight, hee would goe and ascend the honour of France with the hazard of his life:* so beeing retired to his quarter, hee commanded to sound a march, notwithstanding the duke of Alençons intreatie to stay and march together. On the other side, the Duke of Touraine, discontented B at the Visconts choller, keepe backe the Scots. But necessitie drew forth the whole army, one battaillion after another. This disorder was the cause they could not choose a fit place of armes, nor dispose of their battaillions. All were in grosse confusedly, without any vanguard. The chiefe of the armie were on foote. They place two wings, and to euery wing a thousand horse. The Italians had the right, and the French the left. In the fore-front of this battaile they planted foure hundred horse, to beginne the skirmish.

The duke of Bedford had oportunitie to dispose better of his army, hee makes a bodie all on foote, where he placeth his chiefe forces, and lodgeth there himselfe. In the front of this body, hee placeth great store of Archers, and euery Archer hath a stake stickt in the ground, to withstand the charge of the horse: Vpon either wing he plants the choise of his most resolute Archers: behind, are his vnarmed people with the baggage, the horses beeing tied close together, taile to taile, with two cordes or withs: but for their gard hee left two thousand choise Archers. In this order he attends the French, whom hee discouers comming a farr off, resolute to fight, with the countenance of conquerours. They were long before they could set their troupes in order, and ranne a full gallop to their death. So as in hurle-burle and hast to fight, they were out of breath before they came to blowes. All the morning is spent in approaches, the two armies fronting one another: a little after noone, a signall is giuen to the battaile; our aduenturers goe to the charge, to trie if they can force the grosse of the English army.

The foure hundred Italian Lances (led by *Cameron* with one eye) made the point, and at the first charge beate backe the English Archers that were in the front. At the same instant, our two wings of horse, charge the English army in flanke, seeking to breake their rankes. The fury of the fight was violent on either side; our men straining to enter into the body of the English foote, and the English labouring to withstand our men with a continuall storme of arrowes. Then, behold our lanciers, hauing forced one side of the battaile, begin to crie, victory, but the first rankes beeing forced, they are seconded by the rest without disorder: and with the like impression, the whole body of the English army raise a great cry, and aduance to the combate. Thus the two armies ioyne with a horrible conflict, which continued aboue an houre, one fleshed against another with a cruell and bloody fury. And E (saies the original) *there were neuer scene two parties of so great power, fight so long without knowledge who were victors.* But behold a new change in our army, our French and Italian horse appointed to force the English battaile, beeing valiantly repulied flie, and leaues our footemen open to the English shot.

Both the battailes had continued long in fight, and that which had made it equall, was not onely the equality of their forces, but the counterpeize of horses, which serued honorably. But the English had a supply of two thousand Archers, referred at the taile of his armie to garde the baggage. The duke of Bedford seeing our foote naked of Launces, resolues to imploy them. So as this fresh Squadron, doubling a fearefull cry, fall violently vpon this wearied troupe, and beeing halfe disordered, disperseth them. Then all are in a route: some flie, others kill. The massacre was exceeding great in this first furie, kindled by the obstinacy of the fight. Yet after this first heate, the English accustomed to our blood, fell to take prisoners. Vernueil was the next retreat, but the gates were shut, fearing least the English should enter pel mel, with them that fled; so as the ditch serued for a graue or a prison to many. Thus the English had the victory, but they bought it full dearely, E e for

The battaile of Vernueil.

The French defeated.



1424. for they lost aboute fiftene hundred men; and our losse was farre greater. Our Histories A confesse fwe thoufand, the English report fiftene thoufand. Yet all was not lost, for *Xaintrailles*, and *La Hire* gathered together a good number of them that fled, and faued them in Mans, the nereft place of retreat.

A braue te-  
ment of Itali-  
ans.  
There happened a memorabile thing in this route. The Italian troupe which had fled, being intrenched in a nere village, to fight for their liues, hauing a false aduertisement that our men had won the victory; they presently part, and come to the place of battaile, being knowne, they are charged by the English, but their retreat was exceeding hardy, for in despite of their army they faued themselves. Being to passe a riuer at the end of certaine hedges, by so narrow a passage as they could goe but one after another, these Lombards B plant their cornets there, as the marke of their way, with sixtene armed men to make a stand, while the troupe should passe. All escape this way without any other harme, then feare: So much order preuailes euen in disorder.

The Noble-  
ment that were  
there.  
This ouerthrow chanced the sixth of August. The losse was the greater, for that it did grauate the former: many great personages were slaine. The Earle of Boughan constable of France, the Marshall *Douglas* (a short time duke of Touraine) the Earles of *Aumale*, *Harcourt*, *Ventadour*, *Tonnerre*, *Moyry*: the Lords of *Grauille*, *Montenay*, *Combrest*, *Fontenay*, *Brunel*, *Tumbler*, *Guitry*, *Paisy*, *Mathe*, *Rambels*, *Lindray*, *Gamaches*, *Malestroict*, *Boyn*, *Rembouillet*, *Harpedane*, *la Treille*, *Fouchouincere*, *la Salle*, *Lappe*, *Rochebaron*, *la Tour*, and many others in great numbers. The Vicount of Narbonne (a rash instrument of this misfortune) was taken by the Bourguignons, and presently hanged, for a punishment, hauing assisted at the massacre of *John* duke of Bourgogne. The chiefe prisoners were, *John* of Bourbon duke of Alençon, and the bastard of this house, the Marshall of Fayette, the Lord of Hormid, *Peter Herisson*, *Lewis* of Vaucourt, *Roger Brouffet*, *Himes* of Saint *Marke*, *James du Pays*, and many others; from whom the English drew great summes of money. *Vernueil* (to augment this misfortune) was yelded by *Rambures*, vpon an honorable composition, with their liues and baggage freed, except that which belonged to the army. The insolent English, spoiled the poore souldiars, when as the Earle of Salisbury arriving, slue one of these treacherous wretches, causing these poore vanquished men to be conducted into Berry or Touraine in good safety.

Vernueil  
taken.

After this notable victory, the duke of Bedford hauing triumphed at Paris, managed this profitable accident to our losse. He presently deliueres these victorious troupes (carrying in their hearts & foreheads, the fortune of England) to the Earle of Salisbury, one of the wisest & most valiant captaines of his army, who imploied them with great successe, for he tooke from *Ambrose de Lore* (a braue and valiant captaine) the forts of *Saint Susanne*, *Mahans*, *la Hines*, *la Ferte-Benard*, as the remainders of this shipwracke, and in the end hee carried it to the towne of Mans, although the fidelity of the inhabitants yelded him their obedience more slowlie, and with greater difficultie. The English insolencie increased daily and apparently, like the swelling of a riuer. Watches were set to obserue all such as did but mutter for their libertie. The Lords of *Maucourt* and *Rocomp* were put to death, as guilty of high treason. The goods of such as were absent, were confiscate. In France it was a great crime to be a Frenchman.

The miserable  
estate of  
Charles in di-  
uers ferts.

But as one mischiefe comes not alone, and grieve vpon grieve procures no health, these misfortunes which touched the members, had almost ruined the head: for this lamentable battaile of *Vernueil* (which made all France to mourne) had almost thrust *Charles* into his graue. Besides these generall losses, this poore prince was surcharged with many difficulties: the incredible burthen of his pouertie, and the reproches of his subiects, accusing him as the author of these banquerout losses, which chanced daily to his armies and townes. Thus hee was abandoned both of himselfe, and his subiects, his great and many afflictions hauing killed his courage, and lost his credit with the people. In this disgraceful necessity, there was no speech but of ingaging the reuenues of the crowne, to pay the garrisons of places, which else would bee lost. The Kings table failed daily: hee ate no more in publike, but sparingly in his Chamber, attended on by his domesticall seruants. The Historie notes, that as *Pothon* and *la Hire* came to him to *Chasteaudun*, to require succours, they found him at Table with a rumpe of Mutton, and two Chickens: and yet in this extreme

extreme

A extreme pouertie of his, the great men got of all hands. The duke of Alençon had Niort in Poitou, and the bastard of Orleans the county of Gyan, for money they said had bene lent for the Kings seruice, who auowed all and paid all, for nothing. But that which was of harder digestion, was the continuall discontent of his subiects against him, as if (neglecting his affaires) he had abandoned himselfe to the loue of faire *Agnes*. A blot which doth yet blemish the name of *Charles* the feuenth, in the generall concept of the French nation, registered as a certaine truth, by the writers of our time, which haue written of that reigne. As it is my courte to search the originalls, and not to alleadge any new writer for an Author, so haue I carefully noted what the Ancients did obserue. *Alain Charretier* the Kings Secretary, saies nothing, *Monstrelet* speakes but vpon occasion, in the end of this reigne.

The King re-  
proched for  
the loue of  
faire.

B And for as much (saith hee) as the King did see her willingly, the common fame was, that he kept her dishonestly, for the vulgar is more inclined to speake ill then well. But the loue which the King did shew her, was for her pleasing behauiour, and eloquent speech, and also for that he was of all faire creatures the fairest. The History of *Saint Denis*, written by the Historiographer of France, doth cleerly excuse him in these tearmes. I a Chronicler, desiring to write the truth, haue duly informed my selfe, and without falsifying of the truth, doe finde by Knights, Councillors, Physitians, Surgians and other domesticall seruants, examined by oth, as appertained to my charge, to the end to free the people from scandal; that during fwe yeers that faire *Agnes* liued with the Queene, the King neuer frequented her but in great company nor in the absence of the Queene: hee neuer vied any lalciuous countenance vnto her, nor touched her beneath the chin. And after his sports; *Charles* retired himselfe vnto his lodging, and *Agnes* vnto hers. But he loued her for that she was pleasant and young, among the fairest, seeking all kind of delights to sweeten his thoughts and cares. These are his very words. But how soeuer, this scar remaines vpon *Charles* his face, that hee neglected his affaires, loosing both his time and iudgement with this woman, and in his gardens; the which blemished his reputation much, euen with his enemies, who held him for an idle person, and of small valour. But as this report made him contemptible, so the insolent behauiour of his Mignons made him hatefull, for that vnder his authority, these horseleeches oppressed the people, and tooke all reward from such as had ventured their liues for the Kings seruice.

D Thus this poore prince, surcharged with many difficulties, was so discouraged, as hee had not any care to preserue himselfe by armes how soeuer, but imploied all his spirits to finde some meanes of an accord, at what price soeuer, with the duke Bourgogne and Brian. But he was much deceiued, for they had all conspired his ruine, and euery one pretended a part in this confiscation. The duke of Sauoy looked for a share, and *Lewis* of Chalon prince of Orange, was in hope to make himselfe great with the remainders of this spoile. But where the wisdom of man ended, there the prouidence of God began, who prouided meanes for *Charles*, the which he could not foresee, neither by his industrie or authority; that the restoring of this realme might be knowne to proceed from the miraculous bounty of God, the Gardien of this estate.

*Charles* desires  
an accord  
with Britany  
and Bour-  
gogne.

E We haue shewed, with what care the duke of Bedford had built an vnion with the dukes of Bourgogne and Britany, to confirme the English affaires in France. *Arthur* of Britany Earle of Richmond, brother to the duke of Britany, began to make a breach in this alliance. He had married one of the Burguignons sisters, and Bedford the other. This *Arthur* was a prince of good iudgement, who gouerned his brother wholly, and had a great interest in his brother in law of Bourgogne. Hee shall helpe much in the restoring of this Estate, vniting the hearts of Princes distracted from the King; but his soure complexions did much distemper *Charles*, who shall pay deere for the fruites of his seruice; as the course of the Historie will declare. The Duke of Bedford being at Paris, mightily puffed vp with his victories, plained the King: this insolent greatnesse, which made him odious to the French (although they durst not shew it) was likewise hatefull to his owne faction.

The league  
with England  
shaken.

F Man hath alwaies the miserie that hee seekes, and is the plotter of his owne misfortune. This pride bred a iarre betwixt him and the Earle of Richmond, and made a way to the generall diuision of these confederate princes, and reunion of the whole realme. Richmond was come vnto him, to bee imploied in some honorable charge, fit for his houle and person,

Bedford and  
Richmont,  
brother to the  
Duke of Brit-  
tan, at first,  
being bro-  
thers in law.

1424. person, making great esteeme of his loue, whereof their alliance seemed an assured gage. A But hee found nothing but discontents. *Arthur* was of a French humour, nourished in the mildnesse of our Kings, bred vp in their armes, and had bene prisoner for them at the battaile of Azincourt: the time onely had with-drawne him from the Kings seruice, whom euery man held lost. The pride of Bedford reuiued in him this first affection: so as not able any longer to accord with the English, he resolues to seeke all meanes to recouer the Kings good grace and fauour, and to ingage his brother the Duke of Brittain.

*Arthur of Brittain leues the English.*

Thus he leaues the Duke of Bedford, and retires to his house with this discontent. There fallies out a fitte occasion to aduance this businesse, to the good liking of *Richemont*, for the office of Constable was voide, by the death of the Earle of Boucqhian, slaine in the battaile of Vernueil. *Charles* sleepees not at these newes; but as if hee had attended some good opportunity, he presently sends a trusty Gentleman to the Earle of Richemont, to offer him his loue, and for a gage thereof, the dignity of the Constable of France, with all aduantages that a King may honour his seruant with. This first summons Richemont tooke reasonable well: but he answered; that hee could not doe any thing with-out his brother the Duke of Brittain: with whom hauing conferred, he would presently aduertise *Charles* of his resolution. But as the Kings vrgent necessity made him to reckon the minutes, so the tediousnesse of the Brittons answer made him to languish.

His counsell likewise allowed well of this league, the which shall prooue more trouble-some vnto him, then honourable, and more preiudicial then profitable vnto France. *Charles* C (without attending any answer from Richemont) sends *John Louuet*, President of Prouence, one of the chiefe fauourites then in credit: but hee remembered not that hee was in dislike with these Princes, so as *Louuet* returned without any effect. Yet *Charles* (loth to loose this opportunity, and to giue the English any time to reconcile himselfe to these Brittons,) sends to him with all speed a very honourable Ambassage, which was *Toland* of Arragon, Queene of Sicile his mother in lawe, with *Tannequy* of Chastell, being very acceptable to these two bretheren. Their comming did greatly aduance this businesse. They preuailed so farre as the Duke of Brittain, and the Earle of Richmont his brother, were both ready to embrace the Kings friendship, and to doe him seruice, so as the Duke of Bourgongne would yeeld vnto it: and in the meane time (to draw this businesse to some good end) Richmont D should goe and treat with his Maiesty, vpon good hostages for his safety. This condition was accepted by *Charles*: and to loole no time, the Lord of Albret and the bastard of Orleans, were sent vnto him for hostages, and the townes of Chinon, Loches, Lusignan and Meung, were giuen him for assurance vntill the end of the treaty, and ample passports made to go and come with all liberty. This worke began this yeare in Noueniber, and shall end the next yeare with a notable successe.

But the Duke of Bourgongne embraced another notable occasion, which shall more preiudice the English, then this occurrent of Brittain. Wee haue said that this leauin was layd in the yeare 1423, by the marriage of *Iaqueline*, Countesse of Hainault, Holland and Zeland, a wife contended for by two husbands; the Duke of Brabant, cousin germaine and a deere friend to the Duke of Bourgongne; and the Duke of Glocester brother to the Duke of Bedford, and vnle to Henry the sixt King of England, two great parties which shall diuide the Dukes of Bedford and Bourgongne, and shall bee the meanes to reconcile the Bourguignon to *Charles*, and reduce him to the obedience of this crowne, expell the English out of France, and restore the realme. But the prouidence of God, which goes insensibly by degrees aboue mans conceipt, must be distinctly considered.

About the end of this yeare, *Iaqueline* of Hainault comes out of England with the Duke of Glocester her second husband, fortified with an army of siue thousand English. She caused the Nobility and the Citties to renue their othes, both to her and the Duke of Glocester her lawfull husband. All the Nobility obeyes this commandement, except the Earle of Conuersan, *John* of Lumont, *Angilbert* of Anghien, and all Townes except Hals. The Duke of Bourgongne greatly affected this quarrell. The Duke of Bedford foreteeing the danger that might grow by the Burguignons discontent, labours to suppress it in the breeding, and to that end he drawes them to Paris with their friends, but in vaine. The one strues to inioy his estates, and the other to hinder him. So as whilest the cause is disputed in the Court

A notable proceesse of *Iaqueline* against her husband, supported by the Bourguignon.

A Court at Rome, the armies prepare on either side to end it by blood and spoile. The Glocesterian begins, and the Bourguignon followes. So the end of this yeere is the beginning of a warre of foure whole yeeres, but it shalbe ended in fauour of the Bourguignon. This new yeere shalbe spent in the altercations of the Court and Britan.

1425.

The Earle of Richmont comes to Tours to *Charles*, as he had promised to the Queene of Sicilia, but not able to resolue any thing without the consent of the duke of Bourgongne, (as we haue saied) the King seeing it very necessary he should goe to him, doth send to him a very honorable Ambassage, *Lamis* of Bourbon, Earle of Clermont, a prince of his blood, the Archbishop of Rheims, and the bishop of Puy. The end of their negotiation was double, that the duke of Bourgongne should like of the alliance betwixt the King and the princes of Brittain, and that he himselfe should be reconciled vnto him, to liue and continue good friends, as they were nere in blood. The first was fully concluded with the Bourguignons consent, the other was susperided. The causes are specified, for that *Philip* could not with honestie let slip the death of his father, whereof *Charles* was the Author, this reconciliation could not bee well effected, vnlesse that *Charles* did chafe from him all such as had dipped their hands in this massacre, either as fautors or as executioners. They were specified by name, *John Louuet* president of Prouence, *Tannequy* of Chastell, *William d' Auangour*, *John* of Giac, sonne to that Lady of Giac, who perswaded *John* Duke of Bourgongne, to goe to *Charles* at Montfreaux-faut Yonne, where hee was slaine. But these were but colours, for notwithstanding their absence from Court, yet the Bourguignon seemed to bee nothing inclined to the Kings seruice. In effect, hee stood watching the oportunitie to effect his designs, and so entertained time, to keepe the stakes, as the whole courie of the Historie will declare. *Charles* employing all his friends and meanes, intreats *Amedee*, Duke of Sauioy to bee a mediator of this accord. In respect hereof he comes to Monuel in Bresse, but in truth this was but a shadow. They all sought to get from *Charles*, and so watched for opportunity. Yet the Bourguignon made all shewes of his seruice vowed to the King and the establishment of France, which hee lamented infinitely to bee fallen into the hands of Strangers. He spared no chere nor entertaynement for the Ambassadors, and for a gage of sincere loue, *Philip* giues his yongest sister *Anne*, in marriage to the Earle of Clermont, but with an intent to winne a prince of the blood nere the King. Thus the Bourguignon leueled alwaies at this marke, and did nothing but with an intent to maintaine his greatnesse at what price soeuer.

In the meane time the meaner smart for the follie of great men. At the returne of these Ambassadors, the Court is in an vprore, *Charles* greues to chafe away his seruants, which could not be done but in contempt of his authority. And yet the Ambassadors cried out, that without it they should not effect any thing: and the more they staied the execution, the more they hindred the Kings seruice. *D' Auangour* parted first with the good liking both of King and Court. *Gyac* made his peace, by the meadiation of the Queene of Sicilia, who had all power in this action. The King was wonderfully discontented for the departure of *Tannequy* of Chastell, whom he called father. A man beloued & of amiable conditions. But there was no remedy. He had giuen the chiefe stroake to *John* of Bourgongne. So likewise hee protested without any difficulty, to retire himselfe whether soeuer his maister should command him.

The M'gnons chafed from Court.

Hee beseeched him to giue him an authentick certificate, that it was not for any fact of his, but for the good of his seruice. Hee obtaines it, and a promise withall, that his offices should bee continued him. Thus he retires to Beaucaire in Languedoc, and the office of Prouost of Paris remained to him still, with the fee, and a good reputation with all men, to haue bene a good seruant to the King, and carefull of the publike good. *John Louuet* president of Prouence, disputed his departure with some bitterness, and obstinacy. What iniustice is it (saith hee) to condemne a man without hearing? What breach, to vse the Kings seruants thus; for an others pleasure? but not onely the Bourguignon and the Britan hated him to the death, but also the Court and people did detest him. A man of a high minde, cunning, obstinate, reuengefull, cruell. Great men hated him, as crossing their affaires with the King, abusing his tractable disposition, and meane men, as the horse-leech and the sponge of the publike treasure, and a man without mercie. The Bourguignon

1426. hated him as the first motiue of his Fathers murther; and the Britton, as hauing giuen counsell to the Earle of Ponthieure to take him prisoner at Chantonceaux. Hauing gotten great wealth and impouerished the King and the Realme, he had matched his daughters in good houses. The one, with the Earle of Dunois a bastard of Orleans, the other with the Lord of Joyeuse. The respect of this alliance saued his life. He was safely conducted to Auignon, and from thence he retires into Prouence, without any other fame then to haue governed the King ill. His daughter of Joyeuse died with thought, for her fathers disgrace. *Gyac* returns into grace more then before, hauing purchased the fauour of the Queene of Sicily: but hee shall loone pay for these imaginations of happinesse, not onely succeding the president in his misfortune, but also loosing his life after an ignominious fort.

These men thus chafed away, the Constable of Richmont went for his brother *John* duke of Brittain, who came to *Charles* to Saumur: he tooke the oath of fidelitie, offering him all seruice. The Bourguignon speakes not yet one word for the King; onely he forbears to make warre against him, hauing a plausible excuse, for his not sending any more men to the Duke of Bedford, being busied for the Brabantine, against the Glocestrian, in the warre of Haynault and Holland. So this accident bred some ease to *Charles*, but no reliefe. During these confusions in Court, Mans was lost, and after it the rest of Mayne obeyed the Earle of Salisburie. But the Constable of Richmont, (being freed from those domesticall crosses which might hinder his credit with the King) would make prooue of his valour, in arming the Brittons against the English. And as in the beginning all is good; at this first command all Brittain riseth, and runnes to this warre. But these troupes being raised, and not yet ioyned to frame the bodie of an armie; behold the Earle of Warwicke marcheth suddenly with a goodly armie, gathered out of all the garrisons of Normandie, the inhabitants of Townes, and the Nobilitie of the countrie, with great speede, who beseegeth and taketh Pontorson, a towne vpon the confines of Normandie and Brittain, neere Saint *Michaels* Mount. This prickt forward the Constable, to whom this scorne belonged. After that Warwicke was retired, hauing left a garrison in his conquest, behold the Constable comes to Pontorson with his Brittons, he beseegeth it, beates, and takes it by force, making a great slaughter of the English.

This successe gaue him courage to passe on: the towne of Saint *James* of Beuueron did much disquiet that countrie. He attempts it, hoping to be succoured with men and money from France: but hauing words alone without effects, his Brittons (being for the most part voluntaries) slippe away daily, notwithstanding any preuention of the Constables, who resolved (before this warlike multitude had abandoned him) to make profit of his presence, and to giue a generall assault. The neerenesse of Auranches (where the Earle of Suffolke with *Seales*, (famous captaines among the English remained with goodly troupes) gaue him occasion of feare, least they should charge his men in the heate of the assault. To this end, he sends forth two thousand men out of the bodie of his armie, to meete with these imagined English.

The Commanders hauing discovered euen to the gates of Auranches, and found nothing, they resolve to returne to the armie, not giuing the Constable any other aduertisement. The Brittons being at the assault, seeing those men come, suppose them to be English, and fearing to be coopt in, hauing an enimie both before and behind, they resolve to leaue their ladders, and retire to their campe. Their retreat was somewhat difficult, by reason of a poole with a narrow causey, which they had wonne with great labor and paine. The beseegeed seeing the Brittons forsake the wals, fallly forth courageously after them, and recover the quarter abandoned, where there was a point that flanked the poole, in the which they plant threescore archers. There were eight or nine hundred Brittons shut vp betwixt the wals and the poole: so as from this recovered point, they might choofe them one after one. The rest of the English garrison issuing forth the towne furiously, put these amazed Brittons to the sword, who are either gauled with English arrowes, like beasts in a toyle, or with a desperate courage leape into the poole. Thus lesse then 500. hundred men, ouerthrew about eight thousand. The campe was abandoned and spoiled, 18. ensignes lost, with the banner of Brittain: many prisoners were taken, after the English had bene wearied with killing. The principall that were slaine, were the Lords of Molac, Coitiuy, la Motte, and many captaines

A captaines of marke. The artillery, engins, and all the rest of the munition remained for a pawne. This vnseasonable alarm, greatly troubled the Constable, who was now become all the hope of the French, as if he carryed all France vpon his shoulders like another *Atlas*. To repaire this ridiculous disgrace, he raiseth new forces in Brittain with all speed, he ioynes vnto him the troupes of *Ambrose* of Lore to be assisted with his valour, and hauing giuen them their pay, hee causeth them to march into Aniou, where hee takes la Fleche, Gale-rande, Beaufort, Malicorne, and so reuiues the hearts of his men after so notable a losse, and kept his enemy in awe. From thence hee goes to Court, where there were other desseignes then to fight with the English. A man fitter to braue it in a counsell of State, then to dispute a battaile or the siege of a towne. Hee came to Court to be the author of many confusions during this yeare: and on the other side, his brother the Duke of Brittain, before it passe, shall leaue the party of France, and reconcile him selfe vnto the English, that the honour of our deliuerance might be giuen to God, the gardian of this Monarchie, and not to these Princes of Brittain, to whom *Charles* was too much affected, in buying their friendship so deere, being euen then vnprofitable, when as hee had greatest need: yet in their season, all these instruments worke to restore our decayed estate. But these were the Constables good seruices. After this shamefull disgrace, hee seekes to couer his fault, exclaiming first against the King, as if hee had bene the cause of this infamous disorder happened at Saint *James*, and hauing too freely discovered his griefes vnto the King, he presumed to take *John* of Malestroit Chancellor of Brittain prisoner, as being particularly charged to solicite the payment of such money as was appointed for this Britton army. *Charles* was much offended with this presumption, and in despight of the Constable, caused *Malestroit* to be presently released, and sent into Sauoy. The Constable was greatly discontented with this proceeding, the which hee tooke as an affront done to his person, and resolves to be reuenged. So great were the confusions of that age, as the seruant durst prescribe a Lawe to his maister, and his counsell bandie against him to controule his will. Yea the Princes of the bloud (so great was the corruption of that wretched age) were the chiefe controulers of the Kings actions. Then was there nothing more miserable than France, who discontented with her King, nourished the ambition of many Kings. This iealous ambition did nothing cure the infirmities of our Estate. *Charles* found it lost, hee could not raise it alone. To debase his authority was no meanes to cure the confusions of the realme. And as there is nothing more troublesome then affliction, the French nation being then extremely afflicted, did nothing amend their condition, in casting vpon the King the reproches of their calamities.

This was to depriue them-selues of their head, wherein consists the whole life of the body. An vnreasonable discontent. The whole body of the State was sicke, and this distasted people would haue their head sound. A notable circumstance, for it is strange, that (after so many miseries) this domesticall confusion had not bene the vtter ruine of the State. But let vs returne to our discourse. The Constable had great credit with the Counsell, whom in the beginning the King had greatly countenanced: but the priuate practises, and the generall discontent of great persons, had made him halfe a King, to crosse the Mignons whom all men hated. Great men hated them, as possessing the King, and the people detested them, as managing all things at their pleasure, to the preiudice of the common-weale. There were two Mignons that did greatly vex them, *Gyac* and *Camus* of Beaulieu. They resolve by a generall consent to dispatch them.

The Princes, with the Lords of Albret and Tremouille (who had a great interest in the State), were of the party. But the Constable must do the execution. The matter concluded betwixt them, was thus executed: *Gyac* was taken in bed with his wife, carryed to Dun le Roy, condemned and executed: that is, he was put into a sack and cast into the riuer. The Constable performed this office, without any other forme of lawe, then his bare command. Afterward *Camus* borne in Auvergne, as hee walked in the Kings lodging, was venturously slaine, by a soldiari belonging to the Marshall of Bouillac. *Charles* vnderstood it, and in a manner, toucht the bloud of his two domesticall seruants, being wonderfully discontented: but the time (which did authorise these confusions) caused him to swallowe this pill quietly. *Tremouille* married *Gyacs* widow, the heire of *Lisle-Bouchart*, and entred newly

Richmont  
stirs vp new  
troubles in  
Court.

He exclaimes  
agaist the  
King.

A dangerous  
waywardnesse  
to make the  
King odious  
or contempt-  
ible.

The Kings  
Mignons  
slaine by the  
Counsell.

1426. newly in credit with the King, giuing him to vnderstand that all was for his seruice, so as there was no more speech thereof: euery man shut both eyes and eares. But *Tremouille* shall haue his turne: hee shall leaue some of his haire, and hardly saue the mould of his doublet. Thus the affaires of the Court ebbed and flowed, the which raise vp one, and cast downe another. In this deceitfull manner of life, there is nothing certaine but incertenty, fauours being giuen not by desert, but most commonly by a blind appetite, which hath no other iudgement, but the apprehension of weake heads, diuiding the happinesse of a Courtiers life into quarters, this day to one, and to morrow to another. A goodly lesson for such as are fauoured in Court, not to bee transported with vaine hope, toyes to deceiue the indiscrete. The surest gards of prosperity, are integritie, wisdom, modesty and patience to remember aduersity in prosperity, according to the precepts of the wise.

This was the good government of the Constable of Richmond, a bold practiser of these domesticall confusions, whilst the Bourguignon plyed his businesse. Wee haue made mention of the sute of *Iaqueline*, Countesse of Hainault and Holland, for *Humphrey* Duke of Gloucester, her pretended husband, against *John* Duke of Brabant, her lawfull husband, for so had Pope *Martin* pronounced it, in fauour of the Brabantin; but from law they goe to armes. The Bourguignon supported the Brabantin. These Princes (hauing prepared their forces,) begin by writing. The Gloucesterian accuseth the Bourguignon of couetousnesse and treachery. The Bourguignon giues him the lye: but from reproches they fall to armes. The Bourguignon offers the Gloucesterian to end the question by combat: and by that tryall to auoide the effusion of their Souldiars blood. The Gloucesterian accepts it: all is prepared for the combat: but the Duke of Bedford interposeth his authority. To this end hee calls the chiefe men of all estates to Paris, to quench this fire, and by common aduice decrees; *That that day should bee disannulled, neither should it bee prejudiciall to eyther party*. That is to say, All being well viewed and considered, there was no iust cause for either to call the other to this wilfull combat, from the which they could not depart, although it were accepted, without great prejudice to both their honours. In the meane time, neither the Popes authority, nor the Regents decree, by the generall aduice of the States could preuaile, but all burst forth into open warre. The Bourguignon proued the stronger: so as the Gloucesterian (leaving *Iaqueline* at Mons) posted into England for new forces, but all was in vaine, the Bourguignon making his profit of this Princes absence, did easily effect his desire, hauing no oposite but a woman, dishonored for her infamous adulteries. Hee failes not to enter Hainault with a strong army, and vseth all force to reduce this people to reason.

The Country seeing it selfe pressed by the Bourguignons forces, (neither hoping for, nor desiring any succours from England, and perswaded that *Iaqueline* supported a bad cause) resolue to obey the stronger. Hauing to that effect protested vnto their Lady, what they thought fitting for their duty, they seaze on her person, and deliuer her into the hands of the Duke of Bourgongne. *Philip* receiues her honorably, and promisseth her all offices of friendship to comfort her. From Mons hee causeth her to bee conducted with a goodly traine to Gand, by *Lewis* of Chaalons, Prince of Orange, a braue Noble-man. The Gantois employ their meanes to honour her. This great liberty gaue her meanes to make an escape from this goodly cage: so as hauing practised some for her guide, shee disguiseth her selfe in the habit of a man, and retires from Gand to Breda, where shee doth assure the riuier of Garide, and doth solicit the townes of Holland by her Agents. The Bourguignon (fore-seeing by these beginnings a long continuance of trouble) lies thether with his army. He enters the Country; at the first they all resist him, for the respect the subiects bare to their Lady. But as the inconueniences of warre increased dayly, and that *Philip* did shew by public writings and priuate practises, that whatsoeuer he did, was to maintaine the right of the lawfull husband, many townes yielded vnto him. At this time *John* Duke of Brabant, the lawfull husband of *Iaqueline*, dyes in the Castell of Leneuure, hauing instituted *Philip* of Bourgongne his heire. The Citties seeing the Bourguignon supported both by force, and right, follow him by a common consent, as twise a Conqueror, and perswade their Lady not to oppose her selfe obstinately against so reasonable a necessity.

So without any other force, but the happy successe of the stronger, an accord was made betwixt

A betwixt *Philip* Duke of Bourgongne, and *Iaqueline* Countesse of Hainault and Holland, vpon these conditions: *That Iaqueline doth acknowledge her Cousin, Philip Duke of Bourgongne, for the lawfull heire of her countries, and from thenceforth doth make him Gouverneur of Hainault, Holland, and Zeland. All these estates should take their oath and do homage of fealtie vnto Philip. All fortresses should be deliuered into his hands, and shee promisseth neuer to marrie without his consent*. Thus *Philip* was honourably receiued throughout all these Estates, to the content of some and discontent of others, according to their diuers humours: but force contented all. *Iaqueline* made a good shew, yet greatly discontented to see him her master. Such was the Tragi-comedic of this long suite, for the quiet of these Estates, and the greatnesse of the Duke of Bourgongne, who made his profit of all sides, for soone after *William* Earle of Namur, left him the Earledome of Namur, whereof hee takes possession, to the great discontent of the Liegeois, as we shall see hereafter. This greatnesse of the Duke of Bourgongne bred ieaousie in the Duke of Bedford, he being assisted by the duke of Brittain his open enemy, and the Earle of Richmond Constable of France, whome hee sees hourly to grow great in his authoritie.

Thus fearing more mischief to fall vnto him by that meanes, he resolues to fortifie himselfe with new helpes, and to this end he goes into England, leauing the affaires of France, in charge of the Earles of Warwicke, Suffolke, and Salisburie. His stay was not long, necessity pressed him. He obtaines both men and money, fit remedies to preuent a storme. C He returns into France with ten thousand men, and a notable summe of money for their pay. For the good employment of these new forces, he resolues to beseege Montargis, a dangerous thorne, both for the neerenesse to Paris, and the conuerse of the Bourguignon, who continued his desseines, notwithstanding the still ieaousie of these Princes. The charge of this seege was giuen to the Earles of Warwicke and Suffolke, with three thousand men: the rest were dispersed in Normandie, and in townes bordering vpon Picardie, for feare of the Bourguignon, in whom he had no confidence. Montargis is beleeged, and although the waters hindered their approach to the walles, yet within few daies it was fiercely battered by the English, and valiantly defended by the French.

They cry out for succor, but the affaires in Court were so wonderfully confused, (by the intestine ieaousies of great men) that one gazed vpon another, yet no man stirred, although *Charles* continually cried, to armes. In the end they begin to march: and although the Constable had busied himselfe in this leaue, yet fearing the example of *Saint James*, hee would not hazard himselfe in the leading thereof, pretending many excuses to saue himselfe from blowes. For want of him, the charge was giuen to the Earle of Dunois a bastard of Orleans: to *William* of Albret Lord of Orual, to the Lords of Gaucourt, Guitry, Grauille, Villars, *la Hire*, *Gyles* of Saint Simon, *Gualter* of Brosard, *John Steuard* a Scot, and other valiant Captaines, who led fifteene or sixteene hundred fighting men. Their purpose was only to victuall the beleeged, whilst the King raised greater forces in the Countries of his obedience. The Constable remained at Iargeau attending the issue, which succeeded more happily then the desseine of so slight a succour. The Earle of Dunois doth aduertise the beleeged of his approach.

The riuier forced the English to make three lodgings, those within the towne had cunningly surprized the bridges vpon the riuier of Loing, and after the succours had secretly recovered the *Rendez-vous*, those within the towne stopped the course of the water so artificially, as the riuier ouerflowes the bridges. At the same instant all the troupes charge the English: *la Hire* leading the first troupe, chargeth the quarter where the Lord de la Poole, brother to the Earle of Suffolke commanded, and crying *Montioye S. Denis* he fills all with confusion, killing, burning, and spoiling: *de la Poole* with much adoe saues himselfe with leauen more, in his brothers lodging in the Abbey without the towne, vpon the way to Nemours. The Earle of Dunois (whose *Rendez-vous* was towards the Castle,) hauing ioyned with the Towne-men (who were issued forth with great resolution) chargeth the bodie of their armie, the which he wholly defeated.

The slaughter was great, for so small troupes, for they numbred sixteene hundred slaine vpon the place. In this charge the Earle of Suffolke, fauoured by the waters, gathers together all he can in his quarter, and recouers the hills, to make his retreat to Chasteau-Landon,

The Duke of Bedford brings new forces out of England.

The seege of Montargis.

The Duke of Bourgongne receiveth on Iaqueline Countesse of Hainault.

made heire of Brabant.



1424. don, and Nemours, places vnder the English command, and of nearest retreat. The honor A of this happy successe, was attributed to the Earle of Dunois, whereat the King receiued an incredible content, as a refreshing to this burning feuer, and the Constable *Richmond* a grievous discontent, beeing absent: and so this yeare ended.

But the new yeare will shew what fruites Brittain yeelded to France during her great necessities. This cheeke at Montargis did somewhat coole the Duke of Bedfords heate, but the Constables ambition nothing at all; who hauing vndertaken to play the king with the king, fought to croffe all the humors of this Prince: he hated what he loued, disallowed what he allowed, and dispraised what he commended. After the violent death of *Gyac* (of whome we haue spoken) he had fauoured *Tremouille*, to plant him in the Kings good fauour. But as am- B bition hath neither faith nor honestie, *Tremouille* finding himselfe inward with the King, retains all fauour for himselfe, little esteeming both the Constable and the Princes. Hee did onely associate vnto him in credit, *Prie* and *la Borde*, men of small accompt, to vse them at his pleasure, Icalousie mounts againe vpon the Stage: the Princes, Constable and chiefe officers of the Crowne, in steade of taking counsell to pursue the good successe of Montargis, they combine together to worke their willes vpon *Tremouille*, and his partisans, as they had done vpon *Gyac*. The plot was orderly layed. *James* of Bourbon, Earle of Clermont, and *Charles* of Bourbon Earle of Marche, Princes of the Bloud, become heads of this league against *Tremouille* and his companions. The league is thus plotted. *Forasmuch as the King is gouerned by base people, to the contempt of the Princes and Officers of the Crowne, and to the C great oppression of the poore people, the confederates meane to punish these Flatterers, abusing the Kings name and authoritie, and to approach neare vnto his maiestie, to gouerne the affaires for the good of his seruice, and the ease of France.* The execution must begin with the seizure of *Tremouille*, and continue with *Prie* and *la Borde*. The Constable should take *Tremouille*, and the Princes were to seaze on the City of Bourges, where *Prie* and *la Borde* were in the great Towre, and so to punish them.

But this enterprise came to naught, for *Tremouille* hauing intelligence of this desseigne, not onely preferred himselfe, but hauing perswaded the King, that this complot was made against his owne person and authoritie, it so troubled *Charles*, as he came in person to Bourges, and preuented the Princes entrie, and without any more disguizing hee was strangely D incensed against the Constable, as the author of these troubles and confusions, forbidding the cities to receiue him. The Constable notwithstanding smothered this disgrace, and to shew the deuotion he had to the Kings seruice, he goes to field, gathers together a goodly troupe of Brittons, and puts himselfe into Pontorfon, a towne abandoned: hee fortifies it, and mans it with a good garrison, vnder the command of *Monsieur de Restrenan*, and *Braufort*. This done, he dismisseth his Brittons. The Earle of Warwicke watched all occasions to surprize the towne, when as behold these two gouernours minister a fit meane: for (making a roade towards Auranches) they are both taken. Warwicke marcheth presently to the walles of Pontorfon with his armie. The Constable sends *Bertrand* of Dinan, Marshall E of Brittain speedily with great succours. Yet the seege continues obstinately. New supplies are sent thera by the Duke of Brittain, the which were cut in peeces. Pontorfon after much paine coming to a parle, in the end yeelds to the English, the besieged departing with bagge and baggage.

But this was not the end of this victorie: the English armie increased both in number and courage by this happy successe, and threatens Brittain with fire and sword. They prepare to enter. *John* Duke of Brittain wearied with so many losses, and fearing worse, making no accompt of the succours of France, (to whom he was coldly affected) takes part with the Duke of Bedford, renounceth all other alliances, promisseth to acknowledge the King of England for King of France, and to take the oath of obedience, such as his predecessours were accustomed to do to the Kings of Fraunce. Behold the great good which Brittain brought to our countrie in her extreamest afflictions, after so many hopes and imbracings. This yeare is painefull, shamefull, and confused, but the fore-runner of a worthie deliuerance. Take courage then my countrymen in the remainders of this tempest. We haue said, that after that miserable battell of Vernueil, the towne of Mans yeelded to the English. The inhabitants not able to beare the imperious command of the English, resolute in the end F to

A to shake off that yoke: For the effecting whereof, they seaze vpon a gate, giuing intelligence thereof to the Lord of Oruall, brother to the Lord of Albret, who happily arriues, takes the Cittie, and cuts the English in peeces. The Earle of Suffolke was within the castle. Mans surprized from the English. *Talbot* (that renowned Capitaine) was at Alençon, he aduertiseth him of this surprife. *Talbot* prepares his succours with such silence, and flies thither with such speede, as hee arriues at Mans, the third day after the surprife. Our Frenchmen (transported with ioy for so noble a conquest, and fearing no enemy among so many enemies, both politicke and discontented) slept securely in their beds after the French manner, without feare or guard. When as *Talbot* (hauing entred the Cittie by scaling) surpriseth them in their beddes, and killes them without resistance. And recouered againe.

B A notable example, both to imitate and to flie; to flie, that through carelesnesse we suffer not our selues to bee surprized like Swine. It is the very terme wherewith the Historie doth blemish this brutish sloath: to imitate, not to hold any thing impossible, when as resolution doth accompanie him that hath any notable attempt in hand. But this victorie staies not at Mans: the Earle of Suffolke, with his braue *Talbot* goes to field, they march to Laual (a towne of importance, vpon the confines of Anjou and Brittain) they take it easily, by the onely terror of their victorious armes, encountring no enemy to withstand them. The whole Court was in confusion; the Princes of the bloud and our Constable studie not to make warre against the English, but against the Mignons. It was their proiect, as if the whole C State depended vpon the Kings fauour, who lost daily, to the generall discontent of all the French. So this yeare had nothing memorable, but that our warriours had lost both iudgment, courage, and force: that through their defects God might raise vp some extraordinarie meanes, for the deliuerie of this Monarchie, almost ruined. Our Captaines then did some exploits, taking Rochfort, Bertan-court, Lanuill, Chateau neuf, Puifer, Toury, Mompieu, Nogent le Retrou, and Lude, but what toyces are these, in regard of the Stately triumphs of the English.

That which was most admirable this yeare: amidst all these domesticall discontents, and all these ruines and defolations of the State (which might well haue quailed the best affected) those of the Cittie of Tournay, (after long contentions) in the end abandon both English and Bourguignon, protesting sollemnely, not to acknowledge any other King then *Charles* the 7. sonne to *Charles* the sixt, as the true and lawfull King of France, and by consequence their lawfull Lord: yet they made a truce with the Bourguignon, beeing their neighbour, with the Kings good liking. In the meane time, the Duke of Bedford leuies what men and money he can, both in France and England, for some great attempt. *Charles* hath intelligence from diuers parts, but what could he doe in so deepe despaire of his affaires, and in so visible an impossibilitie.

## E The famous Siege of Orlance.



F L L the citties on this side Loire, from the Ocean Sea, were lost, with the whole countries of Normandie, Picardie, the Ile of France, Bry, and Champaigne. He had nothing left but the Townes lying vpon the riuier of Loire, from Gien to Angers, for la Charite held for the Bourguignon. The chiefe was Orlance, this beeing wonne, what could hold out long for the French? Bourges could make small resistance, if the English had forced Orlance. The enemies of our State (who called *Charles* King of Bourges) threatened to take from him this small and languishing royaltie. Orlance then was the marke whereat the Duke of Bedford aymed, who hauing wonne the Britton, it greatly fortified the English affaires in France. As for the Bourguignon, hee had in a manner recovered the E- states of Holland, Hainault, Zeland, and Namur. And although ambition and couetousnesse can neuer be restrained: yet these Princes (nothing friendly among themselves) but as common



1428. common enemies to this Crowne, agreed well in this, to make their priuate profit by the ruine of our State. But man purpoſeth, and God diſpoſeth: we ſhall ſoone ſee how much he ſcornes their vanities. In this lamentable time, mans reaſon could not diſcerne by what meanes *Charles* ſhould reſiſt ſo mightie enemies. But in the weakneſſe of this Prince, I read with ioy the words of the Originall, which ſaith, *During the time that the Engliſh held their ſiege before the noble cittie of Orleance, King Charles was very weak, being abandoned by the greateſt part of his Princes and other Noblemen, (eeing that all things were oppoſite unto him: yet had he ſtill a good truſt and confidence in God.* He was not deceiued in this hope, as the ſequele will ſhew. The charge of this ſiege at Orleance was giuen to the Earle of Salisburie, a wife and reſolute commander: hauing giuen good testimonies of his ſufficiencie: for the well managing of this ſiege, he reſolued to take in all the forts neere vnto Orleance, that obeyed the French, and beginning with the weakeſt, parting from Paris, (taking his way through the countrie of Chartres) he ſeazeth vpon all the ſmall townes, wherein our Capitaines had ſo much toyled but a few moneths before, *Nogent le Retrou, Puifier, Rochfort, Bertancourt, Januille, Toury, Mompieau, the caſtel of Pluuier, and la Ferte of Gaules,* and approaching neere the cittie, (both aboue and beneath) *Meung, Baugency, and Iargeau.* In the end he plants himſelfe before Orleance, the ſixt of October, in the yeare 1428.

The Earle of Salisburie be- fore Orleance

A day to be obſerued, for that the 12. of May the yeare following was the laſt fitte of our diſeaſe, which changed the eſtate of our miſerable countrie, like vnto a pleaſant ſpring, after a long and ſharpe winter, when as a goodly ſommer crownes all our labours with abundance of peace and plentie. So this ſiege continued iuſt ſeuē moneths. The bruite of this great preparation did wonderfully diſquiet both Court and Countrie, vnder the French obedience, in the weakneſſe and conſuſions of the State. The King, after the taking of la Charite, was commonly reſident at Poitiers, he now retires to Chinon, to be neerer to Orleance. The townes willingly contribute men, money, and victuals. Many great perſonages flie to this ſiege, to defend the chiefe ſtrength of our King and Kingdome. *Lewis* of Bourbon the ſonne of *Charles* Earle of Clermont, the Earle of Dunois, baſtard of Orleance, the Lords of Bouſſac and Fayette, Marſhals of France: *John Steward* Conſtable of Scotland, *William* of Albret Lord of Oruall, the Lords of Thouers, Chauigny, Grauille and Chabannes. The captaines *la Hire, Xaintrailles, Theolde* of Valpergue, and *John* of Leſſego, *Lombards*, with many other great perſonages. There were not any of the Prouinces of Dauphine and Languedoc: for that the Dukes of Bourgongne and Sauoy, at the ſame inſtant prepared a great army, by the meanes of *Lewis* of Chaalons Prince of Orange, to inuade thoſe countries being wholly in the Kings obedience. The Orleanois reſolues to defend himſelfe. He preſently beates downe all that might accommodate the enemy, ſuburbs, houſes of pleaſure, winepreſſes, yea and the temples themſelues.

Charles his diligence to releue it.

Salisburie doth likewiſe uſe great dexterity and diligence to plant his ſiege, towards Beauſſe and the port Banniere, he builds a great Baſtille, which he calles Paris. Another at the port Renard which he names Rouen. Towards S. *Laurence* another, to the which hee gaue the name of Windſore. At the port of Bourgongne he fortified a ruined Temple, called S. *Loup*, and neere vnto it another, named S. *John the White*. At the Portereau he built a great fort vpon the ruines of the *Auguſtines* Church, calling it London: from the which he wonne the towre vpon the bridge, and all with wonderfull ſpeece. All the cittie is enuironed, hauing neither iſſue nor entrie, but with ſore fighting. And in theſe toyles they ſpend the reſt of the yeare.

The firſt day of the new yeare, the Engliſh (for a new-yeares-gift to the cittie) bring their ſcaling-ladders couragiouſly to the bulwarke at the port Renard, but they were valiantly repulſed by the defendants: the next day the Admirall of Cullant hauing paſſed the riuer of Loire at a foord (winter beeing very drie this yeare) viſits them of the cittie, and brings them diuers neceſſaries; vpon this returne, he encounters ſome Engliſh troupes which came ſtraggling from forrage. He chargeth them, cuts them in peeces, and ſo retires without danger. Thus the moneth of Ianuarie paſſeth without any other memorable exploite, but there happened a ſtrange accident the 20. of Februarie following. The Duke of Bedford ſent Lenten prouiſion to the Earle of Salisburie, with ſome munition of warre, vnder the conduct of *John Fiſhall* and *Simon Bowyer*, with 1700. men for their guard. The Duke of Bourbon brought

The battel of Herings, vnder ſortie ſate for the French.

A brought a goodly ſuccour of foure thouſand men to the beſieged. He reſolues to charge this Engliſh troupe, hauing well viewed their numbers. It was likely the ſtronger ſhould haue the victorie, but the iſſue was contrarie to the deſſeigne. For it chanced (as his men marched confidently, as it were to an aſſured victorie, without any iudgement) the Engliſh ſeeing them in doubt how they ſhould fight, either on foote or horſebacke, and irreſolute, in the end they reſolute to charge the French: it falling out many times in this exerciſe, that he which begins, wins. To conclude, without any further aduice, the Engliſh embrace this occaſion, charge our troupes, who were ſo ſurprized with this vnexpected impreſſion, as they preſently giue way to the Engliſh Bow-men. All flie, ſome here, ſome there without order, without command, and without courage, and few fight. Such as made head were ſlain. The reſt ſaue themſelues within Orleance. There were ſiue or ſixe hundred of our men ſlaine vpon the place. The Engliſh loſt but one man called *Briſantcau*. The chiefe of our ſide, were the Lord of Oruall, of the Noble houſe of Albret, *John Stuard, Chaſteaubrun, Montpipel, Verduſant, Lartgoi, La Greue, Diuray, Pailly*, with better then an hundred Gentlemen.

1429.

This ouerthrow was called the battle of Herings, for that they carried them to the beſeegers. The amazement was greater then the loſſe, for that the Earle of Clermont, a Prince of the bloud, who ſhould haue beene a ring-leader, full of reſolution and valour, in theſe extreme accidents, was ſo amazed with this loſſe, as he retired with his men, leauing the cittie to the baſtard of Orleance, who reſolues to attend the end of this ſeige, at what price ſocuer. In this gallant reſolution, he was vertuouſly ſeconded by the Lords of Guirry, Gaudcourt, Grauille, Villars, *La Hire*, and *Xaintrailles*, lights of great hope in this cruell ſtorme, and worthie of eternall memorie, in that they deſpaired not of this Monarchie, in ſo apparent deſpaire. And that which is chiefly to be obſerued herein, the King (vnderſtanding this retreat of the Earle of Clermont) ſaid, that he did ſee no meanes to ſaue the reſt from ſhipwracke.

To increaſe this feare, the Duke of Bourgongne comes to Paris at the ſame inſtant, with a troupe of ſixe hundred men at armes richly appointed. Our commanders (being full of reſolution) were not onely to encounter with the Engliſh, but with the conſuſion of times, the Kings miſfortune, and (which was worſt of all) the amazement of the men of warre, who diſcouered plainly the diſorder of the State. They were loth to caſt the helue after the hatchet, but fought the moſt aſſured meanes to ſaue the cittie in this ſtorme. They aduertise the King hereof, who was ſo irreſolute, as he referres all to their diſcretions. They reſolute to deliuer the towne into the Duke of Bourgongnes hands, to keepe it for the Duke of Orleance, or the Duke of Angouleme his brother, beeing then priſoners in England, with the kings good liking. *Pothon* of *Xaintrailles*, and *Peter* of Orſon (wiſe and valiant men) go to Paris to the Duke of Bedford, vpon his aſſurance. He heares them, and returnes them preſently, both for that he diſtruſted the Duke of Bourgongne, and held the conqueſt aſſured. The Bourguignon was greatly diſcontented with the Duke of Bedford for his reſuſall, whom after that time he neuer loued.

The Duke of Bedford diſcontents the Bourguignon.

The Engliſh triumphed as victors, ſo as our Ambaſſadours could hardly ſaue themſelues with their paſſe-port. Then the Engliſh (ſaith the Originall) beeing in great proſperity, had no conſideration that the wheele of Fortune hath power to turne daily. But the holy veritie of the Church, which drawes vs to the wiſe providence of God, cries: *I haue ſaid to fooles, play not the fooles: and to the wicked, Liſt not up your hornes, ſpeake not with ſo great pride: for greatneſſe comes not from the Eaſt nor Weſt, neither from the North, it is God that raiſeth up, and caſteth downe. Hee holdes a cuppe of wine in his hand, hee imparts it to euery one at hee pleaſeth.* Truly the pride of the Engliſh, who poſſeſſed a great part of this Monarchie, beeing drunke with this good fortune, was now come to his height: there remained nothing but the hand of the Soueraigne Iudge to ſuppreſſe him, but hee ſhall not long hold it.

O my countrie! forget not the time of thy viſitation. Reade in this true diſcourſe, the eſtate of thy predeceſſours. Remember their afflictions, behold their feare, ſee the image of that time wherein thou haſt borne a part, and iudge if now onely thou beginneſt to be afflicted. In this extremity, as the French were exceedingly diſtreſſed, ſo the Engliſh were tranſported

1429. ported with ioy, for their late victorie, and reioycing with a new hope as if all were wonne, A they crye to the besieged. *Will you buy my faire herrings:* at the same instant the townes-men issue forth along the riuer, the Earle of Salisburie stood at a window in the tower vpon the bridge beholding the skirmish, when as one of his captaines named *Glacidas*, said vnto him, *My Lord, behold here your cittie, here may you view it plainly.* But behold a Cannon charged with stones was shot from the towne, which aymed at the Earles head, stricke him and left him dead in the place. This vnexpected blow (coming as it were from heauen) changed this exceeding ioy of the English into mourning, beeing a man of great valour, who by his carriage had wonne great credit among them, beloued and honoured of all, for the mildnesse of his manners. So this losse troubled both the wits and affaires of the English armie, the which had greatly disbanded, if the Earle of Suffolke, *Talbot*, *John Fastoll*, and *Seales*, famous Captaines, had not happily bene there, to reuiue their spirits and courage, attending the Duke of Bedfords pleasure, who gaue the charge to *Talbot*, beeing the choice of their best men, and sending him new forces. So as the siege is continued with more vehemencie then before, with great presumptions, that all would goe worfe with the besieged.

The Earle of Salisburie flaine before Orleance.

The Lord Talbot commends in his place.

In this occurrent, *Charles* knew not what to doe, to whome should hee flie? his Princes forsake him. Orleance beeing taken, whether should he retire? Bourges was readie to yeeld, and withall, the countrie adioyning. He had no whole Prouinces vnder his obedience, but *Languedoc* and *Daulphine*. And at the same instant the *Bourguignon* and *Sauoyard* prouide worke for him in those countries. The taking then of Orleance (which in reason seemed vnauoydable) was the ouerthrow of *Charles* and his estate. There was no winking at that which was too apparent. That (considering the estate of his affaires in generall and of his house in particular, if Orleance should be lost) all the townes vpon the riuer of *Loire*, and in like sort the rest (alreadie wauering) would abandon him.

Amiddest these fearefull considerations, what could the braue and Noble Commanders within Orleance doe, but plant their hopes in God and in themselves? A soueraigne remedie in extreame dangers. So (to purchase an honourable and profitable composition) they set a good face on it, giuing the English to vnderstand, that if they desired their liues, they should buy them dearly. France reduced to so great an extremitie, and truly such, as men could do no more, behold God raiseth vp an extraordinarie meanes, the which meanes reason could not foresee, and much lesse prouide. A meanes which reuiued the daunted spirits, changed the face of our affaires, and dismayed the enemies. And to conclude, by a miraculous meanes gaue a happie successe both to our King and Realme: and this was the occasion.

Charles his miserable estate.

A young Maiden named *Joane* of Arc (borne in a village vpon the Marches of Barre called *Doinremy*, neere to *Vaucouleurs*) of the age of eightene or twentie yeares, issued from base parents, her father was named *James* of Arc, and her mother *Isabel*, poore countrie folkes, who had brought her vp to keep their cattell, she said with great boldnesse, That shee had a reuelation, how to succour the King: how he might be able to chase the English from Orleance, and after that to cause the King to be crowned at *Rheims*, and to put him fully and wholly in possession of his Realme.

Joane the Virgin, or rather witch.

After shee had deliuered this to her father, mother, and their neighbours, shee presumed to goe to the Lord of *Baudricourt*, Prouost of *Vaucouleurs*: she boldly deliuered vnto him (after an extraordinarie manner) all these great mysteries, as much wished for of all men, as not hoped for: especially comming from the mouth of a poore countrie maide, whome they might with more reason beleue to be possessed by some melancholy humour, then diuinely inspired; beeing the instrument of so many excellent remedies, in so desperate a season, after the vaine strivings of so great and famous personages. At the first he mocked her and reprooued her, but hauing heard her with more patience, and iudging by her temperate discourse and modest countenance, that she spake not idly, in the end he resolues to present her to the King for his discharge. So shee arriues at *Chinon* the sixth day of May, attired like a man.

Shee had a modest countenance, sweete, ciuill and resolute, her discourse was temperate, reasonable and retired, her actions cold, shewing great chastitie. Hauing spoken to the King

A King or Noblemen with whom she was to negotiate, shee presently retired to her lodging with an old woman that guided her, without vanitie, affectation, babling or courtly lightnesse. These are the manners which the Originall attributes vnto her. The matter was found ridiculous both by the King and his Councell, yet must they make some triall. The King takes vpon him the habit of a counterman, to be disguised: this maide (beeing brought into the Chamber) goes directly to the King in this attire, salutes him with so modest a countenance, as if she had bene bred vp in Court all her life. They telling her that she was mistaken, she assured them it was the King, although she had neuer seene him. She begins to deliuer vnto him this new charge, which (she sayes) she had receiued from the God of heauen, so as she turned the eyes and minds of all men vpon her.

B This matter beeing referred to counsell, it was concluded, they should take the aduise of Diuines. They answer, that in desperate diseases, the prouidence of God doth commonly raise vp extraordinarie remedies, and employes women, when as men grow faint-hearted: as in the afflictions of *Israel*, he hath mightily vsed *Deborah* and *Abigail*: The one to teach the people, the other to kill a furious tyrant: and *Judith*, which slue that great tyrant in the midst of his armie. So as necessitie, which made them to seeke all sorts of remedies, caused the King to trie if this maide spake truth, but without the hazard of any thing. This *Joane* (held for a Prophetesse by many) is reported by *Gyrard*, Seigneur of *Haillian*, and sundrie other French Writers, and plainly said to haue bene induced to this imposture by three Noblemen, who had incited her thereto, and layed that plot, onely to encourage King *Charles* to fight, despairing of his estate.

C She desires of the King, that she may be conducted to Orleance, to beginne the worke which she said she had in charge. A sword remaining in *Touraine*, in a place called *S. Katherine* of *Fierebois* was brought vnto her, to be armed therewith. They gaue her armes and horse, with a sufficient troupe to enter the cittie. *Lewis* of *Cullant*, Admirall of France, and *James* of *Rieux* Marshall, had charge to accompanie her with some victuals to the besieged, and to haue a care, that all should be wisely carried without hazard. Shee prepares her colours, and beeing armed at all points, she went to take leaue of the King, with a grace worthe of a great Captaine: beseeching him to trust in God, in whose name she spake. Thus she parts from *Chinon* the twelfth of April.

D Now they reckoned the sixt moneth of the seege, the besieged cry out for hunger. This victualling prouided at *Blois*, is conducted by the aboue named commanders, with great care, as well for feare of the English (who had their centinels in all places) as for the distrust they had of this new commander. Shee marched in the foremost rancke, betwixt the Admirall and the Marshall, carrying the countenance of a very resolute personage. They arriue (with this prouision) safely at Orleance, the English making no shew of arming, although she passed before their forts, in view of the armie, yet had they scarce fixe hundred men in this supply.

E The power of Gods prouidence is admirable in the hearts of men, making them to yeeld insensibly to what he hath decreed. This first exploite stirred vp the spirits of the French. Orleance begins to reioyce at the sight of this maide, attired like a man, standing vpon the point of yeelding. This first releefe was not sufficient for so great a multitude. They resolved to fetch more victuals, and to that end would returne to *Blois*. But before their departure, the Maiden writes this letter following, to the chiefe of the English armie, and sends it by a trumpeter. I haue truly set it downe out of the Originall, in the same words and style, both for the reuerence of antiquitie, the noble courage of this virgin, and the truth and state of the subiect.

F King of England, doe reason to the King of heauen, for his blood royall; yeeld vp to the Virgin the keyes of all the good Citties which you haue forced. She is come from heauen to reclaim the blood royall, and is readie to make a peace, if you be ready to do reason: yeeld therefore, and pay what you haue taken. King of England, I am the chiefe of this warre, wherefoeuer I encounter your men in France, I will chase them, will they or no. If they will obey, I will take them to mercie. The Virgin comes from the King of heauen, to drue you out of France. If you will not obey, shee will cause so great a stirre, as the like hath not bene these thousand yeares in France. And beleue certainly, that the King of heauen will send

1429.

Joane sends  
threats to  
the English.

1429 " send her, and her good men at arms, more force then you can haue. Go in Gods name into A  
 " your cuntry, be not obstinate, for you shall not hold France of the King of heauen, the Son  
 " of Saint Mary, but Charles shall enioy it, the King and lawfull heire, to whom God hath gi-  
 " uen it, he shall enter Paris with a goodly traine. You William de la Poole, Earle of Suffolke,  
 " John Lord Talbot, Thomas Lord Scales, Lieutenants to the Duke of Bedford: and you Duke  
 " of Bedford, tearing your selfe Regent of the Realme of France, spare innocent blood, and  
 " leaue Orleance in libertie. If you do not reason to them you haue wronged, the French will  
 " doe the goodliest exploit that euer was done in Christendome: vnderstand these newes of  
 God, and of the Virgin.

This letter (beeing deliuered to the Earle of Suffolke) was read with laughter. Charles and  
 his Councell were scorned, as seeking remedies without reason, and transported with folly in  
 following of these vanities. They now assure themselues of a speedie victorie, seeing that  
 Charles is vncertaine what to doe. The Trumpeter is imprisoned against the law of Nations,  
 readie to be burnt in the sight of the beseege: when as suddenly there was other worke pre-  
 pared for them. A new supply of victuals is made at Blois, through the care of Renold of  
 Chartres, Chancellor of France, and Archbishop of Rheims, a great personage in his time.  
 The Virgin goes to field for the safe conducting thereof to Orleance, but with a greater  
 troupe then before: for the fame of her actions, and of this new successe, had drawne toge-  
 ther seuen or eight thousand men: like vnto a cheerefull spring, which causeth trees beeing  
 dead in shew, to sprout and spring againe. The commanders were not greatly moued with  
 these popular brutes, giuing but cold beleefe to the Virgins visions and promises, so as they  
 passe another way for their greater safetie. The Virgin lets them go, forbearing to speak any  
 thing before their comming to Orleance: Then she said, *Tu hide your selues from me, as if I*  
*were ignorant of your intentions, but you must not doubt of the performance of that which God*  
*hath decreed.* This was the 20. of Aprill.

Orleance being thus fortified both with men and victuals: the Earle of Dunois, and Pothon  
 of Xaintrailles, hold a Councell what was to be done: they call her, and intreate her to de-  
 liuer her opinion. *My aduice is* (saith she) *that without any farther delay, we charge the English*  
*that beseege vs, for that (GOD beeing on our side) they cannot escape vs: but before we procede,*  
*let every man dispose of his conscience, and banish all lewd and naughtie persons out of the Ar-*  
*mie.* Although there were small hope or likelihood to vanquish a Conquerour, yet  
 the Commanders resolute to accept and embrace her counsell as an Oracle from  
 God.

The Earle of Dunois made choice of fiftene hundred strong and lusty men for the fight,  
 meaning to beginne with the Fort at Bourgogne gate, called Saint Loup. The Virgin goes  
 in the foremost ranke, with the chiefe Captaines of the Armie. The souldiers encoura-  
 ged by her ptesence, assaile this fort furiously, beeing guarded by foure hundred En-  
 glish: neither arrowes, pikes nor halberds could stay the planting of their ladders. The  
 Virgin enters the fort first, crying, *Montroy, Saint Denis, the fort is wonne.* The English  
 abandon their defences and suffer themselues to bee slaine by the French, who (seeing them-  
 selues master of the fort, and wearied with the execution) take many prisoners. The Ar-  
 tillerie and munition beeing drawne forth, they set fire on the fort. This chanced the 4-  
 of May, a remarkable day, beeing the first fruites of the deliuerie of Orleance, and the gene-  
 rall restoring of this Realme.

Thus the Virgin returnes into the cittie with her victorious souldiers. All the people fol-  
 low her with cries of victorie: shee can hardly retire to her lodging: all the world runs to  
 see her, and to commend her, both men, women, and children: all crie out confusedly with  
 a ioy mixt with teares: *Blessed be this Virgin which comes to deliuer vs.* On the other side, the  
 English (seeing their men carried away like chickens before the Eagle, and their fort con-  
 sumed as with fire from heauen) were greatly amazed, beeing in so great possibilitie to van-  
 quish the French on euery side. Suffolke and Talbot make orations to their men, to reuiue  
 their sprites, daunted at this new and strange spectacle. But we must procede, and not suf-  
 fer the courage of the victorious Souldiers to grow cold. The Virgin goes to counsell with  
 the chiefe of the cittie, causing them to resolute to continue the next day, what they had so  
 happily begunne.

The English  
grow amazed  
at the Virgin  
exploits.

At

A At the breake of day, the Virgins colours are carried through the Citty: she resolues to  
 passe the riuer, and to take the Fortes on the other side. She passeth happily betwixt the  
 Forte of Saint Loup that was ruined, and the new Tower, where the furiously assailes and  
 winnes the Forte called Saint John the White, and cuts all the Souldiers in peeces: from  
 thence she marcheth to the Portreau, where the great Bastion of London was built, vpon  
 the Augustins Church. This place was valiantly disputed through the resolutions of both  
 parties, but in the end it was forced. The victory was double, in vanquishing of the enemy,  
 and in deliuering of friends, for there were many French prisoners found therein. There  
 now remained the Tournelles, and the Bastion vpon the bridge, beeing the dungeon of  
 their principall defence. The Virgin held this exploit sufficient for that dayes worke, leauing  
 the rest vntill the morrow, to giue the Souldiers breath. So the Fortresse being besieged,  
 they prepare for the last assault.

The next day (being Saturday, the sixt of May) ended this dangerous siege, which had  
 continued seauen moneths. The sharpest Thorne remained yet behinde: the Tournelles  
 adioyning to the bridge, was kept by Glacidas (one of the most resolute Captaines among  
 the English) hauing well encouraged his men to defend them-selues, and to fight for their  
 liues.

The skirmish begins at nine of the clock in the morning, and the ladders are planted.  
 A storme of English Arrowes falles vpon our men with such violence as they recoil. How  
 now (saith the Virgin) *haue wee begun so well, so end so ill: let vs charge, they are our owne,*  
*seeing God is on our side.* So euery one recouering his forces, flocks about the Virgin; the  
 English double the storme, vpon the thickest of the troupes. The Virgin fighting in the  
 foremost rankes, and encouraging her men to doe well, was shotte through the arme with  
 an arrow: She nothing amazed, takes the arrowe in one hand, and her sword in the other.  
*This is a fauour* (sayes she) *let vs go on, they cannot escape the hand of God.* At this womans  
 voyce, amidst the found of warre, the combate growes very hote. Our men greatly incou-  
 raged by this Virgin, runne head-long to the Bastion, and force a point thereof. Then fire  
 and stones raigne so violently, as the English being amazed, forsake their defences. Some  
 are slaine vpon the place, some throw them-selues downe head-long, and flie to the Towre  
 vpon the bridge. In the end this braue Glacidas abandons this quarter, and retires into the  
 base Court vpon the bridge, and after him a great troupe of his Souldiers. The bridge great-  
 ly shaken with Artillery, tryed by fire, and ouer-charged with the weight of this multitude,  
 sinks into the water with a fearefull crye, carrying all this multitude with it.

Thus the riuer of Loire was a Sepulchre for Glacidas, and all his troupe; always accu-  
 stomed to vanquish, but when they were vanquished. An example of mans vanity, who  
 (drunke with their victories,) cannot conceiue that the rodde of the Iudge of this world  
 may touch them. The English lost in these three dayes skirmishes, aboue eight thousand  
 men, and we scarce a hundred, the which was Gods handy worke. If the ioy of Orleans were  
 great, and the Virgins honour proclaimed in this happy successe, being proofes of her true  
 fore-tellings; If her triumph were double; when as passing through the Citty (hauing her  
 arme honourably hurt) she was inuironed by the Earle of Dunois, Pothon of Xaintrailles,  
 and all the most famous Captaines: the perplexity of Suffolke, Talbot and Scales, was not  
 lesse, fore-seeing the vnauoidable course of their misfortune, if they should obstinately  
 defend the other Fortes that were towards Beausse, although a good part of their Armie  
 remained there. So they take counsell from danger to abandon all these Fortes,  
 to retire into some place of safetie, and to aduertise the Duke of Bedford of their  
 misfortunes.

The same night they gather together with great silence, about nine thousand men,  
 and take the way to Baugency. The Orleanois are watchfull, obseruing their departure,  
 prepare to charge the enemy, but the Virgin would not consent there-vnto. And in truth  
 this remainder was appointed for other victories. The inhabitants thus freed, issue early in  
 the morning out of the Citty, they come to the Bastions, where hauing gathered together  
 great store of armes, victuals and baggage, they cast these great monuments of the  
 English labours vnto the ground. They giue solemne thanks vnto God, the author of  
 so miraculous a deliuerie; and to the end this singular benefit might be celebrated yearly,  
 they

Ff 3

1429.

Many English  
drowned at  
Orleans, the  
bridge break-  
ing.

Orleans freed  
from the  
English.

1429. they erect a monument for this memorable successe, King *Charles* the seuenth armed, and *A* *loane* the Virgin likewise armed, both kneeling vpon their knees before a Crucifixe of brasfe kept to this day vpon the bridge amidst the furies of our late ciuill, or rather vnciuill warres. Truly thank-giuing for so excellent a good, is due to God onely, and this memorie ought to be religiously consecrated to posteritie, as the first frutes of the restoring of this Estate, then halfe dead through the force and might of Strangers.

To confirme this goodly victorie, the Virgin parts well accompanied from Orleance, and goes to the King to Chinon, to yeeld him an accompt of her commission. It cannot be spoken, with what ioy this Prince beheld her, and what credit she purchased by this miraculous successe. But, *My Leege* (saith she) *this is but a beginning, we must finish the God of hea- B* *uens worke, causing you to be crowned at Rheims, and chasing your enemies out of your state. This is the commandment I haue receiued.* And so by her aduice *Charles* assembles all his forces. The Constable of Richmont, (who neuer durst shew himselfe after the quarrell with *Tremouille*) is now reconciled by the Virgins intercession, and hereafter shall doe very good seruice to this Crowne. *Charles* of Bourbon, Earle of Clermont, is now wonderfully discontented, to haue retired himselfe from the battaile of Herings, hauing not honourably assisted in these exploits, in the which he had held the first rancke. But *John* of Bourbon Duke of Alençon arriued happily out of prison from England, (he had beene taken at the battell of Vernueil) to be commander of these goodly troupes, which go resolutely to take possession of the citties of Champagne, beeing all then in the possession of the English. Men post from all parts to this banker. Their hearts beeing reuiued, their countenances change, and their affaires take a new forme. They then make proiects, saying: But whilest the King prepares for his coronation at Gyen, and to be nearest his chiefest affaires, let vs suppress these English which remaine, after that great defeat of Orleance, and let vs take from them those Townes which are neere about. The Earle of Suffolke was at Largeau: the towne is beseege and taken, all the English are either slaine, or taken prisoners: one of the Earles breethren was slaine in the fight, another of them drowned, and he himselfe was taken vpon the bridge as he was flying away. *Meung* was taken by *Guy* of Lauall, and seuen or eight hundred Englishmen slaine: *Baugency* yeelds by composition.

The English defeated at Largeau, the Earle of Suffolke taken, & his breethren slaine.

The Duke of Bedford gathers together what forces he can, to preserue the rest of the Townes from shipwracke, sending a troupe of foure thousand men to fortifie them. *Talbot* with *Thomas Ramcston* haue the charge. This troupe was presently subiect to our victorie, and when as they finde that neither men nor Townes can hold out for them, they seeke to retire themselves: but they are incountred at Patay, a small village in Beaussie, where all are slaine or taken, yet our mens furie being past, many are spared, both in the fight and in prison, that the English might haue a testimonie of our mildnesse. The great *Talbot* is taken and brought to *Charles*, who vseth him with great respect. *John Fastoll* flies shamefully, and is therefore degraded by the Duke of Bedford.

The English defeated at Patay.

This chanced the twentieth of May. We had all the tokens of an absolute victorie. The Commanders slaine or taken, the field wonne, an hundred and ten Ensignes brought to our Temples, their Artillerie, munition, and all other habillements of warre, are seized on: and moreover, the hearts of the King and the French were resolute to end the quarrell. Behold the first frutes: the haruest shall be gathered in time, as the Historie will shew by degrees. But let vs goe to Rheims, to crowne *Charles* according to the Virgins appointment.

The

## The Coronation of CHARLES the seauenth.



**B**Y this happy successe, the way was made to Rheims, although the Kings Councell framed many difficulties to hinder this voyage, as superfluous, and almost impossible: for why, say they, should *Charles* be crowned? The lawe of State made him to be borne a King, and hee was crowned at Poitiers. But if (to please the people) it muist of force bee so, where is the meanes to effect this decree? Rheims and all the townes of Champagne be in other mens possessions. Thus did many discourse. The Virgin answered, *We must goe to Rheims, to crowne the King. It is true, the King is the lawfull beire, but his right is called in question by the English, this maske deceiues many, and makes them disobedient: As for the meanes, leaue that to the God of Heauen, he will prouide for it.*

King Charles crowned at Rheims.

This aduice preuailed, as an Oracle: all things are prepared in readinesse for the Coronation. *Charles* retires to Bourges for this intent, as if the preseruer of the Monarchy would mocke his enemies, who called him King of Bourges in iest: For shortly after hee parts from Bourges to be proclaimed King of France. But whilest hee attends there, vntill that all things may bee made fit for his iourney to Rheims; behold an encrease of good newes to crowne his late and happy victory against the English; That the Bourguignon and Sauoyard, who would haue seized vpon Daulphine were defeated. The particulars of this discourse is: The realme being set to sale to Strangers, and that euery one sought to haue his part: the Dukes of Burgongne and Sauoy had laide a plot to appropriate vnto them-selues both Daulphine and Languedoc, with other Prouinces that obeyed *Charles*, vsing in this negotiation the helpe of *Lewis* of Chaalons Prince of Orange, a man of valour and credit, especially in those Countries, by reason of his principality which lay neere vnto them. The diuision of this marchandise was thus made betwixt them three. The Bourguignon had the Viennois, neere vnto Lions, and that which depended on Lions, whereon hee had cast his eye, to make profit of that goodly Cittie. *Grifinaudan* with *Grenoble* euen to *Romans*, *Ambrunois*, *Gapenfois*, *Briançonois*, and all the Countries of the Mountaines were the Sauoyards part.

The Bourguignon and Sauoyard, in Daulphine & Languedoc.

The Orangois (to enlarge his principality,) had *Valentinois*, *Dyois* and the *Earonies*, where he held some land vnder the obedience of this Crowne. This portion was allotted to him for his paines. They all arme vpon this proiect, euen when as the English pressed Orleans most. The best houses of Burgongne, and Sauoy, contribute to this warre, as to a flete that goes to the East, or the West Indies: but they had not assured their venture in the Port, with an intent to haue all the profit. This leuie is made with great shew: the Duke of Sauoy sends fife hundred Lances, vnder the command of the Lord of *Varembon*, besides voluntaries, and three thousand foote. The Bourguignon (with his mothers assistance) a thousand Lances. Many Noble-men repaire thither, as to an assured gaine. There were leauied in his territories nine or ten thousand foote. The Prince of Orange assembles a goodly troupe, as well of his subiects, as of his friends in Prouence, where he had a good portion: and for his beginning, he seazeth vpon *Enton*, a towne vpon the *Rosne*, a fitte passage for Sauoy and Burgongne: and *Colombiers*, a Castell of great importance neere vnto it. Hauing brought sixteene hundreded men thither, hee attends the troupes of Burgongne, and Sauoy, which repaire vnto him dayly. Hee puts forty men at armes into *Colombiers* for the gard of the place, and keepe the rest of the troupes about him with great security, fearing no enemy, in this generall amazement of the Kings affaires: but the successe was contrary to his desseigne, for *Raoul* of *Gaucourt*, gouernour of Daulphine, resolves in this extremity, who (attending no succours from the King, being visibly ingaged, and in great danger,) doth husband such forces as hee could gather together within his government, from *Lions* and *Viarez*, Countries that were vnder the French obedience. *Imbert* of *Grosle*, gouernour of *Lions* and Marshall of Daulphine, *John de Leurs* Baron of *la Voute*, the Lords of *Ioyeuse*, *Turnon* and *Crusol* (great men in the Country of *Viarez*) did

Preparations against Daulphine and Languedoc.

1429. did their belt deuoir, the Nobility of Daulphine (renowned alwaies for their fidelity and valour) assisted as much as could be desired in so great a necessity. The Baron of Maubec is noted about the rest for his wel deseruing. *Don Roderigo de Villandras* a Castillian was there with a goodly and valliant troupe.

The prince of Orange defeated.

The Lord of Gaucourt resolues to charge the prince of Orange with this troupe, giuing him no leisure to assemble the body of his armie, the which increased daily. So (without any further delay) he besiegeth Colombiers, and takes it by force, before the Orangeois had any intelligence of his approach. Hauing this good successe, hee would giue the enemy no time to take breath, but desirous to make his profit of this happy beginning, hee parts suddenly with these resolute troupes to draw the prince of Orange to fight; who was then parted from Enton, hauing intelligence onely of the siege, but not of the taking of Colombiers, beleeuing confidently, that the very brute of his forces would make our men to hide themselves: but hee was deceived. Hee had foure thousand men with him, and Gaucourt had about two thousand, yet (notwithstanding his small number) being nothing amazed, hee charged and defeats them. The neceressesse of Enton saues many. There were five hundred slaine vpon the place; and two hundred of the brauest souldiers taken prisoners. The prince of Orange hauing recovered Enton, passeth the Rosne in a boate, and saues himselfe. The common report is that hee passed this violent streame on horse-backe all armed. The people of that Country doe beleue it from Father to Sonne, that this horse was kept and died at Orange, hauing a long time bene nourished there by the Princes commandement, acknowledging the seruice hee had received of this beast in his extreame necessity. *Monstrelet* saith, That hee parted in great disorder, and was chased euen vnto Authun. *Alain Charretier*, Secretary to our King *Charles*, writes in expresse words, That he passed the Rosne at the ferrie of Enton. Hee sets downe, that the bootie was about a hundred thousand crownes, besides many notable prisoners of Bourgongne and Sauoy, which came to bee spoiled, thinking to doe the like to our *Charles*.

This defeat happened the twentieth day of May, the same day that the English (which retired from Orleans) were defeated at Patay. To credit the worke, against such as made their account alone without God, who seeking to rauish any other mans goods vniustly, lost their owne deseruedly. Thus God workes speedily, as many appeere by the course of so many happy exploits, linkt one to an other in this moneth of May, as a prediction of the restoring of the estate in this Realme. The Bourguignons and the Sauoiards designe being disappointed by this defeat, *Gaucourt* resolues to haue his priuate reuenge of the Orangeois, being the factor of this filthie traffike. To conclude (without giuing him any respite) he passeth the Rosne with his victorious forces, and takes many places from him, the which hee sackes and burnes. But not ingaging himselfe farther in the Franch-Conte (where those of Chaalons haue many goodly places) he came to Oranges his chiefe towne, whereof hee carries the name, as souereigne prince. Hee takes both towne and castle, and all that hee held in Daulphine vnder the Kings obedience: yet the Citizens of Orange (wonderfully affected to their prince) within few moneths after chase the French out of the castle, and become masters thereof, for the seruice of their prince, to whom they yeeld it. Such was the end of this enterprife, shamefull for the Authors, and shamefully preiudiciall for the instrument.

Gaucourt takes oranges and is recouered againe.

Preparatives for the coronation of King Charles.

*Ameace* Duke of Sauoy (fallen from so visible a hope, to fish in a troubled water: and seeing on the other side the happy successe of *Charles*) he growes so much discontented, as his whole discours is to abandon the world, but hereafter wee shall see his actions. At this time he returnes in the mid-way, without effecting of any thing. Our Bourguignon flew a higher pitch, and had more then one designe in his head. But let vs now returne to our King to Bourges. The preparations for this Coronation were royall and very admirable after so great affliction, but about all it was beautified with great personages. There were present, *John* of Bourbon Duke of Alanson, *Charles* of Bourbon Earle of Clermont, princes of the bloud (who had faithfully and profitably accompanied the King in his greatest afflictions) *Arthur* of Britan Earle of Richmond Constable of France, *Charles* of Aniou sonne to the King of Sicilia, and brother to the Queene.

The

A The Earle of Dunois bastard of Orleans, *Charles* of *Albret* Earle of Perdiac, a yonger brother of the noble house of Armagnac, the Lord of Cullant Admirall of France, the foure Marshalls of France, the Lords of Bouffac, Loheac, Ricux and la Fayette. The Lords of Tremouille, Lual, Chauigny, Chaumont, Lamelan, d'Aulin, Serrant, Crusol, Saint Chaumont, and many others, with *Pothon*, *la Hire* and the virgin, excellent peeces of this triumph. Many could not come in time to this solemnity: great troupes came posting from all parts, notwithstanding the danger of the enemy, which was great in diuers places. Such was the desire of the French to assist at this wished act, loyaltie remainyng in their breasts, as the seed doth in the bosome of the earth during winter. But *Charles* (before hee parted from Bourges to Reims) provided for the publike safety, least the English should attempt anything during this solemnity. He sends his Constable into Normandy, and the Earle of Perdiac into Guicenne with some troupes, and reserues ten thousand men for his Coronation, as well to make his passage through townes that should resist, as to honor the ceremony. A very doubtfull journey yet most happy.

Thus he begins his voyage: The first city that was summoned by his commandement, was *Auxerre*: they excuse themselves by reason of the truce lately obtained by *Tremouilles* intercession. A presumption very preiudiciall in the example, euen now in this first triall of obedience, vpon this fame of victory, whereof none could make any question without apparent danger. Euery man did see this error, but no man durst open his mouth, for that the King did countenance *Tremouille*, euen with the preiudice of his affaires. So *Charles* entred not into *Auxerre*, he onely tooke their words, that at his returne they should doe as the rest, and furnish the Kings army with victuals for their money. From *Auxerre* the King comes to Saint Florentin, which yeelds without any question. Troies was summoned next: at the first they refused, like vnto *Auxerre*, through the practises of such as were of the English faction: but as *Charles* prepared for the siege, behold a notable troupe of the choise citizens assemble themselves, assure the City, and giue the King to vnderstand, that they are ready to receiue his commandments, and without attending any answer from the King, a goodly company goes forth to meete him, and to offer him their obedience. *Charles* then enters into Troies, to the vnspeakeable ioy of all the people, being wonderfully glad to see their Princes face, after so long captivity. *Chaalons* follows their example, and all the rest of the townes, with great alacrity and willingness.

But the chiefe combat must be at Rheims, the chiefe Rendez-uous of this voyage. The Lords of Chastillon and Saneuze, with their Partisans of the English faction, did what they could to hinder the Kings entry. But the good citizens preuaile, who (being stronger then the English faction,) could hardly keepe the people from tearing them in peeces, being loath to shed any blood. They agree and sweare by common consent, to obey the King, and to that end send him the Keyes of Chaalons. The way being thus made, and the gates of Rheims open, hee goes thither with the beautie of his Court, and is received with the vnspeakeable ioy of all the people, who come to meete him in great troupes: the fields, gates and streetes sound out; *God save the King*. *Charles* accompanied with his Princes and officers, appeares like a goodly sunne after a sharpe Winter. But in the greatest beauty of this triumph, *Joan* the Virgin is beheld with admiration, & loden with popular blessings.

Two daies being spent in the preparation of the ceremonie, *Charles* was annointed and crowned King the eight day of Iuly, in the yeere 1429. by *Renold* of Chartres, Archbishop of Rheims, Chancellor of France: a date to bee obserued, being the beginning of great good to this realme. This was the seventh yeere after the law of State had called *Charles* to the crowne, whereof he was heire, but the violence of strangers restrained and held most of the French from their obedience. So this Coronation was added to confirme the general approbation of this lawfull authority, not only in their common beleefe, but in the tongues of the French, as the sequell will shew, that this sollemne publication did greatly aduance the Kings affaires against his capitall enemy.

But as the sunne, rising higher in his Horizon, increaseth both in brightnesse and heate, so the beames of the French liberty were more apparent, and the subjects deuotion to their naturall Prince kindled daily, after the long and sharpe Winter of the English command.

All Champagne yeelds to King Charles.

King Charles crowned at Rheims.



1429 command. This was a reuiuing both to their hearts, State, and manner of the image of a golden age, after the horrible tempest of a long a mortall confusion. The French did straine to receiue their King, and the King to receiue them with a fatherly loue. The Kings commandements (generally proclaimed to liue modestly without oppression of the people) were freely executed, and the people made the best cheere they could, to so pleasing guests.

This act did greatly daunt the English, all the Prouinces taking a new resolution to submit themselves vnder the obedience of their naturall prince, as the sequell of the History will shew. But before we ingage our selues in so long a discourse, order doth command vs to obserue the estate of the Church and Empire, hauing past it ouer in silence, since the yeere 1364. towards the end of the reigne of *Charles* the fifth. Doubtlesse wee were sufficiently troubled with our owne confusions, vnder the miserable reigne of *Charles* the sixth, imbarcking our selues in forraigne stormes. We are therefore briefly to note, according to our stile, what hath happened since fifty nine yeeres, in these two great bodies.

The estate of  
the Empire.

The dispositi-  
on of the  
Emperor  
*Venceslaus*.

We haue left the Empire in the hands of *Charles* the fourth, an excellent Prince, but exceeding more in law and valour, then in iustice and vertue; yet hee vsed the counsel of *Barthol*, an excellent Lawier, hauing gouerned the publike affaires of Germany and Italy, twenty and six yeeres, amidst many confusions, and in the end he purchased the Empire, with the preiudice of the Empire. His sonne *Venceslaus*, whom hee had caused to bee crowned King of Hungary, and Bohemia, at the age of two yeeres, hauing bought the Empire for him, hee caused him to bee installed, and liued two yeeres after, dying in the yeere 1378. hauing left a wretched successor of so great and royall a dignity, deformed in minde and body, a foole, idle, voluptuous, and a coward; hauing no other care but to wallow in the most infamous vices and sinnes of drunkennesse and whoredome; nor other minde, but to doe euill and mischief; as malicious and cruell, as without valour and vertue. So (contemning his affaires and businesse) hee grew contemptible: in hating of his subiects, hee grew so hatefull, as in the end, the Germanes and Hongariens (beeing wearie of such a scorne,) take him prisoner: and at last, after a painefull and shamefull patience (they hauing suffered him two and twentie yeeres, and a huge masse of diuerse and sundrie confusions, which grew by his ill & wicked gouernment) they depriue him of the Imperiall dignity, by a common consent. And yet to shew, they bare no malice to the house from whence he was descended, they choose in his place *Jesse*, Marquis of Brandebourg and Bauaria, the sonne of *Iohn Henry*, brother to *Charles* the fourth, and so cousin germaine to *Venceslaus*, who liued in that state but sixe moneths, and had nothing of the Empire, but that hee was buried with the Imperiall ornaments of that country.

Then *Rupert* Count *Palatine*, duke of Bauaria, and first elector, was chosen Emperor, after much controuersie and dissention, a man of small stature, but of great iudgement, vertuous, valiant, and louing the common-weale. He laboured and tooke great paines to redresse the confusions of Italy, then exceedingly disordred, through the quarrells of *Galeaz* duke of Milan, the Venetians, Florentines, French, and Arragonois, vpon diuers and sundry occasions: but finding that whatsoeuer he could doe, he lost his labour (euen by the disloyaltie of such as imploied him) hee suffered them to ruine and spoile one another, and retired himselfe home, where (after he had happily gouerned the Empire ten yeeres) hee died in the yeere of our Lord 1410.

The estate of  
the Church.

*Sigismund* King of Hungary and Bohemia, a prince of happy memory, succeeded *Rupert*, by the generall consent of all the Germanes, who loued and honoured his vertues: and although he sought against the Turke with ill successe, when as he borrowed forces of *Charles* the sixth (as I haue said) yet his losses did nothing blemish his reputation, nor his vertues, whereof he gaue great prooffe in the gouernment of the Empire. But that which troubled him most, was the state of the Church, then plunged in tragicall confusions, bred by the long and scandalous Schisme which dismembred it by peece-meales, through the dissention and controuersies of sundrie Popes, which were chosen in diuers places, and that diuerslie at one instant.

Order commands vs now to represent it, as carefully as the subiect is of importance. I tremble to rippe vp these shamefull and detestable wounds. I will endeauor to represent it plainly and sincerely, following the steps of *Platina*, *Naueker* and *Theodore* of Niem: who hauing

A hauing remained in the Court of Rome, Secretary to diuers Popes, one after another, and managed the affaires from the beginning of the Schisme, neere vnto the end, ought to be held for an vnreprooeable witness in that which he hath seene. This Schisme continued fifty yeeres: it banded all the Christians of Europe, diuided Kings and Princes, nourished their diuisions, bred and brought forth horrible scandales, toucht their hearts, opened their mouthes and dispensed with their hands to a new faction, referred to our latter age. Sixe Popes seated in Rome one after an other, had euery one his opposite in Auignon, with the same name or title, and in the profession of the same authority. Three Popes at one instant in three seuerall places. Foure Councillors were called to remedy these confusions, beeings generally detested of all men, both great and small, seeing the Popes (who had so long contended with the Emperours, vntill they had chased them out of Italy) contend now among themselves: and this was the cause of the Schisme.

The cause of  
this Schisme.

Wee haue said, that the vnfortunate successe of the voluntary quarrell moued by *Boniface* the eight, against King *Philip* the faire, ministred occasion to transport the Pontificall sea from Rome to Auignon, where hauing bene vsually resident 74. yeeres, and the Popes chosen out of the French nation, Gregory the tenth a Limosin, grew desirous to goe to Rome, and to transport his colledge thither, consisting for the most part of French Cardinals. After his death, (beeing to choose a new Pope) the Cleargie and people of Rome beeings vnited, protest vnto the colledge, that they will haue a Romaine or an Italian, and no French-man. If they doe it not willingly, they threaten force. The French are the stronger in the Conclau, being thirteene against foure. But what could they do against the mutiny of a multitude armed with furie? To coniuere this storme, the French and Italian Cardinals agree to name an Italian Pope, with whom the Pontificall dignity should bee left in garde, vntill they might choose one by a free election of the whole colledge.

They all consent to choose *Bartholomew* of Naples, Archbishop of Bary in Apulia, esteemed a learned man, graue and modest. The reputation of his vertues made them proceed to confirme him in the election: so as all by a generall consent, (especially *Peter de la Lune*, and the Cardinal of Saint Agreue in Viarez) crowne and adore him, for a finall conclusion of his Popedom, assuring them-selues that hee would continue vertuous, as he had formerly begun vertuously. But honours change manners. Two dayes were scarce past after this sollemne reception, but this *Bartholomew*, (who shall now be *Vrbane* the sixt, in changing his degree and name) did also change his humors and manner of life. Hee which was accustomed to humble him-selfe to all men, doth now braue all them which had newly raised him to this dignity. He threatens to keepe them vnder, and checks them with reprochefull words. *Otho* Duke of Brunfwick (husband to *Joane* Queene of Sicilie and Naples), comes to congratulate his election, and for a prooffe of his great humility, (as *Vrbane* called for wine) *Otho* takes the cuppe from his talter, and kneeling before the Pope presents it vnto him. *Vrbane* takes it, leauing him on his knee with a frowning countenance, without speaking any thing. This insupportable arrogancie displeased the whole colledge, but especially Queene *Joane*, (holding this disgrace done to her selfe) and made *Vrbane* so odious, as they all resolute to depose him, and to choose another Pope: where-vnto *Joane* doth promise her assistance. They all ioyntly resolute to retire themselves quietly out of Rome, into some place of liberty. So vnder colour to auoide the heate of Sommer, they take their leaues to go to Anagnia: where hauing sojourned some weeke, they go to Fundy, a City in the Kingdome of Naples, a fit place to enioy their liberties vnder the Queenes protection. Then began they to plant their battery against *Vrbane*. They set downe for the ground of their right, that the condition specified in the election of *Vrbane*, should be auailable to those that did choose him, to declare him incapable of the dignity whereof hee shewed him-selfe vnworthy: and (to obserue all formalities,) they cite *Vrbane* before them, and write vnto the other Italian Cardinals, that their meaning is to name an Italian: A

The pride of  
Pope *Vrbane* as  
the sixt.

meanes to drawe them to increase their number. Beeings assembled, they depose *Vrbane* by the plurality of voyces, and beeings to choose another, at the same instant they aduance Cardinall *Rupert* of the noble house of the Earles of Geneua, and call him *Clement* the seauenth. This bred a great alteration both at Rome and in *Vrbane*s minde: for Rome is presently abandoned, and *Vrbane* so aimed at

Pope *Vrbane*  
deposed and  
*Clement* cho-  
sen.

1429.

Clement's  
disposition.

as hee knowes not what to do. Behold two Popes in one chaire, which is too little for them A both, seeing the world will not suffice them: for in choosing *Clement*, they found no more clemencie, then vrbanity and ciuill conuersation in *Vrbano*. *Clement* yeelding nothing to the vices of his competitor: an ambitious man, willfull, audacious, sumptuous and poore, ha- nothing rich but the heart, puffed vp with the greatnesse of his house. These two doe worthy exploits, especially *Vrbano*, whose name the people changed, and for *Vrbano* they called him *Turbano*: that is a trouble of the world, to note his barbarous and fierce nature, louing troubles and confusion.

And that which made a way to this mischiefe, Kings and Princes (who should haue im- B ployed their authorities to quench this fire) were nothing affected therevnto: for the Em- perour *Charles* the fourth, died soone after the breeding of this *Schisme*, leauing an insuffi- cient successor. France and England were too farre engaged to determine their owne quar- rels by the sword. As for the particular of France, during the imprisonment of *John*, the infirmity of *Charles* the sixth, and the halfe shipwrack of *Charles* the seauenth, what helpe could the French bring to these confusions, being almost drowned in their owne? In the beginning *Clement* had all aduantages ouer *Vrbano*. The authority of the ordinary and ancient Colledge, Canonically chosen, followed by the Court of Rome, and the Castle Saint Angelo, by the which hee might enter the City. All the French, the greatest part of the Italians, many Germanes, all the Spaniards and English which were at Rome repaired vnto him, and consequently all these nations followed him. France, Spaine, England, with a C part of Germany and Italy: There remained the Hongariens, and some Germanes, who for feare of the affaires at Naples (not daring to trust them-selues in Anagnia) were forced to continue in Rome, a leuaine which shall soone cause great deuisions. *Vrbano* as much daunted in aduersity, as hee was puffed vp in prosperity, humbles himselfe to all men: hee weepes and deplores his misery, and craues aide of euery man, promising all fauour if they did helpe to restore him. There is neither Hongarien, Germaine, nor Italian, which belong vnto the Court, but hee sues vnto him. By their aduice and direction, hee flies to the Empe- rour *Charles* the fourth, and to *Lewis* King of Hongary, intreating them to bee mediators to the Colledge of Cardinalls, who were discontented with him. But *Clement* (growne ouer-proude with this first successe) gaue him means to repaire his estate. Hee hath a de- D seigne to surpris Rome by the Castell: but as *Bernard Caxall*, with a troupe of Neapolitans would haue seized vpon one of Rome gates, hee was valiantly repulled by the Inhabitants. The Emperour *Charles* the fourth, and *Lewis* King of Hongary, sent their Ambassadors to *Clement* and to the Colledge of Cardinalls, to treat an accord. *Clement* vseth them with- out clemencie, hee checks them, puts them in prison, and in the end sends them away with many indignities. This affront moued *Charles* and *Lewis*, so as by their meanes, both Germany, Hongary, Poland, Denmarke, Sweden, Norway, and Prussie, were all affected to *Vrbans* faction. *Charles* was a spectator of this first Scene, and dyed three moneths after, leauing vpon the stage dangerous actors against *Clement*. *Vrbano* being thus fortified grew E high-minded, and for a marke of his authority, hee erects a new Colledge of six and twenty Cardinalls, all created in one day, being Italians, Germanes, Hongariens, Polonians, and other nations that fauoured him, to haue a support of this authority in all parts. *Clement* workes likewise, and to haue his reuenge, (for that hee could not seize vpon a gate of Rome) hee resolved to send an army to field, to vex the Romaines, and to force them to obedience: but the successe of this desseigne was not answerable to his desire; for hauing sent the Lord of Montieux his Nephew with goodly troupes furnished by Queene *Jane*; the Ro- maines, led by *Aheric of Barbiane*, defeated this army, and tooke *Montieux* prisoner, whom they beheaded, as a disturber of the publicke quiet, and so they chase the French out of the Castell Saint Angelo.

*Clement* finding himselfe nothing safe at Fundy, meanes to retire to Naples, but the Ne- apolitans would not receiue him, notwithstanding the Queenes persuasions: and so hee passeth to Auignon, whether he brings the Pontificall Sea, for the second time, as *Clement* the first had done at the first. It was in the yeare 1384 that the Popes second sea was planted in Auignon, siue yeares after that *Gregory* had retired himselfe. *Clement* frustrate of all hope of his returne to Rome, faints not in these first difficulties, finding him-selſe in a place of safety,

Pope Clement  
vseth the Em-  
perours Am-  
bassadors dis-  
gracefully.Pope Vrbano  
makes a new  
Colledge of  
26. Cardinalls.Clement's for-  
ces defeated  
by the Ro-  
maines.

1429.

A safety, where he might command at pleasure, being proud by nature, by reason of his great birth, and by his forces vnited in two great Kingdomes. So euery one armes, for a sharpe in- counter, according to the forces they could raise. First either of them prouides his battery of excommunication. *Clement* the seuenth cites *Vrbano* before him and his college of Cardi- nals canonically chosen, with his Cardinalls vnlawfully elected by him who had beene de- posed from the charge which had beene giuen him but to keepe; declaring all that hee had done, or should doe, to be of no force. *Vrbano*, on the other side, incounters *Clement* with the like excommunications. He declares him Antipope, a Schismaticke, and an Heretike, and all them that should follow him, guilty of high treason, both against God and man. Their goods, honours, liues, bodies and soules confiscate.

B This first point performed, they come to the effects. *Clement* makes search throughout al the territories of his obediēce, for those of *Vrbans* faction, whom he imprisons, condemnes, and kills with sword, fire, and water: many are strangled, massacred, drowned and burnt with extreame cruelty. *Vrbano* shall doe no better, but he proceeds by degrees. He makes his peace with the Florentines, Perusins, Milanois and Geneuois: the Venetians onely hee could not winne. The Emperour *Charles* the fourth being dead, hee could not preuaile much with *Ven- cesslaus*, an vnworthy Prince: but he made his profit of *Lewis* King of Hongary, a capitall e- nemy to *Joane* Queene of Naples, the souereigne obiekt of *Vrbans* choler, whom hee sought to ruine, as the sole motiue of all his crosses. But amidst the disorders of these confused pas- sions, the diuers effects of Gods prouidence are remarkable, who drawes light from darke- C nesse, and order from disorder, in such sort, as it is most commonly vnknowne to man, but alwayes iust and admirable in his iust effects.

*Vrbano* (presuming that the force of Hongary would fortifie his proceedings) doth excom- municate *Joane* Queene of Naples, declares her incapable of the crowne, and calles in *Charles* of Durazzo, of whom we haue made mention. But who sees not, that this belonigs properly to the history of Naples, whereof we intreat accidentally, matters being tied toge- ther by a necessary vnion. In the end *Joane* lost both goods and life, through the power of *Charles* of Durazzo, who remained absolute maister of the Realme of Naples, by the death of *Lewis* of Aniou; whom shee had adopted, but *Lewis* thinking to reuenge her death, lost D his owne life, and drew France into great miseries, whereof this vnseasonable adoption was the leuaine. Behold the end of the first *Joane* Queene of Naples, who shall be soone follow- ed with a second *Joane*, to continue our voluntary languishing in Italy.

But the end of this *Proserpina* was the beginning of a second trouble, through the ambi- tion of *Vrbano*, the which hauing no limits, transported his spleene against *Charles* of Duraz- zo, whom hee had drawne out of Hongary. He is not satisfied that *Charles* should doe him homage, but hee will haue some places in his absolute power, and that *Charles* should inuest his Nephew *Butillo* (a man of no estimation, hauing nothing rare in him but his extraordi- nary vices) in the principality of *Capua*, and the Duchy of *Durazzo*, seeking to get so firme footing in the state, as he might dispossesse *Charles* at his pleasure.

E *Durazzo*, being loath to labour for an other man, excuseth himselfe to *Vrbano*; who takes no excuses for payment, but citeth him before his Consistory, threatening, that if hee appears not at the day prefixed, hee will proceed against him by excommunication. *Charles* who feared more the losse of his new purchase, then the lightnings of *Vrbano*, makes him vnwares a prisoner, hauing placed many souldiers about him for his gard. *Vrbano* seeing himselfe bra- ued by *Charles*, euen within Naples, complains of this affront, and by his suffrance, hee re- tires to Nocera, from whence hee sends excommunications against *Charles*, who laying aside all respect, opposeth a goodly army, and comes to besiege *Vrbano* with Ensignes dis- played in Nocera. Hee sends a trumpet to aduertise him, that hee was come according to his assignement. In the meane time he takes information of *Vrbans* abuses, (being F knowne and detested of al the world) and moreover hee tried the opinions of the Cardinalls, to censure or depose *Vrbano*: who being aduertised hereof, was so moued, as (not able to be reuenged of *Charles*,) hee imprisons seuen Cardinalls (the most sufficient of his Col- ledge) without any other iust matter to charge them with, but that they were the learnedest and of greatest courage: and to make triall of his forces, hee sends his Nephew *Butillo* against him with a troupe, which this great Captaine suffered to bee ouerthrowne,

The cruelties  
of 2. Popes.*Vrbano* pro-  
ceeding a-  
gainst *Joane*  
Queene of  
Naples.*Pope Vrbano*  
discontented  
against *Charles*  
of Durazzo.*Charles* goes  
with an army  
against Pope  
*Vrbano*.The Popes  
nephew de-  
feated and  
taken.



# BY VVHAT MEANES AND DE- grees, the townes subdued by the English, retur- ned to the obedience of this Crowne, and how the English were chased out of this Realme.

From the yere 1429. to 1454. after the ebbing and flowing of many actions, and the ac-  
cord of the duke of Bourgogne with *Charles*, long debated and in the end obtained by  
the meanes of the duke of Bourbon, Paris yeelds to the King. The other cities and  
Prouinces of this Realme, one after another, in diuers seasons, and by diuers occasions,  
returne to the King, as to their head: and expell the stranger, who held the State.

TO THE REDUCTION OF PARIS ARE 7. YEARS, TO THE  
FVL RESTORING OF THE REALME 18. AND IN  
ALL 25. YEARES AFTER HIS  
CORONATION.



His happy beginning of the Kings affaires, seemed to bring with it a  
generall restoring of his whole Realme, by the absolute obedience  
of all Townes and Prouinces. But God which gouernes nature  
by seasons, and giues not harvest when as they sow the seed; hee  
doth likewise gouerne the society of mankind by degrees, that the  
force of mans industry, of it selfe, may appeare vaine and nothing,  
and not successefull but by his grace, without whom man can doe  
nothing. Wee haue hitherto seene into what distresse the prefer-  
uer of this estate hath drawne both the King and Realme; but in the end his prouidence shal  
appeare no lesse admirable in preferuing it.

The English  
seeke to crosse  
*Charles* in his  
course

The Bour-  
guignons dis-  
position.

Ioane the Vir-  
gin diuades  
King *Charles* from fighting.

The duke of Bedford wonderfully discontented with his happy successe, resolues to stop  
the course, both by force and policie. To this end he sends to England for succors both of  
men and money: he leauius all he can in France, & practiseth with the Duke of Bourgogne,  
who was held of both parties, to haue power to strike the last stroake in this equality of  
affaires: So as finding himselfe fought vnto by them all, hee intertaines them all, giuing  
*Charles* secretly to vnderstand, that hee was for him, and yet hee presently takes armes for  
the English. A man wholly adicted to his affaires, hauing no other obiect but his owne  
greatnesse, yet shall he effect no wonders, being now so much sought vnto.

*Charles* partes from Rheims, to obserue his enemies way, he passeth by Soissons, Chaste-  
au Thierry, Prouince, Couffy in Bry, and comes to Crespy in Valois, all these townes shake  
off the English yoke to obey him. Bedford was at Senlis, with an army of ten thousand  
men, from thence he writes letters of defiance to *Charles*, as to the vsurper of the Realme.  
He represents vnto him at large, the compassion he had of the poore French people, so long  
opprest with warre, and doth challenge him to appoint a day and place, to end this long mi-  
sery, either by a peace or bataille. A part ill acted by a stranger, for who could beleue these  
protestations, in the mouth of a stranger, against the heire of the Crowne?

*Charles* answers him by effects, and offers himselfe to the combate: the English armie  
was before Senlis, beeing lodged in that renowned Temple of victorie, the ancient monu-  
ment of the valour of *Philip Augustus*. The French army was opposit against them with-  
out hedge or bush, in a large plaine. The King called a Councell, whether hee shuld giue  
bataille. The Virgin held opinion they should not hazard these happy beginnings vpon a  
doubtfull combate, being sufficient to stay the enemy, in shewing him the army, without  
striking. So as these two armies stood two daies together in bataille, looking one vpon an-  
other without mouing, although many skirmishes seemed to offer occasion to draw them  
to a generall fight. In the end there was a confused charge of some fore-lorne hopes,  
Picards

A Picards and French, but the battailes stood firme. After this countenance, Bedford takes  
his way to Paris, to auoide the alterations which the Kings approche and prosperity might  
breed. *Charles* hauing received the obedience of Compeigne, Senlis, Creil, Beauuois, Pont  
Saint Maxence, Choyfi, Gournay, Remy, Neuville, Mogney, Chantely, Saintines, and  
other places thereabouts, with the homages of the Seigneuries of Montmorency and  
Mouy, he marcheth towards Paris, vpon promise made by the Bourguignon, to be receiued  
by the Citizens. Being at Saint *Denis*, hee not onely findes Bedford in Armes without the  
Citty, but also the Citty well garded by the Inhabitants, so as the Virgin seeking to surprize  
Saint *Honoris* ditch, had like to haue beene taken, being fore wounded, and looting a good-  
ly troope of her best and most resolute souldiers. The inconsiderate desire which *Charles*  
had to winne the loue of the Duke of Bourgogne, did much preiudice his affaires, for all  
Picardy held him in great esteeme, especially the great townes of Amiens, Abbeuille, and  
and Saint Quintin: but the respect he bare the Bourguignon, made him to neglect these  
occasions to his great hurt. Hauing therefore found this passage to bee very perilous, hee  
retires into Berry, and the Duke of Bedford (freed from the feare of his forces) goes into  
Normandy, where the Constable Richemont had surprised Eureux, Aumale, Chasteau-  
gaillard, and Andely, places of importance in that Prouince.

Ioane the  
Virgin wound-  
ed.

But during these alterations, the Duke of Bourgogne married with *Isabell*, daughter to  
the King of Portugall, adding this third wife, to his two former deceased. The Duchesse of  
Bedford was at this marriage, not in regarde of the feast, but for her husbands affaires. The  
Bourguignon conducts her to Paris with foure thousand armed men, where hee renews  
the League more strongly, (some-what shaken through the affaires of *Isabelle* Countesse  
of Hainault) with his brother in lawe. There hee made the order of the Golden Fleece, as if  
he had already conquered the Gardens of Hesperides, like a second *Iason*: but hee determi-  
ned to make violent warre against *Charles* the year following: and returning into Picar-  
dy, he tooke Gournay and Choisy, places lately subdued to the Crowne. Melun, Sens, and  
Villeneuve le Roy, gaue a happy beginning to this year, yeelding to the Kings obedience,  
but the losse of the Virgin Ioane, and the taking of *Pothon*, two of the greatest and most val-  
iant heads of the Armie, quailed all the ioy of these conquests. The Tragedie was thus  
D acted.

The instituti-  
on of the  
Golden Fleece.

The Bourguignon hauing taken Choisy by force, hee buies Soissons of the Cap-  
taine that commanded: and so hee marcheth against Compeigne with his Armie, with  
whom the Earles of Suffolke and Arondel ioyne, with two thousand men. The Virgin  
issues forth with a notable troupe of the best souldiers, to charge the besiegers, who bee-  
ing too farre ingaged in the fight alone, was taken by the Bastard of Vendosme, and pre-  
sently brought to the Duke of Bourgogne. Hee reioyced much at so notable a prize, as  
hauing conquered all *Charles* his good fortunes, and reserues her as a triumph for the Duke  
of Bedford, whose proceedings we will now set downe.

Ioane the Vir-  
gin taken.

*Pothon* was then taken vnaduisedly. The Archbishop of Rheims being Chancellor, with  
E the Lords of Saint Seuer and Bouffac, Marshals of France, being at Beauuais; behold a  
yong Shepheard comes vnto them, assuring them, that God had reuealed vnto him a  
meanes to take Rouen. They (taking the vanity of this foole for present payment) as if  
God had raied vp a new Oracle, in the declining of the other, by the surprize of the Vir-  
gin) arme inconsiderately, singing a triumph before the victory. The English (aduerti-  
sed of their departure and numbers) meete and surprize them, at Nully neere vnto Beau-  
uais, when as they looked least for them, finding them like men newly dislodged, with-  
out order or feare, and ouer-came them easily. *Pothon* struing to make head with a squad-  
ron of five and twenty Lances, presteth so farre in among the enemies, as hee is taken: and by  
F *Talbot* himselfe, whom he had taken at the bataille of Paray, and so well intreated, as *Talbot*  
made him a good requitall; for hauing imbraced him as a brother, he honorably gaue him  
his liberty, and sent him in safety to Beauuais. Thus honesty and humanity reapes what  
it hath sowne. A good turne is neuer lost among men of honour. An example for such  
as manage armes honourably, in whome there is nothing more vnworthy then crueltie,  
especially against the weakenesse of a prisoner. Cruelty is fitter for theecues and Canni-  
balles,

*Pothon* taken  
and deliuered.



1430.

balles, whom they call Antropophages, or eaters of men, but curtesie becomes good foul-  
diars, who are twise Conquerors, winning their hearts by curtesie, whose bodies they had  
conquered by force.

The Virgin  
brought to  
Rouen.

The Virgin *Ioane* was nor so well intreated by the duke of Bedford, who hauing bought  
her for ready money, of *John* of Luxembourg, as the best prisoner of the army, hee causeth  
her to be brought to Rouen, being resolved to put her to death. The honour of the law of  
armes, and the consequence which made all them guilty, which should hereafter be taken  
by the French, did contradiet his will; but the vnruely passion of his deadly hatred conceiued  
against this maiden (as hauing ruined his affaires in France) preuailed aboue reason. And  
hauing no colour to put her to death, as a prisoner of the warre, he resolves to make her a  
prisoner of Iustice: but the Magistrates would not heare of it. Vpon their refusall, he hath  
recourse to the Diuines. And as the Oracle of *Apollo* spake, according vnto the money that  
was giuen, sometimes for *Philip* of Macedon, sometimes for the Athenians; so the Diuines  
(being pensioners to the English in this act) made their diuinity English.

Condemned  
for a Witch  
and burnt.

After they had grauely consulted and resolved on the matter: they declare *Ioane* to bee  
against kinde hauing abused her sex, bearing the habit of a man, against the expresse word  
of God, a witch working by deuills, without the which she could not haue performed so ma-  
ny extraordinary deeds, nor obtained such a memorable successe, and so by consequence an  
Idolatresse, a scismaticke and an heretike. This was decreed in the vniuersity of Paris, with  
many hands to the condemnation: This conclusion (being carefully procured by the duke  
of Bedford) was presented by him to *Peter Cauchon* bishop of Beauvais, whom he requested  
to proceed speedily in the cause. The Bishop assembles the Deane and Chapter at Rouen,  
he calles the Abbot of Fescamp thether with a new supply of diuines, for the execution of  
this decree. There is nothing more easie then to doe euill. And although they were all  
possessed with English passions, yet could they not so soone resolve themselves against her;  
so as they were long in suspence, before they could condemne her, for the answered pertin-  
ently to all their accusations. In the end violence preuailed, the which (being mustified  
with the cloake of religion and Iustice) condemned *Ioane* (as guilty of the aboue-named  
crimes) to perpetual prison: but in the end being deliuered by the Bishop to the secular pow-  
er, the Duke of Bedford caused her to be burnt at Rouen, in the yeere 1431. the sixth of Iuly. D

The siege of  
Compiegne.

Thus she happily serued France one whole yeere, and was prisoner somewhat more, lea-  
uing a great greefe to those that liued then, to see her so intreated: and a memory of im-  
mortall praise to come, hauing beene so profitable and necessarie an instrument, for the  
deliuey of our Country being almost ruined. But the wise prouidence of God had  
lymited both her labours and her life. He would onely vse her in the beginning, to shewe  
that *Charles* hath not beene the Author of the restoring of this estate, but God himselfe,  
who would shame men by a maide, most worthy to be honoured by our posterity. I haue  
reported at once what was acted in two yeeres, being all of one subiect: not to breake off  
the order of my discours in matters which follow after. And now I will returne to Com-  
piegne besieged by the Bourguignon. As all the French were much amazed for the losse of  
*Ioane*, so the English and Bourguignons were greatly incouraged to presse the siege of  
Compiegne with greater heat. This important city (seated vpon the riuer of Oize, at the en-  
try of Picardy) had greatly furthered the Bourguignon, who for this reason was resolute to  
haue it either by loue or force. He doth againe negotiate with *Charles*, assuring him of his  
loue. *Charles*, bewitched with the charmes of this Bourguignon) giues care to his new deu-  
ises, and (forgetting that he had beene abused,) he promiseth to deliuer Compiegne into his  
hands. The Bourguignon accepts it: and the better to play his part, he drawes his Por-  
tuguaise to Noyon, being one of the cunningest women in the world, and most affected to  
her husband, as a gage of the loue he had promised to *Charles*, the which shee should man-  
age. The Lord of Flauy Gouvernor of Compiegne, had receiued feuerall commandments  
from the King to deliuer it, but hee excuseth himselfe, desiring to haue a more ample war-  
rant from the King. He shewes him the importance of the place, and the wilfulnesse of the  
inhabitants, and so denying his maister honestly that which might be preiudiciall vnto him,  
he dischargeth the dutie of a good seruant. Trulie it is a good seruice to deny the maister,  
when

A when as he commandes that is hurtfull vnto him-selfe. This policy succeeding not for the  
Duke of Bourgongne, to surprise Compiegne, hee resolves to haue it by force: Bedford  
sends the Earle of Huntington with a thousand English Archers to fortifie this seege. *John*  
of Luxembourg (who was there for the Bourguignon) builds great forts to keepe them from  
succors, and for a retreat he doth fortifie the Abbis of Venete and Royaulieu. The Inha-  
bitants were in great extremity, yet were they resolute to endure all, vnder their wise and  
faithfull gouernor, rather then to fall into the hands of strangers, whose gripes they had for-  
merly felt. If they were fiercely besieged by the English and Bourguignons, so were they  
as well succored by the French, vnder the happy command of the Earle of Vendosme go-  
uernor of Beauuais, and the Marshall of Bouffac, who (hauing valiantly forced the  
first bastions) enter the towne and hauing victualled it, they issue forth, with great resoluti-  
on, so as they take all the other torts, to their enemies great losse. So Huntington and Lux-  
embourg retire with disgrace, leauing not onely that country free, but their victuals,  
artillery, munition and habiliments of warre in their lodgings of Venete and Royaulieu,  
sauing themselves with some difficulty, at Pont'Euesque, through the fauour of Noyon.  
The Bourguignon was so amazed, as hee retired into Arthois, hauing as bad successe by  
force as by policy.

1430.  
The govern-  
or retireth  
to deliuer it.

Relieved by  
the French.

Our French forces being maisters of the field, they recouer all the Bourguignons con-  
quests. Choyfy, Gournay, Bertueil, Garmigny, Reffons, Pont Remy, Pont Saint Maxence,  
C Longueil, Saint Mary, la Boissiere, Ireligny, Vernueil, and other places, where he had gathe-  
red together all the corne and cattell of the Country, the which was restored to the poore  
people, to their great content. The Bourguignons pride thus taken downe (after so many  
victorious hopes) was a principall part of this victory. But he resolves to haue his reuenge  
of this affront. Beeing come to Arras, he gathers together all the forces he can: and from  
thence hee goes to Peronne, to attend the body of his army. His intent was to recouer  
what hee had lost in this last warre of Compiegne, meaning to begin at Garmigny, which  
did greatly anoye all that country. He sends a troupe of 600. men before, vnder the con-  
duct of *Thomas Tirrell* an Englishman. Girard of Brimeu gouernor of Roie augments  
this troupe with a hundred of his men. In this order they goe to the seege of Garmigny as  
to a marriage: but *Pothon* (who had his spies in all places, and had put him selfe into Gar-  
migny, at the brute of this seege) slept not. Hauing therefore sent to discover the enemies  
countenance, he learns that these Picards (being neere to Bouchoire) did hunt after hares,  
(whereof there are great store in those parts,) and that this troupe was wholly in disorder,  
running vp and downe with great cries. *Pothon* imbraceth this occasion suddenly, and ha-  
uing drawne his men to field, he surpriseth these hunters, being disperfed and out of breath,  
he defeats them, kills them, and in the end cries, that they should take the runne awaies. The  
Commander is taken, with most of their best men. *Anthony* of Vienne and the Lord of  
Hailly (being greatly lamented by the Bourguignon) were first led to Garmigny, and then  
to Compiegne in great triumph.

The Bour-  
guignons de-  
feated.

E The newes hereof did greatly trouble the Bourguignon, especially when as the Earle of  
Vendosme went with the French army to braue him at the gates of Roie, offering him bat-  
taile. He made shew to accept thereof, but hauing called a Councell, he framed a reasona-  
ble excuse, that his soldiars were not willing he should fight in the ende of the yeare. With  
these affronts the yeare ends: and with the death of a sonne which hee had by his new spouse,  
whome he loued deerely, his spirits were so oppressed with sorrow for this losse, as this  
Prince (being too passionate) had speeches vnworthy the grauity of his person, and  
the greatnesse of his blood, weeping and wishing for death. Doubles it often falls  
out that hee euen which is too much puffed vp in prosperity, is easilly daunted in aduer-  
sity. A goodly lesson for great men (who cannot learne but by great examples) that  
F their greatnesse doth not free them from the common condition of mankind: that they  
are men and must die like men. O man! whatsoever thou beest, behold good remedies  
against these extremities of fortune: neither to bee dronke with prosperity, nor drowned  
in aduersity. These fiue succeeding yeares hauing nothing memorable, but an entry to the  
obedience of the City of Paris, which shall giue example to all the rest of the realme. The  
weaknesse of parties was necessary for the making of an accord. The Duke of Bourgongne  
might



1429.

The Duchesse  
of Bedford  
diesMontargis  
taken.Chartres  
yields to the  
king.A quarrell be-  
twixt the  
Duke of Bar,  
and the Earle  
of Vaudemont.Henry King of  
England  
crowned at  
Paris.Montargis  
taken and lost  
agaue.

might doe much, but his infinite designs had transported him beyond the clouds, without A  
some check. These small disgraces did greatly blemish his credit with the duke of Bedford,  
who expected more from him then he found by the effects: but that which made a breach  
in their loues was the sodaine death of *Anne Duchesse* of Bedford, sister to *Philip* Duke of  
Bourgongne, the gage of their cold friendship, which till then was very necessary, but after  
her decease it was but superficial, although in this occurrent their league was not apparent-  
ly broken. The one weepes for his wife, and the other for his sister. The beginning of this  
yeere was noted by the taking of Montargis from the French, through the notable treason  
of a woman, who gaue entrance to the English, and who presently reaped the fruits of her  
treachery. But let vs attend the yeere following, where wee shall see a merueilous change B  
in this miserable towne. At the same time, in recompence of Montargis, Chartres re-  
turnes to the Kings obedience. The meanes is worthy obseruation, being put in practise in  
our times in many places. A carter liuing at Chartres had a brother resident in court with  
a treasurer. The familiarity this carter had to goe and come into the towne, made him  
both desire, and to lay the plot of so memorable an enterprife. Neere vnto the gate there  
was an old ruined house, in the which there was a great vault halfe filled vp with rubbish:  
here they lodge a hundred men: on the other side they conuay a thousand men, secretly in  
the night, into a house nere vnto the towne. The carter comes at the breake of day with his  
cart vnto the port, where hee ouerthrowes it of purpose, faining that a wheele was split.  
While the gard labours to helpe him, the ambush issues forth out of these ruines, and sur- C  
priseth the port, and the rest second them with such speed, as the citie is wonne. This had  
bin done without any effusion of blood, if the bishop had not animated the inhabitants to  
fight against their King, where hee himselfe was slaine with some of the citizens. About  
this time, *René* Duke of Barre, brother to *Lewis* duke of Aniou, and King of Sicilia, (who  
shall make himselfe famous in the following raigne) receiued a great check. Hee had a  
notable quarrell against the Earle of Vaudemont, pretending the Earledome: from words  
they goe to blowes, *René* fortifies himselfe with the forces of France: Vaudemont with  
those of Bourgongne. *René* beeing farre stronger in shew, besiegeth the towne of Vaude-  
mont, and when as the Earle, with the helpe of his friends, would haue raised the siege, *René*  
drawes him to fight, defying him, and promising to himselfe an assured victory. But God D  
(the souereigne ludge of these factions) gaue it to the Earle, and *René* remained prisoner in  
the hands of the duke of Bourgongne, to whom hee paid a great ransome. In the end, by  
the dukes meanes yeelding him his libertie, this quarrell was ended, marrying the eldest son  
of *René* with the daughter of the Earle of Vaudemont. But let vs reserue the rest to the fol-  
lowing reigne.

About the end of this yeere, a solemnitie was done in Paris, which carried more shew  
then substance. We haue said before, how that *Henry* the sixth King of England, had beene  
crowned King of France, when as our *Charles* was crowned at Poitiers, after the decease of  
his father. *Henry* was but two yeeres old, and came not out of England, vntill that *Charles* E  
had beene solemnly crowned at Rheims, to the great ioy of all the French; but when as the  
duke of Bedford found, how much this authentike publication aduanced the affaires of  
*Charles*, he caused *Henry* to be brought into France, and to be crowned at Paris, with an ex-  
traordinary Maiesty, to out-countenance *Charles* his coronation, by a greater shew of  
pompe. But the blood of France cannot dissemble: no man was moued thereat, no more  
then to see a Tragedie acted vpon the Stage. This yeere is very barren of all memorable  
exploits, but that this silence noted an entrance to an accord (both parties being weary of  
pleading) yet with great slacknesse, as we see in diseases which come sodenly, & passe away  
slowly: wee must therefore crosse this rough way before wee come to Paris. Montargis  
taken by the English, as wee haue said, was now recovered by the French, but after a diuers F  
manner; for the English lost the towne by the castle, and the French the castle by the town,  
yet were they three moneths in winning of the castle. Hauing taken all, they lost all by the  
same meanes that made them so much to gape after the castle, which was the want of mo-  
ney. This shamefull losse greeued many of the greatest in court, and bred a new trouble by  
this occasion.

*Tremouille* was yet in great credit with the King, hauing by this meanes a great  
hand

A hand in the State: they accused him to haue heaped vp great treasure, to the preiudice of  
such as daily employed their liues for the Kings seruice. The greater men resolute to take *Tre-*  
*monille* prisoner, and to punish him like vnto *Giac*, and others before mentioned. The King  
was at his Castell at Chinon: *Tremouille* follows him as his shadow, but it chanced, as hee  
was in his chamber, the Lords of Brueil, Coytiuy and Fetard, followed with fortie armed  
men, enter and take him, not one of a hundred of that sort could escape; but sixe thousand  
Crownes saued his life, hoping to returne againe into credit. The Constable of Richmond  
pust vp with the successe of *Montargis*, takes Milly in Gastenois: but hauing besieged *Lag-*  
*ny* in Brye, he was repulsed: at the same time, *John* of Luxemburg (of the Bourguignon fa-  
B shion) is dispossessed of Ligny in Barrois, by the Ladie of Comercy. A disgrace which  
shall draw the Bourguignon to a composition so much desired; together with the happy  
successe of the French, in the countrie of Arthois, the taking of *S. Valerie* in Ponthieu, and  
the generall waunting of the chiefe townes in Picardie, tired with these confusions, beeing  
so great, as no man was assured of his person, of what partie soeuer, if hee were the weaker;  
The Cardes were so shuffled, as an English man would become French, to take a Bourguig-  
nion, and a French man become English, or a Bourguignon, to take a Frenchman. These  
vniuersall trecheries were vsuall, especially at Amiens, Abbeuille, and throughout all Picardy,  
where the warres had beene most licentious. Which outrage hath beene reuiued in our mi-  
serable age, through the crueltie of these wretched warres, which causeth men to make ship-  
wracke both of faith and honour.

This yeare had a plausible beginning, but without any great effect. The Councell of Pisa  
beeing assembled (as we haue said) to redresse the confusion of Antipopes, and to reduce the  
Church (diuided by this Schisme) vnto vnion, sends the Cardinall of Auxerre vnto the  
Kings of France and England, to exhort them vnto peace. *Charles* protested that he desired  
nothing more; the English said the like. They assemble to this end at Auxerre in great  
troupes, but at their first meeting, all this treatie was broken off, for both the one and the  
other, stood vpon the qualitie of King of France, beeing the fundamentall point of all their  
quarrell. The Duke of Bedford spake more proudly then *Charles* himselfe, as if the lawe of  
D State (which maintained this Monarchie) had beene made in England, an Iland become  
firme land, and France changed to the Isle of Albion or of Brittanie: of such force is errour  
euen in matters of State, when as passion ouer-rules the light of reason. So as they all de-  
part without any effect: They onely conclude a truce, for the great want of the poore peo-  
ple, who could suffer no more. But this truce was a pit-fall for many, trusting the counte-  
nance of this courteous warre, which making profession to meane nothing so, is more to be  
feared when it smiles, then when it frownes.

We haue said, that *John* Duke of Bourbon was taken prisoner in the battaile of Azin-  
court, whome they could neuer redeeme at any rate. This yeare he died in England, and his  
sonne *Charles* succedes him. He had to wife the sister of the Duke of Bourgongne, but they  
fall to words for their rights, and so to warre. *Charles* takes from *Philip*, Grancy, Aualon,  
E Perepertuis, Mucy-l'Euésque, Chaumont, and other places. The Bourguignon had his re-  
uenge, and beseegeth Belleuille in Beauiculois, belonging vnto *Charles*. *Mary* Duchesse of  
Berry, labours to reconcile these Princes, and drawes them to a peace, the which shall soone  
be a meanes of a generall accord betwixt the Bourguignon and France, by the mediation of  
the Duke of Bourbon, a profitable instrument of so good a worke. This occasion not pre-  
uented, was seconded by another, for the Duke of Bedford, after the death of his wife (beeing  
sister to the Duke of Bourgongne) marries with *Iaquelin* the daughter of *Peter* of Lux-  
embourg Earle of Saint Pol, who was no friend to the Bourguignon: and moreouer the  
youth and beautie of this new spouse, had so bewitched Bedford, as he was easily drawn from  
F *Philip*, whose loue he entertained with great difficultie, yet in respect of the generall cause  
they made a good shew, and had met at *S. Omer* to that effect, but this interview encreased  
their discontents.

In the meane time, the truce (beeing ill obserued on either side) is conuerted into a lan-  
guishing warre. Bedford makes warre in the Countrie of Maine by *Scales* and *Willowbie*, two  
renowned Captaines, which beseege *S. Celerin*. *Charles* succours it by the Lord of Buell,  
who

1432.

John duke of  
Bourbon dies  
in England.Bedford mar-  
ries againe.

1434.

The English  
defeated at  
Viuaun.

who hauing lodged some troupes at Viuaun, (a village of small accompt) made it famous A by a notable peece of seruice. *Scales* aduertised of these troupes lodged in this hamlet, hasts thither, surprizeth them, and cuts them in peeces: but the Lord of Bucil had his reuenge: for falling vpon the Conquerours, who returned in disorder, he puts them in route. *Char-* tier notes it for a notable seruice, that fortie lances ouerthrew a thousand five hundred men, which were slaine, or taken prisoners: of such force is disorder and amazement in warre. The seige of Saint *Celerin* beeing thus raised, to the great disgrace of the English, Bedford is much grieved for this affront, sends the Earle of Arondell thither with new forces. It was at the same time when as *Charles* went into Daulphine: the fame of this notable victorie, holding mens minds in suspence, so as Arondell takes S. *Celerin* by force, and from thence he marcheth to Silley le Guil-laume. The Gouverneur fearing to want succours, treats with B Arondell, That if by a prefixed day, the French were not the stronger, at a certaine Elme neere vnto the place, he would then yeeld vp the Towne, and for assurance thereof giues him hostages. The Court was troubled at this summons: all post thither, fearing to continue their shame with losse, Princes and officers of the Crowne, the Duke of Alenfon and Aniou, the Constable of Richmond, the Marshall of Bouffac, Rieux, and Retz: the Lords of Loheac, Grauille, and Bucil, with his good fortune. Beeing all come to the Elme at the day appointed, they summon the Earle of Arondell to deliuer vp his hostages and to fight with them, but he yeelds vp his hostages and leaues the seige. The hast of the omitted voyage makes our men to post presently to Court. Arondell returns to the seige of Silley, and not able to take it, he surprizeth Beaumont le Vicont, but pressed with sicknesse hee retires to C Mans, a towne then vnder their obedience.

King Charles  
makes a pro-  
gresse into  
Daulphine  
and Languedoc.

The voyage of Daulphine was performed. *Charles* comes to Vienne passing through Auergne. The reason of this progresse was to settle matters in Daulphine, Lionois, and Languedoc, which countries had serued him faithfully and profitably in his greatest afflictions. All the chiefe of those countries attend him, and hold their Estates by his commandement. The ioy both of *Charles* and his subiects was exceeding great after so long and dangerous a storme. *Charles* did gladly imbrace his auncient seruants, the Earle of Foix, Gaucourt, and Grollee, with the Nobilitie of Viarez and Daulphine, who had giuen him so great testimonies of their faith and valour. All men were confirmed in their gouernments, no man D was denied of what he demanded, which giues them courage to do their best endeauours in his seruice. The States graunt the King a notable summe of money for the maintenance of his warres.

We haue obserued the humour of Amedee Duke of Sauoy, who during the doubtfulness of the French affaires, had carried a watchfull eye, to make his profit by their confusion. Being well informed, that *Charles* loued him not, he fortifies himselfe by alliances. He had giuen his eldest daughter to *Lewis* of Aniou King of Sicily, and now hee marries his Sonne *Lewis* Earle of Genoua with *Anne* the daughter of *John* of Lusignan King of Cypres, from whence the title of the Realme of Cypres comes to the house of Sauoy. This marriage was honored with the presence of the Duke of Bourgongne, the Earle of Neuers, and the Prince of Orange. These were good cautions for Amedee against *Charles*: but we shall soone see that he will find another expedient against all euent. As a tree in the sappe sheweth that the spring is neere, so diuers popular accidents chancing this yeare foretold what should happen. There were 60000. men in armes against the English in Vexin-Norman, and in Caux 20000. *Charles* doth carefully imbrace those occasions, and encouraging them both by letters and messages, he sends them notable Commanders, the Duke of Alenfon with the Lords of Lore and Bucil, braue and valiant captaines. But as a tree that sprouts forth through the fauour of a warme season, is stayed by a sharpe wind, so all these popular braueries were soone daunted, and this streame was soone turned. The townes that were mutyned yeeld to the English force, but they keepe their hearts for their King, vntill they may shake off the English yoke.

The French  
takes armes  
against the  
English.

But the wise prouidence of God, who gouernes the worke for the restoring of this estate, raised vp meanes which all the humane pollicie of *Charles* or of his Councell could not forice, who had laboured by all meanes to winne the Bourguignons loue. Hee harboured in his heart a resolute discontent against the English: to whom he imputed the cause of all his

1435.

A his crosses and disgraces. The Liegeois crosse him many waies, in the possession of Namur newly fallen vnto him. Antwerp and Arras are discontented, and readie to rise against him. The English (in his opinion) is the author and fauourer of these discontents, and it may be did all he could to molest him, what shew fouer he made. But how fouer it were, the Bourguignon (meaning to make an open breach with him) compounds all quarrels with this discontented people, intending to make a firme peace with *Charles*. So the yeare 1434. passeth without any great alteration.

This yeare 1435. shall be more happie for the French then the former. *Charles* beseegeth Geberoy by *Poisson* and *La Hire*. The English come to succour it, led by the Earle of Arondell, beeing a thousand against lesse then five hundred. Our men therefore resolute to retire to Beauuais, but they must accompt with the stronger. There is but one meanes of safetie, to hope for no helpe. So these braue warriors resolute to fight, and are victors: for the English troupes are defeated: sequen or eight hundred slaine vpon the place, and all the rest prisoners. The Earle of Arondell (beeing grievously wounded) dies at Beauuais, a braue and resolute Captaine, dying in the bed of honour. This was the beginning of the yeare: the nois (a bastard of Orleans) was the ring-leader in many exploits: he causeth Saint *Denis* to be surprized by Captaine *Dreynelle*, and he followes well accompanied to keepe it. In going along he takes Houdan, and then he fortifies Saint *Denis* with men and victuals, and leaves the Marshall of Rieux to gouerne it. And for that he would loose no time, hee im- C Meulan. The English had fortified Saint Ouyn, to keepe the countie in alarme: Occasions are offered of daily skirmishes, and daily the English are beaten. But the long stay of this lined, prepare a great power to force S. *Denis* at what price fouer. The Marshall of Rieux, loth to ingage himselfe (beeing in all shew the weaker) retires honourably to Meulan, without any losse. The English beate downe the defences of Saint *Denis*, beeing a common retreat to all men, without any more labour, either to keepe it, or to recouer it.

The English  
defeated and  
the Earle of  
Arondell slain.

### The accord of PHILIP Duke of Bourgongne with Charles the seventh, the French King.

**I**N the end behold an agreement made with *Charles*, so much expected, so vnprofitably sought after, and now freely offered by the duke of Bourgongne. The Deputies of the Councell presse both French, English and Bourguignon, to end all quarrels, by some good composition. The citie of Arras is allowed of by them all to treat in. The assembly was great: from the Pope and the Councell of Pisa there came the Cardinals of Saint *Croix* and Cypres, with twelue bishops: for the French King there was the Duke of Bourbon, the Earle of Richmond Constable of France, the Earle of Vendosme, the Archbishoppe of Rheimes Chancellor of France, the Lords of Harcourt, Valpergue, la Fayette, Saint Pierre, du Chastell, du Bois, Chastillon, du Fay, de Railliq, Rommet, Cuselles, and Cambray first President of the Parlement at Paris, with many wise and learned men, as, *John Tudart*, *Bles-* sei, *John Charesier*, *Peter Clestel*, *Adam le Queux*, *John Taise*, and *la Motte*. For the King of England, the Cardinals of Yorke, and Winchester, the Earle of Suffolke, the Bishop of S. *Dauids*, *John Ratcliffe* keeper of the great Seale, the Lord of Hungerford, *Ralph* the Wife, the Official of Canterburie, and some Doctors of Diuinitie. For *Philip* Duke of Bourgongne, there came the Duke of Gueldres, the Earle of Nassau, the Bishop of Cambray, the Earle of Vernambourg, the Bishop of Leege, the Earles of Vaudemont, Neuers, Salines, Saint Pol, and Ligny, besides the Deputies of many of his best townes. The pompe was great, both on the Deputies behalfe, and of the Duke of Bourgongnes, who intainted them with all the honour and good cheare that might be wished. But leauing these circumstances

1435.

The question  
for the Crown  
of France.

stances, I make hast to the principall subiect. The Kings of France and England began the treatie. The fundamentall question was, to whom the Crowne of France belonged? The English did challenge it, both for that he was issued from a daughter of France, as also by the graunt of *Charles* the sixt who did institute *Henry* the fift and his successors, heires of the Crowne, and had dis-inherited *Charles* the 7. whom he tearmed an Vsurper. The deputies for *Charles* answered, that they ought not to call in question the ground of the Estare, which cannot stand firme without that lawfull heire to whom the law appoints, and therefore without prouoing of that which was apparent of it selfe, they came to offers for the ending of all controuersies. That if the King of England would both disclaime the title of King of France, and yeeld vp the countries held by him in diuers parts of the Realme, he should enioy the Duchies of Guienne and Normandie, doing homage for them vnto the Kings of France, as his Soueraigne, and with those conditions which his Ancestors, Kings of England, had formerly enioyed them. They stood vpon very different tearmes: their authority was limited, and possession pult vp the English. But sometimes he refuseth that after lues. He that striueth to haue all, most commonly loofeth all. One moitie in effect had more. He that vailed the English, then all in imagination, who in the end shall find, that the Soueraigne iudge, the preseruer of the lawe, and of States, giues and takes away, appoints and disappoints, according to his good and wife will: and that there is no force, nor wisdom but his. The matter was soone ended betwixt the Kings of France and England: seeing right could do no good, the sword must preuaile.

Thus the Ambassadors of England, returne without any effect: those of France stay to treat with the Duke of Bourgongne and his Deputies, amongst the which he himselfe was the chiefe, as well for his owne interest, as for his iudgement in affaires. A man exceeding cunning, who could embrace all occasions to make his profit by another, as the discourse of his life hath made manifest. But to what end serues all this mortar, and so great workmanship, to frame a building which shall be ruined vnder his sonne, and shall burie him in the ruines thereof? It is a foolish reason which thou callest reason, hauing no ground of reason, and doest not hearken to the voice of heauen. *O Foole! all thy riches shall bee taken from thee this night. Man walkes in a shadow, he toyles in vaine, to make his name immortal in the grane, he hunts with infinite labour and takes nothing.* As for *Charles*, he sought to retire the Bourguignon from all league and alliance with the King of England, and taking from him all occasions of discontent, so to engage him by great gifts and honours, as hee should resolute to follow his faction, as the most profitable, knowing that his owne priuate interest, was the chiefe end of his desseins. Matters were carried in shew according to the humour of that age, the disposition of the Court, and for the honour of *Charles*, who must aske the Duke of Bourgongne pardon, hauing caused his father to be slaine against his faith. But was it not true? must not the crime be confessed by him that was culpable? *Charles* therefore resolues to send him a blanke, and the accord doth testifie that the Bourguignon filled it with so many vnreasonable conditions, as it is strange so great a Monarch should stoupe so much to his subiect and vassall, but necessity hath no law.

A president for great men, not to attempt any thing against reason, least they be constrained to repaire it with reason, and yet to know that it is an amendment of a fault to yeeld to necessitie for the good of the State, beeing a great thrift to loose for gaine. The original sets downe at large all the conditions of this Treatie: who so please may read them in *Monstrelet*, and in the historie of *S. Denis*. The summe is, that the massacre committed on the person of *John* Duke of Bourgongne at Montreau-saut-yonne, is sufficiently repaired by confession and ceremonies. Great summes of present money with goodly Seigneuries are giuen to the Duke of Bourgongne: so many assurances for him and his, as a great volume is full of these scrupulous conditions.

The Duke of Bourgongnes promise is more simple, that he should declare himselfe a friend to *Charles* the seuenth King of France, and enemie to his enemies: that he should renounce all alliance and friendship with the King of England, and promise both his person, and all his meanes to expell him out of France. The performance was according to promise: *Charles* Duke of Bourbon, and *Arthur* of Brittain, Earle of Richmond, Conitable of France in the name of *Charles* the seuenth, aske pardon of the Duke of Bourgongne, for the death

1435.

A death of his father, and the Duke pardoned him for the love of God. The Cardinals (in the Popes name and the Councels) absolued the Duke from the oath which he had made vnto the English: and either part sweares to maintaine the accord in that which did concerne him. So the peace was published with great solemnity, to the incredible content of all men. The King, the Duke of Bourgongne, and the whole Realme reioyced exceedingly, onely *John* of Luxemburg Earle of Saint Pol, would not be therein comprehended, he shall suffer for it, and his houle after him. This was the 24. of September, in the yeare 1435. a famous day for those things which happened in this raigne, whereof this accord gaue the first occasion. The marriage of *Charles* sonne to the Duke of Bourgongne, with *Katherine* of France, daughter to our *Charles*, was concluded to seale this accord. From this peace sprung a more violent

B warre against the English. The Duke of Bourgongne sends backe all his contracts to the Duke of Bedford, and hauing shewed him the iust reasons which had moued him to embrace the Kings amitie, beeing his kinsman and Lord, hee renounceth the alliance of England, with a watchword, that euery one should looke to himselfe. Euery man sharpens his sword, and scoures his armes, to recouer that by force, which they could not obtaine by reason. The first fruites of this accord beganne to grow ripe euen in the heart of winter, for Corbeil yeelds presently to the King, with *Brie-Comte-Robert* and the Castle of Bois de Vincennes. The Bourguignon imploies all his friends and intelligences at Paris, he vseth all his instruments, meaning to set them to worke the yeare following. All Normandie begins to reuolt, Deepe, Felcan, Montier-Villiers, Harfieu, Tancarville, Bec-Crespin, Gomusleule, Loges, Villemon, Grauille, Longueville, Neuf-ville, Lambreuille, Charles-Mesnil, S. Germaine, Fontaines, Preaux, and Blainville, obey the King willingly, chasing away the English, and receiuing the French for their safetie, all which was acted in two daies. What more? to finish this worke, God takes away one of the chiefe causes, and one of the principal instruments of the miserie which had so long afflicted this estate. We haue seene what part *Isabel* of Bauaria played in this Tragedie, we haue sought her after the death of her poore husband, and could not find her, for in truth she was ciuilly dead. Bedford fearing the spirit of this *Medea*, seekes not onely to stay her hands, but to keepe her eyes from the managing of affaires. And for that she had deuoured the treasure of the Realme, he constraines her to keepe a diet. He doth therefore sequester her to the house of *S. Pol*, where she liued vntill the end of this yeare in great pouertie, no more assisted by the Bourguignon then by the English. Beeing dead, they caused her bodie to be put into a small boate, and so transported by the riuier of Seine to *S. Denis*, where she was buried without any pompe, like to a common person. A light put out, whose saueur doth yet offend posteritie.

Queene Is-  
bel dies.

In this yeare also died *John* of England, that great Duke of Bedford, called Regent of France, who hath noted many blacke pages in this volume, and so much terrified our Ancestors. Hauing seene the former accord, and felt so sodaine effects in Normandie, fearing the rest would follow, he drowned himselfe in sorrow, and knowing no meanes to auoid this storme, he dies at Rouen the 15. of December, leauing to King *Henry* the sixt, a bottome very hard to vntwist, and to his young wife (beeing sister to the Earle of *S. Pol*) a cause of mourning, the which continued not long, for she married soone after against the will of her parents, with an English Aduenturer of small accompt, giuing cause to laugh at her, being but little pittied. *Charles* being thus discharged of a heauie burthen by this accord, hath more libertie to follow his honest delights. He goes to Lions, visits Dauphine, and stayes in Languedoc, a Prouince which he loues aboue all the rest, hauing found it most deuoted to his seruice. Montpellier was his aboad, a place very pleasantly seated: but taking this time of recreation, he had left good Lieutenants in France, who shall soone send him newes of their exploits.

The Duke of  
Bedford dies.

Hh

The

1436.



The cittie of Paris yeelds to the King,  
and expelles the English.



The English  
vanquished at  
S. Denis.

HE Bourguignon prepares to annoy the English, whilest that the Constable makes way for the reduction of Paris. His intent was (parting from Pontoise) to put himselfe into Saint Denis, a towne halfe dismantled: but Thomas of Beaumont Captaine of the Bastille (having intelligence of this dessein) prevented the Constable, and entered into Saint Denis with a notable troupe of souldiers. Richmond notwithstanding approacheth neere to S. Denis: the Centinell having giuen warning of his approach, Beaumont issues forth to the bridge, vpon the little riuer which is towards Pierre-fite, where he met with the fore-runners, who hauing drawne him forth, ingage him in the battaile, the which was led by the Constable, marching from the valley of Montmorency. This English troupe was easily vanquished, most of them were cut in peeces, and the rest taken, hardly any one of them escapes to carie newes to Paris. Thomas of Beaumont is slaine among the rest vpon the place. The Constable makes vse of this good successe: he presently marcheth with his victorious armie to Paris, which stood amazed at these approaching forces, wanting a Regent, who was lately deceased, and such as were left to command, were more fit to handle an oare, then to gouern the helme. Now was the time for good Frenchmen to shewe themselves, whereof there were many in the city. The Bourguignon faction being now become the Kings seruants, imbrace this occasion, and hauing consulted together, they resolute to shake off the English yoke, the which they had too long endured.

The Duke of Bourgongne was then at Bruges, but he had left the Lord of Lisle-Adam to deale with his partisans at Paris. It is the same whom he had formerly employed against Charles and his father John, in the murther of the Kings seruants. He had great credit with the Parisiens, of whom Mirhaell Lailler was the chiefe Tribune. Hee discouers by him the peoples affections, beeing resolute to submit themselves to the King: of whom they craue onely a generall abolition of what was past. This gentle demaund beeing brought to Pontoise to the Constable, and easily granted, all prepare for the effects. That quarter neere the Halles gaue the first signe of the French libertie at Paris, by the meanes of the Curate of S. Eustace: and all S. Honores streete ioynes in this hardie resolution. In the meane time the Vniuersitie beyond the bridge doth the like. Lewis of Luxemburg, Bishop of Therouenne Chancellor for the English, the Bishops of Liseux and Meaux, the Lord Willowbie, with others deuoted to the English, aduertised of these mutinies in diuers parts of the cittie, fearing some sedition, retire toward S. Anthonies gate, hauing carried all their best furniture into the Bastille, and fortifie the houses adioyning. All beeing thus prepared at Paris, the Constable of Richmond, guided by Lisle-Adam, parts from Pontoise, and comes to S. Denis in the night, where hauing rested some houres, he marcheth early in the morning, accompanied with the Earle of Dunois, (a bastard of the house of Orleans) the Lords of Suze and Bueil, with a great companie of resolute souldiers, approaching neere the cittie. Lisle-Adam with a choice troupe goes before S. Iaques gate, the appointed place for the Rendezvous, where he finds all in a readines, so as Lailler hauing planted ladders for him at the lowest part of the wall, he mounts with his troupe. Beeing entred the Cittie, the people of that quarter (who were assembled for his comming) begin to crie. *A peace, a peace, God save the King, and the Duke of Bourgongne.* Lisle-Adam beeing ioyned to the chiefe of the cittie, goes directly to the gate, the which was set open by the captaine of that quarter, and the Constable, who was before it with his troupes, entred in good order. Then the people redoubled their cries. They all stand at a gaze, beeing aduertised of this entrie, and exceeding glad to see themselves readie to recover their ancient libertie: they prepare to march where they

The Constable  
is receiued  
into Paris.

1436.

A they should be commanded to expell the English. All run to the Bastille. The Tournelles are presently seized on, and all approaches vnto the Bastille are soone wonne. Such as were within at the first, made some shew of defence, but as all things were prepared to force them, they demand a parle, and agree to depart with their liues and baggage. They are conducted about the towne beneath the Loure, to imbarke vpon the riuier of Seine, and so to passe to Rouen. They could not well haue passed through the cittie. The people aduertised hereof run to the wallles, and cry out with great shoutes, bayting the English like dogges, whom a little before they had feared and honoured as their masters. This happened the 27. of Februarie, in the yeare 1436. Thus Paris returnes to the obedience of this Crowne, hauing passed seuentene yeares vnder the gouernement of the English: which made the fatherly command of their King more pleasing vnto them, and them more willing to obey him, hauing tasted the impetuous command of a stranger.

Charles aduertised of this happy successe, parts from Montpellier, and returnes slowly by Auvergne, to giue the Parisiens time to prepare for his entrie, the which was performed with great pompe, fixe moneths after the reduction of the cittie, but with so extraordinarie an affection of the people, as drinking after a great thirst. All the townes within the Realme had followed this example, if Charles had imbraced this goodly occasion, all being drawne vnto their duty by a naturall instinct. He was of a mild spirit, pleyable to all winds, flying toyle, but patient when he had vnderaken it. We haue hitherto seene him constant inough in his afflictions, although the weight of blowes so often doubled, had made him sencelesse, so as he bare his crosses with lesse feeling, as a mortified member doth the razour or a corsuie: but prosperitie had so reuiued his spirit, as he recovered himselfe and returned to his owne disposition. He wanted authoritie to command well, and iudgement to make choice of his seruants, for he often imbraced and rewarded vnecessary men, and put backe such as were profitable.

The Kings  
entrie into Pa-  
ris.

This proceeding discontented such as (seruing him faithfully) did see themselves condemned. These discontents gaue them libertie to speake, and doe things, which offended the King. Experience teaching, that these tractable humours are as soone moued as pleased; and aboue all, are suspitious and cholericke: for impressions creeping into these weak spirits, makes them to fall into another extremitie of vnmeasured passion. Wee haue seene the like in the life of Lewis the Gentle, but wee shall not find the like excessse in our Charles: yet shall wee see that by the like indiscreete facilitie he disordered his owne affaires, discontented his bloud, grieved many of his seruants, filled his life with languishing in the prosperitie of his affaires, to cast him headlong (in the midst of his greatest triumphs) into the gulph of a fearefull graue: what we are to represent in this discourse, shall be the Commentarie of this truth.

As soone as the Spring appeares, the Duke of Bourgongnes armie goes to field to besiege Calais, it consisted for the most part of the communalities of his estates. He easily ingaged them in this warre, both by his authoritie and the shew of profit, to haue a towne so conuenient for trafficke. This armie had scarce continued in field ten daies, but they looked homeward to their houses, shops, and fields: besides, the English wrought them vnderhand, and sent a great supply to defend Calais. This humour did so possesse this armed multitude, as the Bourguignon had no power to hold them. All passe away like to a violent streame, and this his dessein came to nothing, although he chafed in vaine, like vnto the Persian that threatened the tempest, and whipt the sea. So all enterprises succede not. The Duke of Bourgongne beeing thus retired, the English hath his reuenge of this affront, and spoiles the marches of Boulougne, and Grauelins, to the great losse of the cuntry. The Lord of Croy sought to make head against the English, being followed by a goodly troupe: but hee was defeated and saues himselfe with difficultie in Ardres. The Flemings stirre at this losse, and march vnder the Duke of Bourgongnes command, but they returne with shame: for Calais was reserved for another season. We haue said that Charles had a sonne named Lewis borne in the midst of his greatest crosses, the first yeare of his raigne, in the yeare 1423. Beeing thirteene yeares olde, hee married him to Marguerite Stuard the only daughter of James King of Scotland, a Princesse of excellent vertues, and a gage of the faithfull seruice which Scotland did to this Crowne in her greatest dangers, who suruiued

The Bourgui-  
gnon attempts  
Calais in vaine.

The Lord of  
Croy defeat-  
ed by Calais.



1437. not much this felicitie of France. *Charles* was desirous to returne to Montpellier: where hauing called an assembly of that Prouince, he heard many complaints of the outrages his soldiers had committed, running vp and downe the cuntry in great disorder. The best souldiers were guiltie of these insolencies for want of pay. *Rodrigo de Villandras* an Arragonois, (who had faithfully serued the King) was in disgrace, and banished with his troupe; but being ioyned with *Pothon* in Gasconie, and hauing taken some places from the English, hee made his peace with *Charles*. This confusion was not alone in one cuntry, but generally dispersed throughout the Realme. A troupe of 2000. horse led by *Anthony* of Chabannes, *Blanchfort*, *Gualter* of Bron, *Floquet* and other renowned Captaines, parting from Normandie, passe through the countries of Vimeu, and Ponthieu, by Dorlens, Oruille, Bray, Cappy, Lihons in Sauters, and enter into Cambresy, from thence they lodge at Solames towards Hainault with infinit spoile, eating and ransoming all after a hostile manner. *John* of Croy the Bailiffe of Hainault sent troupes against them, but they were defeated: they were called the shauers or flears.

The Dauphin increates the English courtuously.

Factions in Flanders. The Duke of Bourgonne in danger of his life at Bruges.

In the end through *Charles* his many commands, they come into Champagne, where hauing remained sometime, they were employed to take Chasteau-Landon, Charry, and Nemours, and from thence they were led to Montreuil-faut-Yonne, where there was a marueilous seege, beeing well assailed and well defended: but in the end the towne was taken by force, and the Castle by composition. *Charles* was at Bray, and the Dauphin commaunded at this seege. He made faire warres with the English, who thanking him before the King his father, yelded him these first fruites of his authoritie in the view of the whole armie; who honoured him afterwards as the Sunne-rising, whence grew the ielousies we shall hereafter speake of. The Mignons of Court which were then in quarter, gaue a great occasion: *Christopher* of Harcourt Lord of Chaumont, and *Martin Gouge* Bishop of Clermont, men that had no good in them but to doe ill. The Duke of Bourgongne had much trouble this yeare: the English had sowed great diuisions in his chiefest cities. *Bruges* stirred vp strange mutinies against him, whereas he was in danger of his life: *Lille-Adam* chiefe Captain of his gard is slaine. A popular man whom we haue seene to command the Parisiens twice, once against the King, and another time for the King, he presumed in like sort to gouerne them of *Bruges* but they teare him in peeces, as the Gantois had in former times massacred *Artenille* their Tribune.

A multitude is a dangerous thorne, which cannot bee handled without pricking. Gant followed the example of *Bruges*, but in the end all was pacified, with the losse of the most seditious, to the content of the same people, who deuoure him they did adore. After these seditions, *Philip* returnes to warre, he beleageheth Crottoy (a place very important for the free trafficke of his countries) but after great paines and charge, it prooued all in vaine.

Two strange surprizes.

A man vnfortunate in warre, but in Councell he commaunded with an imperious grauitie. But (amiddest the generall) shall I omit this particular obseruation, profitable for the example? That great Captaine *La Hire* passing neere vnto Clermont (a towne then subiect to the English) was there honorably received by the Lord of Ansemont Gouverneur of the towne, and (for that he trusted *La Hire* much) he suffered him to enter with his men into the rauelin to eate a banquet. *La Hire* imbracing this occasion, makes him his prisoner, and takes the place, *Ansemont* had his reuenge in time, by meanes of the Lord of Mouy: he enters Beauuais, where *La Hire* was gouernour, goes vnto him to the Tennis-court, takes him and leades him away prisoner in view of all the inhabitants; and makes him to yeld both his ransome and Clermont againe, notwithstanding *Charles* his letters to the Bourguignon: but in the end they are good friends. Thus discourtesie is alwaies requited with the like, leauing a long repentance for him that is the author of the iniurie, how braue and cunning soeuer he be, God punishing iniquitie in due season, when as men thinke least of it, and by meanes least apparent. The warres had wonderfully vnpeopled France, but this scourge was not sufficient. The whole cuntry lying waste, (not able to be tilled by reason of the daily incursions and ordinarie spoiles of both parties) there fell a great famine. That which was vsually woorth but five pence, was sould for five shillings and sixe pence, or more. The people being famished, sought bread where they might find it, being forced from their houses by raging hunger, they disperse themselves in the fields and townes: in the one to

finde

A finde some fruite among the trees, and in the bushes, to haue some herbes or rootes: in the other to get some morcell of bread, or some garbage, to fill the panch with any thing they could meete withall. So their bodies filled with bad meates were likewise infected with bad humors, falling into diuerse languishing diseases. In the end all turned to a plague so horrible, as all these poore creatures famished and weakned with diseases, were like vnto drye wood in a great flame. Thus one plague bred an other, and that miserable plant of warre, brought forth two branches of misery to our wretched Country, famine and pestilence. These afflictions dispersed through-out the Realme, raigned chiefly at Paris, the sollemne Rendezuous of this languishing people. There was nothing to bee seene but lamentable troupes of people pale and leane, of all sexes and ages, either running in the fildes, or vp and downe the streetes, or laide vpon dung-hils, or dead in the market places, a most horrible spectacle to behold.

A lamentable spectacle in Paris.

There dyed threescore thousand persons in Paris. All the principall men abandoned the City, except *Adam* of Cambray the first President, *Ambrose* of Lore the Prouost of Paris, and the President of the Accounts, whom God preserued in this contagion, to eternize their commendable memories for euer, hauing succoured the publike in necessity; without whose couragious resolution the City had easily fallen into the hands of the English, who watched for all occasions, and made dayly incursions from Mante euen vnto the gates. The Champian Country beeing abandoned, Wolves left the Forrests without feare, and hauing made their prey vpon the remainder of this miserable people, they came to the gates of townes, and euen into the streetes. This horrible spectacle hath bene seene at Paris, in the Theater of the world, in the most populous City of all others: So one misery drew on an other, and these afflictions continued two whole yeares, vnto the yeare 1439. whilst the contention of Anti-popes increased the fire of Schismes in Christendome, as wee shall shew in due place.

*Amede* or *Amé* Duke of Sauoy carried himselfe as we haue said, during the calamities of France: in the end of this yeare hee shall shew a strange alteration of humor, to the great amazement of all the world, for being in his castell of Thonnon, (a towne seated vpon the Lake Leman) hee retires with a small traine to Ripaille, where he had an Abbay of Monkes of Saint Maurice, and hauing imparted his desseigne but to two of his most confident seruants, (hauing bound them to keepe him faithfull company) he takes vpon him the habit of these Monkes, that is, *A gray frock, a long cloake, a gray hood, a short cornet, and a red bonet vnder his hood, but vpon his gray frock hee ware a great girdle of gold, and vpon his cloake a crosse of gold.* Hauing thus changed his habit, his meaning was not to change his degree, nor to leaue the world, but vnder the colour of this habit, his intent was to aspire higher, as the course of his life will shew. Being now retired to Ripaille, he calls a parliament & shewes them his intention in this new course of life; That being weary of the world, where there was nothing but toyle and trouble, hee would sequester him selfe, to dedicate his life wholly to the seruice of God. But to the end hee might prouide for the gouernment of his estate, he declares his eldest sonne Prince of Piedmont, and *Claude* his yongest, Earle of Geneua, and he him selfe remains Duke of Sauoy, although hee had vowed him selfe to the order of Saint Maurice, and without altering of any thing, hee reserues to himselfe the sole and soueraigne authority of all his estates. Hauing thus published his intent, hee retires with his Monkes to Ripaille, into one quarter of the lodging the which hee had built a part, accompanied with twenty of his fauourites in Monkes attire: but not liuing like vnto that profession, for leauing them their water and rootes, he qualified this solitary life with the best cheere hee could get from Chamberie or Turin. This yeare is likewise memorable by the death of three great Princesses: of *Katherine* Queene of England sister to *Charles* the seauenth, the mournfull leuaine of our long miseries: of the old Queene daughter to the King of Nauarre Mother to the Princes of Brittain, the Duke and Constable: and of the old Countesse of Armaignac, daughter to the Duke of Berry, and Mother to the Duke of Sauoy, the Earle of Armaignac and the Earle of March. All dyed almost in one day, hauing seene the strange tragedies of France acted during their liues and vpon their children, and in their ends, seeing no end of our miseries. As the fury of fighting grew cold, so the warre was turned into trafficke. There was no Towne but the

1437.

The Duke of Sauoy becomes a Monke.

Death of great Princess.



1438.

gouernor kept it for him that would giue most: and *Charles* held it more expedient to haue a towne or place for money, then to besiege it with great charge, to the oppression of his subiects, and with a doubtfull euent. Montargis had cost either party much money to take it and to recouer it againe: *Charles* buies it of *Francis* of Surienne an Arragonois vnder the English pay, for ten thousand Crownes. He bought *Dreux* (the which hee could neuer yet obtaine) for eightene thousand Crownes of *William Brouillart* of Beaufe, a filthy traficke, worthy of that confused time, but vnworthy of all good order and all royall authoritie. The which being layd open vnto *Charles*, he resolues to vse an honorable force, and to spend more money to get more honour. So he besiegeth Meaux and takes it victoriously, these were the first fruites of this new yeare. In the moneth of May, *Charles* the onely sonne of *Philip* Duke of Bourgongne comes to Tours, where King *Charles* was resident, and takes *Katherine* of France his daughter to wife, according to the treaty of Arras.

*Charles* son to *Philip* of Bourgongne marries *Katherine* of France.

Hauiug conducted her through his Fathers Countries to Saint Omer (where the Duke attended him) hee solemnized the marriage with exceeding great pompe, the which did nothing increase the loue of these Princes allyed, nor the happinesse of the marriage, the which was of small continuance, and lesse loue betwixt the parties as the course of the history will shew. In the meane time the Bourguignon hath still two strings to his bowe: Although he had renounced the alliance of England, yet had hee not left all his intelligences, the necessity of their neighbour-hood giuing them still occasions to conferre together. And as he was alwayes watchfull of his profit, so had hee a good gage in England to settle his affaires, in retiring *Lewis* Duke of Orleans out of prison, being taken at the battaile of Azincourt. He caused *Charles* to entertaine a treaty for a truce with the English: the first grounds were laide by the Duchesse his wife, a cunning Princeesse and carefull of her husbands good. The Cardinal of Winchester comes to Grauelin to that effect, yet this was but to lay the first foundation of the worke which shall bee finished in due season. Wee haue made mention of *John* of Luxembourg, who would not bee comprehended in the treaty of Arras. *Philip* made great shew to bee displeased with him, and Luxembourg like wife to be his enemy, causing his men to be slaine with great violence. *Philip* treates with him vpon complaint of them that were wronged, and all is pacified. The cleere-sighted did easily finde that this was the Bourguignons policie, who seemed to bee in choller against him to gratifie *Charles*, being much displeased with Luxembourg, who played the petty King with his maister, but he shall not carry it long, for he dyed soone after, and the Burguignon lost the whip he held ready for all euents, and the children of Luxembourg stood in need of the Kings fauour. But now the Bourguignon flies to an other practife. Hee desired infinitely to be maister of Calais, and seeing that force could not preuaile, hee meanes to trye policie. Some of his subiects perswaded him that in breaking of a dike, they should let in the sea, and so drowne the towne and country about, whereby they should force them to obedience. Hee beleeueth this imagination, and employes much paine and cost to effect it. But this fancie of a flood, vanished away like vnto the Flemish army at the first siege, whereof wee haue seene the fruitlesse issue. So this fantastick flood proued ridiculous. But the Duke to shew that he had done some-thing, caused the bridge of Milay to be beaten downe, and some small dikes, which onely watered the country.

A ridiculous practife to take Calais.

The beginning of this yeare laide the foundation of great matters for the restoring of our estate, the which doth draw on dayly by meanes not fore-seene, and without the wisdom or care of *Charles*, who was chiefly interested. After the reduction of Paris, all the townes in generall were resolu'd to free themselves by force, if the King had bene so affected, but finding his minde inclining rather to peace, they beseech him to finde some meanes to compound with the English, and not to languish longer in the ordinary losses of a lingering and preiudiciall warre. The Duchesse of Bourgongne for her husbands priuate interest, layes the first stone, treating for the deliuey of *Lewis* Duke of Orleans, as we haue sayd. This first act was seconded by the request which the Prouinces of the realme made vnto the King, the which ministred occasion vnto *Charles* to call a generall Parliament at Orleans, whither not onely all the Citties sent their Deputies, according to the custome, but all the Noblemen which came not in person sent their Agents: for the subiect was to treat of a generall peace, and if it might not be effected, to set some order for the men of warre,

*Charles* calles a Parliament at Orleans to treat of a generall peace.

1439.

A warre, for the ease of the poore people, who could endure no more. The King was there in person accompanied with these Noblemen, the Earles of Marche, Bourbon, Vendosme, and Richement Constable, and the Archbishop of Rheims being Chancellor of France. The Agents of the Duke of Orleans, of the Duke of Bourgongne, and of the Earle of Armagnac assisted with the deputies of Paris, Languedoc, Dauphine, Guienne and other Prouinces subiect to the French. The Chancellor (a wise and eloquent man) did set downe at large the miseries of war, and the inestimable good of peace: but what better commentary then the feeling of ouerpast miseries, and the visible demonstration of our present calamities? It was decreed that in regard of a generall peace they should make all necessary pursuit with speede. As for the ording of men of warre, they should presently take some course to auoide confusion hereafter. The Lord Chancellor and the first President were chosen to negotiate this treaty with the English, through the meanes and fauour of the Duke of Bourgongne, as hauiug laid the foundation: and presently a decree was made for the gouernment of soldiars both of horse and foote, and to discharge the army of hangers on, the which did but incoimber, to the great oppression of the poore people. This was the institution of the franke-archers. The first day of May was appointed by the common consent of both Kings to meete at Saint Omer, but the King of England was aduised by the Duke of Yorke his vncl (who had succeeded the Duke of Bedford in his authority, although the name of Regent was not giuen him since the Kings coronation) that he should stand vpon termes, as hauiug no neede of peace, but onely moued with compassion of the poore people, and therefore he failed in the assignation. But there fell out an vnexpected occasion to *Charles*, which not onely brake of the course of this businesse and all others, but had well neere plounged France into greater misery then before. The King was gone to Angiers, where he had intelligence of the taking of Saint *Susanne*, for his seruice, one of the most important places of the Country of Maine, and of his losse at the seige of Auranches, which was ill attempted and succeeded worse: when as stranger newes made him loose the pleasure of this gaine, and forget the bitternesse of his losse. He was growne wonderfull wayward and suspitious, inclining visibly into two extremities: being too familiar with some of his domesticall seruants, and too seuer to his Princes and chiefe officers: either he should not haue married his eldest sonne *Lewis*, Dauphin of Viennois so soone, or else hee should not haue vsed him like a child. But *Charles* ouer-lookt him with a sower countenance, as if he had bene vnder the rodde. All this was done of purpose, practised by his secret councillors to keepe great men from attempting against him vnder the name of this young Prince, to the preiudice of his royall authority: but what he feared chanced. The Earle of Marche a Prince of the blood, had the charge of the young Dauphin, a Prince whome *Charles* trusted, being both wife and temperate: *Lewis* of Bourbon Duke of Alençon Godfather to *Lewis* was not so familiar with *Charles* as he was accustomed.

The Princes of the blood discontented.

The Duke of Bourbon was not altogether in so bad termes, yet was he not so great in the Kings fauour as he desired, greewing that such base men should haue countenance. These two Princes must lead the dance: if there dessein had succeeded, many would haue ioyned, but now they would bee lookers-on onely. At this time the Princes had men fit to execute their dessein, the Lords of Chaumont, Bouciquaut and Prye, with many aduenturers, theues, and such like. *Tremouille* hauiug some notice of this plot, offers himselfe vnto them and is intainted: a matter as wisely performed by them, as rashly done of him. The project of these discontented Princes was, to settle the Dauphin, that hereafter all things might be done by his authority, being ruled by the aduice of the Princes of the blood, and so in effect they would haue King *Charles* gouerned by his sonne.

Make a league to aduance the Dauphin.

For the execution hereof they first seaze vpon the Dauphin, who was an assistant himselfe, to be freed from the Earle of March his gouernor. He was lodged in the Castle of Loches in Touraine, gouerned with great respect, who seeing him of age, married, and of a liuely disposition, gaue him great liberty: he might go abroad at his pleasure, where he found the bastard of Bourbon, *Anthony* of Chabanes, with other Captaines aduenturers, who conducted him honorably into Bourbonnois. The same day the Duke of Alençon seazed vpon Niort, and by his commandement *John de la Roche* tooke Saint *Maxent*. The Duke of Bourbon hauiug the Dauphin in his power (a Prince full of a youthfull courage) he caused him

to

1439. to write to the nobility of Auvergne, and to the Duke of Bourgongne praying them to aide him in his desseins, which was to haue more liberty to gouerne matters of state hereafter, for the better satisfiing of men of honour, whome he did see (to his great grieve) kept backe by certaine flatterers which possessed the King his father, to the great preiudice of the whole Realme. These newes being brought to *Charles*, he presently sends to the Duke of Bourbon to returne him his sonne, and to the Duke of Alençon to deliuer his townes of Niort and Saint Maxent, and to them both to come and yeeld an accompt of these innouations: who finding by their answers that they excused themselves and sought delayes, he resolues to come to the effects, and to suppress this mischief in the breeding. He was well serued at this time.

The Duke of Bourgongne, answers the Daulphins letter.

S. Maxent taken by the league and recovered againe.

King Charles goes with an army against the Duke of Bourbon.

The Duke of Bourgongne lets the Daulphin vnderstand, that all his meanes are at his commandement, so as it be not against his father, but he aduised him to go vnto him, and not to aggrauate one error with an other, being most certaine that the shortest errors are the best. He aduised the duke of Bourbon and Alençon not to attempt a thing of ill fame, whereby they should get neither honor nor profit, and to free themselves speedily with the most honest excuses they could deuise. The nobility of Auvergne proteft vnto the Daulphin by the Lord of Dampmartin, that in all things that were in their power they would do him seruice, except against the King his father. The inhabitants of Saint Maxent (seeing the Castle seized on by la Roche) assemble and intrench themselves in the gates and towers of the towne, and aduertise the King thereof, offering to do as it should please him to command. The King was at Poitiers. This aduertisement was brought him as he dined: whereupon hee presently dispatcheth the Admirable of Coitiuy and the Lord of Varenne, Seneschall of Poitou to these good subiects of Saint Maxent, and the next day he followes himselfe. The Castle was presently besieged, battered and forced, and the heads of such as were taken, paid for *la Roches* folly, who escaped in the night, vnder colour that he would seeke counsell and succour. *Mont-richard* being taken by the Princes at the same time obeyed the King. The Earle of Dunois a bastard of the house of Orleans, who was of their faction, leaues them presently, and followes the King. This was the end of this yeare, and shall soone be the end of this hurly-burly, ill attempted and worse executed. The Princes had seduced many townes in Auvergne, notwithstanding their first protestation, but for that it belonged to the Duke of Bourbon, it could not be, but many of his subiects and priuat seruants must make some shew of obedience, especially in the Daulphins presence, and at his intreaty. *Charles* resolues to march thither with all speede. He had eight hundred men at armes, and two thousand archers, and had so provided for their lodgings as they marched without offence to any. And for that it was likely the English would make his profit of our domesticall confusions (seeing the Princes of the bloud presume to attempt against the head of their house, and to set the sonne against the Father) *Charles* preuented it with such dexterity, as all the frontiers against the English, were very well fortified. Hee had intelligence also that the men of warre being generally discontented for their pay, and grieved that the king so exclaimed against their disorders, vpon his subiects complaints, would be easily drawne to the league: He therefore sent for them whome he might most suspect, and ingaged them in his seruice, the Vicont of Loumeigne, the bastard of *Foix & Halezard*, valiant capitaines, and well-beloued of the aduenturing soldiers. This done, he sends *Pothon*, *Floiques* and *Bresay* with his troupes; and followes himselfe without any stay, being accompanied with the Earle of Marche, the bastard of Orleans, the Constable of France, and many Noble men with a well ordered traine.

The Townes of Chambon and Euon being fortified by the Princes, were easily taken by *Pothon*. They were in danger of their liues through their resistance, but by the Constables means their peace was made for sixe hundred crownes of gold, which then made a hundred markes of siluer. These places being reduced to obedience, *Charles* came to *Ebruele*, which yielded, from thence he went to *Aigueperse*, and *Cursot*, the which likewise obeyed, notwithstanding the perswasion of the Princes. *Charonx* resisted and was taken at the first assault: the spoile was great, the troupes remaine there 15. daies, whilst that *Charles* takes *Escuroles*, with 5. or 6. other forts fauouring the discontented Princes. The duke of Bourbon was at *S. Portain*, where he had ingaged the Daulphin to seaze vpon the townes of Auvergne. *Tremouille* was there

The Daulphin flies into Bourgongne.

there also, who had brought a hundred lances to the Princes with a thousand vaine hopes of his great meanes: but hearing that the King approched, (being armed with right and force) they aske counsell of their wounded consciences, which aduised them to flie into Bourgongne. So parting from Saint Portain they come to Moulins, and from thence they take the way of Saint Desire to passe into Bourgongne, but hauing intelligences that they could passe no further; and that the Duke of Bourgongne had preuented them, they returne all amazed to Moulins, finding their affaires to succed but ill. Clermont & Montterraut could neuer be drawne from the Kings seruice, notwithstanding all the perswasions of the Princes: Rions followed their faction and was soone reduced to the Kings obedience. *Charles* being arrived at Clermont calls an assembly of the Estates of Auvergne, shewing the importance of this action by the bishop of Clermont. The whole country is presently at the Kings deuotion, offering freely to imploy their bodies and goods for his seruice.

But not reflecting mildnesse with his force, *Charles* thought it good that the Earle of Eu should treat with the Princes, who in the end resolue to attend vpon the King at Clermont. The Daulphin remained at Moulins, and the dukes of Bourbon and Alençon vnderooke the voiage vnder his Maiesties safe-conduct, they carried with them *Tremouille*, *Chaumont* and *Pry*, whereof *Charles* being aduertised, he sent to countermand them, not meaning these three should be comprehended in the passport. The Princes hauing spoken with the King, and drawne matters to some good accord, they promise to bring the Daulphin to Clermont, and to pacifie all by this enteruiew, but this yong prince so disdained the refusal his father had made of his three seruants, as he protested he would not goe vnto him, but would rather hazard all. This humour made him to faile in the assignation, and *Charles* was resolved to vse force. He therefore sends his vanguard, which besiegeth and takes Vichy, Cursot, and Varennes obey presently without contradiction, Saint An must be forced, but in the end it obeies. So doth Rouen, Châtlier, Perrieux and all the places of Rouannois. This successe did mollifie the hearts both of the Daulphin and Princes, to draw them vnto reason: so as hauing (by the mediation of the Earle of Eu) perswaded the King to like of their comming, they went to Cursot. *Charles* was very milde to his sonne, and at the first gaue him good entertainment, but when he sees this yong man fully bent to haue *Tremouille*, *Chaumont* and *Prie* (his good and faithfull seruants) receiued into fauour, and boldly to say vnto him, *That hee must himselfe returne, being ingaged in his word and honour, hee said roughly to him. Lewis, the gates are open, and if they be not bigge enough I will cause sixteen or twenty fadomes of the wall to be beaten downe, to passe where you please: you are my son, you cannot tie your selfe to any without my leave, but if you will goe, you may depart: for by the helpe of God, we shall finde some of our blood, which shall helpe vs better to maintaine our honour, then you haue yet done.* So the accord was made without comprehending of these three. The Dukes of Bourbon and Alençon sweare to serue the King, and yeeld vp Loches, Corbeil, Bois de Vincennes, Sancerre, Sancouins, Brie, Conte-robert and other places which they held. The Daulphin remains with his father, who changeth al his traine, except his Confessor and Cooke. But all this is but counterfeite, you shal soone see other broiles. This phrensie of state bred in the Kings house against the King himselfe, was by our Ancesters called the Praguery. Nine monethes of this yeere being spent in these garboiles, *Charles* returnes to Tours, to provide for the rayfing of the siege at Harfieu, where the Earle of Somerset had laine long: but it was in vaine, for the towne was taken in the end, after a long and painefull constancie of the Inhabitants, who could not be releued in time by reason of these home-bred troubles: and yet there was a second mischief; the Lord of Gaucourt governor of Daulphine (a worthy seruant to the King) returning from the siege, and causing some of his baggage (which was scattered from the troupe) to retire, hee was surprisid by a company of English, and led prisoner to Rouen, to the great grieve of *Charles* who loued him, hauing giuen good testimonies of his loyaltie in his greatest extremities.

But in exchange *Charles* takes Conches and Louvièrs; (townes of importance in Normandie) from thence hee came into Champaigne, to suppress a part of these aduenturing theeves, who had surprized some places in this Prouince, *Musse l'Euesque*, *Montagu*, and others. The Kings army (led by the Constable) takes them, and razed them by the Kings command, pardoning most of these theeuish capitaines, among which were the bastard of Vergy and

1440.

The Marshall  
de Raiz burne  
for forcery.

and the Lord of Commercy, but he caused *Alexander* bastard to *John* Duke of Orleans to be drowned, a notable theefe, who (hauing followed the discontented Princes) had spoken vnworthily of his maister. This execution of Iustice is memorable vpon one of so high a birth, being followed the same yeere with the exemplary death of *Gyles de Raiz* Marshall of France, issued from a great and famous house, who being found guilty of Negromancy and Scorcery, was condemned by the Court of parliament of Britan, and burnt at Nantes with some of his seruants, culpable of the same crimes. He was honored for his valour, but neither his armes nor his bloud could stay the hand of diuine Iustice, meritoriously executed by this iust decree of the magistrate. Priuate actions worthy to be registred in the history, to shew that the greatest cannot flie the hand of God, after they haue long abused his patience. But the treaty of peace betwixt France and England, being discontinued aboue a yeere, was againe reuiued by the industry of the Duchesse of Bourgongne a Portugefe, but much affected to the quiet of the Realme, and a very sufficient woman, who had great credit with her husband. She followes it so wisely, as in the end the two Kings send their Ambassadors to Calais. On *Charles* his behalfe were the Archbishops of Rheims, and Narbon, and the Earle of Dunois bastard of Orleans. For *Henry* King of England, the Cardinall of Yorke, and the duke of Exeter, who brought with them *Charles* duke of Orleans, being so long kept prisoner in England.

This poore prince (after the languishing of so long a prison) was exceeding glad to see some meanes to returne to his house, hauing felt the aire on this side the sea, and embraced the Earle of Dunois, one of the branches of his house, who had so faithfully serued him in his afflictions: but he greued to see himselfe presently carried backe into England, for that they could not agree vpon the fundamentall points, the English being resolute not to leaue one foote of that which they held in France. And although the King were content they should freely inioy what they possessed, so as they had done in times past of the crowne of France by homage: yet would they not yeeld in any sort, being loth to relinquish their pretended souerainty. But he refuseth which afterwards doth sue. At this time they were enforced to retire with this resolution, that without infringing any thing of the treaty begun, euery one should goe home, and consider of his affaires, to assemble againe when need should require: the which either part desired. And this is all could be done for the generall. They proceeded farther for the duke of Orleans: but as in these trafficks such as hold the possession do commonly vse policy, the stronger giuing law to the weaker, so in so precious a matter as life, the English must be sued vnto, making no hast to deliuer him, for that they drew great profit yeerely for the pension of this great Prince. Moreouer *Charles* had no great care of his deliuey: for that some malicious spirits had seasoned him with some bad impression against this poore prince, perswading him, that his long imprisonment was not without some mistery, and that it hatched some mischief against the King and his estate. The which being miserable in so great a person, gaue all men a iust cause of compassion. But notwithstanding all these difficultes yet must this prince (one of the goodliest plants of this crowne) be now deliuered, to leaue a successor for the realme of France: and God, who would honor his race with the crowne, had prepared an admirable meanes for his deliuey, by his helpe, from whom in reason hee might least hope, euen when his owne friends had abandoned him.

The duke of  
Orleans de-  
liuered.

A notable example for all men in many respects: a prison of sue and twenty yeeres, was a great affliction to a prince borne to command, and yet captiue to an other. The losse of all his goods gaue him a sufficient occasion to resolute to perpetual misery, and to leaue it for an inheritance to his posterity. In the end slander, a most cruell sting to a generous minde, which hath honour for his assured treasor, had beene able to suppress him. But God, who gouerns the rod wisely, giues him liberty, goods and honour in due season: in despite of this deuilish enuy, which seeking to afflict the afflicted, and controuling aduersitie as well as prosperity, is then corrected when it seekes to correct an other: but God doth neuer send helpe too late.

The Duke of  
Bourgongne  
vnderstake for  
the Duke of  
Orleans ran-  
some.

*Philip* hauing resolved to doe this good turne for the duke of Orleans, and to withdraw him out of prison, compounds for his ranfome with the King of England, for three hundred thousand crownes. He giues his word for it, and paies it, and so *Charles* duke of Orleans being

1440.

A being honorably conducted, comes first to Calais, where the money being paied, he comes free to Grauelin to the duke of Bourgongne his deliuerer, who receiued him with all the thewes of loue he could desire. He was taken at Azincourt, in the yeere 1415. and was deliuered in 1440. the five and twenty of Nouember, by the meanes of his sonne that had slaine his father, and had done all hee could to ruine his house. Being come to *Philip*, (hauing thanked him for this good office, and protested to hold him for his father) hee swears a perpetuall league with him, the which is confirmed by the marriage of *Mary* of Cleues the niece of *Philip* with the duke, and then he swears to the treaty of Arras, except the article of the murther committed on the person of *John* Duke of Bourgongne, whereof he was innocent: and for confirmation of this sollemne league, he takes the order of the golden fleese, B from the hands of *Philip*, and is admitted into the number of his Knights. Behold two great enemies are become great friends by so memorable an occasion.

The duke of Bourgongne had his priuate considerations for the safety and quiet of his house, he sees himselfe raised to greatnesse. But as it is no lesse verue to keepe then to get, French party, as the greatest and most assured for the good of his affaires: so likewise hee considered that he should need some trustie friend nere the King, on whom he might confidently relie. And what greater personage then the duke of Orleans the first Prince of the bloud? And what greater bond then to free him from captiuitie? necessity also forecing C him thereunto, for it was very apparent that this Prince being freed from prison, had the like action against *Philip*, that *Philip* had against the King: for although *Philip* had not slaine his father, yet was he sonne to the murtherer, and the quarrell must needs bee hereditary in these great houses, where discontents and wrongs goe from father to sonne: being also likely that the King discontented to haue beene forced by his subiect to aske him forgieuesse in the view of all Europe, would maintaine the right of his bloud, in a Prince that had neuer wronged him, against his reconciled enemy, whose friendship hee had so deere bought: wherein he noted well the Kings humor, being suspitious, ialous, and impatient of any new authority, which (being able to oppose it selfe) he would neuer faile to crosse in all occasions. *Philip* wisely foreseeing all these difficultes preuented them, in assuring D himselfe of the duke of Orleans loue, vpon so good consideration, suppressing thereby all doubt of danger, which hee might hereafter feare. Herein we see a notable example, that we must neuer despaire in the greatest crosses of this life, that quarrells must be mortal, and whereas they die, friendship must be immortal. That the best meanes to vanquish an enemy is to doe him all the good we can.

The reason  
that moued  
the Duke of  
bourgongne  
to doe this  
good turne.

The honor of this good worke was not attributed to the duke of Bourgongne alone, but to the Duchesse his wife, who wonne as great credit in drawing her husband to this reconciliation, as her Predecessor did dishonor, by the incensing of her husband against the house of Orleans, whence grew that infamy which polluted these two houses with two tragical murders. The wiues honor is to pacifie quarrells betwixt the kinsmen and Allies of the house whereinto shee is matched, and contrariwise it is an importune ialousie to sow dis- E sention among kinsmen. God also blest the mediation of this worthy Princeesse in the marriage of *Mary* of Cleues, Neece to her husband, with the duke of Orleans, by whom hee had *Leuis* the twelfth which shalbe King of France, and two daughters, the one *Elenor* which was married into the house of Nauarre, of whom is issued *Ioane* Queene of Nauarre, mother to the good and valiant King *Henry* the fourth lately murdered. This yeere shalbe full of warre, and successfull for *Charles*: yet in the end it shal minister occasion to enter into the former treatie of peace, which hauing begunne the yeeres before and little aduanced, shalbe ended in the following yeeres, after another manner then the English expected. *Charles* seeing that the King of England by his cold delaies, sought not onely to make his conditions better (being sought vnto) but also to drawe him into some inconuenience, F he resolues to armes.

The English had taken Creil vpon Oye and could not bee dispossessed of Pontoise, a towne of importance for the neerenesse of Paris. The King resolues to take them both. The Admirall of Coytiuy besiegeth Creil, and forceth it in the Kings presence. Thus the way is made to Pontoise where the siege was memorable, being well assailed and well defended,

The memo-  
rable siege of  
Pontoise.

1441. defended, but in the end it was taken by *Charles* for the good of France. He lodgeth at the Abbey of Maubouillon, accompanied with his sonne the Dauphin of Viennois, *Charles* of Aniou, the Earle of Clermont, the Constable of France, the Marshalls of Loheac and So-loigne, *Lewis* of Luxembourg Earle of Saint Paul & of Pigney, who brought vnto the King a goodly troupe of men from the duke of Bourgongne, with them of the city of Tournay, who sent a gallant squadron of their citizens. Thus vnto brought both French and Bourguignons vnder the same Ensignes, against the common enemy of France. There were also the Earls of Eu, Albret and Vaudemont, the Vidame of Chartres, the Lords of Chastillon, Tancarville, Iogny, Morneil in Bry, Bueil, Mouy, la Tour, Angest, Longueuall, Moyencourt, Suze, Chabannes, Flauay, Saint Symon, Mailly, Penefac, Blancheport and thofe braue capitaines, *la Hire*, *Pothon* and *Floquet*, with an infinit number of the Nobility, who added their valour to the number of the soldiars, which they had brought vnto the King. The city of Paris sent a goodly troupe, so as *Charles* had twelue thousand fighting men. At the first approach the bastion vpon the bridge next to Maubouillon was taken by *la Hire*, on the other side against the Abbey of Saint *Martin*, they make a bridge with a great bastion, where they lodge three thousand archers, yet the towne was not so straightly besieged, but *Talbot* sent in both men and victualls.

The Duke of  
Yorke goes  
with an army  
to releue  
Pontoise.

Whilest that *Charles* stood discontented with this error, behold a greater brauadoe, for the duke of Yorke (Lieutenant generall for *Henry* King of England) comes to Cenery and Hotonuile, places very nere to Pontoise, with a goodly army of eight thousand men, and sends his heraulds vnto *Charles* to offer him bataille, *Charles* (who by the aduice of his counsell would not commit this succesfull beginning of his affaires to the hazard of a bataille) returnes them with no other answer, but that he should haue his bellie full sooner then hee liked. The riuer of Oize was betwixt both armies. *Charles* resolues to keepe the passages from Pontoise to Beaumont, and the duke of Yorke to passe the riuer in despite of the French, and to this end he caused many small boates of Leather, wood and cords to bee brought, with other stufte fit to make bridges. The bridge of Beaumont was garded by the French, but the English passe at an Abbey beneath the bridge, and with such danger in their artificiall boates, as ten resolute men might haue staied a great army, but the silence of the night so fauored their passage, as a great part of the English army was past, before our Sentinells had discouered them. Then was there no remedy but to aduertise the King, of the enemies passage.

*Charles* retires  
from Pontoise.

The duke of Yorke (hauing thus happily passed the riuer and rested his souldiars that night) marcheth in goodly order towards *Charles*, meaning to charge him: *Charles* takes counsell of his feare couered with this resolution, not to hazard a generall bataille, but hee was likely to haue fallen into an other inconuenience, for without attending of the enemy, hee puts all the waightiest of his carriages into the fort of Saint *Martin*, vnder the gard of *Charles* of Aniou, and the Admirall of Coitiuy with two thousand men, and with them *la Hire*, *Rouhan*, *Estouteuile* with other resolute capitaines: & so leauing his lodging of Maubouillon he retires to Poissy. The duke of Yorke takes vp his lodging at Maubouillon, being abandoned, & makes a shew to attempt the fort of Saint *Martin*, but hauing tried it in vaine he takes his way to Poissy, and lodgeth before the towne in view of the King and his army. There were some skirmishes without any great successe, *Charles* continuing his resolution to hazard nothing, and Yorke his proiect to victuall and saue Pontoise. So the English retires to Mante, to send refreshings from thence to the besieged, but this great brauado came to nothing. The beginning was dishonorable for the King, but the end was both happy and honorable. Being retired to Saint Denis, and hauing sent the Constable vnto Paris, hee resolues to send to Pontoise, and to winne it or to die. The reason was, that this his retrait or rather flight was so infamously spoken of by the greatest in Court, and so odious to the Parisiens, (who had defraied a great part of the charge at this siege) as it was to bee feared they would make some mutiny against him, if the successe were not good. His spies did likewise assure him that the Princes of his bloud (especially since the returne of the duke of Orleans) were resolute to make some extraordinary assemblie, and to admonish him touching the government. It chanced then that the Earls of S. Pol & Vaudemont (notable partisans of the duke of Bourgongne) left the King, when he had most need of succors, and

A and they of Tournay were of the same party. Hee had the Dauphin with him, whom hee caused to watch diligently both day and night. But how could hee doubt that these tricks came not out of the Bourguignons budget? Choller banished feare, so as beeing resolved to repaire this error, and to preuent his enemies practises, hee runnes to Pontoise (for hee was but ten daies away) and giuing the Duke of Yorke no leasure to releue the besieged, he resolues to take it by force. This indignation succeeded happily. Hee caused three assaults to be giuen on three parts, and at the first hee wonne our Ladies Church which is without the towne, whereby he might greatly annoy the besieged. He tooke this quarter for himselfe, accompanied with the Earles of Marche, Albret and Tancarville. The Dauphin was at the Port Friche ioyning to the riuer of Oize, with the Earle of Maine, the Admiral and the great maister of the Crosbowes. On the other side of the battery was the Constable, the Marshall of Loheac, the Lords of Mouy, Touars, Suze, Seran, Sanzay and the vidame of Chartres.

The Canon being planted of all sides, and a reasonable breach made, the French enter furiously, and the King with the first (of such force is resolution in a great Prince,) to animate a whole army, as the head giues life to the whole body. The English were consumed like to straw in the fire, and five hundred were slaine at this entrie, and foure hundred taken prisoners. The Inhabitants were spared (by the carefull command of *Charles*) who acknowledging the happinesse of this victory: for without doubt if hee had failed, his enemies were ready to conspire against him.

Pontoise taken by assault.

C Hee calles together all the Princes, Noblemen and capitaines of the army, hee thanks them for the good and faithfull seruice they had done him, in this notable occasion. Hee makes the Lord of Ialongs Marshall of France, and many Knights. Hee called for him that first entred the breach, commends his valour, and rewards him with an honorable pension. But why hath the History concealed this honest mans name, his reward had bene immortal? Such was the issue of the siege of Pontoise, remarkable for many circumstances, but then very considerable for the Kings affaires, who had an honorable reuenge of the English brauadoe. But as one good hap followes an other when it pleaseth God, so *Charles* receiued many good aduertisements at the same instant.

D The English drew together many garrisons in the country of Maine, from Mans, Fresnoy and Mahinne la Iuhez, and had sacked Saint Denis in Aniou. The French which were in Sable, Laual and Saint Sufanne, led by the Lord of Bueil, meete them laden with spoile, and very ioyfull; they charge them, defeat and kill them, leauing foure hundred vpon the place. *Pier* of Breze issues out of Conches and surpriseth the English at Beaumont le Roger: sleeping without feare, he awakes them with the sword, kills them and takes the towne. *John* *Forsquet* doth likewise about the same time take Eureux (a towne of very great importance in Normandy) the meanes is memorable, a fisherman makes a hoale in the wall, whereby he enters in the night, and becomes maister of the towne. But in exchange they receiue a checke. The capitaines and soldiars which had taken many prisoners at Pontoise, had compounded with an English captaine for their ransome, who had taken the debt vpon him. The prisoners were kept at Cornille, a castle nere vnto Chartres. While they expected money, this mediator hauing free liberty to goe and come, obserues all the passages so well, as hee soone findes meanes to pay all these ransomes, for one morning hee surpriseth the place, frees the prisoners, and takes all them that had them in gard.

E The Parisiens honor *Charles* at his returne, whom they were ready to deuoure, if the successe of Pontoise had not bene good. The duke of Bourgongne sends his wife vnto him for many respects, who returned with no great satisfaction: and *Charles* duke of Orleans (who had not yet seene him since his returne from prison) comes vnto him with a goodly traine: the King receiues him very gratioously, and allowed well the excuses of his long delay, and to crosse the duke of Bourgongne, hee giues his cousin of Orleans towards the payement of his ransome, a hundred and fifty thousand franks: a very great some in those daies, the which was not giuen for nothing in so great a necessity of the Kings affaires. *Lewis* of Luxembourg & the widow of *John* of Luxembourg, partisans to the Bourguignon, do homage to *Charles*, and yeeld the towne of Marle vnto him: these bee fruits no doubt of the victory at Pontoise. In the meane time the Princes assemblie at Neuers, the dukes of Bourgongne,



1441. Bourbon & Alençon, with the Earle of Vendosme. The duke of Britan sent his Ambassador, A not able to come himselfe, for that he was not yet in the Kings good fauour.

The Princes  
ambassadors  
to the King  
and their de-  
mands.

There were for the most part priuate discontents, tending to euery mans priuate interest. As not to be maintayned in their degrees, to be called to Councelles, respected in their aduises, honoured in their charges, paid their pensions, and eased in their lands. But the zeale of the publike good shadowed all, with a shew of Iustice, peace, order, and releefe to the people. *That it was fit the King should proceed more speedily in the treaty of peace with the English, the which had bene too coldly followed. That hee should supply his Parliaments with good and sufficient men, and thereby provide for the offices and not for the persons, that by their faithfull diligence suites might be shortened, and speedie iustice administred without delay, B or respect of either of the parties. That hee should provide for the ease of the subiect ouercharged, rule the soldiars, preuent robberies, ransomings, and extortions, the which were daily committed vnder too apparent an excuse, that the soldiars was not paid. That hee should giue honors without respect of forepassed diuisions, and declare all his subiects capable of Offices and dignities indifferently, not remembring what was past. That he should haue a competent number of graue men in his great Councell worthy of that charge, and not to commit the gouernment of the affaires of the Realme to two or three, as had bene done in former times.* These are the chiefe points of their demands, drawne word by word out of the Originall.

Charles was nothing pleased with these assemblies, made both in his absence and without his priuity, whereby many inconueniences must ensue, all being done without his authority. But being taught by his owne experience, he digested this kinde of affront quietly, being loth to alter any thing at such a season, when as hee had no need of new enemies: and hauing either excused what had bene done, or contented euery priuate person, he proceeded to the principall, which was the establishment of the affaires of the Realme. The disorders of men of warre were insupportable, the which must be reformed, but that which troubled the King was the siege of Tartas, remarkable by this circumstance.

Tartas is a towne in Gasconie belonging to the house of Albret. This town was besieged by Capitall de Buch, a great Nobleman of that countrie, and of the English faction. It was concluded for the extreame necessitie of the country that there should be a surceasse of armes, and libertie of free trafficke in that Prouince, vntill midtomer following, vpon condition that if the King did not succour the towne by that day, it should yeeld to the English, or else the French should remaine in free possession without any controuersie. And for assurance of this treaty, the eldest sonne of the Lord of Albret should remaine in hostage. The matter was of great weight, being not onely a question of the losse of a place of great importance, but of the Kings reputation, who leauing his subiects, was in danger to be abandoned by them, and so to loose all Gasconie, where the English had gotten many partisans. Charles prouiding carefully for his affaires, giues two blowes with one stone, where-with he strooke both the thecues and the English. He armed with exceeding speed, hauing drawne together foure thousand horse, eight thousand archers, and eight thousand other foote. An infinit number of great personages and voluntary Noblemen posted to this iourney, as to a solemne assignation whereon depended the quiet and honour of France. The Daulphin did accompany him in this voiage, Charles of Aniou Earle of Maine, the Constable of Richmont, the Earles of Marche, Eu, Castres, Foix and Lomaigne the eldest sonne of the Lord of Armagnac: the Lords of Albret, Gaure, Cominge, Estrac, Tartas, Tancarsville and Montgascon the eldest sonne to the Earle of Boulongne and Auvergne, and Philip of Culant Admiral of France with an infinit number of gallant Nobility. Thus Charles parting from Paris come first to Saumur, whither John Duke of Britan sent his Ambassadors, to offer him homage and men. Shame, to haue so often left him in all his extremities, would not suffer him to see the King, although the Constable were a good mediator for him. Here restored to the King the forts of Essais and Palluau which annoied all the country of Poitou, F and Charles gaue them in gard to the Constable: from thence he passed into Poitou, and provides that Marueil, and Saint Hermaine, should no more trouble the people: he then comes into Xaintonge, which had bene much tormented by the Lord of Pons, who humbled himselfe vnto the King, promising to liue in peace. Taillebourg was taken by force, and the thecues punished. Bretueil was taken and razed. Thus Charles spent this yeere against thecues

A thecues who had surprised some townes. The next yeere was happily imploied against the English our open enemies, making a great breach in Gascony and there abouts, where the English had gotten deepest footing, by the ancient and lawfull possession of his Ancestors. In the end by this breach the whole Prouince remained his, but the prouidence of God imparts his blessings by degrees. Hauing thus pacified Poitou and Xaintonge, he comes to Limoges, and so to Tholousa, which was the Rendez-uous of all his troupes. Being arriued, he giues notice to them of Tartas, that they should continue firme, and that they should bee releued by the prefixed day: but as hee labors on the one side to settle his affaires, so the English on the other side seeke to ouerthrow them.

B Behold Talbot comes out of England into Normandie with two thousand men, and the Duke of Yorke hauing leuied men in the country it selfe and places of their obedience, goes to field with foure thousand men. With these forces hee thinkes to take all that Charles held in that Prouince, where he had left the Earle of Dunois and the Vidame of Chartres for the gard of those places: but this enterprife had small successe. Talbot besiegeth Conches, and at the same instant the Earle of Dunois Galardon (a place holding for the English) to cause a diuersion. Talbot hauing taken Conches, the Earle leaues Galardon, hauing no reason to hazard his small troupe against so great forces, and puts them into garrison, making a defensiu warre, attending the successe of Tartas. Talbot fearing least Galardon should be surprised by the French, doth raze it, and this was all.

C Let vs now returne to Tholousa, to conduct Charles from thence to Tartas, for there lies the weight of his affaires. Assignation is giuen, it must bee held. To conclude, the King comes at the appointed time, with a goodly and mighty army: the condition is performed, he demands his hostages, and the effect of the accord. So young Albret is deliuered, Tartas continues vnder his obedience, the day honorably kept, and all the Prouince in quiet. Tartas thus victoriously assured, Charles resolues both to husband the occasion with his forces, and to proceed farther. Saint Seuer was held by Thomas Rameston with a hundred men at armes, and foureteene hundred Crosbowes, and fortified what might bee in those daies. Charles takes it by force, slew the greatest part of the English, & takes the Commander prisoner. Acqs hauing endured a siege of sixe weekes is yeilded by composition. The Earle D of Foix was with the King, and imploied both his person, men, and meanes to doe him seruice: but the impatiency of the French thrust them vpon his country, where they committed many insolencies. The Bearnois discontented with the French, assembles his forces and chargerth them as enemies; but they had their reuenge, for they fell vpon this ill-armed multitude, and slue seuen hundred, to the great grieve of Charles, fearing that this escape might alter his affaires: but the Earles discretion couered this excessse, and Charles continued his course. Agen held for him, from thence he summons Tonneins, Marmande and Port Saint Mary, which yeeld him obedience. Reole being obstinate, was besieged, and assailed with difficulty, but in the end it was taken.

Tartas releued by King Charles.

E The sharpe winter (hindring the course of the riuer of Garonne, for the victualing of the army) made the siege long & difficult, and gaue the English meanes to recouer S. Seuer and Acqs, not very well garded: but the Earle of Foix winnes Saint Seuer againe, and the Earle of Lomaigne Acqs. A great number of the Nobility of the country (forced to make a good shew during the English command) submit themselves to the King, as the Lords of Pujols, Raufan, Roquetaillade and Pelegrie. Thus Charles hauing made the Lord of Coitivy Seneschall of Guienne, gouernor of that conquered country, he makes his returne into France. Being at Montauban hee lost those two great captaines so famous in his reigne, Potton and La Hire, more rich in vertue and honor then in substance: yet Potton was maister of the Kings horse, and his sonne was Marshall. La Hire left for his chiefe welth the immortal memorie of his loyalty and valour, the which he happily imploied in the greatest necessity of this crowne. Names in truth most worthy to be consecrated to the perpetual memorie of posterity, for a president to such as manage armes, and make so great profession of honour. And with what title were these most honored, for their vertues or for their castles? A happy exchange, to change perishing gold, which oftentimes makes him hatefull that loues it, with the pleasing smell of immortal praise. An vnreprouable ambition amidst the reproches of this golden age, which loueth gold more then honour.

The death of Potton and La Hire.



1442.

So Montauban was a tombe for their bodies, and the whole world the Epitaph of their praises. At that instant and in the same place, *Charles* ended the controuersie of the Earldome of Cominges. *Joane* daughter to the Earle of Cominge and Boulogne (married at the first to *John* duke of Berry, sonne to King *John*,) was after his decease married to *Mathew* Earle of Castel-bon, of the house of Foix. She had one daughter by this *Mathew*, but for that there was no good agreement betwixt them, shee makes a Will to bridle her husband, that by vertue of the authority of a father, hee should not enioy her lyuing, instituting King *Charles* the seuenth her heire, in case her daughter died without lawfull heirs. In disdain of this Testament, *Mathew* much yonger then she, and who had not taken her but for her Crowns, kept her prisoner, an aged woman of foure score yeeres.

The daughter of *Joane* of Cominges being dead, the Earldome belonged vnto the King as lawfull heire, by the donation of *Joane* the lawfull heire. So *Charles* was bound by a double bond to defend the gray heires of this old woman, against the insolency of her cruell husband, who finding himselfe supported by the fauour of the Earle of Foix and Armagnac his cousin (hauing already seized vpon some townes of Cominges, and playing the pettie King, during the confusion of times and the neighbourhood of the English) thought all things to be lawfull. The King adiournes them both to appeere at Tholousa (whereas then he established a parliament for all the countries of Languedoc, Foix, Cominge, Gaure, Quercy, Armagnac, Estrac, Lomaigne, Magnaoc, Bigorre and Rouergue) *Mathew* deliuered *Joane* his wife into the Kings hands, and it was decreed by the Court of parliament (the which they note to be the first of this sollempn assembly) that *Joane* should liue in free liberty out of *Mathews* power, & should enioy the moiety of the reuenues of Cominge, and therest should goe into the Kings cofers. The Earle of Foix and Armagnac yeelded vp the townes of Cominges which he had vsurped, and was adiourned vnto Paris, to yeeld an account of many rebellions whereof hee was accused, especially for that he set in his titles, *Bernard by the grace of God Earle &c.* A marke fit for soueraignty, the which appertaines not to Seigneuries subiect to this Crowne.

Thus *Charles* remembers lawes in the heate of warre, but it requires an other Comissioner to execute this decree by force of armes, after the death of *Joane*, who being conducted to Poitiers, liued not long in this libertie. *Charles* beeing returned to Poitiers about the moneth of March, resolues to imploy his son *Lewis*, both to fashion him to affaires, and to draw him from such as would seduce him. He giues him the government of those countries which lie betwixt the riuers of Suze and Seine. For the well imploying of this new authority, there were two goodly occasions presented one vpon an other. Deepe was reduced to the Kings obedience, this was a great annoiance to Rouen: for the freeing whereof the duke of Yorke doth besiege it, raising forts to keepe them from all releefe. This siege had continued nine monthes, very tedious to the besieged, when as behold the Daulphin accompanied with the Earles of Dunois and Saint Pol and the Lord of Gaucourt, assailes these forts and forceth them, kills three hundred English and many Normaines, either by the sword or water, and so frees Deepe.

This occasion, was followed by an other, which chanced in a manner at the same instant. *Joane* Countesse of Cominges dies at Poitiers, soone after shee had tasted the ayre of libertie, and the good cheere which *Charles* made her. Vpon the report of her death *Bernard* Earle of Armagnac seizeth vpon the townes of Cominges, Duret, Lile in Dodon, Samathan and Lombres, and preparing to warre, he leuies troupes in Arragon, by Salezard a capitaine of that country, causing *John* of Lescun a bastard of Armagnac to inuade the Kings territories. This excesse might haue proued verie preiudiciall, when as *Charles* sends *Lewis* his sonne into Languedoc, with a thousand horse, to quench this mischiefe in the breeding. Being arriued at Rouergue, all yeelds vnto him. Euery thing is opposit to the Earle of Armagnac. The Earles of Perdnac and la Marche, the chiefe supporters of his insolency, leaue him in the plaine field. *Salzard* doth likewise abandon him: of such force is a royall maister against a bad cause.

The Earle of Amagnac (seeing himselfe thus abandoned) shuts himselfe into Lisle-Jordan, to dispute his pretensions with more aduantage, but hee thrust himselfe into the toyle, for hee was taken by *Lewis*, and led prisoner to Carcassone. These happy exploitcs did greatly

The Parli-  
ment of Tholousa  
erected.

Deepe besieged  
by the English  
and releued  
by the Daulphin.

The Earle of  
Armagnac  
taken by the  
Daulphin.

A greatly recommend the Daulphins iudgment and valour, whom all men held worthy of a great command. *Charles* hauing commended him for so well doing, would haue sent him backe against the Earle of Somerset, who had raised a great army on the frontiers of Normandy and Britan, the which was like vnto a fire of straw, for hauing taken la Guierche by force, he left it as soone for money, and so retired with his army without any other exploit. The heate of the English grew more temperate touching the chiefe points of their affaires. They stood vpon tearmes in the two first fruitelesse assemblies made for peace: but now they seeke the King. The Earle of Suffolke writes vnto him that hee hath commandment from the King his Master, not onely to renew the treaty of peace discontinued, but also to finde meanes to marry him in France, he receiues a fauorable answer from *Charles*, and vnder his safe-conduct comes to him to Tours. *Charles* continued still in an humor to loue peace, and to seeke it, but the Earle of Suffolke, and the Lord *Rosse* had no charge but to treat of a generall truce, the which they concluded for a yeere and a halfe: but this shall be a goodly occasion to send home the English. After a shower comes a sun-shine, and euen experience teacheth, that after a great raine comes a long drought. Now wee shall see nothing but truces, one after an other, marriages and aliances, during foure yeeres; which is a preparatiue to a ciuill peace for about a hundred yeeres.

This truce being made, they must now seeke warres else where, so fruitefull is our vanity of change, so as wee cannot liue without suffering or doing harme to others: when as they treated of this truce, it was demanded by the Ambassadors of both Kings what their men of warre should doe? This truce (say they) will bee more chargeable vnto vs then warre, for they must liue: They haue not bene accustomed to worke, and yet they will make good cheere, neither can the poore people endure any more. Moreouer if they haue no worke, they will fight with themselves: wee must therefore calme this storme, and send them to such as loue vs not: This was the cause of the warre in Suizerland, whereof *Lewis* was general, leading both French and English vnder the same ensignes. *Mathew Gooche* was Collonell of the English forces, for the King of England vnder the Daulphins command. He entred with his army into the territory of Basill and the country of Elsas, betwixt Basill and Strasbourg, one of the goodliest and most fertill prouinces of Germany, they terrified Metz, tooke Montbeliard, and filled all those countries with feare and combustion. The motives of this extraordinary enterprize, may well bee obserued by that which I haue said: but these causes were farre fetch, and not to be embraced by two Kings, who but euen now tormented one an other, especially by *Charles* who hauing suffred so many crosses, should haue horror to cause others to feeble the like without constraint, yet he found a pinne for all these holes. *Charles* would haue his sonne take Montbeliard, to be reuenged for the Gouernour, for the wrong he had done him, spoiling his country as farre as Langres in his greatest necessity. Hee assailed the Suiffes (and namely them of Basill) beeing fauourers of *Eugenius* against *Felix* his competitor, that is to say against that *Amedee* Duke of Sauoy, who had so crossed him in his affaires, whom hee could neuer loue what shew soeuer hee made in pollicy. And for that Germany, and that quarter neere vnto Suifferland supported *Felix* against *Eugenius*, he therefore hated them. And to gratifie *René* King of Sicilia, who had a priuate quarrell against the city of Metz, he turned his forces against it. But what meaning soeuer *Charles* had herein, he embraced this voluntary warre with an incredible affection, as if it had bene to defend the heart of his Realme. He himselfe came to Espinall, and hauing sent his army before to Metz, hee continued the siege siue months, vntill the Cittizens had paid two hundred thousand crownes for the charges of the warre, and acquitted King *René* of a hundred thousand florins of gold, which they had lent him in his necessity. *Lewis* the Daulphin parting from Montbeliard ruines Portentru, in disdain of the Bishop, a great solicitor against *Eugenius*, and from thence he enters into the territories of Basill with this goodly and flourishing army, tied together with so many feuerall strings, hee incountred 4000. Suiffes, being resolute to defend their country. The greatest part of them were cut in peeces, but they sold their liues deere, for the Germain Histories report, that wee lost aboue siue thousand men, although wee had the victorie. The Emperor *Frederic* the 3. (a prince which otherwise loued peace) vpon the complaints of the cities lying alongest the Rhin, caused the to arme: so as *Lewis* returned into Lorraine fearing to be too far ingaged in

A generall  
truce.

The French  
and English  
sent to warre  
in Suizerland.

The Suiffes  
fought valiantly  
and were defeated.

1444. an enemies Country, whome he had incensed against reason: yet *Frederic* sent his Ambassadors to *Charles*, to renew their ancient alliances. So this cloude of people-eaters passed, falling vpon diuers quarters like a shower of haile in a field of ripe corne, leauing nothing memorable but a notable example of rashnesse, making a warre which was neither necessary nor iust, afflicting quiet and peaceable people without any occasion. Whilest that France and England made *Switzerland* to weep, *Henry* the sixt King of England, married with *Marguerite* of Anjou, daughter to *Rene* Duke of Anjou, and of *Lorraine*, and King of Sicile and Naples. The Earle of Suffolk fetcht her from Nancy, where *Charles* was resident, whilest that his army afflicted these poore people. He feasted and conducted this Princeesse as his owne daughter, euen with teares of ioy: but this ioy was sodenly conuerted into heauines, by the death of the Daulphins wife his daughter in law, whom he loued deere for her vertues, which made her amiable to all France. She was one of the chiefest in this great solemnity, from the which shee went to the bed of death: her death was the sepulcher of her Monity, the widow of *James* King of Scotts, who was come to see her: and whilest her funerall was making, her Sisters ariue from Scotland to attend on her, nay rather to descend with her into the graue, if the humanity of *Charles* had not reuiued them, giuing them honest meanes to maintaine their estates in France. Thus passeth the Ocean of this miserable life, in the which there is more cause of mourning then of ioy, both in great and small. The marriage likewise of England, wherein were so great shewes of ioy, shall end with a lamentable Tragedy, as we shall see hereafter. The truce was so pleasing to both Realmes, that before it was expired, the Kings of France and England renew it for five yeares more, in hope of a perfect peace, promising by their seuerall writings published generally, to meeete together within six monethes in some conuenient place, to confirme this peace so generally desired of all their subiects. And to confirme the assurance of their promises, the English deliuer Mans to *Charles* with all that hee held in the county of Maine: but all is put into the hands of King *Rene* his father in law. *Francis* Duke of Brittain doth homage to the King for the Duchy of Brittain and the Earldome of Montfort. This was at Chinon, but some monethes after there chanced a tragicall disafter in that house. *Francis* suspecting that *Gyles* his brother would deale treacherously with him, by the too familiar correspondency he had with the English, caused him to be put in prison, by the Councell and care of *Charles* who had sent him foure hundred lances, vnder the command of the Admirall *Cossigny*. But they dealt worse with him, causing him to die in prison for hunger. The history of Brittain describes this accident very plausibly, but it is true that *Gyles* died being prisoner with his brother *Peter*, who suruiued him not long after, hauing a great remorse for this tragicke accident. In the rest of this yeare, and the three following, there is nothing memorable, but the pursuits which *Charles* made for the re-union of the Church. But not to breake off the course of our history, which is properly to treat of that which concernes our estate we reserue it for a more conuenient place. A worke in truth not onely worthy of a great Monarke, but of a peaceable time, that in the peace of the state, we may see the peace of the Church. The soldiars insolency was nothing abated by this voiage of Germany. They returne more fiesht then before against the poore laborer. *Charles* made new orders to retrain them, causing them to be duly obserued: but the ouer-weening violence of the English increased daily, not onely by the negligence, but by the command of such as had the charge. The duke of Yorke being called home into England, the duke of Somerset succeeded him, a proud man, who thinking to do better then the rest, did absolutely ruine the English affaires in France. He dispensed with his soldiars in all their villainies, and kept them ready to breake the truce, vpon any profitable occasion. In the meane time the Souldiers ordinary practise was to stand in Sentinell, to surprize some good house in the country, being ill garded: to robbe it, spoile it, and carry away the prisoners by vnknowne wayes. To this end they had their spies, their guides, and their retreats. The fields were full of robberies, by men disguised in strange and fearful habits, being masked when they espied their prey: and therefore they called them counterfeit faces. But to draw men into danger, they marched likes passengers, expecting the commodity to surprize them. There is heard nothing but complaints, of violence. All the pursuits which were made to repaire the breaches of truce, did but increase the paine and charges of the interessed.

But

1435. A But of these small disorders committed by the souldiers, there grew so great an inconuenience, as in the end it filled vp the measure against the English, being hated and detested of all the French, for their pride and insolencie. Fougères a Towne of Brittain vpon the confines of Normandie, then very rich and populous, being without guard vnder the assurance of the truce, was easily surprized by *Francis* of Surienne, called the Arragonois, a Knight of the order of the Garter, and a great Captaine vpon the marches of France, obeying the English. The towne being surprized by him, (being accompanied with sixe or seauen hundred souldiers) suffered all the miseries that might be. They kill, spoile, and sacke, rauish women, robbe Churches, take prisoners, and from thence they runne into Brittain, and fill all full of feare and combustion. The Britton appeales to the King, and both complaine to *Henry* King of England, and to the Duke of Somerset his Lieutenant in France: they presse them to repaire so notable a breach, else they would seeke a meanes of reuenge. But they receiue nothing but words, disauowed by mouth, and aduowed in effect: for Somerset causeth *S. James* of Beuron to be fortified, contrarie to the treatie. *Charles* receiuing these bare answers from England, sees which way the chance would fall, and that the game would not passe without blowes, yet hee restrained his men with great modestie, holding it for a maxime, that he must vse no force. But when as moderate remedies can take no place with men not capable of reason; then to oppose force against the iniurious passion of his enemy. I read with ioy in the Originall, that *Charles* contained himselfe, and was forced to this last warre. To haue God on his side, and the wrong on his enemies. To conclude, this moderate proceeding did so iustifie the good cause of *Charles*, as it was continued with a happie euent: not onely to abate the pride of the English, but to expell them out of the whole Realme: as the iust iudgement of God pursued their arrogancie in this attempt, by the breach of publike faith: the vndoubted ruine of humane societie, which hath no certaine foundation, but in perfect faith. Here endeth the yeare, but the controuersie shall beginne more hotely by iust armes, accompanied with a victorious sentence, the which the Iudge of the world shall pronounce against the pretender of this estate.

D

### Normandie reduced to the Kings obedience.



E

HE Duke of Brittain first interessd by the English, begins first to resist him: but *Charles* is drawne to force by constraint. The Ambassadors of France and England, were assembled at Louiers, to redresse the breach at Fougères, when as behold Pont de l'Arche (a towne vpon the riuer of Seine, foure leagues from Rouen) is surprized by the Lord of Breze, for the Duke of Brittain. This troubled Somerset, who presently sends to make complaint vnto the assembly. *Charles* makes him answer, that it is a requittall: but if he wil redervp Fougères, and the goods that were stolne, valued at sixteene hundred thousand crownes, he should haue Pont de l'Arche againe. The which being disdainfully refused by Somerset, *Charles* protests by his Ambassadors in open assembly, That if warre followed (which God forbid) *the fault should not be his*, causing an authentick act to be taken by certaine Apostolicke and Imperiall Notaries, for his discharge and iustification. Seeing therefore that this mild course was scorned by his stout enemy, he resolues to haue his reuenge by force of armes. To this end he combines with *Francis* Duke of Brittain, to make warre against the English their common enemy, vpon condition the Britton should not treat with him without his leaue. A very needfull restraint, hauing often failed, as we haue scene. All prepare to warre, in euery place where the English had any footing in Gasconie, in Normandie, and in all other parts where there was any remainder of their ancient Conquests. Guienne shall begin the game: but it shall end in Normandie, to make perfect the French obedience, whereof it offers these first fruites to *Charles* in the beginning of this yeare, as to their

A truce prolonged for five yeares.

1445.  
1446.  
1447.  
1448.

The cruelty of the Duke of Brittain against his brother.

1449. their lawfull King. *Cognac* was surprized for him by *Verdun* a Gascon, but the manner was A  
 notable. *Mondot* an English Captaine was gouernour of the place: he was absent when the  
 towne was taken. *Verdun* keeps the gates carefully, that no intelligence might be giuen vn-  
 to him, so as he comes to the gates without knowledge of any thing, but hee found some  
 which added him vnto their prize, beeing taken prisoner, whereas before he was a gouernor.  
 The same day Saint *Maigrin* was taken by *Alliac* likewise a Gascon. The newes of *Cognac*  
 and *S. Maigrin* were scarce brought to *Charles*, when as the Lord of *Mouy* giues him intel-  
 ligence, that he had taken *Gerberond*, and the Bailiffe of *Eureux Couches*, with great slaugh-  
 ter of the English. Complaints are presently made by the English, *Talbot* is the messenger:  
*Charles* lets them know that they are in the fault, seeing they began first: yet hee offers to  
 yeeld all that had beene taken by his commandement, according to the law of reprisals, so  
 as they would deliuer what they had taken, and suffer his friends and allies to liue in peace. B  
*Talbot* answering, that he had no such charge, *Charles* lettes him vnderstand, that hee would  
 redresse it by lawfull force: that he did vnwillingly enter into warre, yet would he soone shew  
 the English, that his mildnesse had a sting: and so he goes to field with a goodly armie. There  
 were three chiefe dens for theeuers, the *Rendez-vous* of all the English robberies in those  
 parts, *Verneuil*, *Mante*, and *Loigny*. *Verneuil* (an infamous place for our defeate) was first  
 taken: a Millar gaue them entry by a hoale in the towne wall, by the which the water did run  
 to his mill ioyning to the wall. The towne began, and the castle followed: a strong tower  
 diuided from the castell held out some daies, but it yeelded when as *Charles* arriued. *Mante* C  
 yeelded in view of the armie. *Loigny* was surprized by *Scalado*, but the English intrenched  
 in the bafe Court, fought it out resolutely, and lost both liues and goods. *Vernon* a towne  
 vpon *Seine* yeelded of it selfe, by the voluntarie obedience of the inhabitants. *Ponteau du-*  
*mer* was forced by the Earles of *Eu* and *S. Pol*, where as many English men were lost. But  
*Lizieux* by the graue aduice of their Bishop yeelds voluntarie obedience, and auoides the  
 miseries of the vanquished. *Louuiers* did the like, and *Gournay* was sold by an English cap-  
 taine that held it. *Essey* was taken by a gentle stratageme of the Duke of *Alanfons*. The Cap-  
 taine accompanied with the fouldiers of his garrison, was gone forth to fish a poole, while  
 he seekes for fish he is taken himselfe, and his Lieutenant deliuers vp the Castell to the kings  
 seruice. *Fescampe* is taken by the Abbot, hauing intelligence with the Monkes: and at the D  
 same instant a ship arriues out of England, beeing ignorant of this losse: the French suffer  
 them to land and take them all prisoners. *Harcourt* makes shew to resist, but yeeldes by  
 composition after the sege of eight daies. The armie marcheth against *Neuf-chastell* of  
*Nicourt*, and takes the towne by force, the castle yeelds by composition. The Earle of  
*Clermont* was desirous to recouer his chiefe house whereof he carried the name: his subiects  
 gaue him entrie into the towne, and so by the towne he wins the castle. *S. Loos* at the sight of  
 the armie demands and obtaines a good composition, with all the neighbour castles. *Ca-*  
*renten* yeelds after three daies, and *Pont d'Oue* is taken by assault: *Constances* and *Gouray*  
 by composition. *Alenfon* freed it selfe from the English, and yeelds to the mild commaund  
 of their good Prince the Duke of *Alanfon*, who shewed his mercie euen to the English be-  
 ing vanquished, to whom he gaue both life and goods. E

*Rochequion* was yeelded vp by the captaine of the castel, who of an English man becoms  
 French, by the perswasions of his wife, who was a French woman. *Chasteau-gaillard* a fort  
 of importance vpon the riuer of *Seine*, endured a siege of fixe weekes, but the presence and  
 good fortune of *Charles*, made him master of the place. Gisors, so famous for the English  
 quarrels, was yeelded to the King by the Captaine, who likewise came to the Kings seruice,  
 and in the end *Valonges*, a place of importance, the which hereafter shall come in question  
 by a famous accident.

As the Kings armie made this progresse in Normandie, so it increased daily by these new  
 conquests. *Rein* King of Sicily, and the Duke of Brittanie, arriue with goodly voluntarie F  
 troupes, and some townes newly reduced to the Kings obedience, with an infinite number  
 of good fouldiers: but about all, the Court was goodly, by the multitude of Noblemen,  
 who went not onely to honour the Kings good fortune, but carried by an inward instinct  
 of his right well gouerned, (as it were by a celestially guide) did runne to an assured victorie, and  
 to the possession of an heires lawfull right. The Dukes of *Bourbon*, *Alanfon*, and *Brittan*  
 were

The exploits  
 of the French  
 in Guienne &  
 Normandie,

Townes in  
 Normandie  
 yeeld vnto the  
 King.

A were there, with the Earles of *Richmont* Constable of France, of *Maine*, *Eu*, *Saint Pol*, *Du-*  
*nois*, *Caftres*, *Tancarville*, and *Dampmartin*. The Duke of *Lorraine*, and *John* his brother,  
 augmented the traine of King *Rein*. *John* was: mall of *Vrins*, Baron of *Treignell*, and Chance-  
 lor of France was there, hauing succeeded *Remauld* of *Chartres* Archbishop of *Rheims*, be-  
 ing lately deceased. The Lords of *Culant*, *Bueil*, *Montgascon*, *Blainville*, *Preffigny*, *Brion*,  
*Prailly*, *la Bouffiere*, *Monter*, *Aigreuille*, *Malicorne*, and *Han*, with an infinit number of the  
 Nobilitie.

*Charles* resolu'd to embrace these goodly occasions, finding (by the obedience of so ma-  
 ny countie townes) the way laid open to *Rouen*, the capitall cittie of that Prouince: he de-  
 termines to beseege it, and all with one consent aime at this goodly marke, as the chiefe of  
 the Kings affaires. But it chanced through the prouidence of God, that whereas there see-  
 med greatest difficultie, there it prooued most easie, by the loyaltie of the French, who can-  
 not denie their Prince. The combat was ciuill, managed more by counsell then by force.  
 The cittie was much at the Kings deuotion, yet were they kept in awe by the English forces,  
 beeing masters of the strongest Forts within the cittie. The Duke of *Somerfet* was there pre-  
 sent with authoritie. *Talbot* must imploy all his valour: but neither force, forts, authoritie,  
 nor valour were of any force, for that God hauing determined to restore this estate, by the  
 meanes of *Charles* the feuenth, inclined both hands and hearts to his decree, the which no  
 mortall man can preuent.

C The King beeing at *Pont l'Arche*, had certaine intelligence from the best citizens of *Ro-*  
*uen*, that the whole Cittie was resolu'd to obey him: desiring onely to be supported by his  
 presence and forces: vpon this aduice he causeth the Earle of *Dunois* to march, and to shew  
 himselfe vnto the Citizens: who sends a Herald to summon them to yeeld their obedience  
 vnto the King, whom the English were like to haue torne in peeces. No citizen dares shew  
 himselfe vpon the walles: all is filled with enemies. The English had seized vpon the wals,  
 so as no man within the towne durst approach. Hauing thus marched about the towne in  
 good order, fearing no lesse the lightnesse of the peoples humour, then the Winter which  
 approached (beeing then October) he resolues to retire. *Charles* and his Councell distrust  
 these popular humors, as not able to draw the cittie to yeeld: he therefore thinkes it best to  
 lodge his armie about it, and to seaze vpon the passages of the citizens chiefe houses, being  
 the best meanes to draw them to reason. The which was speedily put in practise. The troups  
 were scarce lodged in their quarters, when as *Charles* lying at *Pont l'Arche*, had intelligence  
 that his seruants had seized vpon two towers, by meanes whereof they had a quarter of the  
 cittie. Whereupon the Earle of *Dunois* shewes himselfe presently with the armie before the  
 cittie, and diuides his troups according to their quarters. The brute of those forces is great  
 vpon their approach: they haue aduice to march, the which they do resolutely, beeing set in  
 order, full of generous resolution, as in the Kings presence. The Ladders are set to the wall,  
 and they begin to mount, all prepare to follow, fortie of our men get vp the wall, when as  
 the Lord *Talbot* arriues with three hundred desperate English, who hauing cut the cittizens  
 E in peeces, charge our men that were ingaged, some they kill, the rest leape from the walles,  
 and few recouer the place from whence they were mounted. The King holding the cittie  
 wonne, comes to *Darnetall*, when as the Earle of *Dunois* returnes to aduertise him of the  
 hard successe of this popular brag, so as all held it for wind and smoake.

In the meane time the cittizens slept not, the little bloud of some that were slaine set all  
 the rest of the cittizens on fire, who resolu'd to vnmaske themselves, and to speake plainly  
 to the English. The whole cittie is incensed by meanes of the magistrates, euerie man pre-  
 pares his armes against these strangers. The Archbishop of *Rouen* (a name which the histo-  
 rie owes to the truth and honour of the French loyaltie) was a good seruant to the King, and  
 had great credit with the cittizens: so as the whole cittie assembles with him, and by a com-  
 mon consent all resolu'd to returne to the Crowne of France, as to their beginning: *Somer-*  
 set and *Talbot* runne thither with fiftie men, but what is that against a multitude? The Arch-  
 bishop acquaints them with the cittizens resolution, who in their presence depute the Offi-  
 ciall to go vnto the King.

The summe of his Ambassage was, that his Maiestie should graunt vnto the cittizens of  
*Rouen* a generall abolition of all that was past, and leaue for the English and all others of their

The King  
 sends his army  
 to Rouen.

1449. their humor to retire without daunger, offering them their obedience as to their lawfull king: that he should come when he pleased, where he should find the gates as open as their hearts. This resolution deliuered boldly in the presence of Somerset and Talbot, amazed them much, their courages were daunted. And what could their weake authoritie do against the whole bodie of a cittie, fortified with the Kings approach, his armie, and his right? Thus the cittie of Rouen sends deputies vnto the King, and obtaine all they demaund, who being returned with this good answer, all are satisfied but the English, who keepe the walles, towers, bridge, castle and pallace: all this must be fought for. They prepare for force, the people do the like, all the streetes are filled with armed men to force the walles.

The citizens send againe vnto the King, beseeching him to approach with his armie with all speede, to take absolute possession of his cittie of Rouen. Attending the Kings answer, the citizens do happily winne the walles, the towers and the gates: all that belongs to the cittie obeyes the King, the English with great difficultie recouer the bridge, castle and pallace. But they enioy not these forts long: for the citizens beseege the bridge and winne it, and now the armie comes downe the hill. The citizens at the sight thereof cry, *God save the King*, all breake out into ioy and triumph. The armie enters the cittie, to the peoples exceeding ioy, attending the King. In the meane time S. *Katherine's* fort is beseege, and yielded to the Earle of Dunois: *Charles* lodged there whilest the cittie is freed from strangers: the castle yeeldes, the Pallace onely remains: Somerset and Talbot are there, they are men of action, who had wherewithall to fight for their liues: but how can they hold out, all being disposed to an accord?

*Charles* being wholly inclined to clemencie, doth willingly see Somerset and Talbot at S. *Katherine's* fort, who receiue a lawe from his victorious hands, yet would he not admit them with conditions like vnto the citizens: but he giues them leaue to retire with their liues and goods vpon these conditions, That they should leaue their prisoners and artillerie, deliuer vp Arques, Caudebecq, Tancarville, Lisle-bonne, Honne-fieu, and Monstreuille, they should pay fiftie thousand crownes presently, and discharge their priuate debts in the cittie before they departed: for assurance whereof they should leaue Talbot (the flower of all their men) with fife other hostages such as the King should demand. So Talbot remains for a pledge. After ten daies (all articles agreed vpon being performed, except Honne-fieu) all the hostages haue leaue to depart, except Talbot, who stayes vntill Honne-fieu is deliuered. But Talbot must haue more time to taste the bountie and clemencie of our King, and the French courtesie. Thus *Charles* enters Rouen with great pompe, but the peoples ioy exceeded the stateliness of his traine. Their shoutes drowne the Trumpets and clarions, all cry, *God save the King*. This poore people (greedy to see their Prince, after so long and cruell a seruitude) weepe for ioy, men and women, young and old, all runne; many bon-fires are made, but the fire of publike deuotion burnt more cleare. This was the tenth of Nouember in the yeare 1449. a notable date for so singular a deliuerance. There yet remained some townes in Normandie to conquer. *Charles* loth to loofe any opportunity, or to giue the enemy any leifure to bethinke himselfe, would scarce allow of any time for the publike ioy and content of his good subiects, but goes presently to field with his armie.

Honne-fieu would not obey the Duke of Somerset, the which he must deliuer vp according to the treatie: there were fiftene hundred English, resolute to defend the place, but after fiftene dayes siege they yeilded vpon honourable tearmes, their goods and liues being faued. *Charles* for an increase of the good cheare he had made vnto Talbot during his imprisonment, giues him his libertie without ranfome, with meanes to retire himselfe into England and great gifts: but he shall make him no due requitall of this good and honourable entertainment. Fougères, the subiect of this last warre, and the chiefe cause of his good success, returns to the obedience of the crowne, through the valour of the Duke of Brittainie: and Belesme with the castle of Fresnay, by that of the Duke of Alanson. As these things succeeded happily for our *Charles*, so all went crosse in England. The Earle of Suffolke gouerned Henry the 6. quietly, being a young man, and of a weake spirit. As all the affaires of England depended vpon this Earle, so did the reproches. The Duke of Somerset (a Prince of the English blood) very ielous of his credit and reputation, & ashamed to be blemished with these losses in France, layes the chiefe fault vpon Suffolke, & others that had the gouernment and

King Charles  
deales honour-  
ably with  
Talbot.

The estate of  
England.

A and so incensed the people of London against them, as the Londoners transported with choller for so great a losse, meaning to punish the offenders, fall vpon the Bishop of Chichester, Lord Keeper of the priuie Seale, and kill him in a mutinie: they intend the like to Suffolke, if (by the fauour of some of his friends) hee had not bene put into the tower of London, to yeeld an accompt of his actions. Henry (who loued him dearely) takes him forth and sent him into France, for his better safetie. But it chanced that Suffolke seeking to auoid one danger, fell into another, where he made his last shipwracke: for being met by Somerset's people, being his capitall enemy, he was taken and beheaded, his head and bodie were sent to London, and those cruell spoiles set vp to publike view, in places most frequented. B In the meane time, all England troubled for the losse of Rouen, and the greatest part of the Prouince, resolues to hazard all, to saue the rest of their conquests in France. They had yet in Normandie the townes of Caen, Vire, Auranches, S. Sauueur le Vicont, Falaize, Damfront, Cherebourg, with the strong places of Tombelaine and Briquebee, and a great part of Guienne. With this remainder the English imagine to recouer the possession of what they had lost. So Henry sends speedily 4000. men, vnder the command of Thomas Tirell, one of his most renowned Captaines. Being landed at Cherebourg, without any losse of time, he beseegeth Valonges, a strong place and of importance. At the brute of these forces, all the English garrisons assemble, to augment his armie, and to fortifie the seege, so as being together, they make about 8000. men. Our armie was lodged in diuers places to refresh themselves since the seege of Honne-fieu, the season being wonderfull moist in the thaw of the spring, when as newes came to Charles of the landing of the English, and the imminent danger of the beseege, the losse whereof were a foule blemish to his victorie. To prevent this, he presently sends the Earle of Clermont with sixteene hundred lances, whereof the Earle of Castrès, the Admirall of Raiz, the Seneshall of Poitou, and the Lords of Montgauccon, Couran, and Rouhault were the commanders. The English armie was lodged at Fournigny, a village betwixt Carentan and Bayeux, in a place of aduantage, to keep themselves free from such forces as they might doubt should be sent from the King, being then in the countrie. Mathew Gooch an old English Captaine, came vnto him with a thousand archers. The English being thus fortified, set their backs to a riuer, being flanked with diuers Orchards and Gardens, before them they make trenches to hinder their approach, and in this sort they attend the enemy.

The neerensse of Charles made them to imagine our French to be more in number then they were; for this troupe did not exceede sixe hundred fighting men, whereof an hundred onely, commanded by Jeffrey of Couran, and Joachim of Rouault, charged the English vanguard, and hauing slaine three or foure hundred, put the rest of their armie in disorder: yet the Earle of Clermont seeing the danger he was in with his troupe, if the enemy had discovered his aduantage, hauing so great an armie against his small forces, sends presently to Charles for speedie succours. By good happe as the messenger came vnto the King, the Constable of Richmond arriues from Brittainie, who marcheth presently, not giuing his soldiers any leifure to breath, exhorting them to go couragiously to an assured victorie. His coming strake the stroke, and swayed the victorie. He had 240. Lances, and 800. Archers, and with him James of Luxemburg; the Earle of Lauall, and the Lord of Loheac Marshal of France, with the good fortune of Charles. He arriues euen when as the Earle of Clermont was farre engaged in the fight, the English had taken two Culuerins from him, and in despite had passed S. Clements Ford, preparing to discharge these Culuerins: when as behold the Constable comes with his troupe with a victorious countenance, who at his first approach winnes the bridge vpon the riuer. The English are amazed, especially when they see Mathew Gooch (who was somewhat retired from the bodie of their armie to succour at all euent) take the way to Bayeux. The Constable makes his profit of this flight, who without pursuing them, chargeth their dismayed troupes.

Thomas Tirell puts himselfe in defence with the fauour of the riuer, the orchards and gardens: but the Constable commands some of his horsemen to leaue their horses. The Earle of Clermont inuiroes the enemy on the other side: the English being charged of all sides, feeling the weight of their blowes, giue way, leaue their armes, and suffer themselves to be slaine, and taken to mercie. The courtesie of the French spared many in this overthrow, there

1450.

New forces  
sent out of En-  
gland into  
France.

The victorie  
of Fournigny  
against the  
English.



1450. there were more taken prisoners then were slaine. They buried in three pits 3774 carcases, by the report of the Heralds, Priests, and good men that were there. This losse did likewise burie all the conquests which the English had made in Normandie. The commanders of the armie were prisoners, *Tirell, Norberie, Drcens, Kirqueby, Warberton, Arpel, Alengour, Vaquier, Calleurille*, and a great number of English Nobilitie, armed with coates of armes: all are lead to *Charles* with their ensignes. An honorable spoile to his triumph, but a perpetual ignominie both to the runners away that faued themselves, and to the cowards that were taken prisoners. This absolute victorie cost France but eight men, to the end they might do homage to the great God of armies and victories, who by this memorable ouerthrow made way for our restauration. I read with ioy the warrant of the Originall. *And therefore wise men do say, that the cause of the Frenchmens victorie, and so by his diuine power the English were overcome.* This victorie was giuen vs from heauen, the 19. of Aprill in the yeare 1450. and thankes were giuen vnto God throughout the realme. A sollemne procession was made at Paris of fourteene thousand young children, from the age of seauen to ten yeares, carefully chosen out, to the great content of the people, going from Saint *Innocents* to our Ladies Church. This notable victorie of Fourmigny, did ioone after cause the rest of Normandie to yeeld: Vire yeelds by composition, the which was granted to 400. Lances, who might wel haue contended for their liues.

All Norman  
dye yeelds to  
Charles.

*Auranches* stood the longer vpon tearmes, through the resolution of five hundred voluntaries, but in the end they departed with their liues onely, and a white wand in their hands. The strong castell of Tombelaine guarded by a hundred English, yeelded two daies after. Bayeux resolues to fight it out, all prepare to armes. After the ordinance had made a great breach, and the mine readie to play, *Charles* fearing the facke of his subiects, as well as of his enemies, would not suffer his men to attempt so dangerous a matter, and the souldiers on the other side crie out to be led vnto the breach. But in the end they march without command, and are twice repulsed, yet *Mathew Gooch* (beeing amazed at the furie of these desperate men) demands a parle, the which is granted by *Charles*, but he obtained life onely, and a white wand for euery Souldier: to some Gentlemen of marke a horse, and to poore families some carts to carie them. A piteous spectacle, to see 400 women carying their children either in their armes or in their cracles, leauing all their goods and moueables behinde them, and hardly carying a poore cloute for their greatest neede. So *Misery comes to him that spoiles for he shall be spoiled: that makes another weepe for he shall haue time to weepe.* Yet *Charles* caused this troupe of nine hundred men beeing disarmed to bee safely conducted with the rest to Cherebourg, a place which they had demanded for their retreat. Bayeux beeing thus yeelded, the Kings armie marcheth to Saint Sauueur le Viconte, the which yeelds without batterie. They had a good composition for the number of men of warre that were in it, beeing five or sixe hundred: they grant them their liues and goods, retiring to Cherebourg. *Charles* was loth to loofe his men vnconstrained, for that there remained yet some places of strength.

The composition  
at Caen.

Caen (a goodly and populous citie) was besieged with great preparation, but to what end should I consume time in the priuate report of assaults, seeing we haue to the victorie? A great peece of the wall beeing beaten downe, and our men burning with desire to runne to this honorable breach, *Robert de Vere* beeing gouernour, demands a parle, he held the castle (beeing one of the goodliest peeces in France) with foure thousand souldiers. So by the commandement of *Charles*, the Earle of Dunois yeelded them an honourable composition; to depart with bagge and baggage and their armes, except the artillerie: the prisoners were set at libertie, and all that the Cittizens might owe vnto the English was discharged, to the benefit of the debtor. All depart the fift of Iuly and are conducted in safetie according to the accord, and the King makes his entrie two daies after.

Falaize is besieged in the mean time, and yeelds the one and twentieth of the same moneth. Fifteene hundred English of their best souldiers, obtained a good composition to depart with bagge and baggage. Domfront garded by fifteene hundred franke Archers yeelds vpon the like composition, the second of August following. Cherebourg (one of the strongest places of Europe in those daies) was the conclusion of that account, and the crowning of this happy worke. It was guarded by 2000 desperate aduenturers, who (wonderfully

griued

griued with so many misfortunes) would be buried in the ashes of this last losse: but *Thomas Gome*, Gouernor of the place preuailed more then their oblitinate resolution, shewing that they had discharged their duties to their Countie in beeing the last to fight. But nature swayed most with *Gome*, for hauing his sonne prisoner with the King, hee would not loofe himselfe with his sonne. The accord was made absolute for his souldiers and his sonne, and vpon this accord he leaues the towne, and retires last into England, to admonish *Henry* to prouide for Guienne, where the whole burthen of the warre would fall. So the twelfth of August in the yeare 1450. Normandie (one of the goodliest and richest Prouinces belonging to this Crowne) was reduced to the kings obedience, in a yeare and sixe daies, hauing remained in the possession of the English thirtie yeares, and so kept by them, as it is a miraculous worke of God they were so easily dispossessed. But leauing Normandie, let vs come to Guienne, to finish the restoring of this Estate.

1450.

## Guienne returnes to the Crowne of France.



*Charles* had begun her last feates of armes by the taking of Cognac and Saint Maigrin, as we haue said, whereas the warre continued coldly during that of Normandie. But *Charles* after the happie conquest of this Prouince, bends all his forces to driue the English out of Guienne, the which he had enjoyed by a lawfull title aboue a hundred yeares. *Charles* assembles his great Councell with the chiefe of his Prouinces at Tours, for the performance of this voyage of Guienne, and to find meanes how to maintaine his armie. This done, he giues the gouernement of Normandie to his Constable, and setled *Peter* of Brezay at Rouen, for the well preferuing of that which he had happily gotten. And to be the neerer to his affaires, he resolues to remaine at Tailbourg for all occurrents. He had then a small armie in Guienne, vnder the command of the Earle of Foix, who had not onely kept the enemy in breath during the warres of Normandie, but also had wonne part of the countie, by the taking of Mauleon in Sole, and Guisans.

The King of  
England had  
a lawfull title  
to Guienne.

*Charles* giues the command of the armie to the Earle of Dunois and Longueville a bastard of Orleans, but the Earles of Ponthieure and Perigort, haue another part, to molest the English in diuers quarters, yet these three armies shall make but one bodie vnder this Lieutenant generall to his Master, when the necessitie of his seruice shall ioine them all in one. The Earle of Ponthieure did happily begin the conquest of Guienne, in taking of Bergerac, the which was well defended, and then Gensac, Saint Foy, and Montferrand, and their dependances, by the terrour of his victorious armes. Our braue Gascons did no lesse on their side. About the same time *Amanieu d'Albret* Lord of Oruall was in garrison at Tartas a Towne of good presage, beeing the beginning of many blessings which God gaue vnto France. He had scarce sixe hundred men at armes, and some good footmen of the countie: but he was well accompanied with *Tolereffe, Robin, and Epinaffe*, wise and valiant captaines, and with his generous resolution, the hereditarie ornament of his noble house. Hee shewed by the effects, that we must not number the men, but weigh their valour, for with this small troupe he presumes to braue Bourdeaux euen at their gates, and giues a law vnto the countie of Medoc, making not onely the whole countie to contribute, but also to bring their commodities to Tartas. The Bourdelois (to free themselves, not onely from these brauadoes, but from their ordinarie toyle and charge, thrust on by the authoritie and command of the English, who were then their superiors, leaue eight thousand men vnder their Maiors command. The cittizens promise themselves an assured victorie, but this troupe encounters them, defeats them, kills and takes them prisoners. The neare retreat preferred many, but there remained two thousand vpon the place, and the victor led two thousand two hundred prisoners to Tartas, the which were taken like staves in a net, from whome hee drew great ransomes, with the honor to haue vanquished a great multitude with few men. This onely was memorable during that yeare. The next shall bring vs in an absolute victorie of all that held in Guienne for the English. *Charles* hauing giuen some respite to his

Three French  
armies in Gui  
enne.

Kk

Nobi



1453. Nobilitie and men of warre, appoints the first day of May to go to field. The armie was very faire: the Earle of Dunois had the chiefe command, (as we haue said) the which did not hinder *John* Earle of Angoulesme (brother to the Duke of Orleans) from ioyning with the armie, with a goodly troupe of the Nobilitie: as the Lords of Taillebourg, Pons, Rochefaucault, Rochechouard and d'Aubeterre. Duke *Charles* his brother, was then in Italy for his priuate affaires, whence he shall returne with another traine when he shall be King. *Philip* Duke of Bourgongne was much troubled, in pacifying a mutinie of Gantois, who molested him, when he had most neede to succour France, in the conquest of the two Prouinces, whereof we now speake. To auoid tediousnesse in the priuate relating of all these sieges, the Kings armie did first attempt Montguyon and takes it: then the Earle of Ponthieure arrives with his troupes, and ioynes with the Earle of Dunois the Generall, and so the armie (being increased both in men and courage) beseegeth Blaie, one of the goodliest fortresses of Guienne, a towne seated at the mouth of Dordonne, and enriched with a goodly haue of the sea, the which was well assayed and well defended, but in the end the towne is taken by force and the castle by composition, although the cittizens of Bourdeaux laboured to releue it with a flecte of siue armed shippes.

Bourg was added to this victorie of *Charles*, and in this amazement, Liborne (being summoned to yeeld vnto the King) obeyes without any contradiction. But their chiefe force was prepared against Fronfac: and in the meane time the Earle of Ponthieure beseegeth Castillon, a towne in Perigort, seated vpon Dordone, (the which shall be famous in the warres of our time) and takes it by composition. Saint Million by their example yeelds obedience. In the meane time all march to Fronfac, (a place renowned since *Charlemagne*, and one of the strongest forts of Europe) being beleaguered of all sides: as all prepare for some great force, they within demand a parle. Their request was to haue a truce till Midsummer, if they were not succoured by that day, they would yeeld the place, and submit themselves to the kings seruice, and employ all their meanes to draw Bourdeaux to obedience. These offers pleased the Princes and the Earle of Dunois being Generall. The day being come, no succours appeare, and so Fronfac is yeelded vnto the King, to the incredible content of the whole armie, which expected great resistance from this inuincible fort.

If the Earle of Dunois preuailed well on this side the riuer of Garonne, on the other side D the Earles of Foix and of Armagnac failed in no point of their duties: hauing taken Rion, they ioynly beseege Acqs a towne of importance in that Countrie. These happy exploits performed in lesse then two moneths, did as much incourage the French as it did daunt the English, who could not keepe the townes (which yet held for them) from affecting of the French, and much more in the champion countrie hauing more libertie. So as the Nobility, together with the townes, resolute to expell the rest of the English, that the King might be wholly obeyed. Onely Bourdeaux and Bayonne remained: the most important Townes of that Prouince, whether the whole force of this royall army doth march, but the Cittizens of Bourdeaux (loth to be forced) resolute to obey. Being thus affected, they treat and make a profitable accord, as it is set downe at large in the Originall. Their freedomes and priuiledges were confirmed vnto them by *John Iuuenall* of Vrsins Chancellor of France, they brought their keyes to the Earle of Dunois, (as Lieutenant generall to the King in his army) and receiued the French into their Cittie with exceeding ioy, the first day of August, to the great griefe of the English, who see them selues expelled out of the whole realme, but they shall yet make a new attempt.

The oath of fealtie was authentically made to *Charles* the 7. both by the cittizens of Bourdeaux, and by all the Estates of Burdelois to their King and lawfull Prince, renouncing the English. The Nobilitie held vp their hands first in this oath, and namely, the Lords of Esparre, Montferrand, Duras, Rosan, Pugeols, Lansac, Lisle, and Anglade, amongst the which how many prooued periured? The Archbishop also did take the same oath of homage and fealtie to the King, with *Gaston de Foix*: onely *Captall de Buch* would not take the oath for his person, but he submitted all his Lands to the obedience of the Crowne, an error which shall be preiudiciall to the whole Prouince. Thus all Guienne was made subiect to the kings obedience, except Bayonne: for the reduction of which towne (being needlesse to keepe together so great an armie,) euery Nobleman, was commaunded to returne to his house,

Bourdeaux makes a composition and yeelds.

All Guienne sweares vnto King *Charles*.

A house, and that the Earle of Dunois should continue there to employ the forces of the countrie at this siege. So the Princes of the bloud depart, accompanied with twentie thousand men, whom they dismisse euery one into his country. The Earle of Foix ioyned with the Earle of Dunois, and they besiege Bayonne; the siege was long, painefull and daungerous: the which might haue bene more easie and speedie by meanes of the armie which was readie. But in truth the niggard spends more then the bountifull man in euery degree: yet in the end Bayonne submits to the obedience of the Crowne vpon these conditions: That the townsmen of Bayonne should deliuer *John* of Beaumont their captaine into the Kings hands, with their owne persons and their goods to be at the Kings will and discretion; and to repaire their disobedience, and to purchase the Kings fauour, they should pay forty thousand crownes, whereto they are bound by the Earle of Foix, Generall of the armie. This accord was confirmed by the entrie of the said Earle into the towne, who tooke a sollemne oath in the Kings name. *Charles* forgives the inhabitants halfe their fine, and conputies vnto the King, who was then at Taillebourg, to confirme their oaths, and homages already taken by his Chancellor: and the King likewise doth ratifie their priuiledges, and receiues them into fauour, so as Guienne seemed to be reduced to the Kings obedience, to the incredible content of the whole Realme, and so this yeare ended with an vniuersall ioy.

But seven or eight moneths were scarce spent in this publike ioy, such as the French might haue in euery corner of their country, inioying peace, the which they had not tasted these hundred yeares, and which in outward appearance there was no hope to recouer, the English and Bourguignons hauing taken such firme footing in all parts, when as behold, a great storme. For *Talbot* comes to the gates of Bourdeaux, with goodly troupes of English, where he was receiued, and tooke the Seneschall of Guienne prisoner, being Gouvernour of the towne, with *John de Foix* deputy Maior of Bourdeaux; and in a manner the same day, the Nobilitie which had giuen their faith vnto the King, (noted before by their speciall names) delivered all the chiefe places of the countrie to the English. Fronfac, Colceures, Castillon, Chasteau-neufin Medoc, Cadillac, Langon, S. Macaire, Liborne, and Saint Million. D And after *Talbot* (who came but to discouer) there arrived the next day in safetie, foure thousand fighting men from England, with fourescore ships laden with meale and salt meates, to victuall the towne. The amazement of this losse was as great, as the ioy had bene of gaine. *Charles* was then at Tours: the Earle of Clermont (sonne to *Charles* Duke of Bourbon) was gouernour of Guienne. He commands him to haue a care to the preservation of the rest of Guienne, and presently he sends sixe hundred men at armes, vnder the command of three Marshals of France, and the Lords of Oruall and Rouhault, who were then neere the King, and sends for the rest of his forces with all speed. But whilest that all prepare to repaire this losse, may we not examine the motiue of this great and sodaine change? Some new Writers accuse the ill vsage of the French to this people newly conquered, which made them to wish for the English, being more mild and temperate Lords: others blamed the negligence of our French, vnto to keepe that which they had so valiantly gotten. But who is he that can find this first cause truly noted, hearing the whole Historie speake, and representing the discontent of the French nation, against the gouernment of the English. And why did the King dismisse his armie, but to ease his people, euen with the preiudice of his owne affaires?

As for our negligence in keeping of that which we haue gotten with much paine, it is too well knowne by memorable examples: but seeing the affection of the people of Burdelois, had bene confirmed by many proofes, in this voluntarie obedience, to what end had it serued to put them in fetters, as a people vanquished by armes, and force them to obedience? But to find out the causes, we must examine the effects. *L'Esparre*, *Montferrand*, *Duras*, *Anglade*, *Rosan*, and others specified in the Register of the oath, will be found straight waies reuolted in these places. *Captall de Buch* protested openly, that he was not the Kings seruant, so as he might without reproch carrie armes against him for the King of England his master: He might remain peaceably within the countrie, inioying his houses, being vnder the kings protection, and so make his traffick for the English at his pleasure. *John* K. of Nauarre

*Talbot* enters Bourdeaux with new English troupes.

1454.

The King of  
Nauarre an  
enemy to  
King Charles.

an Arragonois both by birth and humour, was an enemy to *Charles* for two respects, as ha-  
uing married the heire of Nauarre, and with that marriage the quarrels and hatred of that  
and *Charles* which was Grand-father to his wife, who had so much troubled the raignes of *John*  
and *Charles* the first, and as an Arragonois, by reason of the quarrels of Naples, against the  
house of Aniou. These were two instruments to moue many mens mindes. It could not  
otherwise be, but the authority and command of two hundred yeares, had purchased Eng-  
land many seruants, and such as had alwaies held the English party against France, and were  
not reclaimed to the Kings obedience but by force, could not beleue that they had any  
part in the Kings fauour, hauing brought nothing to his seruice but necessity and con-  
straint. These men being wonne, doe animate, or rather force the people, making them-  
selues the strongest, in places where there was no gardes, whereof they were not onely wea-  
ried, but plunged in the trust and assurance of a profound peace. Who seeth not then,  
but this made the way more easie for these disloyall treachers, to surprize those townes  
which they had deliuered to the English? but from whence soeuer the mischief came, this  
was the remedy.

*Talbot* was the Kings prisoner, as we haue said, at the taking of Rouen; *Charles* had shew-  
ed him all the fauour a man might hope for of so great a Monarche: he gaue him his liber-  
ty without ransome, and had honoured him with goodly presents: yet he is become head  
of the English army, which were esteemed eight thousand fighting men, and marcheth di-  
rectly against the Kings army, which made hast to recouer what had beene lost, and to pre-  
serue what remained. *Castillon* was become English. The Earle of *Ponthieure*, with the  
Admirall and Marshals of France, besiege it, attending the King, who came posting to  
quench this fire. *Talbot* makes hast from Bourdeaux with the choicest of his men, bearing  
an assured victory in his conceit, being ignorant that hee went to seeke death. At the first  
charge our men begin to wauer vpon the braue arriual of *Talbot*, but they gather them-  
selues together againe, with great resolution, to stay the course of this streame. *Talbot* on  
the other side, encourageth his men as going to a banquet, and not to a battaile, he beates  
the heads of pipes of Wine, to make his men drinke, him selfe being drunke with pre-  
sumption, and making his Souldiers drunke with the vaine hope of victory; being moun-  
ted vpon a little Nagge, but followed by fixe or seauen thousand men, they come to fight.  
The combate was fierce, but the English are repulsed, scattered and ouer-throwne. There  
were two thousand slaine vpon the place, and amongst the rest, *Talbot* was ouer-throwne  
from his horse and slaine, with his Sonne. The Earle of *Candal* (sonne to *Capal de Buche*),  
*Montferrand* and *Anglade* are taken prisoners: *Esparre* escapes for an other time. In the end  
*Castillon* yeelds at discretion. *Saint Million* and *Liborne* returne to the Kings obedience,  
to the great content of the inhabitants, being surprized to their griefe. *Charles* did also  
warrant them from all losse in this reprise. *Cadillac*, *Langon*, *Villandras*, and *S. Maquaire*,  
shake off the English yoke at one instant, and open their gates with their hearts. The  
Kings army goes from thence to Bourdeaux, being full of Englishmen, but fuller of feare,  
seeing the English loth to buy it so deare as *Talbot* had done: so as they suffer the French  
to wander at their pleasure vp and downe the country of *Medoc*. This victory was due to  
the presence of *Charles*, who being arrived at *Fronfac*, (the which was held a place inui-  
cible by force) it yeelds as vanquished. The English haue their liues granted them, with a  
white wand, through the bounty of *Charles*. He doth not so intreat the reuolted French, for  
the capitaine of *Cadillac* being taken, is beheaded for an exemplary punishment.

From thence he comes to Bourdeaux, (the which was the chiefe place of his affaires) but  
the multitude that came vnto his seruice was admirable, they came from all parts (knowing  
that the King was present,) so willingly doe the French obey their Prince. There were foure  
thousand English remaining in the towne, and as many of their faction, being drawne to-  
gether from diuerse parts of the country: the siege continued two moneths; *Charles* had  
no memorable assaults. The sicknesse which increased in the Kings armie, hastened the  
composition for the Citty, the which hee might haue forced, but that hee desired to spare  
the blood of his subiects. The composition was thus made. That all the English should  
passe into England with their goods: that the citizens of Bourdeaux should be all in the  
Kings

The English  
defeated, and  
*Talbot* slaine.

Bourdeaux  
besieged.

And yeelded  
by composi-  
tion.

1454.

A Kings protection, taking a new oath, neuer to rebell against him their Soueraigne Lord.  
And for that some of the country, and of the Citty of Bourdeaux, had drawne in the King  
of England, contrary to their oath, the King (pardoning the greatest number) should chose  
twenty at his pleasure, to banish them out of the Realme, their goods remaining forfeited  
to the Crowne: of this number were *Capal de Buche*, and *Candal* his sonne, *Du. as, Anglade*,  
*Rolan* and *Esparre*, who in the end lost his head, being found guilty of a new treason, a yeare  
after this pardon. The Citizens of Bourdeaux renewe their oath of fidelity with teares, and  
receiue a great garrison to prevent all surprises: they build two strong Castels to that end:  
one towards the Sea, called *Castell Trompette*, an other towards the maine, named *Castell*  
*du Ha*. The Earle of *Clermont*, gouernour of *Guienne*, remains in the Citty, to settle  
the Kings authority. *Charles* carried this true commendation in the recovery of his losse,  
to haue doubled his army by the good order which hee caused to be carefully obserued, and  
by his victory, in vanquishing his enemies, not onely by force, but by clemency, and his sub-  
jects by loue and mildnesse. So as both the treachery of these disloyalls, and the rashnesse  
of his enemies with their new attempts, were parts due to his victory, so much the more  
admirable, for that he doth vanquish, when as he seemed vanquished: he winnes, when as  
in shew he was lost: and forced as it were to warre for the desire he had of peace, he re-  
aped the fruites both of warre and peace, in fighting valiantly, and vsing the victory modest-  
ly, to the eternal memory of posterity.

C *Charles* returnes from Bourdeaux to Tours, hauing happily finished so doubtfull an acti-  
on. But oh the inconstancy of this world! England which had so much troubled vs, takes  
occasion to trouble it selfe, for the losses which they supposed to haue made of that which  
they had taken from vs: and as affection is wayward and often blind, so it sowes distention  
vpon strange subiects. The Dukes of *York*, *Somerfet*, and *Glocester*, accuse one ano-  
ther, and make factions within the realme. *Richard* Duke of *York* (being a branche of the  
blood royall) pretended the Crowne to belong more iustly vnto him, then vnto *Henry*, the  
sixt then reigning; but contemned, by reason of his great losses, and of his naturall defects.  
*Somerfet* being fauoured by the King (as the ring-leader of his faction) was pursued by  
*York*, and so cunningly, as the Londoners (hating him as the cause of all the losses in  
France) put him in prison; but in the end he was freed by the Kings authority.

This diuision burst out into open warre, vnder the names of two factions, *Lancaster*, from  
whence King *Henry* was descended, and they wore the redde Rose for a mark: and *Clar. nce*  
from whence the Duke of *York* tooke his beginning, bearing the white Rose for a distin-  
ction. This ranchor of parties hath bathed all England with the blood of her subiects: two  
yeares shall not passe after the losse, but *Somerfet* shall dye in a battaile, and King *Henry*  
the sixt (who had carried him selfe as King of France) shall be prisoner: and whereas hee  
fought to ioine the Crowne of France to that of England, he shall loose that of England,  
both for him and his: teaching vs that we must neuer thinke to doe harme to another, but  
we shall receiue our share againe, and not to dispaire in our greatest afflictions. The begin-  
ning of this raigne did represent vnto vs a ruined realme, and this end restores it to her first  
beauty. Thus was this realme restored; from the which the English were quite expelled,  
except from *Calais*, and the heyre recouered the possession of his right, the which his suc-  
cessors enioy vnto this day.

The meanes of this singular deliuerance, is worthy to be obserued, vnder the conduct of  
the first moouer, the which the wise acknowledge to be in the prouidence of God, the So-  
ueraigne of Soueraignes, and the preseruer of States, whereby he maintaines the society  
of mankind. Truly in the course of these ordinary meanes which we seeke after, *Charles*  
holds the first place, being both capable of Councell, and full of resolution to put in ex-  
ecution. Hee was assisted by great personages in the gouernment of his affaires: And for  
the warres, hee was furnished with two Constables, which serued him faithfully, the  
Earle of *Boucquan* in his aduersity, and the Earle of *Richmond* in his prosperity: of two  
Chancellors, worthy men, and fitt for the time: of *Renald* of *Chartres* Archbishop of  
*Rheims*, and *John Truennell* of *Vrins*, Baron of *Treignel*, the one for the beginning, the  
other for the end of his affaires? And for warriours, hee had as resolute and happy com-  
manders, as might be found in any raigne, of whom he had great need. But from all this we

Troubles in  
England.

1454.

must ascend vnto the soueraigne cause, who hath shewed vs the rodde, and cast it into the fire, when as it pleased him: that by the example of our Ancestors, wee may more perfectly obserue the causes and remedies of our difficulties.

Now we draw neere vnto the end of this raigne: but before we conclude, wee must obserue the estate of the Church, and finish the discourse of the Schisme, whereof wee haue shewed the beginning and proceeding. We haue made relation of this inexcusable confusion, vntill the councell of Pisa, which (supposing to reforme the scandalous disorders of two Popes being enemies, *Gregory* and *Benedict*) aduanced a third, which was *John* the 23. so as at one time there were three Popes; *John* at *Bolonia*; *Gregory* at *Remini* (not able to be resident at *Rome*) and *Benedict* at *Auignon*. This multiplicity of Popes bred disorder, to the great scandale and preiudice of all Christians. So as *Sigismond* (not able to cure this infirmity of the minde, by force) resolu'd to haue recourse vnto the authority of the Church: and to that end he passed through *France*, *England*, *Spaine* & *Italy*, perswading all Kings, Princes and Potentates, to hold a Councell at *Constance*, whether the Emperours of *Constantinople* and *Trepisonde*, with the churches of *Greece* sent their Ambassadors, and all Christian nations assisted, to the end this councell might be ecumenicall and vniuersall. In this Councell, *John* the 23. (being accused and found guilty of greuous crimes) was first deposed and then imprisoned. *Gregory* the 12. and *Benedict* the 13. were likewise depriued, & *Otho Colonne* a Romaine Gentleman, was chosen Pope by the Councell, and called *Martin* the 5. This decree of the Councell, was accompanied with great and generall complaints, by reason of the corrupted estate of the Church, the which had exceeded farre in some places. *Saint Bernard* had begun in *France*, as doth appeare by diuerse places of his writings, and by booke written vpon this subiect. But many of his disciples had followed him in great numbers, *Gabriel de Roquesaillade*, *Thomas Couet*, and *Nicholas Clemangis* had filled all *France* with these complaints. But in *England* *John Wiclef*, & in *Bohemia* *John Hus* had perswaded men with greater vehemency: for *Bohemia* was ready to disclaime the Popes authority. *John Hus* teaching them not onely to leaue the abuse of manners, but the doctrine it selfe: as is contained at large in the acts of the councell of *Constance*. It shall be sufficient to quoad them, my stile not permitting me to set them downe at large. The reader that is careful to see the grounds of this controuersie, may goe vnto the Originall, and I will obserue the effect according vnto the duty of the history. *Wiclef*'s doctrine was condemned. *John Hus* effect came to *Constance*, (hauing a passport from the Emperour *Sigismond* and the Councell,) but they were condemned and burnt as Heretikes. *Hus* in the *Bohemian* tongue signifies a Goose. *John Hus* when as the Iudges had pronounced this sentence that he should be burnt, he said vnto them. I appeale from you vnto the soueraigne iudge and preseruer of all truth, who a hundred yeeres hence, shall raise out of my ashes a Goose which shall not suffer himselfe to be roasted. So as *John Hus* was burnt in the yeare 1417. and *Martin Luther* began to shew him selfe in the yeare 1517.

Councell of  
Constance.John Hus, and  
Ierosme of  
Prague con-  
demned and  
burnt.The Bohemi-  
ans take  
armes for the  
death of John  
Hus.

There were great complaints against the abuses of the Church, made by *Peter d' Alliaco* a Cardinal, and *John Gerson* Chancellor of the Vniuersity of *Paris*, and deputy of the French Church. The Colledge of *Sorbon* had giuen him great instructions vpon this subiect, but nothing was effected. They onely make the Pragmaticall Sanction, to suppress the Popes authority. *Gerson* returning from *Basill* dyed for griefe at *Lions*. But this Councell did not end those two difficulties for the which it had bene called: for *Peter de la Lune*, called *Benedict* the thirteenth, being deposed by the Councell, and retired into *Arragon*, had so incited *Alphonso* King of *Arragon*, as he supported him with all violence against *Martin* the new Pope. And the Bohemians were so moued with the death of these two personages (whom they reuerenced) as they tooke armes vnder the command of *Zisca* a very famous Captaine, and did much annoy the Emperour *Sigismond*. *Peter de la Lune*, called *Benedict* the thirteenth, held his court apart, doing at *Laniscote* a Towne in *Arragon*, as *Martin* did at *Rome*; but this humour brought him to his graue.

After his death the colledge made choise of *Giles Munion*, who was called *Clement* the 7. *Martin* dies in the other seat, and his colledge doth choose a Venetian of the family of *Condelme*, & calls him *Eugenius* the 4. who findes the meanes to cause the Antipope *Clement* the 7. to relinquish. But the Bohemian action was of more difficulty, for they spake boldly, being

A in armes: and *Sigismond* the Emperour prest to haue audience for them, hauing receiued great reproches, for that (to please the Pope) he had violated the publicke faith, and suffered the breach of his passport. These causes made *Martin* the 5. to call a councell at *Basill*, whether the Bohemians had free liberty to come: but the Emperour gaue them hostages for their safety, trusting his word no more, the which he had broken in the death of their countrymen. There were likewise many more besides the Bohemians which desired some redresse for these visible confusions: so as it was there freely disputed of the necessity to reforme the Church, being fit to begin first with the Pope, and not to suffer the fore-passed disorders, to the great scandall of all Christians: and that (to auoide a future inconuenience, by the generall discontent of all men) it was reasonable he should submit himselfe to the censure of the B councell, wherevnto he was subiect.

1454.

The Councell  
of Basill de-  
crees against  
the Popes  
authority.

As the fathers of the councell, with a generall consent, had thus concluded, and had drawne articles, That the authority of the Councell was aboue the Pope: *Eugenius* ( foreseeing the preiudiciall consequence of this decree ) reuokes the councell assembled at *Basill*; for certaine great considerations which hee said proceeded from the Holy Ghost, and transported it to *Bolonia*, to the exceeding discontent both of the fathers and the Emperour. They resolute to oppose themselves against this brauado of *Eugenius*, and to withstand him by the like authority of the Church, whereby he sought to ruine them. By the authority of the generall councell lawfully assembled, they giue him an assignation to appeere before them, and in case he disobeyes, they declare him degraded and excommunicate. *Eugenius* (to calme this storme) makes shew to yeeld vnto this decree, and promisseth to obey, yet seeking meanes vnder hand to crosse them, relying vpon our Charles the seauenth who followed his party. It chanced also (as *Eugenius* desired) that the Emperour *Sigismond* (who was the chiefe opposer to his desseins) died during these disorders: Yet the councell of *Basill*, was not dissolued, but were resolute to continue firme. *Albert* of *Austria* is chosen Emperour after *Sigismond*, and succceeds him both in his desire to continue the councell at *Basill*, and in the Imperiall dignity.

The Councell  
of Basill sum-  
mons the  
Pope to ap-  
peare.

Matters grew then more violent, our Charles the seauenth (being loth to yeeld in any thing to the Emperour, hauing made a generall truce with the King of *England*, as we haue sayd, the English likewise holding with *Eugenius*) sends his sonne *Lewis* neere vnto *Basill*, with an army compounded of French and English vnited, to nourish this notable disunion, the issue whereof was as wee haue said. The councell of *Basill* incensed by these bitter and violent courses practised by *Eugenius*, in the end they resolute to degrade him, and in his place they choose this *Amedee* Duke of *Sauoy*, (of whose we haue spoken in diuers places) hauing made himselfe a monke of purpose, to be chosen Pope amongst so many which aspired to this dignity, and was called *Felix*. But this cured not the disease: for at this new election of a Duke of *Sauoy* to the Pontificall dignity, all Kings, Princes, and Potentates were moued (*France*, *England*, *Italy* and *Spaine*) at so strange a proceeding, and disauow *Felix*. in the meane tyme the colledge of Cardinals at *Rome*, choose *Thomas Sarzan* Pope and name him *Nicholas* the fifth; a man commended in histories, fit to suppress this Schisme and to reduce the Church to vnion, being wise, modest, learned and quiet: all Kings and Christian Princes allowed of him by a generall consent. *Felix* was supported by the Germans, (for *Albert* fauored him) but he dies soone. *Frederic* the third succceeding in the Empire, a wife and a modest Prince, who (not to contradict the Germanes at the first) followed their humor in fauoring of *Amedee*: but in the end ouerruled by a generall consent of all Christendome, he vseth his authority with *Amedee*, to make him renounce his Popedom. Our Charles doth likewise interpose his authority, and sends *John Inuenall* of *Vrins* his Chancellor vnto him, being well accompanied: who finds him at *Lozanna*, where he had made his Pontificall seat with a stately colledge of Cardinales. He feared the King more then any man liuing: whom in his conscience he had moued to a iust dislike of him, when as he made a good shew & yet betrayed him in his greatest afflictions, (crosses which wound euen the very heart of a generous mind) Moreouer Charles was both strong & neere at hand, to controule him, if he should continue obstinate. *Felix* stands vpon teares, but in the end (whereas the Kings Ambassadors spake vnto him of force) he grew more milde, and treated this business by the Kings authority, protesting that for his loue he did willingly resigne his right.

The Duke of  
Sauoy made  
Pope.

Thus

1454. Thus all obey *Nicholas*: and *Amedee* had a Cardinales hat, with the title of *Saint Sabine*, A and was Legat ouer his countries, and of some part of Germany. This was the end of that feuer which so much tormented all Christendome: the raine of *Charles* being honored with this blessing of God, to haue beene a sollemne theater both of the restoring of the realme, and the reunion of the Church.

The miserable  
ble the of  
the batt.

But alas! during these cruell confusions of the Western Church, the Christians of the East (who endured much) were now vterly ruined. We left them in very poore estate vnder the raigne of *Charles* the sixt in the yeare 1396. In fifty yeares (during the scandall of this miserable Schisme and the willfull warres of France and England) there happened a greater alteration. Our Kings and Princes had labored long in vaine to recouer the holy land, consuming an infinite number of men and mony, and preuayled nothing. But Constantinople, the head of the Easterne Empire, remained stil in state, with Greece, Macedonia, B Thessaly and a part of Natolia, whereof Trepisonde was the chiefe of that Empire. In this weakenesse which drewe nere to a totall ruine, the Christians vanity was so great as to make two Empires, the one in Europe and the other in Asia, and then ether Empire being diuided into diuers parcels, held by sundry Despotes or fouveraine Lords, that among so many maisters there should be none at all. These confusions did bring in, fortifie, and wholly settle the Turkes, who were the horrible instruments of *Mahomet* and enemies to all Christendome. I enter not into the particular discourses of this Easterne history: it belongs not to my subiect. I onely obserue the continuance of time, to shew the estate of the Church, and C the Empire, with our Monarchy.

After our French had abandoned (as we haue said) this imaginary Empire of the East, the *Paleologues* seased thereon, and gouerned it diuersly, according to their Passions: *Michel*, *Andronicus*, *Iohn* and *Manuel*, hauing brought vpon the stage, both in diuers occurrents and with diuers successe, the most horrible tragedies which impiety could deuise: to the great dishonour of the Christian name. In the end *Constantine Paleologus* giues the last acquittance of the auncient possession of the Empire, to make a new bond in fauour of the Turkes that his name might be answerable to his miseries. We haue shewed what a breach *Baiazet* had made in Hungary, making so great a slaughter of the French when as he tooke *Iohn* Duke of Bourgogne prisoner. This beginning of a victory had in shew proceeded farther and ruined Constantinople, the which hee beseege, but that God (who would suffer the Christians to breath for their amendment) suppressed this tyrant by another traynt: for *Baiazet* being taken by *Tamberlane*, did then suffer for his cruelty, but hee left the conquest of the great city to his posterity, at such time as the wise and iust prouidence of God had decreed it: the which was 50. yeares after: for the battaile wherein *Baiazet* was vanquished, after he had ouerthrowen our Christians, was giuen in the yeare 1395. and Constantinople was taken the yeare, 1453. the 29. of May, by *Mahomet* the 2. grand-child to *Baiazet*, a fit instrument to punish the impiety, cruelty, and all other kindes of execrable dissolution which then reigned among the Christians, and euen among those which had the chiefe command.

Mahomet's  
cruelty  
against his  
brethren.

This *Mahomet* was the son of *Amurath*, borne of a Christian, the Daughter of the Despot of *Serua*, and instructed by his mother in the Christian religion, to bee the more fit to chastise the Christians, who confessing God in their mouthes and denying him in their deeds, could not be ruined by a fitter instrument and more answerable to the crime whereof they were guilty, then a tyrant Atheist, who hauing tasted the true religion, had spued it out, hauing no religion, and mocking at all that caried the name of religion. This *Mahomet* (seeking to settle his Empire as the eldest of his house, being loth to haue any companion) caused his two brethren to be slaine, *Turfin* and *Calepin*: the one he drowned in a basen, the other he caused to be strangled. Hauing murdered his two brethren by two of his *Bahaes*, *Moyes* and *Habiz*, he puts these murderers to death for his bretherens blood, shedding their blood who had beene the instruments of their murders. Hauing thus settled his Empire by these solemnities, hee applies all his wit to ruine the Christians, being diuided of themselves by strange factions, and as it were inuited him to their ruine. He seafeth vpon the Empire by degrees, being called in by the Christians to decide their quarrells, and fortifying the weaker of purpose against the strongest. A politicke man, painfull, actiue and imperious,

A imperious, getting authority by his fearfull tyranny. Being seased vpon the Country, hauing incombred the Christians affaires, and diuided their mindes by sundry intelligences, it was easie for him to beseege *Constantinople*: for who should succour it? The greatest enemies the Christians had within the Country, were the Christians them-selues. The *Paleologues* (with the Churches of the East) had had recourse to the Pope, Emperour and King of France, and by their fauour to the Councils of Pisa, Constance and Basill, one after another: but they returned with nothing but winde, dispaire and mockery. Thus *Mahomet* (well assured of his enemies estate) besiegeth Constantinople, the which was now but the shadow of the Empire, a great masse of building, testifying, that the beauty of the Empire was decayed. The Emperour *Constantin Paleciogus* (who resigned his authority vnto *Mahomet*) had onely a few succours from Genoa and Venice. *Mahomet* had two hundred and fifty ships of warre, and two hundred thousand fighting men: amongst the which the most warlike were leuied in those Countries which made profession of the Christian religion. The besieged seeing their estate desperate, sought to sell their liues deere. But what could they doe? their walles being battered downe by the horrible thunder of the Turkish artillery, their port forced by their armed shippes, and they them-selues oppressed by so infinite a multitude. So as a generall assault being giuen, Constantinople is taken by force. The City thus forced on the one side, as *Constantine* and many of his troupe sought to saue them-selues by a gate that was free, they were furiously pursued by the victorious Turkes, and the port being stoppt by the multitude, many were smothered, among the which C *Constantine* was found dead.

Constantinople  
taken by  
the Turkes.

Constantine  
the Emperour  
smothered.

The Turke incensed for the losse of so many of his men, glutted himselfe with the slaughter of the poore Inhabitants of Constantinople, killing all indifferently, without respect of age or sexe, yong and old, women and maidens, with such exceeding cruelty, as no man can write it without terror, nor read it without teares. When we shall set before our eyes this goodly Country of the East, this capitall City of the Empire, where the voyce of the Gospell had founded in the sacred mouthes of so many holy personages, and famous doctors of the Church which haue serued happily in their times, to become now the dongeon of impiety, the fortresse of error, the rendezuous of all barbarisme and iniquity: D where *Mahomet* raifeth himselfe about the Kings of the earth, and threatens Christendome proudly, hauing an Empire not onely fashioned, but also fortified with the force and power of so many kingdoms. But alas! what speake wee of Constantinople the last of our losses in the East? When we begin by Ierusalem, the chiefe Rendezuous of the Elders of the house of God, from whence the Gospell flowed, where the holy mouth of the sonne of God and of his Apostles haue founded out: when we continue by Iury a land which hath so long nourished the true church, and beene the garde of the doctrine of health: when we crosse ouer this great country of Asia, and from thence passe into those goodly Prouinces of Europe, Greece, Macedonie and the neighbour Nations: when wee cast our eyes beyond the sea, and behold from our windowes the heauens, vnder which Africke lyes, heretofore replenished with so many goodly churches, and enriched with so many excellent Doctors, and yet all these great and large countries are at this day the receptacles of *Mahomet*, where he vomits forth his blasphemies, and spoiles the miserable remainders of the poore Christian church: where he takes the tithe of sonnes and daughters to giue them to *Moluc*, forcing them to leaue the truth: where he hath ouer-throwne all liberty, to plant his absolute tirrany, banished all learning and euery thing that may put man in minde that he is a man. What may wee say in comparing our selues with them? are we better then so many that haue liued in those desolate places, making profession of the same Christian religion, and the same hope of eternall life? Are our Prouinces stronger, more fertill and richer then theirs, and our Townes stronger and better peopled? O Christians! if he be wise that takes warning by an other, how much should these examples serue vs? The same way F which the capitall enemy of the Church hath made to *Mahomet* to inuest him in the Empire of the East, is it not open by our common dissensions? A miserable date: the end of the warres betwixt France and England was the confirmation of the *Ottomans* at Constantinople; and the beginning of many miseries to many nations, as wee shall see in the following reignes.



1454.

I earned much  
came into  
Europe.Printing in-  
vented.

But as misery is good for something, nay rather as the providence of God is admirable, A who can draw light from darknesse: by the ruines of the Easterne churches, those of the West haue bene enriched. The ignorance of all learning was very great throughout all the Westerne provinces, since the rule of the Gothes. The knowledge of learning and sciences being banished out of the East by the Turke, came into the West, so as by a singular miracle, the West is now become East, this goodly Lampe hauing lightened the provinces to bee a herbinge to the Gospell. But this planting of the Muses, is due to the reignes of Francis the first, as well King of the Muses as of the French. The shipwarke of Constantinople did cast these great personages into Italy, the which haue giuen a beginning of solide and perfect knowledge to our nations, Emanuel Chrysoliras an Athenien, George Trapezondæ or of Trebizonde: Theodoros Gaza a Macedonien, Ierosme Spartiate, Gregory Tipherides, John Argyropyle of Constantinople, Laonicus Chalcoridil an Athenien, Marcus Musurus a Candiote, and John Lascares. These haue begun, but our men haue so followed, as they haue surmounted them in the knowledge of those goodly professions.

Almost about the same time the art of Printing had his beginning. Some attribute it to the yeere 1440. to John Guttenberg borne at Strausbourg, others to John Faustus at Mayence, in the yeere 1452. Doublesse it is an excellent inuention to increase knowledge, although the vanity and malice of men makes it often times their baude, to the preiudice of the truth and all good manners. But hauing wandred ouer so many strange countries; Let vs returne to France, from whence hauing expelled the English and restored this Monarchy to her ancient beauty, by the means of our Charles, wee must now see the last act of his reigne and life.

## The last act of the reigne and life of CHARLES the seventh, conteyned in seuen yeeres.

From the yeere 1454. vnto 1461.

1455.  
1456.  
1457.  
1458.  
1459.  
1460.Observations  
for the dis-  
course.

His last act of the life of Charles, contenes a notable president of the vanity of this world. Charles had passed a languishing youth, borne in the weakenesse of his father, and bred vp in the cruelties of his mother: he began his life with pouerty, the which was continued in the despaire of his affaires, and yet he purchased peace to his realme; but now he cannot inioy it, banding against his owne blood, and luying in so wilfull awaywardnesse, as in the end hee brought himselfe vnto the graue after a terrible and tragick manner. The whole Realme

being in quiet after a long and tedious warre, behold a new storme ariseth in the Kings house. Lewis the eldest sonne of Charles and Daulphin of Viennois, was not well satisfied with his father, and his father lesse with him. The occasions are rather probable then true, as they are obserued by writers. For to what end should Lewis bee so discontented with his father, for that hee was giuen to the loue of Ladies? It is more likely that the ieaousie of commad, was the cause why the son was not wel satisfied with the credit his father gaue him in the State, and the father feared, least he should attempt more then was fitting. But whatsoeuer it were, behold a diuorce betwixt them. Lewis was not able to endure the waywardnesse of his ieaous father, craues leaue to make a progresse into Daulphine, to visit his subiects, and hee obtains it: but hee spends two yeeres in this voiage. Newes comes to the eares of Charles, of the carriage of his sonne Lewis, the which hee did interpret according to his ieaousie: secret spies stie out to obserue the Daulphins actions, describing them according to the humour of Charles and flattering his passions. They obserued what men repaired vnto Lewis, and chiefly what great personages he entertained, John Duke of Alanson (Godfather to Lewis) the Dukes of Bourgongne and Sauoy, and the Earle of Armaignac,

King Charles  
and the Daul-  
phin discon-  
tented one  
with an other.

1455.

A were those on whose loue the Daulphin chiefly relied. He had likewise need of money, considering the great charges of his traine, and the small meanes his father gaue him. This necessity made him to entertaine James Coeur a rich man, and very industrious to finde meanes to haue money.

This familiarity was very vnpleasing to Charles, who was not onely ieaous of James Coeur his purse, but also of his good iudgement. All these were deepe in disgrace with Charles, but the weakest shall goe to the wall. The Kings choller increased hourly, for that Lewis came not vnto him: but he delaied the time, and auoided his fathers commands with friuolous excuses. Charles thinkes to force him, by taking away the meanes to entertaine his traine: to this end he reuokes his assignations, and commands his Treasurers and receiuers of Daulphine, not to furnish him with any thing. Lewis takes it by his owne authority and forceth them to obey him. The Officers complaine to the King, and they must haue men to resist this force. The poore subiects pay all, and complaine with the Officers. Thus the irons grow hot by degrees, especially in the fathers conceit against the sonne, by whom he sees himselfe disobeyed with a publike scandal. So he takes Councell of his choller, and resolves to force him to that which he could not willingly haue.

With this resolution he leuies troupes, giuing the charge thereof to Anthony of Chabannes Earle of Dampmartin, to leade them into Daulphine, commanding him to seize both on the Daulphin and of the townes of that Prouince, and with him he sends the Lord of Chastillon to gouerne the country, and to haue a speciall care to disperse all his sonnes intelligences being resolved to follow after with new forces. A dangerous Commission for these two seruants, who in time shall smart for it: but a more miserable employment of a father against his owne sonne, and an vnaturall feare of a childe, flying his father as his enemy: for the Daulphin seeing his country of Daulphine in armes against him, and his fathers forces to approach, persisting wilfully in disobeying of his fathers command, hee resolves to retire himselfe into Bourgongne. John de Lestun, bastard to the Earle of Armaignac, was his great counsellor, with Lewis of Chalons prince of Orange, with whom he was when these newes were brought vnto him. And for that Orange is inuironed with the territories of France, Lewis (being loth to be ingaged) departs secretly and slips into Sauoy, being accompanied with these two good guides and their troupes, hauing some houses fauorable for him in Daulphine, from whence hee passeth into Sauoy and so comes safely into the Franche-Comte & then into Brabant, where he was honorably entertained by the duke of Bourgongne.

The King  
sends an army  
against the  
Daulphin  
his sonne.

Charles seeing his sonne gone out of the Realme, resolves to punish such as he held to be the cause of his departure, and that were in his power. Hee beginnes with the Earle of Armaignac, who had giuen him Lewis his bastard sonne for a guide: hee dispossesseth him of Armaignac and Rouergue, so as with great difficulty hee saues himselfe in Arragon: the colour was, that he would not obey the King, but opposed himselfe against the Archbishop of Aux, who was preferred by his nomination, with such other trifles of no moment.

Charles spoiles  
the Earle of  
Armaignac.

E But Charles himselfe takes the charge to subdue the duke of Sauoy, against whom he had an hereditary hatred. The duke preuents the danger, and by the intercession of the Cardinal of Estouteuille, hee makes his peace with Charles: he giues him his children for hostages, and discouers what the Daulphin had said touching the marriage of his daughter Charlotte, whereunto hee would neuer agree without the Kings consent, and so they part good friends in shew. And for the effecting of that which concerned him most, Charles sends to the Duke of Bourgongne, to demand his sonne, and to let him vnderstand that hee fed the Fox which should deuoure his pulleine. The Bourguignon excuseth himselfe, and so doth the Daulphin Lewis, with so great shewes of reason, as it seemes Charles should be content: but yet he parts not from Brabant, being entertained with state by Philip according to his greatnesse. Charles is more incensed by this delay, the which hee takes for a deniall, and doubles message vpon message, and to his words he addes deeds. The duke of Bourgongne had a notable quarrell with the Gantois, who were mutined, by reason of some impositions vpon Salt. Charles fauours the Gantois against Philip, whom hee commands to suffer them to liue in peace, being subiect to the crowne: and if hee had found any aduantage, he had made warre against him: which the Bourguignon foreseeing, he fortifies his frontiers with



1456. with new garrisons, and hee himselfe remains there, to stand vpon his gard, and to preuent A all accidents. In the meane time, *Lewis* being a widower (as we haue said) by the death of the daughter of the King of Scots, he marries *Charlotte*, daughter to the duke of Sauoy. *Charles* was wonderfully discontented with this new presumption of his sonne, who was a young man, obstinately bent to his owne will, yet had he before giuen halfe a consent to this marriage treating with the duke of Sauoy.

*Lewis marries  
a young, to the  
great dislike  
of his father.*

*James Cœur  
banished.*

Four yeeres passe and more in these domesticall broyles, but to what end serues it to relate every particular, hauing so large a subiect: I haue faithfully continued this discourse, according to the truth of the matter, and the course of times. Before we speake of the Duke of Alençon, *James Cœur* remains a principall part of this criminall subiect. The Treasurer was likewise blamed, not onely for that hee furnished the Daulphin with money too liberally, but also directed him with his counsell, being a man of iudgement. I know the greatest part of writers note this accident otherwise, both vpon an other subiect, and at another season. As for the time, it is a manifest error in the calculation of *Montfretet* who referres this sentence to the yeere 1452. and in the yeeres fifty five, hee imploies *James Cœur* in an honourable Ambassage, to *Felix* the fifth duke of Sauoy and Pope. But this is not the first contradiction of dates we finde in this Author, who had viewed the affaires of France by the eyes of an other. As for the effect, hee reports that which all the world knew: that *James Cœur* was accused to haue robbed the King, and (to make his great trafficke in the Leuant more free) to haue had intelligence with the Turke, and to haue assisted them both C with armes and counsell. These were capitall crimes, and yet hee escaped for a fine of two hundred thousand crownes, and banishment: and therevpon the Lady of Mortaign was punished, as hauing wrongfully accused him. Yet I finde that more likely which the Seigniors of Lodun and Saint Pons, Gentlemen of Viarez, dying very old, affirmed to haue heard, the one of his vnclie, the other of his Grandfather, both household seruants to the Daulphin, that the very cause why *James Cœur* was thus intreated, was for that hee was too familiar with *Lewis*, as one of the instruments of his youthfull pleasures. Let every man believe what he thinks most probable, whilest we finish this processe. The duke of Alençon was prisoner at Loches, whilest that *Charles* toiled himselfe to punish the Earle of Armagnac, and to recouer the Daulphin his Sonne. They would haue forced this Prince to haue D answered before the Constable of France, and the foure Marshalls: the which hee refused, challenging the priuiledges of the Princes of the bloud. So *Charles* (after that he had caused him to languish about a yeere in prison) sends for all the Princes of the bloud royall, the peeres of France, and the officers of the crowne, to meet first at Montargis, and then at Vendosme. He sends this charge especially to *Philip* Duke of Bourgogne, who preparing a great army to assist there, was countermanded: & so by his example, not any of the Princes, and but very few of the Peeres, were present at this arraignment. But the King (meaning to proceed at what price soeuer,) names certaine Noblemen that should supplie their places that were absent in this action, that nothing might want of all necessarie solemnities to iustifie the condemnation. To conclude, according to the forme set downe in this E processe, *John* duke of Alençon was found guilty of high treason, praesising to bring the English into the realme, the ancient enemy of this crowne: witnesses are produced, letters auerred, and the confession of the accused: what more? Sentence was iudicially giuen, that he should loose his head, and forfeit all his goods, all being at the Kings good pleasure: the which neither President nor counsellor durst contradict: yet *Charles* giues him his life, condemning him to perpetuall prison, and his goods to his wife and children, where hee continued but two yeeres, for *Lewis* being King, hee freed him from prison, and restored him to his dignity.

It is a hard law, when force is ioyned to a Kings command. Howsoeuer it were, the cleere-sighted did iudge, that the Kings ielousie was the true cause of the condemnation of this poore prince, who had alwaies serued the King faithfully, and the King had loued him about all the princes of his bloud, honouring him so much as to make him his gossip, carrying his eldest sonne *Lewis* to the Font. This his familiarity with his Godson, and the credit the Daulphin gaue vnto his counsell, was held to bee a dangerous testimonie against him. Were it then iustly or vniustly that this prince was thus intreated; who seeth not heere a great

A great proofe of the inconstancie of this world, of great friends they become capitall enemies: neither bloud, nor the gages of loue in so holy a thing as the badge of our Christiannity, can subdue the violence of passion, the which hath no restraint: yea euen that which should be of most force to vnite loue, hath most power to breed and increas ielousies. A notable president in two so great personages. Passion makes these two great princes prisoners, borne of one bloud; the one a King, the other capable of a Kingdome. The one is prisoner at Loches with his gard, the other at Vendosme or at Tours, in the greatnesse of his Court. This is the difference, the one endures paine forceably, the other voluntarily. But he that commits a sinne, is he not a slaue to sinne?

After this condemnation, *Charles* seemed alwaies grieved both in minde and countenance, the ielousie which he thought to quench, in suppressing him whom he suspected, so increased, as in the end it was the cause of his death. Hee suruiued little about two yeeres after this tragedy, the which happened the tenth day of October, in the yeere of our Lord 1488. and the King died the two and twenty day of Iuly, in the yeere 1461. which time was vnto him a languishing prison, or rather a pining death. Doubtlesse he that serues God doth reigne, and he that serues vice is but a slaue: the crownes and scepters of Kings haue no exception in this. The quiet of a good conscience is true liberty: And who can haue a good conscience, but in doing well? How farre better and more honourable had it bene for *Charles*, to haue bene beloued and respected by his sonne *Lewis*, who being growne great, and hauing giuen many testimonies of his iudgement and valour, might well haue eased him in his greatest affaires, as *Robert* did *Hugh Capet*, being associate in the same reigne: to be honoured and serued by the princes of his bloud, especially of this his trustie friend, who had giuen him so many proofes of his loyaltie in his greatest affaires, and received likewise from him such firme gages of his loue, and to reape the fruites of this so much desired peace, the which hee had purchased for all his subiects. But if he afflicts others, hee hath a good share himselfe. He makes his sonne to sike, and to begge his bred in a strange countrie: he causeth a poore prince of his bloud to languish in prison: and he himselfe feelles in his soule a continuall torment of griefe, a fire of choller, and a torture of ielousie, trusting no man, but liuing in continuall feare, and was this man at rest? A D strange torment, hee hath brought peace to all men, and cannot inioy it himselfe, hee hath bread and cannot eate it.

But what read I in the Originall of the manners of our *Charles*? This King *Charles* (saith His loues, *Montfretet*) after his reconciliation with *Philip* of Bourgogne, was of a good life and deuoute, but when he had recovered his realme, he changed his manners, and polluted his life, in maintaining dishonest women in his Court, leaving the company of a good and loyall wife, suffering more honour and reuerence to be done to those women, by the greatest of his Court, then to the Queene: they being more richly attired then the Queene her selfe, the which was an ill president in such a person: yet hee governed his realme very nobly and wisely, and was indued with goodly vertues, maintaining iustice throughout his whole realme. *Montfretet* and the historie of Saint Denis, excuse the loue of faire *Agnes*, and here they accuse *Charles*. My dutie is to quote every part E faithfully in this my Inuentory, in the which there is nothing of mine owne but the bare report, whereby it appeares, that vertues are mixt with vices: and that it is more easie to beare aduersitie then prosperity. Let the example of *Dania* be confronted with this: Wine causeth drunkennesse, and water tempers. Sometimes age is more weake and imperfect then youth, to the end the whole honour of any good that is in man, may bee ascribed to God, who is the Author thereof. Joy and griefe, ielousie and loue, be they not contrary affections? and yet behold they are both in one subiect, distracting him diuersly. Inconstant nature of man! who is a slaue to sinne, by the meanes of sinne, which receiues the motions of diuers windes, from North, South, East and West, both soure and sweet.

It will be now time after all this, to shew the end of our *Charles*: but wee may not omit some notable things which chanced in this season, during the ebbing and flowing of these feuen variable yeeres. *Lewis* the Daulphin was resident at Genepe in Brabant, and married with the daughter of Sauoy, by whom he had a sonne. The duke of Sauoy with his wife (who was daughter to the King of Cyprus) came to visit *Charles*, and to pacifie him, with hope that hee should soone see his sonne, with this new gage of loue, but all this did but

1460.  
Troubles in  
England.

ease and not cure *Charles* his infirmity. Wee haue said before, that *Henry* the sixth King of A England, was put in prison by the duke of *Yorke*, who pretended the crowne to appertaine vnto him by a iuster title then vnto *Henry*. He makes an accord with the duke of *Yorke*, to free himselfe from this captiuitie, that *Henry* should inioy the crowne during his life, but after his decease it should come to the Duke of *Yorke*, and to his heires after him: and so the prince of *Wales*, sonne to King *Henry*, should be excluded from the succession of England. By this accord *Henry* was released, but *Yoland* his wife (daughter to King *René* of *Sicilia*) shewes her selfe more resolute then her husband, who (hauing provided for her affaires) disauowes this accord, as prejudiciall to her sonne, and against the lawes, which allow of no forced contract made by a prisoner: and so shee armes to maintaine her sonne the lawfull heire of the crowne. The duke of *Yorke* likewise leuies an army to frustrate the *Queenes* designs. At that time the *Queene* did winne both the victory, and the heads of the Duke of *Yorke*, of his second sonne, and of the Earle of *Salisbury* his chiefe partisan, whom shee tooke prisoners in the battaile, and caused to bee beheaded, but shee shall haue her turne.

In the meane time these troubles ministred an occasion vnto *Charles* to attempt against the English: although (transported with these home-bred discontents) hee had a trouble-some enemy within himselfe, without seeking one beyond the seas. This was done by the counsell and aduice of the Constable of *Richmont*, who fearing the Kings humour; and loth to deale in these discontents, laboured to diuert him, giuing him a better subiect to exercise his spirit. It was also happy for the constable, that hee was farre off, being likely that the iealousie would haue brought him first in question, whom *Charles* loued not much, for the crosses he had receiued by him in the beginning. The cause which had drawne *Richmont* from Court, was honorable for him: for by the death of *Peter* Duke of *Britan* his Nephew, he was called to the Duchie. Being Duke he would not leaue the office of Constable, notwithstanding all the intreaties of his subiects, being desirous to honour that charge in his age, the which had honored him in his youth: although hee inioyed the Duke-dome but three yeeres, dying with the good opinion of all France, hauing assisted it much both with his counsell and valour.

This aduise to attempt against England, giuen by the Constable, was executed by the Normans, vnder the command of *Peter* of *Brezay*, Seneschall of *Normandie*, accompanied with a good number of the Nobility of *Normandie*, and foure thousand fighting men: these might doe some great exploit in a country diuided and troubled: but God hath appointed the limits of Kingdomes; and that great ditch of the sea is sufficient to distinguish these two Monarchies, who haue inough to content them without attempting against their neighbour. To conclude, this army lands in England, and takes *Sandwich*, the which they presently spoile and leaue, & so returne to *Honnefleu*, from whence they imbarcked, carrying away store of prisoners and spoile. Their speedy returne was chiefly to saue their liues and goods, which had bene in great danger, if they had ingaged themselves farther, for any rich spoile.

A strange  
death in the  
midst of ioy.

*Charles* was intreated by *Laaislaus* King of *Hongary*, (sonne to that great *Iohn Huniades*, one of the strongest champions against the Turke) to grant him *Migdaleine* his daughter to wife, the which he did. As he prepared for this voyage, and a stately traine for his daughter, which might equall or surmount the Ambassage sent from *Ladislaus*, newes comes of the death of *Laaislaus*, (a young man of twenty yeeres of age, and of a generous hope) being poisoned at *Prague*: Whose death was the cause of many miseries, as wee shall hereafter shew. Their ioy in France was changed to mourning, and the wedding to a funerall, to the great grieve of *Charles*. But to put him in minde of necessary causes, amidst these voluntary afflictions, It chanced that the mother of *Ioane* the Virgin (to purge the blot of infamy in the death of her daughter, being condemned as a Sorceresse by the Bishop of *Beauvais*, to please the English) obtaines a reuocation of this sentence from the Pope, and *Charles* confirms it, causing it to be solemnly published to the content of all Frenchmen, to whom the remembrance of this generous spirit shall be for euer pleasing.

In the meane time, this iealousie which was settled in the heart of *Charles*, is fed by the daily whisperings of his household flatterers. And now behold a strange accident; A captaine (in whom he had great confidence) assures him that they ment to poison him: hee beleeues

A beleeues it, and plants this apprehension so firmly in his minde, as hee resolues neither to eate nor drinke, nor knowing whom to trust. Hee continued obstinately for seuen daies in this strange resolution, the which in the end brought him to his graue: for being obstinate in this humour (not to eate, notwithstanding all the perswasions of his physitions and seruants,) the passages were so shrunke, as when he would haue eaten, it was then too late: and feeling his forces to decay, he provided for his last will, and died the two and twentieth day of Iuly at *Meun* vpon *Yeure* in *Berry*, in the yeere 1461. hauing liued nine and fiftie yeeres, and reigned nine and thirty, leauing two sonnes, *Lewis* and *Charles*: the first shall reigne after his father, and the second shall bee the cause of new troubles in France, but not such as haue reigned vnder our *Charles* the seuenth.

1460.  
The tragical  
death of  
*Charles*.

A prince who hath as much aduanced the French Monarchy, as any King that euer commanded: for finding the realme ruined, he hath restored it: his predecessors had planted the English in the bowels of the *Estates*, hee expelled them, bringing in a gentle peace after an intestine warre of a hundred yeeres. A friend to Iustice, good order and the people, resolute in great affaires, capable of counsell, wife, couragious, happy in the execution of good counsels, and happy in seruants that haue faithfully serued him to the end of the worke of restauration, wherevnto God had appointed him. But these great and heroike vertues were blemished by some vices, which were more visible in his prosperity, then in his aduersitie: for affliction restrained him, but his happy successe puffed him vp, and gaue scope to his humours, making him suspicious and amorous, to the preiudice of his affaires, and dishonour of his person. On the one side, vngouerned loue to strange women, making him to forget the lawfull loue of his wife, and to loose both time and iudgment, whereby hee blemished his reputation; both with subiects and strangers. On the other side, presumption of his good successe, made him vnpleasing to his best seruants, yea euen to his house, in the end it brought him to his graue, after a most fearefull and tragicke manner, leauing in his vertues, an example to be followed, and in his vices to bee auoided, with a visible prooffe in his happy successe, That God vseth weake instruments, to the end that he might be knowne to be the Author of the good worke they haue in hand, that his grace seeming strong in their weakenesse, the homage and honor of all good might bee giuen to him: for whose euer glories, let him glory in the Lord.

His disposition.

His imperfections.

*Charles* had no sooner closed his eyes, but postis flie to *Genepe* in *Brabant* vnto *Lewis*, to aduertise him of his death. The originall notes it for exceeding speed, that through the diligence of *Charles* of *Aniou*, *Lewis* was aduertised of the death of his father, the very same day he died. This post was speedy, yet slow in regard of the desire *Lewis* had to returne into France, and to take possession of this goodly crowne, which attended him.

E

L12

LEWIS

1461.

# LEWIS the eleuenth, the 55. French King.



The dispositi-  
on of Lewis  
the 11.

His wives.

As it not then likely, that this so happy a Catastrophe of the latter reigne of *Charles*, should haue purchased *Lewis* as happy and peace-  
full a crowne, as his fathers had beene painfull and full of crosses? But the heires of worldly possessions (which wee call the goods of Fortune, and of the body) doe not alwaies inherit the same humors and complexions of their predecessors. *Charles* was of a courteous disposition, affable, a friend to Iustice, and capable of counsell: hee leaues *Lewis* his eldest sonne, a prince in truth humble in words and shew, wife in aduersitie, painefull, a free entertainer of men of merit, curious to know all men, of a good capacity, perfect in iudgement, and very continent. But these vertues were blemished with many vices: ill-tongued, reuengefull, cruell, full of fraud, dissembling, distrustfull, variable, a friend to base people, and an enemy to great persons, yet willing to re-  
paire the wrongs hee had done to many. But let vs impute this alteration to the multi-  
tude of his forreigne and home-bred foes, who had greatly altered the good seeds which na-  
ture had planted in him. That which plunged him in a labyrinth of troubles and afflictions during all the course of his life, was that at his first comming to the crowne, hee dis-  
countenanced most of the princes and noblemen, whom *Charles* had fauoured, preferring meane men to their places, changed (in a manner) all the ancient officers of the crowne, and cashiered and discharged the old companies of men at armes, whereby such as hated him, did take him as an enemy to all valour and vertue. *Lewis* the Daulphin at the age of eleuen yeeres, was rashly engaged by some Noblemen and others of the realme, in the warre called the Praguery, against *Charles* his father, who speedily suppressed it by his reso-  
lution, as wee haue seene. Being come to the age of man, hee married with *Marguerit* daughter to the King of Scots: and as hee fell rashly in loue, so he reaped nothing but re-  
pentance.

After her death (not able to beare the vnpleasing waywardnesse of his father) hee re-  
tires into Daulphine, and takes to his second wife, *Charlotte* daughter to the duke of Sauoy,  
by

A by whome he had *Isachim*, who dyed young, *Anne* married to *Peter* of Bourbon, *Isone* the wife of *Lewis* Duke of Orleans, and after King of France, the twelfth of that name, *Charles* his successor, and *Francis* who died like-wise in his infancy. In the end *Charles* going to sup-  
presse the practises of his sonne in Daulphine, and the neighbour Prouinces, *Lewis* aban-  
dons the country, and retires to *Philip* Duke of Bourgongne, at whole charge he was enter-  
tained six yeeares.

*Charles* being deceased, *Philip* of Bourgongne (to perfect this good office of hospitali-  
ty to *Lewis*) accompanied with *Charles* Earle of Charolois his sonne, *James* of Bourgong-  
ne Earle of Estampes, *Adolfe* Duke of Cleues, the Lord of Rauenstein his brother, ne-  
phewes to the said *Philip*, the Earles of Nassau and Saint Pol, and many other Noblemen  
of the Netherlands, conducted him into France, with foure thousand horse well appointed,  
chosen among a hundred thousand fighting men, the which *Philip* had leauied vpon a brute  
that some Noblemen of the country would aduance *Charles* the younger brother of *Lewis*  
to the Crowne. *John* Duke of Bourbon (the Duke of Orleans as well for his old age, as for  
that he mourned for King *Charles* deceased, came not from Paris) *Peter* and *James* of Bour-  
bon brethren, the Earles of Eu, Vendosme, Dunois, Grandpre, *Philip* of Sauoy, with the  
greatest part of the Princes, Noblemen and Officers of the Crowne, go to meete him, and  
conduct him to Rheims, where he is solemnly annointed and crowned by *John* Lucanall of  
Vrins Archbishop of that place, assisted by the Cardinall of Constance, the Patriarke of

C Antioch, the Popes Legat, 4. Archbishops, 17. Bishoppes and 6. Abots, the 15. of August.  
1461. being about 38. yeeares of age. Two daies after *Philip* did him homage for his Duchy  
of Bourgongne, as Peere and Deane of the Peeres of France: for the Earldome of Flan-  
ders as a peere of France, and for the county of Artois and all other lands he held of the  
crowne. Then made he a sumptuous and stately entry into Paris, with very ioyfull accla-  
mations of the people, as you may see at large in the Originalls. After many sports, tour-  
neys and publike feasts, *Philip* taking leaue of the King, exhorts him to lay a side all hatred  
and spleen conceiued against some of his fathers ancient seruants, from whome he should  
draw as many good seruices, as they had giuen testimonies of their loialties to their lawfull  
Maister: to liue in loue and vnity with his brother *Charles*, and to aduance him according to  
D the degree he held within the realme. *Lewis* was no sooner installed, but the inhabitants of  
*Rheims* minister an occasion to imploy the first fruits of his forces. About Saint Remy the  
collectors of imposts were slaine and their contracts burnt in open street. The King sends  
thither many souldiers disguised like marchants and labourers, who entring secretly, and at  
diuers gates, become the stronger and are presently followed by some troupes led by the  
Lord of Mouy, who seaze vpon the towne, takes 80. or a 100. of the most culpable, puts  
them to death and suppresseth the mutinie. About the end of the yeare *Lewis* made a pro-  
gresse into Touraine, where the Earle of Charolois comming from the pilgrimage of Saint  
*Claude*, did visit him, and the King (in reward of the kindnes he had receiued from *Philip*) giues  
him the gouernment of Normandy, with 36000. frankes yearly pension: for the non pai-  
ment whereof there will sonne grow great dissensions and ciuill warres. In sooth the words  
of a Prince should be held for Oracles, neither should he be lesse iudicious then constant in  
his promises. The Duke of Alencon was set at liberty, whome *Charles* the 7. had restrained.  
But oh the vanity of man! we shall see him hereafter a prisoner, and condemned vnder his  
authority, who now giues him both life and liberty. Then the King gaue to his brother  
the Dukedome of Berry for his portion, and assigned the Queene his Mothers dowry  
(who shall not long enioy it, but dies in the yeare 1463.) in the country of Xaintonge, with  
the towne and gouernment of Rochell, Chinon, Pezenas, and other places. Then he went  
in pilgrimag to Saint Saunear of Redon in Britany, where the Duke did homage for the said  
F Duchy, the County of Montfort, and other places which he held of the crowne. But deu-  
otion did not so much drawe *Lewis* into Britany, as a desire to discover the Dukes affection,  
his country, and forces, whome he held in ielousie, the which shall easily draw the Duke in-  
to the vnion of the malcontents, as we shall soone see; which will fall out happily for him,  
to disappoint the King of the prey he hunted after in Britany.

*Lewis* in the meane time, carelesse of *Philip*s aduise; not able well to endure the sight of  
his fathers spies (whome hee accused as the motiues of his disgrace) changeth the gou-  
nours

Follesome ad-  
monitions of  
*Philip* to  
*Lewis*.

Euery Frank  
is worth two  
shillings  
The Duke of  
Alencon was  
slayed.

1462. nours of Prouinces, and most of the officers both for Iustice and war: he placeth new; being A chosen out of those that had bin companions of his fortune, the which (to agrauate) they called a banishment, imputing it to them that were displaced. Moreouer, he prohibited all Princes, Noblemen and Gentlemen, the sport of Hawking and Hunting, vnder great and odious punishments, no further then he should permit: a second firebrand of the following combustions. Now the King of Arragon (seeking to reduce his rebellious subiects of Barzellona to their duties by force) ingageth the County of Roussillon to Lewis, for three hundred thousand crownes, whereof he receiued fifty thousand presently, being followed with a goodly and mighty army, to succor the said King, vnder the command of James of Armaignac Duke of Nemours. Henry King of Castill, complains by his Ambassadors of these succours giuen to his aduersary, which was a breach of the League betwixt France and Castill. The King (as well to end this quarrell, as that which Blanch the onely daughter and heire of the King Nauarre, wife to the said King of Arragon, had with the King of Castill, by reason of some places in Nauarre) he goes Bourdeaux, and there concludes the mariage of M. galsine of France his sister, with Gaston the eldest sonne to the Earle of Foix, and presumptiue heire of Nauarre, who lay hurt at Libourne with a Lance at a Tournay, whereof he dyed, leauing a sonne and a daughter: Francis Phæbus his successeur (who raigned but one yeare) and Katherine who succeeded him, and was married to John of Albret: then he goes to Bayonne, where the King of Castill comes vnto him, and ends all controuersies. A dangerous and fatall enteruiew: for these two great Princes, the most strictly allied of all Christendome, of ancient time from King to King, from realme to realme, and man to man, bound by great curses to maintaine this necessary league, the which neuer yet had any breach, they now conceiued a contempt and disdain one of another. The French of the Castillians sumptuousnesse and pride, in their wordes, countenance, and apparrell: The Castillians of the plainenesse of the French attire, for Lewis had short garments, and of bad stuffe, the which the Spanish nation did impute to miserableness, wherewith he was neuer blemished. So as from that day, these Kings did neuer loue; but both nations conceiued such a mutuall hatred one against another, as they haue left it hereditary to their posterity: and we haue felt the bitterness of this old leuaine in our late and more then vnciuill tumult. So perilous shall the enteruiew be of our Lewis with Charles of Bourgongne (who shall D hereafter come often in place) at Peronne, as we shall see.

Lewis being returned to Paris, as by the purchase of Roussillon he had fortified his realme towards Spaine, so desired he to assure it on the other side, redeeming the townes lying vpon Somme, the which had bene ingaged by the treaty of Arras, to Philip Duke of Bourgongne, for foure hundred and fifty thousand crownes, with this condition, that the King should maintaine all the officers aduanced by the Duke in the said townes: a promise without performance, for after the oath taken to serue him against all persons, at the first he tooke away the Government of Amiens, of Arras, and of Dourlans from Saneuse: that of Mortaigne from Haut-bourdin a bastard of Bourgongne: and the Bailiweke of Amiens from the Lord of Creuecoeur (whose lands he did confiscate soone after) aduancing to these offices E Launoy the Nephew of Croy, whereby he did greatly discontent the Duke, and the Earle of Charolois his sonne more, who in despite of the said redemption, did afterwards chafe away the Lord of Croy, with his whole family, and confiscate their goods, they being the meanes thereof. Being retried into France, Lewis gaue him the country of Guynes, with the office of Lord Steward of his house. A discontent which shall hasten the Charolois, to arme against our France. Moreouer Lewis, to tye the Pope vnto him, (by the meanes of John Bluet Bishop of Arras, (whoseince was made Cardinall, in recompence of so good a seruice done to the court of Rome) sends Gosfrid Bishop of Albi Cardinall of Abbeville vnto him, to renounce all rights of the pragmaticall sanction. So doing, the Pope promised to send a Legat into France, that should giue all benefices, to the end that all the money which should F be raised thereby might remaine within the Realme, and be no more transported to Rome. But the Pope being seized of the charter of the said Sanction, made no accompt to performe his promise: and to please the Romans, he caused it to be draged through the streetes. So as Lewis being thus deceiued, did forbid to carry any more money to Rome, nor to bring any Bulls from thence.

He

A He made Sforza Duke of Milan his vassall, giuing him Sauonne which the French held, (a heauy motiue of lamentable warres, which followed) & receiued his homage. But whilest he labours to purchase friends abroad, hee procures himselfe insensibly mighty enemies at home, the Princes and Noblemen to whom the first places in court, and offices of the crowne did appertaine, seeing themselves with great indignity supplanted by these mushrooms growne vp in one night, and put from the Kings fauour, they found one another, both by mouth, writings, and by diuers messengers: being assured of their mutuall loues, they open their mindes, discouer their conceptions and conclude, To defend and maintaine their dignities. For (say they) to what end doe we suffer the indignities and braueries of these new vpitarts? we should shew want of courage not to apprehend the wrong the King doth vs. We haue armes, men, friends and money to force him to reason, seeing we are debarred his presence by these base people that possesse him. The chiefe were Charles duke of Berry the Kings brother, John duke of Bourbon who had married Charlotte the Kings sister, Francis duke of Britan, John Earle of Dunois, bastard brother to Lewis duke of Orleans, the duke of Nemours, the Earle of Armaignac, and the Lord of Albret. The duke of Berry was easily drawne into this league, discontented to haue no better portion then Berry. The duke of Bourbon had not yet receiued his marriage money. The Briton could not digest foure hard conditions, the which Lewis (hauing an army ready in case he refused) required of him. That he should no more intitle himselfe, By the grace of God duke of Britan; That he should coine C no more money without his permission, that from thence-forth the King should leauy taxes and subsidies in Britan, and not the duke. And that all that were benefited within the dukedome, should acknowledge him immediately for Patron and souereigne. Priuiledges which till then had bene alwaies expressly reserued to all the dukes his predecessors, in the homages they did to the crowne. The Earle of Dunois had alwaies bene the chiefe of the army and Lieutenant generall to Charles the seuenth, and now is deprived of all his offices and dignities by Lewis his sonne. So euery one pretended diuers causes of complaint.

Charles of Berry must carry the bable, a young prince and credulous, an age which doth easily make men bold and rash, for they would vse him as the reuenging instrument of their passions. But where is the meanes to draw him from Court without icalousie? Behold D an occasion is offred. After that Lewis had visited the townes of Picardy lately redeemed, hauing crossed Normandie and Touraine, hee passeth to Poitiers, leading Charles his brother with him. Lewis going one day to his deuotion, John of Rommille and Tannequy of Chastel (Nephew to that Tannequy that was charged for the death of the duke of Bourgongne) agents for the Britan in this action, vnder colour to carry Charles Duke of Berry to the hunting, they lead him into Britan. Tannequy was discontented, for that hauing disbursed fifty thousand franckes at the funeralls of Charles the seuenth, in the absence of Lewis, he had neither recompence, nor any thanks of the King, and was not satisfied for the space of ten yeeres. There remained nothing but to bee assured of Philip Duke of Bourgongne, who even then had great cause of discontent: for during the partialities of England, betwixt the E houses of Lancaster and Yorke, Lewis supported Henry against Edward (he being of Lancaster and this of Yorke) for that Henry had married the daughter of René King of Sicilia, & by consequence was nere kinsman to Lewis. In fauor therefore of this Queene, he makes a proclamation in the territories of the duke of Bourgongne, forbidding them to aide or assist Edward, terming himselfe King of England. And for a greater disgrace, King Lewis would impose a custome vpon the salt in the Duchie of Bourgongne.

The Bourguignon opposeth: he protests that Edward King of England is his ally, & that he could not deny him succors being required. As for the custome he shewes forth the ancient priuiledges of Bourgongne, and intreats the King to forbear in the execution of this charge. Behold a sharpe touch, which might easily open the dukes eares, to harken to these F malcontents: yet would he not enter, but suffers the Earle his sonne to vse al his meanes for this effect, being discontented for the government of Normandy taken from him, and his pension not paid; for the redeeming the townes vpon Somme, and the aduancement of Croy in France. And although the passing and repassing of the Agents and factors of these Princes were very secretly performed by men disguised like religious men, pilgrims league, and beggers, yet could they not worke so secretly, but the King had intelligence, that the Briton

Lewis put  
cheth the  
country of  
Roussillon.

The league  
of the com-  
mon weale.

The chiefe  
of the league.

Lewis discou-  
ers the  
league.



1465. Britton had sent to practise the love and league of the King of England, and that by *John A* of Rommili, Vice-chancellor of Brittainie, hee had made a strict alliance with the Earle of Charolois, a violent and valiant Prince. Thus the King sends the bastard of *Rubempré*, a sea Captaine, to surpriſe ſuch as he ſhould finde paſſing out of Brittainie into England, or from the Bourguignon to the Britton. This baſtard lands at la Haye in Holland, hee enters the towne (with three in his company) where then the Earle was reſident. Being examined of his quality, and of the cauſe of his landing, he makes ſome difficulty to diſcouer himſelfe. He is put in priſon, as a pirate, ſent (ſaid they) by *Lewis* to ſurpriſe the Earle treacherouſly, and ſo to preuaile more eaſily with the Duke his father. This brute was diſperſed through the Country, which made the King odious. At the firſt report of theſe newes, *Philip* being *B* at Hedin, diſlodgeth without taking his leave; although hee had promiſed not to depart without ſpeaking againe to the King. *Lewis* (aduertiſed of the baſtards detention,) ſends the Earle of Eu, the Chancellor *Mornilliers*, and the Archbiſhop of Narbonne to *Laſſe*: they accuſe his ſonne of treachery and infidelity, for that hee had made a League with the Duke of Brittainie, a friend and confederate with the Engliſh: hee complains of the reſtraint of *Rubempré* his ſeruant: and demands amends for words giuen out againſt the Kings honour: that the priſoner ſhould bee enlarged, and for expiation of the crime, that the authors of this ſlander ſhould bee deliuered into the Kings hands (eſpecially *Oliuer de la Marche*, one of the cheife in the Dukes Court) to bee exemplarily puniſhed. The Chancellor who deliuered the ſpeech, beeing but a blunt man, made it as bitter as hee *C* could, and omitted nothing that might make the fact odious and criminall (for the which hee ſhall in time and place, bee diſauowed by the King and looſe his office) adding moreouer, that hee could not conceiue the cauſe of the Earles diſcontent, if it were not for the penſion and gouernment which the King had giuen him, and ſince taken away.

Ambaſſadors  
from *Lewis*  
to *Philip*.

*Philip* answers  
to the Ambaſſadors.

*Philip* answers, that *Rubempré* being charged with many crimes, was juſtly taken, and in a Country where *Lewis* had no right. If the informations did acquit him, hee would ſend him to the King. That *la Marche* was of the County, and therefore the King not to bee his competent Iudge: yet if hee had done or ſayd any thing againſt the honor of his Maieſtie, he would puniſh him to his liking. *Mornilliers* inſiſts, vrging that *Philip* ſhould not *D* deny the King, and that he ſhould command his ſonne, not to entertaine any bad conceit of his Maieſty, nor beleue the ſlanders impoſed vpon *Rubempré*. The Duke replies: That till then hee had neuer denied the King any thing: and contrarywiſe the King had failed of his promiſe, in that contrary to their tranſaction he had fortified the Townes redecimed, with great gariſons, the which he ſhould haue inioyed during his life; taking an othe of the Nobility, to carry armes indifferently againſt all he ſhould command. That if his ſonne were iealous and diſtruſtfull, hee tooke it of his mother, who had often ſuſpected him to go to other Ladies: and not from him, who ſuſpected no man. The Earle of Charolois toucht with the Chancellors ſpeech, would haue taken the defence of his honor and the Duke of Brittainie: but *Philip* fearing leaſt choller ſhould tranſport him beyond reaſon, commands him to prepare for the next day. The night brings Counſell. The Earle hauing conſidered well of his plea, answers very reſpectively: yet he maintaines, that the proceſſe of *Rubempré* would ſhew, that his imprisonment was both iuſt and duly made. That he had made an allyance and ſtrict league with the Duke of Brittainie, being brothers in armes, but their aſſortiation did nothing preiudice the Kings ſeruice, nor the good of his realme, but rather their common forces ſhould bee alwayes ready for the preferuation of his crowne and the publick good. As for the loſſe of his gouernment and penſion (whereof he had neuer receiued but one quarter) hee was nothing diſpleaſed: that as for any wealth and honours, the fauour of the Duke his Lord and Father did ſuffice him.

Thus the Ambaſſadors returne nothing to *Lewis*, but threats from the Earle, who charged the Archbiſhop of Narbonne particularly with this ſpeech. That within one yeare he would make the King repent the iniurious words he had cauſed his Chancellor to giue him, in the preſence of the Duke his father. And hauing ſpeedily aſſembled a great armie out of Artois, Henault, Boullen, Flanders, Holland and Brabant, conſiſting of foure thouſand men at armes, & eight or nine thouſand archers, vnder the enſignes of *Lewis* of Luxembourg *E*

The warres  
of the Com-  
mon weale.

*A* Earle of Saint *Paul*, and afterwards Conſtable of France, the Lord of Raueſtin brother to the Duke of Cleues, *Anthonie* baſtard of Bourgonne, *Haut-bourdin* baſtard-brother to the Earle of Saint *Pol*, *Contai* and *Lalain* valiant and wiſe Knights, with many other Noblemen and Gentlemen, and great ſtore of artillerie and carriages, he enters into Picardie as Lieutenant generall to the Duke of Berry, taking armes to releue (ſayes he) the people ſurcharged with taxes and ſubſidies, and to recouer their auncient freedoms and liberties; to reſtore the Nobilitie to their honours and ancient dignities, and to giue vnto the Cleargie their rights and preheminences. In truth theſe were goodly ſhewes, able to perſwade the credulous, and to ſupplant the affections of the ſimple.

1465.

The Earle of  
Charolois en-  
ters Picardie.

*B* For the firſt fruites of his forces, he takes *Nelle* (a litle caſtell neere vnto Noyon, in the which there was a gariſon) *Roie*, *Montdidier*, *Beaulieu*, and *Pont Saint Maxence*, then hauing paſſed the riuers of *Somme* and *Oiſe*, he comes with little ſpoile of the countrie, to *S. Denis*, where all the confederates ſhould meete, but they failed of their appointment. Hauing preſented himſelfe before Paris, and ſkirmiſhed at the gates with ſome loſſe to the inhabitants, ſupported onely by the companies of men at armes of *Charles* of Melun, Bayliſſe of Sens, of the Maſhall *Joachim Rouault*, and the Lord of Nantouillet, afterwards great Maſter: he ſeazed vpon *Saint Cloud*, where his armie paſſed the Seine, to draw towards *Eſtampes*, and to ioine with his confederates, whom the Kings armie ſtayed in their march. In the meane time the Duke of Bourbon ſeazeth vpon the Kings reuenues and treaſure, and *C* of the chiefe Officers, from whom he might draw any money.

He takes  
*Nelle*, *Roy*,  
and *Montdi-*  
*dier*.

Then did *Anthonie* of Chabannes Earle of Dampmartin eſcape out of the Baſtille at Paris, whom *Lewis* held priſoner, for that he had made warre againſt him in Daulphine, by the command of *Charles* the 7. vntill he had provided ſuch caution as he demanded for the performance of the condition for the which he had giuen him his life. That he ſhould paſſe the remainder of his life an Exile at Rhodes. Who going through Gaſtinois, tooke and ſpoiled the Caſtels of *S. Forgeau*, and *Saint Maurice*, and carried away the captaine priſoner, which was *Jeffrey* the ſonne of *James Cœur*: he ſeazed vpon *S. Pourſain*, and beeing aduertiſed that the King ſent to beſeige him by the Bayliſſes of Sens and Melun, he retired himſelfe to the Duke of Bourbon. This flight did ſodenly draw the King vpon the Duke. The places of Bourbonois were in a manner all taken and aſſured: but hauing intelligence that the Duke of Nemours with the earles of Albret and Armagnac did march, and that ſuccours came to the Duke of Bourbon out of Bourgonne, leuiued by the Earle of Beauieu and the Cardinall of Bourbon, breethren to the ſaid Duke (the which were of more ſhew then profit) he willingly hearkens to an accord with theſe Princes, wrought by his ſiſter beeing wiſe to the Duke of Bourbon, that they ſhould beare armes for the King, and labour to winne their confederates vnto him. A convention ill obſerued, by meanes whereof *Lewis* had cauſed the ſiege of Rion in Auvergne to be raiſed, the which was at their deuotion: this done, he goes towards Angers, to trie if by mildneſſe and good meanes he might reclaime his brother beeing in Brittainie. Not able to effect it, and hearing the Earle of Charolois approached with great expedition to Paris, hee *E* leaues *Rene* King of Sicily and Duke of Aniou, and *Charles* Earle of Maine his Vncles by the mother ſide vpon the frontiers of Brittainie, to hinder theſe great forces from ioining with the Bourguignons. And leaſt the Pariſiens (abused with this goodly ſhew of the common weale) ſhould receiue them, he beeing ſo farre from them, cauſed his Vncles to aduance, who diſlodging alwaies before the Britton, did greatly annoy him for want of victuals, and hindred his march, and he himſelfe poſts to Orleans with ſpeed, and from thence to Châſtres vnder Montlehery, with no intent to fight vntill he had viſited Paris, and gathered a greater power, but neceſſitie forceth him. The Earle of Charolois hearing of the Kings approach, marcheth towards him with the baſtard of Bourbon, commanding the rereward to ioine with the Earle of Saint *Paul*, who led the foreward, and takes his place of battaile in the plaine of Montlehery, where they appeare at the breake of day the 27. of Iuly. Hauing diſcovered the Kings armie led by the Lord of Brezay great Senefhall of Normandie, he commands all his archers and the greateſt part of his men at armes to leaue their horſes, and e-  
uery man to plant a ſtake before him in the formeſt ranks: to withſtand the furie of the horſe: behind he compaſſeth himſelfe in with his carriages, and on the flanke hee fortifies himſelfe with a forreſt adioyning, hauing reſolved to fight on foote in a place of aduantage for

The battaile of  
Montlehery.



1465. for the foote, before that all *Lewis* his troupes were ioyned. *Lewis* had about two thousand A two hundred well appointed Lances, besides the Nobilitie of Daulphine, and some great Gentlemen of Sauoy and Bresse, a great number of Archers, and other men of warre; but not equall to the Bourguignon. God, who disposeth of batailles, would now chastise our King, but not to his ruine.

The Earle of Charolois like a great commaunder vsed a good stratagem, seeing the French armie could not descend into the valley of Torfou, but by small troupes: for when as the forward appeared, they were not aboue 400. Lances, yet he gaue respite to them that were farthest off to set forward, whilest the two armies spend the time in light skirmishes and Cannon shot. Hauing past some foure houres, the Earle aduertised that the Parisiens B (beeing sent for by the King) might come and compass him in behind, he aduanceth first: our forward doth likewise march; but he beates them backe vnto the village, and (to dislodge them from thence) he fires certaine houses, so as the wind driues the flame and smoke into our archers faces, who did likewise fight on foote: he forceth them to abandon the place and to recouer their horses. The Bourguignons likewise mount and gallop after our runnawaies, but they had recouered a long and large ditch which they found by chance in the field with a strong quick-set hedge, behind the which they breathed, whilest the enemy laboured in the pursuit: but issuing at either end in troupe vpon the Bourguignons, they charge them so resolutely, as they turne their backs, ouerthrowing their owne archers in the flight: some recouer their carriages, and some the Forest: amongst others the Earle of S. Paul and his breethren, the Lords of Rauestin, Haplaincourt, d'Aimeries, d'Inchi, Rabodonges, and many others. The Nobility of Daulphine, Sauoy and Bresse had the chiefe honour of this defeat. The archers thus broken, they remained at the mercie of the French. But beeing pestered with the baggage, some Bourguignons rallied together, turne their carts, compass them in, and beate them downe with great beetles of lead. And to increase the losse, the Earle of Charolois fighting on the right hand towards the castle, had an easie victorie over our men, chasing them backe aboue a thousand paces. But hauing intelligence that they were ioyned againe, and that if he passed but two arrow shoots farther he should be taken, he returned suddenly, and encounters an amazed troupe of footmen flying in the village. He D chargeth them, but no man turnes head, sauing onely one souldier who stricke him on the breast with a bore-speare, but the foot-man lost his life with some few others, who could not in time recouer the gardens and orchards. As he passed against the castell, he met by chance with a troupe of men at armes, which saued themselves from the route at the carriages: one of them in the charge giues him a dangerous wound in the throat with his sword, by reason of his beuer that was fallen. *Jeffrey* of Saint Belain, called *La Hire*, Bayliffe of Chaumont, and *Gilbert* of Grassay knew him, they presse him to yeeld and not to be slaine: but behold the sonne of a Phisition of Paris, called *John Cadet* (the historie in truth owes his name for so worthy an act) beeing big and mightie of bodie, mounted on a horse of the same proportion, rushes through them, and diuides them that held him. Then happily arriues the bastard E of Bourgongne, and the Earles guard, by meanes whereof the French retire themselves to their ditch, where they had beene in the morning. During the which, a false brute of the kings death had almost ouerthrowne all: for euery one began to faint. The Earle of Maine, the Admirall of Montauban, and the Lord of Barde embracing this common beleefe, fle with all the reward. *Lewis* aduertised of this amazement, takes off his helmet, shewes himselfe to his souldiers, and so assures them that he is aliue. On the other side, the Bourguignon rallies his men disperfed and wearied, readie to lie if they had beene charged. At the same instant the Count Saint Paul goes to the field and gathers together vnder his ensigne about eight hundred men at armes, and but few foote.

Behold, the two armies standing in bataille one against another, and mutually discharged F their Canon. The night approached which ended the bataille: an incounter, where the notable flying on either side did wonderfully moderate the furie of the fight. The which beeing thus ended, the King was conducted by the Scots to the castle of Montleherie, hauing neither eaten nor drunke all that day, and then he retires to Corbeil. The Earle keepes the field, spoiles the dead, and therefore holds himselfe a Conqueror. Amongst the Kings men were knowne *Jeffrey* of Saint Belain, the great Steward of Normandy, Capitaine *Floquet* Bailiffe of

Charles of Bourgongne taken and relicued.

A famous bataille for running away.

A of Eureux, with many Gentlemen, to the number of foure hundred horse and but few footmen. Of Bourguignons, the Lords of Lalain, Hames, Oignie, Varenne, and almost all the Earles archers: *Haplaincourt*, *Aimeries*, *Inchy* and many others were taken flying, and brought prisoners to Paris: of foot-men there were more slaine, then of the Kings part. All which were esteemed by some, at two thousand of both sides: others held them three thousand six hundred: but all affirme constantly, that there were more Bourguignons then French, although *Lewis* lost more horsemen.

In truth, the firme resolution, the constant labour, the dangerous hazards, manfully passed by the King, were sufficient motiues to encourage his men to honour: and if he had bin well and courageously followed, notwithstanding his small number, and want of artillerie, B the Earle of Charolois souldiers had digged their graues at Montleherie. Three daies after, the Earle of Charolois beeing aduertised that his confederates approached, went to receiue them at Estampes. The Dukes of Berrie and Brittain, the Earles of Dunois and Dampmartin, the Lords of Loheac Marshall of France, of Bueil, *Chaumont* and *Charles* of Amboise his sonne, all disgraced by *Lewis*, and put from their offices, although they had well serued the King his father. They brought with them (saith the Historie) eight hundred good men at armes, most Brittaines, who had newly left the companies, euery one pretending some discontent. Of Archers and other men of warre resolute and well appointed, fixe thousand on horsebacke, all of the Brittons charge, who assured (by some men at armes that fled) of the Kings death, promisseth to himselfe much good in conceit, in case the Duke of Berry come to the Crowne. And if at that instant they would haue giuen him credit, they should haue suppressed the Bourguignons, or at the least dismissed them, verifying, That there is small loyaltie, and lesse pittie in men of warre.

On the other side, the Duke of Berry began to loath these broyles: for in open Councell, (hauing viewed seuen or eight hundred hurt men wandring vp and downe the Towne) hee said: *How much more glad would I haue beene, if this warre had neuer begun, then to purchase my selfe riches and honour with the price of so much blood.* A speech worthie of a milde Prince and not bloudie: but ill digested by the Bourguignon, supposing that *Charles* would easily make his peace vpon the least motion made by *Lewis*. And to assure himselfe as well with- D out as within the Realme, he sends *William* of Cluny (afterwards Bishop of Poitiers) to Edward King of England, although hee had alwaies supported the house of Lancaster, from whence he was issued by his mother, against that of Yorke. Hauing refreshed their troupes they all dislodge from Estampes, and take the way to Saint *Mathurin* of Larcham, and *Morin* in Gastinois, and hauing an intent to passe the riuer of Seine, the Earle employes many coopers to make pipes, hauing brought great store of stiffe for that purpose, whereon a bridge was made (for want of conuenient boates) through the fauour of the Canon, which the Earle had planted in an Island in the midst of the riuer.

There ioynes with them *John* Duke of Calabria the onely sonne of Rene King of Sicily; the Prince of Orange, *Thibaud* of Neuf-chastell Marshall of Bourgongne, and *Montagu* his brother, the Marquis of Rotelin, the Lords of Argueil and Houlongeon, with many E others, leading nine hundred men at armes, of the Duchie, and Countie of Bourgongne: Sixe score men at armes barded Italians commaunded by *Galeot* and *Campo-basso*; foure hundred Germaine crosse-bowes sent by the Count Palatine, and five hundred Suissers (the which were the first that came to our warres, a fatall and lamentable alliance for the Bourguignon, as we shall see in his place) of other footmen very few. All this great torrent of an hundred thousand men, enuiron Paris, they seaze vpon S. *Maur*, Pont Charenton, Conflans, S. *Denis*, and other places thereabouts, they tyre the inhabitants with continuall skirmishes, even at their gates: and shake their affections by practises and deuises. The Duke of Berry writes to the Clergie, to the Court of Parliament, to the Vni- F uersitie (which then was in great credit in Paris) and to the Bourgeses to euery one apart, shewing them that all these forces tend not but to the peoples ease and profit: and requires them to depute men of iudgement and learning, to vnderstand more at large the causes of this great assembly.

Ten Deputies heare their complaints, beeing led by *William Chartier* Bishop of Paris, they report it to the Councell of the cittie, who answers: That the cittie shall be free for the Prince

1465.

Charles Duke of Berry loathes the effusion of blood.

Paris beleaguard.

1460. Princes to enter into at their pleasure, they and theirs abstaining from violence and paying A their expences. Surely this would haue bene a conquest of the cittie of Paris. But the great Master of Nantouillet, the Marshall *Joachim*, and other captaines take a view of their forces, and by this meanes retaine the Parisiens, who changing their minds, are fully confirmed ces, and by the arriuall of *John* of Rohan, Lord of Montaubon Admirall of France, with great troupes of men. O light and inconstant people! how easie is it to moue thy affections, and to make thee in an instant to applaude that partie which euen now thou didst abhorre. But let vs leaue them in this good humour, and see what remedie the King had for these gar-boyles, attending the succours the Duke of Millan sent him.

*Lewis* beeing (after the battaile) retired from Corbeill to Paris, flatters the peoples humours, treats popularly with them, erects a priuie Councell of fixe Councillours of the Court, fixe Doctors of the Vniuersitie, and fixe Bourgeses, to gouerne his affaires according to their aduice and direction: he leaues fixe hundred Lances in Paris, vnder the command of the bastard of Armaignac, Earle of Cominge, Maister of Gilles, of Saint *Simon*, Bayliffe of Senlis, la Barde, Craon, *Charles* of Mares, and *Charles* of Melun his Lieutenant in the said towne. Then he goes into Normandie, to assemble all the Nobilitie and men of warre he could: from whence he sent the Earle of Eu to haue the command of the warre and of the cittie, followed with two hundred Archers well in order. The Earle beeing arriued, he sends the Lord of Rambure to the Leaguers, offering to be a mediator for their discontents vnto his Maiestic, but it was without effect.

The King hauing intelligence of the confederates trafficke with the Parisiens, knowing that this people doth easily change their affections with the successe: and foreseeing that this baite of the commonweale, would soone bewitch them, displeased also that the Bishop had without his knowledge treated of an accord, he hastens his returne, accompanied with the Earles of Maine and Ponthieure, and the forces of Normandie. And for the first fruites of love to his subiects, he confirmed all the priuiledges they enioyed in his fathers life: he abolished all new impositions, and retained none but the auncient and ordinarie farmes of merchandise that is sold by great: then did he punish, either with banishment or death, such as had yeilded to the reception of the heads of the League into the cittie. Hee doth sharply blame the Bishop, (at the instigation of the Cardinall of Albi,) to haue bene a dealer in his absence for his enemies, with an inconstant and ill aduised people: and hauing provided for the suretie of the cittie, he prepares to offend and defend. The Bourguignon likewise vseth all force, making great and daily skirmishes with the Parisiens, sometimes chasing and sometimes chased. And thereupon comes new supplies to the Leaguers, the Dukes of Bourbon and Nemours, the Earle of Armaignac, and the Lord of Albret (notwithstanding the former treatie) with about fixe thousand men.

On the other side, the King receiued from *Francis Sforze* Duke of Milan, fixe hundred men at armes, and three thousand foote, commaunded by *Galeas* his eldest sonne, with this Councell of State: That to diuise this companie, he should yeeld to all conditions, and onely preserve his men. An aduice which *Lewis* shal cunningly put in practise speedily. These Milanois were employed in Bourbonnois, vntill newes of the peace shall come. The Earle thus fortified, offers battaile, but the King would not hazard any thing, desiring to disperse this mistie cloud without effusion of blood. And to annoy them of Conflans and Charenton, he sends foure thousand francke-archers, and about foure hundred pioneers, supported by the Nobilitie of Normandie, and some men at armes, who plant themselves vpon the riuers side, right against Conflans, at the English port, where they make a large and along trench vnto the cittie, with a bulwarke of wood and earth, whereon they plant many peeces of artillerie, which at the first driues the Duke of Calabria out of Charenton, with great losse of his men and an extreame terror to the Earle of Charolois, who lodged at Conflans in a house belonging to his father. Two cannon shot passed through his chamber beeing at dinner, and slue his Trumpetter, carrying a dish to his table. This amazement makes him goe downe with speed: he fortifies his lodging, pierceth the walles, and plants a cannon for a counter-batterie.

But they must dislodge these francke-archers, and preuent the losse they receiued from the other side of the water. For the effecting of this, he obtaines a truce for two dayes, in which

Meanes to pacifie a people that was.

A politicke aduice.

A which time he made a bridge of boats. The bridge almost finished, the francke-archers leaue their trenches, carrie away their artillerie, and retire to the suburbs into the Carthusian cloister. A part of the Bourguignons armie passeth the water: they enter the suburbs of *S. Marceau*, and skirmish, but with little losse on either side. Hereupon our Captaines resolute to assaile the enimie in diuers parts. A page sent by night giues them intelligence. At the breake of day some horsemen charge home to the artillerie and kill a Canoniere. This was in shew the effect of the pages aduertisement. All arme: they make barricadoes and stand firme. The Artillerie thunders: the Kings answers them. They send forth two hundred horse to discouer: who see a troupe issuing forth the cittie to learne the cause of this tumult, and moreouer a great number of Lances in conceit: and so they report that all are come forth in battaile, but the day breaking they prooue but thiftels. So this alarme turnes to laughter. In the meane time they treat of peace, but the demands of the confederates were excessive. The Duke of Berry demands Normandie for his portion.

The Earle of Charolois, the townes of Somme lately redeemed. For the better effecting hereof, the two commanders conclude of an interview. The King mounts vp the water right against the Bourguignons armie, accompanied with the Lords of Montauban Admirall, *Nantouillet*, *Du Lauz*, and few others. The Earls of Charolois and *S. Pol*, come to receiue him. He then offers to giue his brother the Prouinces of Brie and Champaign, excepting Meaux, Melun, and Montereau, the which he would not accept. Hee grants the Charolois his desire, dis-awowes Moruilliers in certaine speeches, wherein he saith, hee had exceeded his charge: and for the Earls sake he promiseth to giue the office of Constable to the Earle of Saint *Pol*.

These entercourses of either side prooue farall for the King: for besides that the Princes doe daily suborne more of his men then he can draw from them: behold, Pontoise is deliuered to the Britton by *Sorbier*, commanding there vnder the Marshall *Joachim*; and to finish so notable a trecherie, he marcheth towards Meulan to the same intent: but the inhabitants beeing aduertised, he returnes without effect. There growes another vprore in Paris: the Souldiers vaunt insolently, that the cittizens goods are at their free disposition: that they will rake the keyes of their houses from them, and for a need will pull the chaines out of their streetes. Hereupon the Prouost of Merchants calls the Captaines of the quarters, and chiefe of the cittie to Councell: he commands them in the night to make fires at all the corners of the streets, and to watch in armes, euery man in his quarter. The people stand vpon their guard, ready to attempt some great action. The King himselfe goes the round, he findes the gate of the Bastille towards the fields open, and the artillerie cloyed. But oh the prouidence of God! misfortune is good for something. These vnexpected fires disappoint the conspirators practises, they hinder the approach and entrie of the enimie, and saue the cittie. Moreouer, Gisors is beleagard, and the garrison abandons it. But that which imports more, the widow of the great Seneshall of Brezai, (gouerned by the bishop of Bayeux) then resident at Rouan, with some other Partisans, giues *John* Duke of Bourbon entrie into the Castle, and so into the cittie. The cittie desiring long to haue a Duke remaining in the countie, consents to this change, and sweares to the said Duke, for the Duke of Berry. In a manner, all the townes and castles of the Prouince follow the example of their capitall cittie.

O strange chance! The Bourguignons armie was now reduced to extreame necessitie of victuals and money, so as all the Noblemen dreamed onely of a retreat. And yet (an admirable thing) the price of victuals was not risen in the cittie. So many stormes caused *Lewis* to demand a second interview, before that the yeelding vp of Rouan should be knowne to the Earle. He grants the Duchy of Normandie to his brother: restores the townes vpon Somme to the Earle: to the Britton his Countie of Montfort, with promise to defray his charges: hee giues the office of Constable to the Earle of *S. Pol*: he promiseth vnto *John* duke of Calabria, men and money to recouer his realme of Naples, to pay what had bene promised for the mariage of his sister to the Duke of Bourbon, with the execution of other clauses contained in the contract: to restore vnto all others their goods, offices, and dignities, which they had enioyed vnder his father *Charles*. He grants vnto the Princes, that not any one should be bound to come in person at his summons, but should discharge their homage and duties, in sending such forces as they were bound to furnish at need. To conclude, all the publike good is turned to priuate interest. The Earle of Charolois accepts these

M m

condi-

An interview of the two commanders.

Paris in danger to be surprized.

The peace of Conflans, and the conditions

1466. conditions so willingly, as discourfing with the King, the vehement desire hee had to see the execution of this treatie, carries him into the trench of the bulwarke of Francke-archers, by the which they entred the cittie. The Bourguignons hauing lost him, crie out that hee was stayed. The chiefe assemble together, they tremble, they condemne their Earle of rashnesse, alleading the inconuenience happened to his grandfather at Montereau, in the presence of *Charles* the seuenth, and they beginne to talke of their safetie: but as they walked into the field on horsebacke, behold they discouer about fiftie of the Kings horfe, conducting the Earle to his quarter. So euery one reuiued his spirits, and ioynly commend the Kings loyalty.

Two daies after the treatie of peace was read, and sworne on either side, at Bois de Vincennes; *Charles* the Kings brother did homage for the Duchie of Normandie: the Earle of Charolois for the townes and land in Picardie, and likewise the rest that had homages to doe. The Earle of Saint *Paul* tooke his oath for the office of Conftable: the rest for the most part receiue their goods and honours. So the Duke of Normandie was conducted to Rouan part receiue their goods and honours. So the Duke of Normandie tooke his way to Amiens, and received homage of the inhabitants, as also of other places that were restored vnto him by the peace. Then he entred into the countrie of Liege, which had rebelled of late daies against his father, vpon the first bruite of the ouerthrow of the Earle his sonne at Montleherie, without attending the truth. He pacified the Countrie, and returned into Brabant. This was called the peace of Conflans, which was but counterfeite, the 28. of October 1465. the which the Bourguignon had not so easily yeilded vnto, if hee had receiued sooner that refreshing of men and money, which *Philip* sent him by the Lord of Sauzeu.

It was an act of great import, for *Lewis* to disperse these Princes so cunningly: he did well fore-see, that the Charolois beeing farre from them, and busied in his owne Countries, would hardly returne in the winter season. Moreouer, he knew well the meanes (as hee was an excellent plotter of factions) how to diuide the Dukes of Normandie and of Brittainie. And in truth they were scarce arriued in their new Duchie, but all the Noblemen, Gentlemen and Captaines, expected some preferment from *Charles* Duke of Normandie, so greatly aduanced by this peace; and moreouer the Duke of Brittainie, who had beene farthest engaged in the charge, was little amended by the treatie: they all by a generall discontent shew a notable subiect of distrust of their new Duke: so as there is spread abroad a still rumour, That the Brittons would carrie *Charles* into Brittainie. Vpon this bruite, the Dukes seruants and the inhabitants troupe together, they runne by heapes to Saint *Katherines* Mount (where *Charles* remayned yet, attending the preparatiues of his entrie) they leade him into the cittie, without any other assistance, but the Cleargie in their ornaments. The Duke of Brittainie, fearing the mutinie of this people, retires vnto his countrie: and in his way hee takes some townes in Normandie, wherein he leaueth diuers garrisons.

*Lewis* embraceth this occasion; and vpon this diuision marcheth against his brother, treats with the Duke of Brittainie at Argenton, to win him from the alliance of the Duke of Normandie: he takes from him (by the Duke of Bourbon newly reconciled) Eureux, Verdon, Louiers, Pont de Larche, and other places: and by *Charles* of Melun, Gysors, Gournay, Chailly: and consequently all bafe Normandie. Caen held with some other places, being in the hands of *Lescur*, a trustie seruant to both the Dukes. *Charles* abandoned by all men and set vpon by so mightie an armie, resolues to retire into Flanders, and seekes to the earle of Charolois, whome this diuision did much grieue: for he desired about all things to see a Duke in Normandie, the which should greatly weaken the King. But the time was vnreasonable, beeing busied against the Liegeois. Yet for a prooffe of his good happe, hee labours to put some troupes (gathered vp in Picardie) into Deepe: but *Lewis* preuents him, and compounds with the Gouverneur. Hereupon the two Dukes reconcile themselves, considering (but too late) that as their dissention had already ruined the one, so might it easily ouerthrow the other: according to the saying, *That by concord small things increase, but by discord great are ouerthrowne*. In truth it is a hard matter for great men to entertain friendship long: and for the State it is necessarie to haue one soueraigne head ouer all, who by his iudgement, wisdom, and credit, may retaine the subiects in obedience.

So the Duke of Normandie begs helpe of the Britton, being poore, ouerscome, and abandoned

*Lewis* sets vpon his brother.

The Dukes of Normandie and Brittainie are reconciled

A doned now in his aduersitie, of all them that during his prosperitie had grounded the anchor of their hope vpon his fortunes, and had newly made their peace with the King. The Duke of Brittainie receiues him, and in his fauour sends an Ambassage to the King: giuing him to vnderstand, that for the honour of his blood, and respect of his Maiestic, hee had receiued him; seeing him a fugitiue, and vnprovided of necessarie meanes to entertaine his estate. Thereupon *Lewis* makes answer, that he could not dismember Normandie, the goodliest flower of his Diademe, from the crowne of France, whose demaines are inalienable. The Duke replies: That to giue a portion to his brother, grounded in part of the successfull right, was an alienation of long time receiued in France, seeing that many held it euen then by the same title. But they commonly say, it is in vaine to preach to them that care not to do well. *Lewis* could not yeeld to the preferment of his brother: and the Brittons Ambassadors returned with no other answer, but a bare confession, that it was reasonable to giue him some portion, and that he would consider of the quantitie thereof.

Thus Rouan (wanting their Duke some few daies) yeelds the King obedience with small ado: who suddenly causeth many to be executed of his brother *Charles* his faction. The Lord of Eternay, taken by *Charles* of Melun, great Maister, in a Friars weed, accompanied with an *Augustine*, was beheaded: yet some write that both were drowned in the riuer of Vre. The King offended with the entertainment which the Duke of Brittainie had giuen to his brother, and aduertised that *John* Duke of Calabria was dead beyond the mountaines, hee calles home the troupes he had giuen him, to haue the greater forces to assaile the Britton, for receiuing of his enemies, and practising intelligences within his Realme. And euen then the Duke of Alenfon promised to giue the Duke passage through his countrie, if he would enter into Normandie. Moreouer so many Ambassages from the King to the Duke and Earle of Charolois, and from them to the King, from the Earle to the Dukes, and from them to the Earle, were but to discouer their humours, and vnder colour of faith, to withdraw mens affections. So the Duke of Brittainie, not able to perfwade the King to reason, enters into Normandie, takes Caen, Bayeux, and Auranches: he burnes Meruille and some other places, whilst that the King assembles the forces of Aniou, Poictou, and Normandie: and the Earle of Charolois resolues to succour his confederates, hauing suppressed them of Liege and Gant. And for that our *Lewis* hath beene so confusedly incombred amidst the combustions of those people, let vs leaue France, to learne briefly the cause, the proceeding, and the end of these warres.

Rouan returns to *Lewis*.

The Liegeois hereditarie and capitall enemies to the house of Bourgongne, (seeing all tend to open warre betwixt the King and the Earle of Charolois) seeke the Kings friendship and alliance, and they obtaine it, vpon condition to enter presently into the countries of Hainault and Namur, belonging to the Duke of Bourgongne, with all acts of hostility: the King promising vnder his seale, to succour them with two hundred men at armes, (euery one hauing three horses at the least) and not to treat any accord or peace with the Duke without their consent, and to comprehend them in it: puffed vp with this fauour and imagined succours, they send a Herald to *Philip* beeing at Bruxels, with letters, defying the Earle his sonne with fire and sword, and thereon demand an answer.

The Duke hauing read these letters, deliuered them vnto the Herald, willing him to cary them to his sonne. So hee returns to Liege, but he is presently sent backe with other letters, defying the Duke himselfe and all his allies. And sodenly they breake into the Dukes countrie, they spoile, rauish, burne, and omit no outrage that one enemy may doe to another. *Philip* assembles the forces of his countries, and sends for the Dukes of Cleues and Gueldres, the Earles of Nassau and Horne, the Marquis of Rothelin, and others that were neighbours to Liege. But this multitude finding the King to faile them of his promise, and that they were not able to resist so great forces, they shut themselves vp within the walles of Liege. Then at the first and false newes of the ouerthrowe of the Earle of Charolois at Montleherie, (as the passions of a disordered mind doe easily make man to beleue what hee wisheth) they take a subiect of new folly. Those of Dinan especially (a people of Liege, proud and arrogant to haue at sundrie times endured seuentene sieges of Emperours and Kings, yet neuer conquered) make a picture very like to the Earle of Charolois, and attired with his armes, they carrie it in troupe neere to Bouuines in the Countie of Namur: they

1467.

1467. they let vp a high gybber in the sight of the cittizens, and there they hang this Image, crying with open throate. *See there the sonne of your Duke, that false traitor the Earle of Charolais, whom the French King hath, or will cause to be hanged, as you see here. He armed himselfe the Sonne of your Duke, he lyed: he was a villaine bastard, changed in his infancie with the Son of the Lord of Hainsebergh, our Bishop. Did he thinke to ruine the Noble house of France?* From these and such like insolent speeches, they come to deedes, armed against the subiects of Philip, with fire and sword, the instruments of their horrible outrages. This was not all, the father must receiue the like disgrace by his picture, the which they carried to the dung-hill before Bouuines, and setting it vpon a peece of wood. *See here (say they) the seate of the great Toade your Duke.* Those of Bouuines exhort these mad men to performe the duties of good subiects to the Duke, before that matters grew more bitter. But the bearer of this good and wholesome counsell, returned without his head: they send an innocent child with the like Letters, hoping his tender age would moue some respect, and mollifie these cruell and vnaturall minds, but in despight of the Duke and of their neighbours, they killed him most barbarously, and tare him in peeces.

A horrible  
outrage, com-  
mitted by  
them of Di-  
nin.

O insolent people! which hast not yet learned, That there is no vice whereon God doth more often shew his iudgements, then vpon pride. The great wealth thou hast gathered together during thy long felicitie, hath it so furiously transported thee beyond the bounds of obedience? and to what end is thy great wealth, but to drawe thee headlong to thy ruine? Philip takes his reuenge by the defeat of foure thousand Liegeois, fortified within Montre-nac, a village siue leagues from Liege. The Earle of Nassau did this exploit, but the Duke would be present in person with the Earle his sonne, at the taking and vtter desolation of Dinan. He beseegeth it with aboute twentie thousand horse, beside foote, which were in great numbers, takes it, spoiles it, and destroyes it, and dragges eight hundred prisoners chained together, to be drowned in the Menze before Bouuines: an expiation for the tyrannicall indignities they had endured by the Dinandois. Those of Liege did for this time escape the like fortune, but it was deferred, and behold another cause of indignation, which they procure to themselves. Lewis of Bourbon Bishop of Liege by resignation, and admitted to the dignitie by the intercession and fauour of Duke Philip to the Pope, begins to preferre the most confident and trusty seruants of the said Philip, to all offices and dignities within the towne. The people are grieved thereat, they mutine and expell the Bishop. This reuolt against their spirituall and temporall Lord, procures the Popes Excommunication against them. Philip after the destruction of Dinan turnes head against them: but terrified with so sharpe a punishment, they flie to the Earle of Charolois, who is a meanes for their peace and pardon, paying fixe hundred thousand Florins of the Rhin in fixe yeares, and three hundred hostages for a securitie of their deedes and promises, specified by the Bishop. Thus this people restored to fauour with their Prince, and reconciled to their Bishoppe, were absolved of the Excommunication, by Onuphrins a Romane Cittizen and Bishop of Troyes.

Whilist that Philip subdues the Liegeois, Lewis employes his whole studie to ruine the house of Brittanie, and to confirme a truce with the English, who threatened France with a new descent during our diuisions, and hee practiseth the Bourguignon by all meanes. And to presse him to renounce his Brother Charles and the Duke of Brittain, hee takes the Liegeois into his protection against their Duke, in case he shall hereafter wrong them: the which he doth signifie vnto him by the Constable of Saint Paul, and the Cardinall Balue, offering notwithstanding to renounce their alliance, if hee will likewise abandon his brother and the Britton. This Brauado proceedes to effects. He sends them foure hundred Launces of his Ordinances, vnder the conduct of the Earle of Dampmartin, the Lords of Salczart, Conyhem and Vignolles, with fixe thousand Archers. The Earle of Saint Paul, (but without the Kings authoritie) led them some troupes speedily leauied vpon the frontiers of Picardie. The first act of his Tragedie, which in the end shall make him leaue his head at the Greue in Paris. But it was now time for Philip to leaue the troubles of this world, to enioy an assured and euerlasting rest in heauen.

This inconstant and mutinous people, supposing by the decease of their Lord, to be at libertie, they breake out, go to field, recover all the townes, chase away the garrisons placed by

A by the deceased Duke: spoile and sack the places they take by force, with-out any care of their ingaged hostages, who were all ready to bee sacrificed by Charles the new Duke of Bourgongne, to requite the madde infolencies of their countrymen, yet hee reserues the reuenge for a more famous memory. Hee parts from Louvain in armes, and well accompanied, and goes to besiege Saintron. The Liegeois (to raise the siege) issue forth with thirty thousand men, some siue hundred horse, and great store of Artillery. The Duke turnes head againe, chargeth them, and ouer-comes them, hee killies about nine thousand: the approaching night saues the rest. Presently after this charge, the Duke (puffed vp with this good successe) speaks bigge, hee writes vnto the Constable like a Rodomont, answerable to the speeches he had with him at Louvain: *That hee beseeched the King for his sake to attempt nothing vpon the State of Brittain, advertising him of the memorable battaile which hee had wonne.* After the which Saintron yeelds vpon conditions, and the tenth man is chosen out at the Dukes pleasure, and then beheaded. Tongres was no better intreated: and these miserable wretches thus tithed, were for the most part of those hostages, which hee had freely sent home, vpon condition to imploy themselves to pacifie the seditious humours of their fellow-Cittizens.

In the end, as he turned all his forces against Liege, premeditating with himselfe of a lamentable and bloody reuenge, behold three hundred of their best Cittizens come forth in their shirts, bare-headed and bare-legged, bringing the Keyes to the Duke. Hee enters the City by a great breach of twenty fadome, beaten downe in the wall, disarms the inhabitants, takes from them their Artillery which remained, razeth all the Towers and Towne walles, and chargeth them with heauier impostes then euer his father had done. A worke of heauen, which quencht the fire of sedition, which began to flame at Gand: a stirring people, and second to the Liegeois in inconstancy: of whom it is commonly said; That they loue the sonne of their Prince, but not the Prince him-selfe. So the Gantois bring vnto him on foote as farre as Bruxelles, the seuentie and two banners of the occupations, which hee had granted them at his entry, with all the priuileges and letters they had tumultuously wrested from him.

Charles sent the said Banners to Bologne la grasse, to accompany those which his Father had in like sort taken from them: hee disanulled their priuilege of the law, whereby the people had right of fixe and twenty Sheriffes of the Towne, to choose euery yeare two and twenty, and the Prince but foure: hee condemned them in thirty thousand Florines to himselfe, and fixe thousand to his officers and followers: All other Townes compounded for money, and then hee made his entry armed into Gand. Thether came Ambassadors to him from Lewis, labouring to drawe him to consent to the warres which hee pretended to make in Brittain: the which not able to obtaine, the Winter was spent in sending one to another: and Summer being come, Lewis enters the said Duchie, with an army of fifty thousand men: and at his first arriuall hee takes Chantosse, and Ancenis, and after some other military exploites, he forceth both his brother and the Duke of Brittain, to accept such conditions as he would prescribe vnto them: That they should renounce all alliances, and especially that of the Duke of Bourgongne: That his brother Charles, lately Duke of Normandy, should haue twelue thousand Francks a yeare rent, for his portion, issuing out of some lands which should carry the tide of a Dukedome or County, and three score thousand Francks for his pension; but there is much difference between promise & performance.

In the meane time Charles of Bourgongne, at the instance of his allies, was already advanced to Peronne. Then had Pope Pius the second sent a Legate into France, for the renunciation of the Pragmatick Sanction, made by Lewis at his comming to the Crowne. The Patents are read in the Chastelet without contradiction. Balue comes to the Palace the first of October, to haue them in like sort published. But Maister John of Saint Romain, the Kings Proctor generall, opposeth himselfe directly against the execution thereof, notwithstanding the iniurious threats of the said Cardinall: *Replying (saith the Originall) that he had rather loose both his office, & all his wealth, then to do a thing against his conscience, to the hurt of the Realme, & preiudice of the Kings dignity.* In the end, the Rector of the Vniuersity, (for then they maintained by faithfull obedience, their ancient authority) & the Deputies thereof, go to the Legat: they appeale from him, and the effect of the said Letters, to the holy

The Kings  
Proctor gene-  
rall opposeth  
himselfe stout-  
ly against the  
Popes pro-  
ceedings.



1467. Councell, the like they doe in all other places where need required. They protest the like A  
at the Chasteler, and depart not before their opposition be registred.

Herevpon the King sends the said Legat and Cardinall with *John Ladreseche* Treasurer of France, to the Duke of Bourgongne, to signifie vnto him the accomde made with his Brother and the Duke of Brittainy, and to treat of a peace with the said Duke of Bourgongne, but alwayes tending to diuide him from them: and (for a baite) hee promifeth to giue him fixe score thousand Crownes of gold, the one halfe to bee paide before hee dislodgeth for the charges of his leuie: and hoping to winne him wholly to his will, hee concludes of an enter-view at Peronne, by the meanes of the said *Blau*, and to this effect, the Duke writes him a Letter with his owne hand, as a warrant to goe and come. And in the meane time, B  
that *Charles* (busied at home) should no wayes hinder *Lewis* in the warre hee pretended to make in Brittainy, (for hee still gaped after the conquest of that Prouince) hee had sent againe vnder-hand, to sollicite the Liegeois to a new sedition, where-vnto they were too prompt for their owne good: they arme, and by stealth surprise Tongres, and carry their Bishop with many Chanoines (whom they hated to the death) prisoners to Liege. Yet some-what respecting the Legates presence, they were content to pull out the hearts of fiue or fixe of them, in sight of the Bishop, with an out-ragious violence, hewing one of them into many peeces, the which with a brutish derision they cast one at another like vnto Tennis Balles.

*Lewis* sollicite the Liegeois to a new rebellion.

These two Princes liued in continuall distrust, and feared one another: for the safety of their persons at this meeting, they fortifie them-selues with great forces. *Lewis* to free the Duke of all ielousie, comes ill accompanied, but he is followed by *John* Duke of Bourbon his brother in law, the Cardinall brother to the said Duke, the Constable of Saint Paul, the Cardinall *Blau*, (a man which dealt much in matters of warre and state) by *Tannequoy* of Chastel, newly receiued into fauour, and many other commanders of troupes. *Charles* had sent for the Army of Bourgongne, where there were many Noblemen, in former times ill intreated by the King: as *Anthony Chasteauneuf*, Lord of Lau, who had escaped from Vifon, a strong place in Auuergne, where *Lewis* kept him prisoner, vnder the garde of *Charles* of Melun, who (sauiug his owne head) imbrued three scaffolds with bloud, with that of *Charles* at Loches: of *Remonet*, sonne to the wife of *Charles* at Tours: and of the Kings D  
Proctor of Vifon, in Meaux: *Ponces de Riniere*, of *Vrfe* (afterwards Maister of the Kings Horse:) three Princes of the house of Sauoy, that is to say, the Lord of Bresse, the Bishop of Geneva, and the Earle of Rhosmond, bretheren, followed by many Gentlemen, Sauoyards and Bourguignons. The King seeing all these within the Towne; and the Armie lodged there-about, findes that hee wrought politickly: but cunning is preuented by cunning. So the prouidence of God blinds man in his owne malice, and shadowes his eyes, to confound him in his fraudulent desseignes. And to increase his folly, he requires the castell of *Charles* to lodge in: for that the greatest part of those that were last come, were ill-affected vnto him. What then? an enemy that had a desire to crosse the policies of his aduersary, would hee refuse him this Cage, that sought to intangle him-selfe in his owne snare? E  
yet hee periwades him to feare nothing. Let Princes learne not to commit them-selues rashly to such assemblies, the very baites of deceits, collusions and periuries.

The newes of this second mutiny at Liege, being reported vnto the Duke, hee sodenly causeth the gates both of the Towne and Castell to be shut, but vnder a cold pretext, That one had lost a male full of Jewels and money. *Lewis* seeing him-selfe coopt vp, and many archers at the gate, being lodged moreouer right against a great Tower, whereas the Earle of Vermandois had once caused *Charles* the Simple his predecessor to die, blame him not if he feared. So (as an ancient said) *Malice drinks the greatest part of her owne poison*. They could not treat of a more important matter then the life of a King of France and of his Estate. *Charles* doth first impart this businesse to some of his Chamberlaines and groomes F  
of his Chamber (amongst others to the Lord of \*Argenton, to whom the King since gaue this commendation, to haue bene a great helpe in this pacification of Peronne) who then tempered this spleen all they could. He holds a councell the most part of the second day, and almost the whole night, hauing all the desire in the world to doe the King a shrewd turne; who in the meane time pacifieth with all vehemency such as he thought might serue him: he

*Philip de Commines*.

A he vnfurnisheth his most trusty seruants, being farre from his treasure, commands to make distribution of fifteene thousand crownes: (but the commissary retayned a part as the King was since aduertised) he giues to some, and promifeth to others. In the end their resolution in counsell was, that *Lewis* his excuse should be admitted, who did sweare that hauing sent his Ambassadors to Liege, euen when as the Duke did arme against France, the great affection he had to a final and vniuersall peace had so transported him, as he had forgot to countermand them. Thus promise being made to *Charles* of Bourgongne, to accompany him at his request in the voiage of Liege, and to giue vnto *Charles* his brother the Earledomes of Brie and Champaigne, (which the Bourguignons did, that at neede they might haue more A peace between Lewis & Charles of Bourgogne.  
B means to succor one an other) the treaty of Arras and peace of Charenton were reconfirmed and sworne vpon the crosse which *Charlemagne* was wont to carry, called the crosse of victory.

Truely experience hath alwayes testified, that Princes do more wisely pacifie their quarrells by graue and trusty seruants, then by enteruiues, from the which such as had neuer any matter to determine together, do seldome part without mutuall dislikes and grudgings; the seeds of diuisions and war, the which may be long smothered, but at length it breakes forth. From henceforth you shall see vpon this stage a wretched people, panting yet with the bastonadoes lately receyued: but not yet vanquished, and so much the more lamentable, for that their owne calamities cannot make them wise: who hauing obstinately rebelled against C  
their naturall Prince, and indiscreetly imbraced our Kings quarrell, run headlong to their totall ruine. *Lewis* was ingaged by promise, and summoned to performe it. Besides the Scotts of his gard, he sends for three hundred men at armes, hauing with him *John* Duke of Bourbon, *Charles* Cardinall of Bourbon and Archbishoppe of Lions, and the Earle of Beaujeu brothers to the Bishoppe of Liege. A city then of the bignes of Rouan, exceeding well peopled, seated in a mountaine country fertill, watered with the riuer of Meuze, which runs through it, but by the last yeares checke almost all dismanteled, and greatly weakened of men, so as the Marshall of Bourgongne and the Lord of Himbercourt leading the forward and gaping after spoile, thought to haue entred at their first approach, before the King or Duke were arriued. *John* of Vilette chiefe Tribune of these Liegeois, and other capitaines D  
seeing them lodge confusedly in their suburbs, they issue resolutely by the old breaches, and kill aboute eight hundred men, amongst the which were a hundred men at armes: they hurt many, and amongst them the Prince of Orange. All the people were ready to make a generall sally, but some Canonadoes shot into the great streete kills very many, and keeps in the rest. The Tribune was hurt and died within two dayes after, with some other capitaines, whilst the two commanders arriued, and take their lodgings, *Lewis* in a great farme, a quarter of a league from Liege, *Charles* in the midst of the suburbs, where the King went to lodge the next day right against the Bourguignons lodging. This approach breeds a great distrust, for *Charles* doubted that *Lewis* would cast himselfe into the towne, or practise something against him, or at the least saue himselfe before the taking of the town. To be E  
the better satisfied, the Duke doth lodge three hundred of his best men at armes in a barme betwixt his lodging and the Kings, the better to obserue the Kings actions.

In the meane time, they make a good shew, and keepe good gard vntill the nyne and twentieth of October, the eight day of the seage, when as *Charles* and all his men disarm them-selues, to be the more ready the next day for the assault. During these eight daies, the besieged gaue liberty to their Bishop to go to the Duke and to offer him their towne and goods, desiring nothing but their liues. But he had resolved a sharpe reuenge, and retaynes the Bishop, not accepting of any offer. The Apostolike Legat had no more any credit with *Charles*, neither was he so happy as he expected. The Liegeois abandoned by the French, dispayring of all foraine succors, and of all grace with their Prince, behold a troupe of fixe hundred choise men of the Country of Franchemont issue forth, hauing for their guides the Maisters of those two lodgings where the Generalls did lie. The party was well made, and the enterprife great, but ill managed; yet did they hardly faile in it. The guides should lead them secretly through the hollow rocks neere vnto these Princes lodgings, to surprise them; kill them, or at the least to carry them away before their guards were in armes.

Moreouer



1468. Moreouer all the people should issue forth by the gate and breaches right against the great streete of the suburbs, and with their cries and fighting discomfort the whole army, or at the least sell their liues deere, in dying gloriously. They issue forth, kill the sentinells, and stayed at a pavilion in the which the Duke of Alencon, and the Lord of Craon were lodged, where they slew some seruants with their halberds and partuisans; they charge euen vnto the grange, wheras the three hundred men at armes were in their first sleepe, the whole multitude runs thither, and troubles both Nations, some crying, *God saue the King, others God saue the Duke of Bourgongne, and some also cry God saue the King, and kill,* to sow diuision betwixt the French and Bourguignons.

The King and Duke in great danger of their liues.

The miserable estate of two Princes.

They awake, they arme and defend the entry. In the meane time succors come from all parts to the Duke, being charged by a Squadron led by the maister of the lodging. He is flaine first, and then all his company. The King is no lesse amazed, his host compasseth his house with an other band. The Scots are about him, they first kill the host and then his followers: and so the multitude recouers the towne in disorder. The two Princes talke together, and thanke God for their deliuey, and with a iust cause: for if these desperate men had neyther lingered at the Pavilion nor at the grange without doubt they had had these two Princes at their discretion: but God would reserue ours, for the restoring of his estate and increafe of his reuenues with the Bourguignons losse: and the Bourguignon for a more tragicke ende. Our *Lewis* grew likewise pale with distrust, foreseeing that if *Charles* did not take this towne by assault, the burthen might light on him, and that hee was in danger to bee stayed and taken, being the weaker in the army. There was no hope of retrying, he was too well garded: and his honour likewise ingaged. Thus he stood vpon thornes, yet resolute in shew, and alwaies an absolute dissembler. A miserable estate of these two Princes, who of late had so solemnly sworne a peace, and yet one could not assure himselfe of an others faith. This desperate fall had amazed the Dukes men who (euen by the Kings aduice) would willingly haue delayed the assault for some dayes, but *Charles*, constant in his desseine, lettes *Lewis* vnderstand, that if he pleased he might retire to Namur vntil the towne were taken: as for himselfe he would not part without seeing the issue the next morning: but *Lewis* was ingaged in honor, who would neuer giue the least suspicion of cowardice: he therefore answers, that he would take his part of the sport. The day being come, euery one repayres to his colours, the signe is giuen by a field peece and two shot of a serpentaine, to the end the vanguard lodged on the other side should charge at the same instant. The trompetts and drums sound, the companies approch, and all march resolutely. But when they thought to ioyne, they found no resistance. Their chiefe commanders were dead, the most apparent being slip out of the towne, some one way, some an other, the common people were gone to diner, thinking that Sunday would be a day of rest. So the whole army consisting of about forty thousand men, enter at both ends, and find the cloth layed: they kil at the first incounter two hundred men, women, children, and religious indifferently: they rauish women, maids, and nunnes, spoile the City, and holy places: the Duke saues the great Church of Saint *Lambert* with great difficulty, the people fly ouer the Meuze, and so saue themselves in the forest of Ardennes, and other places thereabouts, where (to inceased their misery) some gentlemen (who till then had held their party) strip them, kill a number, and take the best prisoners, and by this treachery and piteous starageme make their peace with the Duke. Many died of hunger, cold and sleepe: the history makes mention of a gentleman that had the paulsie in one legge, and a page that had two fingers of one hand faine off. The wine was frozen in the pipes, and for three dayes was cut out with hatchets. And for the last act of this tragedy, the Duke doth place foure thousand men about the quarters of the city, to beate downe the bridge vpon the Meuze; to defend the houses of the Clergy about the great Church, and to preferue the other Churches from ruine, whilest that others set fire on the towne, ouerthrow the walles and fill vp the ditches. Wrath and victory doe neuer forget any kinde of reuenge. And if we shall belecue some writers, there perished about fifty thousand soules in this warre, most cruell beyond all bounds of humanity. Learne O yee nations to containe your selues in the obedience of your Soueraignes; and not to imbarke your selues rashly in Princes quarrells! who retire themselves easily out of the mire where they leaue you ingaged.

Liege

A Liege is a president vnto you wherein you may obserue the iust iudgement of God, vpon a cruel rebellious people, enemy to all souereignty, both spirituall and temporall, of long time subiect to daily rebellions, vntill their generall ruine. As we haue brought our *Lewis* to Liege, so let vs returne him into France. *Charles* exceeding proud with the happy successe of his designs, suffers himselfe to be sought vnto by mediators from the King for his departure: and afterwards he himselfe moues him, as desiring to goe and cause their accord to be proclaimed and inregistred in his court of parliament at Paris (which else were of no moment) and the next yeere to meet in Bourgongne, and to feast one on the other mutually for a monethes space. *Charles* (hauing drawne a promise from the King, to confirme all hee had sworne at Peronne) yeelds, but not without grudging, and hauing accompaigned him halfe a league, he causeth him to be conducted to the frontiers, by the Lord of Cordes, and Murs great Bayliffe of Hainault. A pitious spectacle to see a souereigne reduced to that extremity, as to humble himselfe before his vassall: but we must haue patience for seuen yeeres, and then shall we see a strange alteration of fortune: and yet seuen yeeres after, an other Catastrophe no lesse tragicall in this house of Bourgongne: and the vniing of the said Duchy to the crowne of France.

Lewis present is a co-lour to get leaue to depart without trouble.

After the Kings departure, *Charles* enters the country of Franchemont: he kills, spoiles, burnes and makes all desolate: then (glutted with reuenge) he retires into Brabant. *Lewis* taking his leaue of the duke, demanded of him captiously, in case his brother (who was in Britan) would not accept the portion he had giuen him, how hee would aduise him to gouerne himselfe: and the duke answered, that if he were content, it should please him whatsoever they did. This speech was cunningly construed by the King: for hauing inrouled the sayd vniion in the court of parliament, and proclaimed it throughout all the streets of Paris: he offers *Charles*, Guienne, for Brie and Champagne, his brothers neighbor-hood with the Bourguignon being suspected vnto him. *Charles* refuseth it, fearing to displeafe the duke of Bourgongne, who by Ambassages and admonition exhorts him not to change: for if happily the King should annoy him, hee might daily haue succours out of Bourgongne.

*Charles* was in all things gouerned by an other, namely by *Odet de Rye* Lord of Lescun and afterwards Earle of Cominges. *Lewis* subornes him, and by his meanes winnes *Charles* to accept of Guienne, as more plentifull and rich, with mutuall assurances to liue like brethren and good friends. For confirmation whereof they meet at Charron and feast together, then they depart, *Lewis* into Touraine, and *Charles* into Guienne. The duke of Bourgongne greeued with this exchange, imploies the Cardinall *Balue*, a turbulent and pernicious member in a State, a dissembler, and taking pleasure (as they say commonly) to put his finger betwixt the barke and the tree. An vnkinde man. The trust which *Lewis* reposed in this man, was the means to procure him a Cardinals hat: and to that end the King had sent an Ambassage to *Paul* the 2. and sends *Fumee* also, one of his most trusty seruants, to perswade the Pope to desist from the refusall hee had made thereof, being aduertised of many things that did diswaide him: at whose vrgent perswasion a Cardinals hat was granted him: yet behold he writes to the duke of Guienne in fauor of the Bourguignon: That this change tended but to deceiue, diuiding him by this meanes from his friends and confederats, and by other messengers, he aduertiseth the Bourguignon: That the peace concluded betwixt the two brethren, was a baite to surprise him: the which the King deferred only vntil his brother had visited his new Duchy, and set an order in his house. Let him therefore arme and begin first. These letters are surprisid, with other instructions, so as the Cardinal is arrested, & carried prisoner to Montbafon, where he shal continue eleuen yeeres. *Lewis* hauing thus plaisted this peace with the Bourguignon, comprehended the Britan therein, and giuen the Duchy of Guienne to his brother *Charles* for his portion, he had now no more so mighty enemies, against who he should employ his forces: yet would hee not dismishe his troupes, for there camera new raske in hand. To keepe them in practise, hee sends part of them vnder the command of the Admiral bastard of Bourbon (for Montauban was dead) and the Earle of Dammartin, into Armagnac. He had bin one of the war of the commonwealth, & this enterprife did alwaies sticke in *Lewis* his stomach. At the first without any effusion of bloud, they make him peaceable possessor of the country, whereof they inuest his brother, and so the yeere ended.

A baill disposition of a Cardinal, whom *Nic. Gil.* calls a deuill incarnate.

Cardinal *Balue* committed to prison.

But

But let vs see the first fruites of the following yeere . To be reuenged of *Charles* of Bour-  
gongne, he must haue some apparent colour. *Lewis* doth vnder-hand practise the townes  
lying vpon the riuer of Somme: animates the Nobility of the countrie to complaine in  
the parliament at Paris of the difficultie they had to receiue iustice, and therevpon to re-  
quire the Kings assistance and fauour. Moreouer they charged the Bourguignon, that hee  
extended his limits farther then hee ought by the treatie, and vsurped the Kings rights and  
prerogatiues, forcing some Lords, whose lands did hold directlie of the King, to doe him  
homage and seruice against all men. Vpon colour of these complaints, *Lewis* assembles  
the Estates at Tours, in the moneth of March, and Aprill, (the which was all hee euer  
held:) but hee calles none but his most confident seruants, who would not contradict  
him in any thing. For a conclusion of the assemblie, the Duke is summoned to appeere at  
the parliament of Paris. Hee retains the officer many daies at Gant, and in the end sends  
him backe.

As all things were prepared to ruine the Duke of Bourgongne; behold there fallies out  
another matter of some moment in this action. The Earle of Warwicke (hauiing about all  
others supported the house of Yorke against that of Lancaster) had besides his patrimony  
enriched himselfe about foure score thousand crowns a yeere reuenew in rewards and offices  
by *Edward* King of England, Competitor to *Henry* the sixth, whom he kept prisoner at Lon-  
don: which *Henry* had so long ruled our France. This his great credit drawes ielousie af-  
ter it, too ordinary in soueraigne princes, especiallie to them whom they haue raised vp:  
whereby the Earle fallies into some disgrace with *Edward*. The duke of Bourgongne, to  
whom the Earles great authority, and the secret intelligences hee had with our *Lewis* was  
wonderfull odious and suspect (for the duke had married the sister of *Edward*, to fortifie him-  
selfe against *Lewis*, not for any affection hee bare to the house of Yorke, beeing by his mo-  
ther issued out of the house of Lancaster) feeds this hatred of *Edward* against Warwicke,  
who finding himselfe forced to yeeld to the stronger, resolues to retire into France: hee  
leads with him *Marguerite* the wife of *Henry*, daughter to *René* King of Sicilia, the prince of  
Wales sonne of the layd *Henry* and *Marguerite*: the duke of Clarence sonne in law to War-  
wicke, and brother to *Edward*, the Earle of Oxford, with their wiues and children, and many  
followers. In his passage he takes many ships from the Bourguignons subiects, and sells the  
booty in Normandy. And for a requiall *Charles* caueth all the French Marchants to be-  
taken that were come to the faire at Antwerp: he complaines to the Court of parliament at  
Paris, of the reception the King had made of the Earle of Warwicke, threatening to fetch him  
wherefoeuer. But the arrogancy of his words, was but the leuaine of his spleene.

*Lewis* giues such entertainment to the Earle of Warwicke, as he might hope for: hee armes  
all the ships he can finde in his fauour: by meanes whereof hee returnes happily into Eng-  
land, and gathers together an infinite number of men, which ioyned with him from all parts:  
he marcheth against *Edward*, and forceth him to flie to his brother in law into Holland, be-  
ing accompanied onely with seuen or eight hundred men for his gurd, without money, and  
without apparell other then for warre. Hee draws *Henry* out of prison, where hee himselfe  
had formerly lodged him, and installes him againe in his royall state.

*Edward* (notwithstanding the presence of the dukes of Gloucester and Somerset, sent by  
*Henry*) obtaines of the duke of Bourgongne (but vnderhand and secretly, for that he would  
by no meanes incense *Henry*, whom all England now obeyed) succours of men, ships and  
money: hee returnes into the realme, is receiued into London: hee meets with the Earle of  
Warwicke, fights with him and kills him, with his brother the Marquis *Montagu*, and cuts al  
his army in peeces. The duke of Clarence (before the battaile) goes to his brother *Edward*,  
and with his owne hand slue (as some write) *Henry*, whom *Edward* had taken in London and  
led to this battaile: this was in the yeere 1471. on the after day. This happy victory is secon-  
ded by another no lesse famous. The prince of Wales sonne to *Henry*, followes after, with  
whom the dukes of Gloucester and Somerset had already ioyned, leading forty thousand  
men of his faction. *Edward* putt vp with the prosperous successe of his first victory, march-  
eth towards him, fights with him, kills him, takes the Earle of Somerset prisoner, and the  
next day cuts off his head.

To conclude, Warwicke had conquered the realme of England in eleuen daies: and  
*Edward*

*Edward* King  
of England &  
the Earle of  
Warwicke  
diuided.

Warwicke flies  
into France.

The Earle of  
Warwicke  
slaine and his  
whole army  
defeated by  
*Edward*.

The Prince of  
Wales sonne  
to *Henry* de-  
feated by  
*Edward*.

*Edward* recouered it in twenty, and remained in peaceable possession vnto his death. It the  
Earle had patiently attended the great forces which the prince *Edward* brought vnto him,  
who will not thinke but he had remained a conquerour? But hee feared Somerset, whose fa-  
ther and brother he had put to death, and he must feele the effects of the diuine Oracle: *Hee*  
*that hath shed mans blood, his blood shall be shed, for God hath made man after his owne image,*  
and: *All those that haue taken the sword shall perishe by the sword.* In the meane time whilest  
these sturres are in England, *Charles* the eight of that name, afterwards King of France, was  
borne vnto *Lewis* at the castle of Amboise, a happie proppe of an old decayed father. This  
birth caueth the princes hereafter to bee lesse respected, and the King more feared and ho-  
nored, who hauing now an heire to whom he might leaue the crowne, bandies all his wits,  
to weaken his enemies, as well for his owne priuate regard, as to leaue the realme whole  
and peaceable to his successor. *Charles* of Guienne liued, for shew, in good amity with the  
King. *Francis* of Britan (although hee had preferred the order of the Golden fleece before  
that of Saint *Mitchell*, the which *Lewis* had offred vnto him) beeing loth to loofe assured  
friends, to accept the friendship of a prince in whom he could repose no confidence, yet he  
contained himselfe. *Charles* of Bourgongne wore the garter openly, and molested the  
Kings subiects and friends. Moreouer *Lewis* had iust cause to be greeued for the brauadoe  
done him at Peronne. The nobility thrust him on, namely the constable of Saint Paul,  
fore-seeing that the continuance of peace would be a hinderance to his great offices and  
penions. He had a pay without checke for foure hundred lances, of forty thousand franks  
yeerely, besides the fee for his office, and allowance for many places where he commanded.  
Men fish most easily in a troubled water. He offers the King to take Saint Quentin by  
means of the credit he had in the country: most of his luying lying thereabouts, and  
vaunts to haue great intelligence in the low countries.

The duke of Guienne offers both his person and his meanes, with fise hundred men at  
armes for this warre, but it was the least of his desires, for he was corrupted with the infecti-  
ons of that age, in the which all great men sought to maintaine themselues with the ruine  
of one of another. The duke of Bourgongne takes the alarme, puts the greatest forces hee  
can to field, entertained with halfe their pay. *Lewis* suffers him to runne on foure or fise  
monethes, entertayning him with sundry Ambassages, to free him from all feare, so as  
troubled with that great charge, in a season when as money was scant, he dissolues this ar-  
my, and leauing his frontier townes vnfurnished, retires into Holland. In the meane time  
*Arthur* of Longueuall takes Saint Quentin, the Constable enters it with two hundred Lan-  
ces, and takes an oth for the King. They practise Amiens, the Kings army comes before it,  
one part holds for the King, an other for the duke, who might haue assured it, if hee had  
sufficient forces ready to enter, but foure or fise hundred horse (with the which hee came  
posting) would not suffer him to hazard his person.

The Kings friends discovering this bragge, double their courages and let in the Kings ar-  
my. *Abbeville* meanes to follow, when as the Lord of Cordes enters for the duke and as-  
sures the place. The duke vnprovided of men, and doubting the intelligences which the  
Constable bragged of, retires with feare and speed to Arras, to halten a leuy both of men  
and money. Thether (notwithstanding the promise which *Charles* of Guienne had made  
to the King) comes a secret messenger vnto him, with this aduise written and signed by the  
layd *Charles*: *Labour to content your subiects, and then take no care, for you shall finde friends,*  
but these were but iests. This letter makes the duke breathe: he sends to the Constable, to  
let him vnderstand, that this warre was without defie or summons, intreating him, not to  
deale against him according to the rigor of his present forces. The proiect of the dukes of  
Guienne and Britan with the Constable, was to imbarke these two great princes in mutuall  
warre, in a season of aduantage for *Lewis*: that the Bourguignons necessity (being abando-  
ned of his allies) might force him to giue his only daughter to the said duke of Guienne: the  
which he had often promised, but without performance: whom (as *Oenomaus* did his *Hip-  
podamia*) he promised to many, and gaue her not to any.

So this Constable who tooke delight to nourish these princes in feare and mutual diffi-  
rust, answeres the Bourguignon: That the King had a strong and flourishing army, and great  
intelligences in his countries, that he knew no better expedient to auoide this storme, then  
to

1471. to accomplish that to the duke of Guienne, which he had so often reiterated: which done A the dukes of Guienne and Britan would declare themselves for him, and would succor him with their forces. But what shall the Constable get to entertaine these princes in distrust and icalousie one of an other, either of them being too cunning to discover his policies? Within short time both of them (hauing ioynly conspired against him) shall set his head to sale, and in the end plant it vpon a scaffold for a spectacle. The Briton writes to him in the like and more rigorous tearmes: suffering the Lord of Lescut to lead a hundred men at armes, Britans to the King. This proceeding caused Charles of Bourgongne to conceiue a great hatred in his heart against them all: but misfortune is good for something. It made them the more affected to the Kings seruice during this warre, so as at this time the Bourguignons estate was in great danger, whereas by the said marriage hee had wonderfully B weakened the King: but man purposeth and God disposeth.

Lewis his ar.  
my in Picardy

It is commonly said, that halfe the world knowes not how the other liues: and the ordinary custome of man is to bee cleere-sighted in other mens affaires, but blind in his owne. Behold two princes incensed one against an other, and yet who should examine their consciences could allege but frivulous pretexts. Lewis hauing put fourteene hundred men at armes and foure thousand frank-archers into Amiens, commanded by the Constable, and other chiefe Officers of the crowne, assembles the body of his army at Beauvais, hauing with him the Duke of Guienne his brother, Nicholas Duke of Calabria, the eldest sonne of John Duke of Calabria and Lorraine, the onely heire of the house of Anjou, C and a great number of Nobility, whereby he recouers Roye, Montdidier, Abbeville and all the country of Ponthieu. Charles passeth the riuier of Somme, takes Piquigny, plants himselfe betwixt Bapaumes and Amiens, and keeps the field about six weekes, with a firmer resolution in shew, to fight with the King if he presented himselfe.

Charles sub-  
mits himselfe.

But blockt vp within his campe, and seeing himselfe (ready through want) to be forced to yeeld at the Kings will and discretion; his Maiesties army in Burgongne (commanded by the Daulphin of Auvergne, sonne to the Earle of Montpensier, in the which were the Earle of Cominges, the Lords of Combronde and Charente, Maister William Cousinot and others) hauing likewise vanquished all the enemies forces, Charles by a letter of his owne hand, D humbles himselfe to the King: he is greeued that he had so wronged him for an others pleasure, not being duly informed of all things.

And obtains  
a truce.

Virtue findes some respect euen in an enemy. Lewis, who vnder a simple bait to recouer the townes vpon Somme, had not so hotly kindled this quarrell, without the great intelligences wherewith the Constable had abused him, especially in the townes of Antwerp, Bruges and Brussels: he graunts a truce for one yeere. This was the fourth day of May. An vnseasonable truce for the constable (who then serued his maister, without dissembling) and other horse-leeches, whom neither troubles, oppression of the people, nor the tediousnesse of affaires did any thing touch, but as pleasing to the duke as the peace of Constans. So the King returns into Touraine, Charles out of France into Guienne, the duke of Bourgongne into Hainault, where he assembles his Estates, and shewes the losse hee had receiued, for that his men at armes were not so soone ready as the Kings, and giues order to bee E no more surprised vnawares. Thus the Estate is pacified, but the duke of Guienne was no sooner returned home, but there springs vp new seeds of diuision. He receiues the Earle of Armagnac into fauor, and restores him to full possession of the Lands which the King had confiscated. Lewis moued with this reconciliation, sends forces and takes the lands into his owne hand, disappoints the Earle, whom he knew to be a stirring and a factious man: and euen then he resolved to dispossesse his brother of the Duchie of Guienne, as hee had done of that of Normandy.

New troubles  
by the duke  
of Guienne.

The duke fore-seeing this storme, sends often to the Bourguignon, and vnder colour to seeke his daughter, labours to bind him more firmly vnto him by that alliance. The Bourguignon hauing his heart putt vp with as great conceits, as his person was susceptible of trauel, but exceeding the capacity of his sence, he fed him with hope: yet had hee no such meaning, but preferred her, as a most pretious iewell to bee courted by many, and to serue him at need, according to diuers occurrences, both of their persons and meanes. Neither would he haue so great a sonne in law, as the only brother of a King of France, whom hee might

A might not rule at his pleasure, neither could hee digest the words and proceedings of the Duke of Brittain and the Constable. The Constable would haue the Duke of Guienne beholding vnto him for this marriage, the Britton repined he should haue the honor. The king comes to crosse it, and with reason, for this alliance had wonderfully fortified his brother, who (being ioyned with the Duke of Brittain) had greatly crossed the Kings estate and his childrens. Moreouer the King of England did much disswade the effecting thereof: (said he to the Duke of Bourgongne) if the King of France comes to dye with-out children, his brother succeeds to the crowne, and this marriage vnting to it so many Provinces and Seigneuries, the estate of England were neere her ruine.

1471.

But to what end serue these affectionate and contrary poursuites? Alasse! some one B thinks him selfe sound, that carries death in his bosome. But hee that rageth in heauen, Psalm. 2. laughs them to scorne: within few moneths our Charles of Guienne, leauing the world, shall leaue his loues. So it is, that their vehement solliciting, extorted some verball promise, confirmed by a letter, but he had great Corriuals, who all pretended to haue the best part in the pie: Nicholas Marquis of Pont, sonne to John Duke of Calabria and Lorraine. Philip Duke of Sauoy, Maximilian Duke of Austria, sonne to the Emperour Fredericke. All these marched in equall rancke: but in the end Maximilian shall be conquerour, yet not during the life of Charles of Bourgongne. This marriage gaue a goodly colour to these mediators, but vnder the shadow thereof they treated of other matters. They must auoyde this C storme, ready to oppresse the Duke of Guienne. Behold therefore the publike Ambassadors, and priuate messengers of these three Dukes, are sent respectiuely one to another. The Lord of Vrfe and Poncet de la Riviere, Agents for Charles of Guienne. The Abbot of Begard, since Archbishop of Lion, is an instrument for the Britton to the Bourguignon, they taxe the King to haue practised and suborned, what by friendship, and what by force, the Duke of Guennes seruants: to haue already defaced a place belonging to the Lord of Estillac, with many other things: shewing that the King would soone dispossesse his brother of Guienne, if he were not speedily preuented: that to this effect he was armed, and ready to enter into Xaintonge. The Duke of Bourgongne sends often to the King touching these D affaires. The King excuseth himselfe, and accuseth his brother, as hauing treated with the Earles of Armagnac and Foix, to his preiudice, seeking to enlarge his limits with-out his priuity, and to enter into factions with his enemies: yet hee promisseth to suffer him to enjoy his portion peaceably.

Corriuals for  
the heire of  
Bourgongne.

A new league  
betwixt the  
Dukes of  
Bourgongne,  
Guienne and  
Brittain  
against Lewis.

This promise carries no credit, and workes lesse effect: the Dukes of Guienne and Brittain insist: they presse the Bourguignon: yet that it may bee done without the assistance of the English, the ancient and generall enemy of this Realme, seeing that all their common designs, tended but to the good and ease of the publike: that his assistance, with the great intelligence he had with many gouernours and Captaines of places, did fortifie them sufficiently: pleasant people, to seeke with a bloudy wound once againe to abuse the common people with this baite of publike good, and to couer their priuate passions with so E pleasing a shew. Charles of Bourgongne casts the stone and hides his arme, and the better to disguise his proceeding, hee solicites the English secretly, to inuade France on the one side, whilst that he seemed blind, and not to see it. But it was in vaine, the English had more willingly assisted the King, if this marriage had not allyed the two houses of France & Bourgongne. In the end, behold a number of Princes in great perplexity, the which is more lamentable, for that they shall trouble their heads with so many preiudiciall and extrauagant conceptions: this confusion shall in few yeares oppresse them in a manner all, and Lewis preuaile thus much, the Duke of Bourgongne (possessed with an earnest desire to recouer Amiens, S. Quintin, and other townes vpon Somme) armes twelue hundred lances, three F archers to a Lance, well armed, well mounted, and good leaders. What doth our Lewis? In truth he had too good a iudgement to want foresight, and he that thought to surpriseth shall be surpriseth. To diuert the Bourguignons leauy, he had often sent the Lord of Craon, and the Chancellour of Oriole, who (being very trusty seruants) in the end conclude an absolute peace. The king yeelds to the Duke the foresaid townes, he abandons vnto him the Earles of Neuers & S. Paul Constable: the one (hauing serued the king loially at Peron) had purchased

Lewis makes  
a peace with  
the Bourguignon.

1472. the dukes indignation, the other (hauing nourished hatred and distrust betwixt these two A princes for his owne profit) had so vnreconciledly estranged them from him, as they bandy ioyntly to his destruction, and giues him all their lands, to incorporate them to his owne, if he could. The duke in exchange, forsakes the dukes of Guienne and Britan, and their seigneuries to dispose at his pleasure, promising not to deale at all in the warres which *Lewis* pretended against them. A foule and dishonest trafficke, made to the preiudice of so great personages.

Notable deceit and treachery.

The duke signes and sweares this fraudulent and counterfeit peace. A blow able to amaze the dukes of Guienne and Britan at the first hearing, to see themselves thus abandoned of their chiefe support. But he repaires it with an after-blow, and by letters of credit written with his owne hand, giues them aduice to continue their course: that his intent was onely to recouer his townes vpon Somme: which done, he will beseech the King by especial Ambassadors to desist from making warre against them, and vpon his refusal he will succour them with body and goods: that as the King at his pleasure had broken the treaties of Conflans and Peronne, so might he infringe his promise, and oth. As for the Earles of Neuers, and Saint Paul, the constable, although he had a iust occasion to hate them, yet would he remit their iniuries, and suffer them to inioy their owne, and beseech the King to doe the like by the dukes of Guienne and Britan, suffering euery one to liue in peace and safety, vnder the Articles respectiuelly accorded: if not, he would succour his allies.

*Craon* and *Orieole* had likewise sworne for the King, leading *Simon* of Quindii/a gentleman bred vp in the dukes house) to receiue the oth of his Maistie. But from a new subiect springs a new proiect. Behold newes are brought, that the duke of Guienne is sicke, and without hope of recouery. Vpon this aduice, the King delaies the oth, findes euasions, attending the course of his disease, and in the meane time doth speedily seize vpon many places of Xaintonge: he doth presse Rochell, the which (vpon these accidents of reconciliation and sicknesse) inclines to a composition: he with-drawes many of his brothers chiefe seruants, and resolues to signe this peace, as the sundry euents of his affaires should lead him: and in the meane space he prouacts time with the Bourguignon, during the which, *Charles* duke of Guienne dies at Bourdeaux, the twelfth day of May, by the which *Lewis* recouers the Duchie without blowes, and moreouer retaines Amiens, and Saint Quintins.

The Duke of Guienne dies.

O subtil wits! both deceiuers, but not of like industry: so our *Lewis* shall more easily auoide the snare. But oh death in generall! which by the dissolution of the body and soule, doth dissolve great designs? The Britans were ready to enter, building vpon great intelligences and practises within the Realme; the which without doubt had much troubled the State. But oh vnseasonable death in particular, how fildy shalt thou serue to shadow the filth and hatefull, (yet well coloured) reproches of enemies, and the murmurings of the most respectiue! A death too much neglected, but by some affectionate seruants to the deceased Duke, who discover, that *Jourdain Faure*, borne at Die in Daulphine, great *Almoner* to the duke, and Abbot of Saint *John d' Angely*, assisted by *Henry de la Roche*, one of the said dukes Kitchin, had hastened his death by so violent a poison, as with a strange and lamentable contraction of his sinewes, his haire fell off, and teeth fell out before his death. The Lord of *Lescut* retired himselfe into Britany, leading prisoners with him these cursed murderers, where the Abbot was found one morning starke dead in his chamber with a Thunder-clap, *Hauiing his face swollen, his body and visage blacke as a coale, & his tongue hanging halfe a foote out of his mouth*. God doing that iustice in the twinkling of an eye, which men delaied. Let vs confesse the truth, and without passion: the verity of the Historie doth presse vs vnto it: that *Charles* had bene an ill brother, and ought more honour and obedience to him, to whom that great Author of Nature had giuen the right of eldership about him, yet should he haue been regarded as a sonne of France, and from his infancy receiue a portion fit for the entertainment of his estate and house. Kings haue alwaies power to controule the insolencies of their neere allied, when they forget their duties.

Note the murderers of Princes.

But howsoeuer, let vs obserue the order of diuine iustice, who easily raiseth vp homebred scourges: but in the end he doth cast the rod into the fire. *Lewis* must bee measured with the same proportion he had measured his father, and *Charles* must suffer for the rashnesse of his rebellions.

This

A This death being little lamented, makes such to speake, as had but too diligently obserued *Lewis* his speech, hearing one day of the death of the King of Castils brother: *Hee is but too happy* (saith he) *to haue lost his brother*: but hatred and ill will, grounds their passions euen vpon needles points.

1472.

At the same instant, *Nicholas* Marquis of Pont, heire of the house of Aniou (one of the above named riuall) made sure to *Anne*, the eldest daughter of *Lewis*, abused with the great (yet vaine) promises of the duke of Bourgongne, renounced this so worthy an alliance of his soueraigne Lord, for a frustratorie hope, which the vassall gaue him to marry his daughter: but he was ignorant that death the yeere following would punish this rashnesse, and

B prevent him from the inioying, either of *Anne* or *Mary*. A season likewise famous by the death of *Charles* Earle of Eu, a wife and vertuous prince, whose faithfull seruit to France deserues this testimony, that being sonne to *Philip* of Bourgongne, Earle of Neuers and Rethel, and grand-child to *Philip* the Hardy, a sonne of France, and duke of Bourgongne, and by consequence nere kinsman to *Charles*, yet in all these combustions, he had faithfully serued the King, and preferred the Flower-de-Luce before the Red crosse. Let vs likewise obserue the death of *William Chartier* bishop of Paris, who (after his conference with the league before Paris, in the Kings absence) was alwaies in such disgrace with him, as after his death, *Lewis* caused his Epitaph to be changed, making mention of the bad seruices he had done him, during the warre of the common-weale, suborning the inhabitants in fauour of the

The Marquis of Pont dies, and the Earle of Eu.

The Bishop of Paris dies.

C Bourguignon. The death of the duke of Guienne had wonderfully afflicted *Charles* of Bourgongne, and to increase it, he had intelligence, that the Britans would not arme, considering that he was dead for whom they should rise. In the meane time the chance was cast: he had bene at great charge, and to turne head without restitution, were a shame: but that which made him mad, Amiens and Saint Quentin were lost: he must hazard all. And first he writes to many townes: he chargeth the King to haue consented to his brothers death, and labours to draw them into armes, declaring himselfe their protector, but no man stirres: so the final effect of his letters, sets him on fire, and in this choller he marcheth to Nesle in Vermandois: hee spoiles, burnes and makes all desolate, besiegeth the towne, batters it, and takes it: hee kills the greatest part of five hundred Archers, commanded by one called *Little Pierard*, takes some, and amongst others the capitaine, and cuts off some of their hands. Many soldiers and Townsmen flying into the church, are barbarously slaine at the altars, embracing the Images: the duke enters himselfe into the church on horse-backe, and seeing these carcases. Behold (saies he) *this is goodly, I haue good butchers*: then hee burnes and raseth the place.

The Bourguignons practise against Lewis.

Fifteene hundred franke-archers being in Roie, vnder the command of *Peter Aubert*, Bailiffe of Melun and Nugnion, are amazed, and at the dukes first approach, abandon the town, and yeeld it vnto him; *Loisset* of Balagni, Mouy, Rubempre, and others of the arrierban, with about two hundred lances compound, leauing horse and armes, euery man at armes only hath a horse. The duke puts a garrison therein, and likewise into Montdidier. Thus hee E holly pursues his conquests: but Beauvais cooled this heat. He did beleagar it (being vnprovided of men of warre:) the inhabitants were commanded then by the foresaid *Balagny*, and some few men at armes, so as they were not able to saue the towne, without the present assistance of him, who doth loose and restraine the raines of his iustice at his pleasure. At their first approach, the Lord of Cordes leading the vangard, plants two Canons against the gate, makes a great hole, but for want of munition the battery ceaseth, they come to blowes, the one to enter, the other to defend the entry, and they presse the duke to set forward: the defendants ready to be forced, set fire on the portall, which makes the assailants to retire. The duke arriues, and suffers the fire to take his course, hoping in the end the towne would be his. And indeed if he had lodged a part of his army towards Paris, there had bene F small hope of safety. But God had otherwise decreed, for in sight of the enemies troupes, he giues courage to the Earle of Dammartin, to the Marshalls of Ioachim and Locheac, to *William* of Valleu, the Seneshals Lieutenant of Normandy, to the Lords of Crussoll and Rubempre, to Beine and Torcy brethren, to *Basil*, *Salezard*, *Themenot* of Vignoles, and *Merv* of Croy (all braue and worthy of memory in this siege) to thrust themselves into the town, with a good number of foote, and about two hundred lances: who at their first entry, giue

Beauvais besieged and releued.



1472. their horses to the women ( who take them, set them vp, and looke vnto them) and present themselves vpon the walles, incouraging the Beauvoisins, and discouraging the Bourguignons. The duke being enraged, makes all his canons to approach, and thunder 15 daies together: he makes a breach, and giues a sharpe assault, but well defended. Six score men are slaine, and 1000. being wounded leaue the place, so as the duke retires his companies appointed for the assault, and becing frustrate of his conceiued hope, pressed by extreame famine, he raiseth the siege, and retires in good order, fearing a charge. But these valiant capitaines knew that the best course was to make a bridge of gold to a flying enemy. This was on Saint *Magdelins* day, the 26. of the siege. A small aide doth sometime great good. Beauvais wauered, and was ready to compound. But what curtesie might they expect of a passionate enemy, who breathed nothing but bloud and fire? For the auoiding whereof, louing and kinde dealings were of great moment, which this towne receiued of those two mighty neighbor cities, Paris & Orleans, assisting them with pioners, victuals, canon, powder, bows, arrowes, pikes, tooles, apparel, and other necessary refreshings, but especially from Orleans, with a hundred pipes of wine, a meanes whereby the eternall providence preserued them from sack, spoile and a generall defolation by fire, whetewith the Bourguignon threatned them, if force had preuailed. Beauvais freed, the duke marcheth into Normandy, and presently takes Eu, Saint Valery by *Crotot*, *Rembures*, and ( being the scourge of this desolate Realme ) leaues in all places behinde him the pittifull and cruell marks of his passage: he spoiles and burnes all the country of Caux, Neufchastel, of Nicourt (a good and a great C town of warre, but vnfurnished of men) Longueuille, le Fahy euen vnto the gates of Rouen, being little annoied or hindred by the Constable, who lead foure hundred Lances: whose winking serued as a Whetston to sharpen the Kings displeasure and harred against him, and the ialousie of both these commanders, hauing of purpose entertained this warre betwixt them, who cunningly smother a secret dislike, which cost the said Constable his life. Then winter approching, he retires into Picardy, hee had no sooner turned his back, but these braue capitaines in Beauvais, recouer Eu, Saint Valery, Rembures, and so casting themselves into Noyon, they frustrate the dukes purpose, who meant to besiege it. The Bourguignons fire flames yet farther: A swarme of his partizans, led by the Earle of Roussy, the Constables sonne, falls vpon the country of Tonnerre, spoiles the country, runnes D as farre as Joigny, and vnto Troies, burnes both farmes and villages without resistance. For reuenge whereof, the Dauphin of Auvergne flies to Bourgongne, drawing after him, where he passeth, a burning befome. Pittifull exploits of warre, the witness of reuenging spirits, and alwaies the people smartes for the error of great men. But behold other troubles, *Peter* of Bourbon, Lord of Beauieu, being at Lestore, as Lieutenant generall for the King in Guienne, was surprisid by the Earle of Armagnac, who was lately dispossessed of his lands: who by this meanes recouers the said towne. *Lewis* mouued with this affront, causeth his army to march, and followeth himselfe in person: but the Cardinall of Arras commanding the troups, receiues the towne by composition, makes the Earles appointment: and the better to confirme it, he breakes the sacrament in two, takes the one halfe, and giues the Earle the other, either of them swearing this accord. Trusting therein, he abandons the towne to the Cardinall, who brings in the army, and by some soldiers suborned, hee caused the Earle to be murdered laying of his praies, not in the castle, but in a priuate house neere to Saint Geruais church, and then sacked the towne.

The Constables dissembl-  
ing.

Lestore sur-  
prized.

The Earle of  
Armagnac  
murdered by  
the Cardinals  
treachery.

Gods iustice is slow, but in the end it paies home. This Earle had ( vnder a false Bull of dispensation, purchased for money of *Ambrose* of Cambray, Referendary to Pope *Calixtus* ) married his owne sister: and after by sundry rebellions, purchased the Kings displeasure, and made himselfe guilty of diuine and humane treason. But abhorring the Earles life, let vs likewise abhor the Cardinalls proceeding, selling ( vnder the holy communion ) his bloud to them that trusted in his oth. The King put many Gentlemen in prison at *Loches*, who had followed the said Lord of Beauieu, whom the Earle had sent home: but the chance fell vpon *John Deymer*, being quartered at Tours: who dying, charged the Lord of Saint Basill, a younger brother of *Albret*, with this treason, being nourished and bred vp in the house of Bourbon, for which crime he lost his head at Poitiers, the seuenth of April 1473. And to increase *Lewis* his crosses, *Parpignan* (a town in the county of *Rosillon*) is by

treason

A treason deliuered vp to the King of Arragon, the ancient Lord, where hee enters with his sonne, about the end of Aprill. But the King had an army ready, the which hee sends thither, and besiegeth it hotly: the French were yet maisters of the Castell, by the faithfull valour of maister *James* of Fou ( issued out of the house of Brittany ) he recouers it, and giues the gouernment to *Tanneguy* of Chastel. Thus the troubles railed by the Earle of Armagnac, and the King of Arragon, were like to a fire of Straw.

1473.

Let vs obserue in the same course, the apprehending of the Duke of Alanfon, so shall we see the carriage of our *Lewis*. He is accused to haue offered the sale of his Duchy, and other lands in Perche and Normandy to the Bourguignon: and then to follow his fortune, ( a crime which shall put him in minde of his condemnation pronounced at Vendosme ) hee was seized on by *Tristan* the Hermite, Prouost of the Kings house, ( a speedy executioner of his Maisters will ) and brought before the King, who sends him to the Loure at Paris, where by a sentence giuen by the Chancellor of Oriole, the 17. of Iuly 1474. hee was condemned to loose his head, referuing notwithstanding the Kings good pleasure, who in the end of the yeare 75. shall binde him vnto him the second time for his life.

The Duke of  
Alanfon ap-  
prehended &  
condemned,  
but pardoned.

*Lewis* hauing recouered Guienne, reduced Lestore, punished some, and pacified *Parpignan*, hee assembles all his forces vpon the Marches of Brittany, to the number of 50000. men, ready to employ them in that country. But the Duke, by reason of the death of the Duke of Guienne, being frustrate of the intelligences hee had in France, and too weake to C auoide this storme that threatned him, sent vnto the King, lodging at Pont de See, *Philip* of Elgars, a Gentleman of his house, and *William* of Soupleinuille, a follower of the Lord of Lescut. His maiesty giues eare to an accord. The duke of Brittany being possessed of so wise and valiant a man as Lescut, might much annoy him: For in Brittany there was neither wisdom nor vertue, but what proceeded from him ( so saies the History ) Moreouer he had alwaies during these partialities shewed himselfe a Frenchman, and would neuer yeeld that any places of Normandy should be giuen to the English: hee must therefore be dealt with. To this end the King commands *Soupleinuille* to giue him the demands in writing, which his maister made, as well for the Duke as for him selfe. Hee doth it, and obtaines them all: forty thousand Frankes pension for the Duke, the which was paid in two yeares. For his maister, D dix thousand Frankes pension, the moiety of Guienne, the two Seneshallships of Vannes and Bourdeloys, the Captainship of one of the Castles of Bourdeaux, that of Blay, the two Castles of Bayonne, of Dax and of Saint Seuer: foure and twenty thousand crownes in gold, payable in foure yeares: the Kings order, and the Countie of Comminges: for *Soupleinuille* six thousand Crownes, payable at like termes: twelue thousand Frankes pension, the Mairalty of Bayonne, the Bailiwick of Montargis, and other small preferments in Guienne: for *Philip* of Elgars, foure thousand Crownes in reward, and twelue hundred Frankes pension, the Bailiwick of Meaux, and to bee maister of the waters and Forrests of France: which things they should enioy during the life of *Lewis*, who was alwayes well and faithfully serued by Lescut.

The conditions  
of the  
peace.

E Now the Britton is satisfied, and sequestred from the alliance of Bourgongne, against whom *Charles* now turnes head, but the season in the which the Duke of Bourgongne, retired into Picardy, caused a truce for one yeare: ending the first of Aprill 1475. A truce which ( while the Burguignon shall giue our French leaue to breath ) shall imbarke him in so many quarrels, as in the end, the most important shall swallow him vp. A truce likewise concluded to the Constables great prejudice: for both the King and the Duke hated him deadly, as the motiue of these diuisions. Hee had lately seized on Saint Quintin, expelling the Lord of Curton, and a hundred men at armes, which he had in entertainment from the King. *Charles* had likewise many causes of his dislike: he was the instrument to take Amiens & S. Quintin for the King; he sought to reduce him to that estate, as to force him to marry his daughter F with the Duke of Guienne: but the chiefe ground was, that during the siege of Amiens by the Duke of Bourgongne, the Constable had made a road into Hainault, spoiled the countie, and burnt ( among other exploits ) the castell of Seure belonging to *Baldwin* of Launai, of whom the Duke made good accompt: for reuenge whereof hee passed into Picardy and Normandy, as we haue seene. Moreouer hee had mighty enemies both with the King and Duke, who all ioyntly conspired his destruction, and animated their maisters with all their

The causes of  
the King, and  
Bourguignons  
hated against  
the Constable.



1474- their credits. So all this yeare of truce is spent chiefly in making marchandise of the Constables life. *Himbertcourt* and *Hugonnet* Chancellor of Bourgongne, had some priuate splene, for in a conference held of late at Roie, where the Constable was employed for the King, they grew so bitter in words, as the Constable had giuen them the lye: to whom the Bourguignons modestly answered; That they did not impute this iniury done vnto them, but to the King, vpon whose word they were assembled, and to their maister, whose person they did represent, to whom they would make report.

In the end, at the instance of either part, a day is held at Bouuines: for the King there came the Lord of Curton Gouernour of Limosin, and Maister *John* Heberge afterwards Bishop of Eureux, and for the Duke, the two aboue-named. They pronounce the Constable an enemy, and guilty to both Princes, they promise and sweare one to another, that the first that may apprehend him, shall put him to death within eight dayes, or deliuer him to his companion to doe his pleasure. That hee should bee proclaimed by Trumpet, an enemy to both parties, with all those that should serue and assist him, and confiscate all his goods, moouables and immoouables. The King promiseth to giue *S. Quintin*, *Han* and *Bobain* to the Duke, with all the money that might bee found within the Realme, appertaining to the Constable, and all his lands holding of the Duke, and at a certaine day the King and the Duke should meete before *Han*, and there with their vnited forces besiege the Constable. But some will say; to what end serue all these voyages, and so many meetings? whereto so many complots to intrappe the Constable? must the King (to be reuenged of his seruant) make an agreement with his capitall enemy? who euen of late had fought to take away his life by poyson, promising a marchant named *Ihsier* fifty thousand crownes to effect it: who hauing imparted it to *John Hardy* his seruant, some-times in household with the Duke of Guienne, he suffered the said *Hardy* to loose his life, and to be quartered publikely at the Greue in Paris.

*Lewis* iudged of the future by the present, and with one stone gaue many blowes. Hee disarmed his enemy, or at the least gaue him meanes to transport his armes farther off, whether the great desseignes of his ambition did draw him, as we shall see here-after: and moreover the king could hardly seaze vpon the Constables person, without the Dukes intelligence, for he was seated directly betweene both. He held *S. Quintin*, and had *Han* and *Bobain*, his owne places, very strong and neere, hee might put in men from whence and when he pleased. He had intertainment for foure hundred men at armes well paide, whereby hee got much, in not keeping his companies full. He exacted a crowne for euery pipe of Wine, passing through his country, into the lowe countries. He had fise & forty thousand frankes of ordinary entertainment from the king, very rich Seigneuries, and great intelligences both within the Realme and in the Dukes countries. Hee was a man of action, and could both helpe and hurt much. To conclude, he knew well that flying from the one, he should be well accepted of the other. Moreover, the personage and the places hee held, deserued a good peace, and either of the two Princes would gladly haue enjoyed him absolutely, if hee had bene constant, and not dissembling to either.

Yet for all this hee auoydes all danger. He is aduertised that his head is set to sale, where-vpon he sends to both Princes, speaks big, and saith; that hee vnderstands all their practises, but especially to the King, That the Duke by this conuention sought onely to draw him to his party, and to put him in disgrace with his Maiesty, and this did *Lewis* apprehend most. In truth these two Princes laboured exceedingly, who should deceiue his companion most. According vnto man, it is better to deceiue, then bee deceiued. *Lewis* presently countermands his Ambassadors, giues them charge not to conclude any thing against the Constable, but to prolong the truce, so as the foure Ambassadors (who had already mutually giuen their seales, containing their resolution taken against the Constable) deliuer them vp, and returne without any conclusion. The King fearing least this affront might force the Constable to make his peace with the Duke, and so deliuer vp to him *S. Quintin* and other Forts, that were in his power, preuents him, giuing him to vnderstand, that an enter-view shall make his peace. They appoint a day and place, three leagues from Noyon towards la Ferte, vpon a little riuer. The Constable came first, but, as a conscience prick with the feeling of his misdeeds, wants no distrust and feare, hee demands hostages. The

Charles of  
Bourgongne  
seekes to poi-  
son the King.

Lewis and  
Charles of  
Bourgongne  
seekes to cir-  
cumuent one  
another.

Lewis recon-  
ciled to the  
Constable.

A The King seemes to like well therof. On the riuers side, they make a strong barre with grates very high towards the Constable: there he presents himselfe, accompanied with three hundred Masters, hauing armes vnder a loose cassocke. The King approacheth, accompanied with aboute fixe hundred men at armes, and amongst others *Chabannes* Earle of Dammartin, Lord Steward, and a mortall enemy to the Constable. But oh Lord *Stuard*! but for thy presence, with what colour could the Constable haue shadowed his excuses? At the first entrance he kneeles downe, and beseecheth his Maiesty, not to hold it strange, if he appeare in armes, and thus followed, considering the quarrell he had with *Dammartin*. Then they treat together, the King grants him a generall abolition of all that was past, hee leaues him the guard of *S. Quintin*, and continues him the pay of his men at armes, being before restrained of some quarters pay: The Constable promiseth to serue his Maiesty against all men, without exception, and so he opens the barre and passeth to the Kings side, who reconciles him with the Lord *Stuard*, and the next day suffers him to returne to Saint *Quinten*. A presumption of too hard digestion for so iudicious a Prince as *Lewis* was, to see his Officer present himselfe like a Prince that were his enemy, yea his equall in power. But all comes to one end, it we will haue patience. The Court could not endure this manner of proceeding, and the murmuring which *Lewis* heares, makes him remember, that it is too great a presumption in a seruant to plant a barre before his master, and to present himselfe vnto him accompanied with men at armes, all beeing his subiects and vnder his pay, and too base in him, to go and receiue the submission of his Constable: A folly approaching neare to that of *Peronne*.

An act which shall much incense the Kings hatred against him; and breed a worme in the Constables conscience, the which shall gnaw him with continuall disquiet, doubtfull how to maintaine himself betwixt two such mightie enemies, but in the end he must fall: to teach vs, That neither our merits, nor any seruices we can do to our Princes, should cause so great presumption, as to thinke they could not liue without vs, or that we haue meanes to prescribe them a lawe. For naturally they hate such as thinke they are beholding vnto them, and dispatch them at length that haue braued them. Good deeds are pleasing, whilst that hee which receiues them hath meanes to recompence them, but when they are so great, or wee esteeme them so, as they are beyond all compasse of requitall, in stead of thankes we receiue nothing but hatred and ill will. It is therefore better to be loued, then feared.

Let vs now see what passed during the truce. *Lewis* hauing his mind free, and his bodie discharged of armes, hee resolues to prouide for his heires. Doubtlesse the choice which hee made of two Princes of his blood, did testifie, how much hee did cherish his house, giuing them two pretious pearles out of his Jewell-house, *Anne* his eldest to *Peter* of Bourbon, a goodly Princesse, and *Jane* the youngest to *Lewis* Duke of Orleans, beeing yet very young and afterwards the 57. French King: whereunto he did not yeeld but to please the King, for she was foule and crooked. This season is likewise famous for a notable Ambassage from Arragon, touching the affaires of Rouffillon. The King making the Ambassadors to iudge of the whole peece by a patterne, causeth them to see, the 20. of Aprill, a hundred and foure thousand men armed in bataille, all in one luerie, with red cassockes crossed with white, all Officers, Bourgeses and Inhabitants of Paris.

We haue said, this truce should prooue an incomber to the Duke of Bourgongne, let vs examine the effects by the causes. At what time the King tooke Amiens from the Bourguignon, *Adolfe* that wicked and vnkind son of *Arnold* Duke of Gueldres (repining at his fathers long life) tooke him prisoner one night going to bed: and making him to march on foote without hose, in a most cold season fise Germaine leagues, he shuts him in the bottome of a tower, where as the Sun did neuer shine, but by a small grate, and there he held him 6. moneths. The duke of Cleues, whose sister the prisoner had married, vnderakes his quarrel, and seeks by force to free his brother-in-law. But *Adolfe* hauing married the duke of Bourbons sister, in the Bourguignons house finds great fauor. So the duke of Bourgongne labors to reconcile them. The Emperor deales in it, but all without effect, vntil the Pope had interposed his authority, who commanded *Charles* of Bourgongne, vnder great penaltie, to draw the olde man by force out of prison, seeing his sonne would not enlarge him by intreaty. *Adolfe* on the one side, seeing so many Potentates busied in this action, and on the other side fearing the Dukes

*Adolfe* an vn-  
kind sonne.

1474.

Dukes forces, he releaseth *Arno'd*, who in the sayd Dukes chamber, (notwithstanding the inequality betwixt the father and the sonne) offers his sonne the combat. *Charles* seeks to reconcile them, to the sonnes aduantage, to whome he offers the title of gouernor of Bourgongne, the country of Gueldres with all the reuenues, onely Graue, a small towne, should remayne to the father, with three thousand Florins of rent, and so much pension, and the title of Duke. But oh impious and horrible answer! *I had rather (saies Adolfe, to those that deliuered this speech vnto him) cast my father headlong into a ditch, and my selfe after him, then acc'd: he hath bin Duke these 44. yeares, it is now time that I were. I will willingly leaue him three thousand Florins a yeare, vpon condition that he neuer enter into the Duchy: with many other words vnworthy of a Sonne. Charles* greued at the oblinacy of *Adolfe*, B leaues both father and sonne at Dourlans, and retyres to Hedin. *Adolfe* to recouer the country, disguiseth him selfe, like a French-man, and passing a ferry neere vnto Namur, he is discouered by a Priest, who giues intelligence, wherevpon this young Duke is taken and carried prisoner to Namur, where he remained vntill the death of the Duke of Bourgongne, that the Cantois deliuered him, hoping by force to make him marry with *Mary* the heire of Bourgongne, afterwards Duchesse of Austria, after the folly which they had made him commit before Tournay, a fatal place, for the reuenge of the wronges he had done to his father. *Ar-old* died during *Adolfs* imprisonment, whose ingratitude had iustly moued him to leaue the succession to the Duke of Bourgongne. So *Charles* building vpon this donation, goes with force to take possession of the Duchy. This new conquest bred new proiects, and euen then he conceiued such an imaginary power as in the end he funke vnder the burthen. He neuer had so goodly an army, especially in horse. The Earle of Campobasso, and *Gilest* a Neapolitan Gentleman, (the first a Greeke in disposition and most wicked, the second a very honest man,) commanded a thousand men at armes, Italiens: he had three thousand good English, and good numbers of his owne subiects, well mounted, well armed, and of long time trayned vp in warre, with great store of artillery. He was at truce with our King, and to keepe him occupied, the English by his practise were ready to land in France. What then? should he suffer his men to liue idle without employment? Guelders had encouraged him. The Emperour was no man of resolution, willing rather to endure some disgraces, then to be at charge, and without the aide of some Princes of Germany his power was small. These baits thrust him in forwards, but the expiration of the truce might haue stayed him. Yet he obtains a prolongation of the King for fixe monethes, wherevnto *Lewis* yeelds willingly. Foreseeing (as he had a more sound iudgement then those which did dissuade him) that this Prince sought his owne ruine: that hauing finished one enterprile, an other would spring vp, and so quarrell grow vpon quarrell, which the Princes of Germany would well preuent, being alwaies vnited in matters which concerne the Emperour.

*Charles* begins warre in Germany.

He demands strange things of the Emperour who leaues him without bidding him farewell.

*Charles* before Nuz.

So it chanced. And as in so great a proiect, he must needs wonderfully discontent the nobility and commonalties of Germany, so was it expedient for him, to tye some vnto him. He procures an enterview with the Emperour at Treues, and there treats of the marriage of *Mary* of Bourgongne his daughter with *Maximilian* Arch-duke of Austria, the Emperours sonne: which done, the Emperour should erect his lands and feigneuries in Gaule Belgicke, to a royalty: he should incorporate foure Bishopprikes to this new Kingdome, whereof the royalty should appertaine vnto him and not to the Emperour, and should creat him vicar Generall of the Empire. *Frederick* findes these demands so inciull and vnreasonable, as he leaues the Duke of Bourgongne at Treues, and parts without bidding him farewell. And now an other occasion thrusts him on. He that hath once passed the bounds of modesty, must needs grow exceeding impudent. Two contended for the Archbishoprike of Colongne, the one was brother to the Landgrau of Hessen, the other a kinsman to the Conte Palatine of Rhin, whome the aduerser faction had expelled. *Charles* was banded for the latter, and undertakes to restore him by force, hoping to plant his ensignes in Germany, or at the least to haue some part for his charges.

He first comes to Nuz vpon the Rhin, foure leagues from Colongne, supposing (that if he tooke it) to fortiffe it wel, and then to plant an other fort aboue Colongne by the surprize of some towne of importance, thereby to force the towne to yeeld, and so to mount vp the Rhin

1474.

A County of Ferrete (the which he had in pawne, of Sigismond Duke of Austria, brother to the Emperour) and so to command all that great and rich passage of the Rhin, euen vnto Holland, where it ends, thereby to deuour Lorraine, and so without the Emperours ayde, to vnrpe the tile of King of Sicile and Ierusalem. But Nuz was not unfurnished. The Landgrau of Hessen had cast himselfe into it, with many of his kinsmen, and friends, to the number of eightene hundred horse, with a sufficient number of foote, to keepe the place. The Citizens of Colongne, with their neighbours, arme sixteene thousand foote, and incampe vpon the Rhin, right against the Duke, to cut off his victuals that came out of Gueldres, and to stay the boats with their Cannon.

B The Emperour, and Princes both spirituall and temporall do arme, and as the King had often solicited them, they send vnto him to make a triall of his intent. *Lewis* failes not to graunt what they demanded, promising twenty thousand men, when as the Imperiall army should be at Colongne. But he had worke at home. *Edward* King of England discontented, that *Lewis* had supported *Henry*, and the Earle of Warwicke, against him, prepares (in the Bourguignons fauour) fifteene hundred maisters, all Gentlemen well mounted, and the most part barded, which made a great number of horse, and 14000. Archers all on horsebacke, with a great number of foote. The Duke of Brittain having already consented to rebellion, should receiue three thousand English, and ioine his army with them as appeared by letters, written by the hand of *Yrfe* sometimes master of the kings horse, and then seruant C to the Britton (the one letter to the king of England, the other to *Hastings* great Chamberlaine of the said realme) the which the King did buy of a Secretary of England, for threecore markes of siluer.

The English prepare for France.

In the meane time, the King treats of a peace with the Duke of Bourgongne, to preuent this storme, or at the least to prolong the truce. The Duke excuseth himselfe vpon his word giuen to the English, who labours to draw the Duke from Nuz, exhorting him to accomplish the conuentions, considering his great charge, and that the season fit for warre, was almost spent. To this end, the Lord Scales, nephew to the Constable, makes two iournies to *Charles*, who pretends (by friuolous reasons) that his honour is much engaged in this siege, and that he could not rise without great blame. *Lewis* to crosse him, being alwaies his craves-

*Lewis* seeks for a peace of the Duke of Bourgongne & is refused.

D master in any action, either of warre, or peace, procures him many and new enemies. It was no matter of difficulty to draw in *Rene* the sonne of the daughter of *Rene* King of Sicile, the heyre of Lorraine, by reason of his grandmother, after the death of *John* Duke of Calabria and Lorraine, his Vncle, and of the *Marquis Nicolas* sonne to the said *John*. For the Duke being dead, *Charles* of Bourgongne, desirous to vnite this Duchy to his county, had caused him to be taken prisoner: but he was deliuered in exchange for a young Germaine Prince, who was taken studying at Paris, and marching presently with his army, he had easily deuoured that prey, if the King following him, had not forced him to passe on. *Rene* therefore sends to desie him before Nuz, and fortified by some French troupes, commanded by the Lord of Craon, he enters the Duchy of Luxembourg, spoiles the country and razeth Pierrefort, a place of the said Duchy, and neere to Nancy. *Sigismond* of Austria, had in the yeare 1469, ingaged his county of Ferrete, to the Duke of Bourgongne, with all the lands he enioyed on either side the Rhin, for threecore and ten thousand Crownes. *Charles* had placed *Peter* of Hagenbach there for Gouvernour, a wicked man, a violent extortioner, and insupportable, both to the nobility and people, who complaine to *Sigismond*, beseeching him to succour them against the outrage, and concussion of Hagenbach. *Sigismond* had bin long in dislike with the Suisses, his neighbours, but by the Kings meanes, they were all easily reconciled.

*Lewis* procures to *Charles* many enemies.

So they conclude a league, in the which the imperiall citties ioine, Strausbourg, Basill, Colmar, and Slestad, and contribute to furnish the summe due by *Sigismond* to *Charles*, the which they consign into the hands of a banker at Basill: then the inhabitants of these ingaged lands, signifie vnto the Duke of Bourgongne, that they had freed themselves of the oath they had made vnto him. And holding themselves freed from the Bourguignons obedience, they reiect his *Lieutenants* generals command. To suppress them, he assembles a great troupe of Picardes, Flemings, Hennuiers and Lombards, and on Christmas day at night (a good worke on a good day) he seeks to bring them secretly into Enshien. The Citizens beate them

1475. them backe, kill and take many, the rest flie to Brianſon with *Hagenbac*. The Brianſons A  
arme, and are the ſtronger, they ſeaze on the Gouvernour, expell the ſouldiers, and then do  
they ſpeedily informe of his miſdemourours, giuing intelligence to all their allies, and de-  
maund Iudges to iudge of the proceſſe. They depute, ſome from Alſatia, Strasburg, Baſill,  
Songoy of the blacke foreſt, Fribourg, Berne, Soleure, and other places, who cndemne  
*Hagenbac* to die, vpon foure principall crimes: for that he had cauſed foure men of Honour  
to be beheaded at Than, without any forme of law: to haue made and diſplaced Officers at  
his pleaſure contrarie to his oath, to haue brought in forraigne nations into places with all  
libertie, and for that he had rauiſhed women, forced virgins, and committed inceſt with  
Nunnes. The Duke of Bourgongne aduertified of the death of *Hagenbac*, reſolues to be re- B  
uenged of ſuch as had bene actors. And hereupon *Henry* Earle of Wittemberg and Mont-  
beliard, is taken by the Dukes men. Thoſe of *Baſill* aduertified hereof, ſend a number of men  
with artillerie to Montbeliard, to ſtop the Bourguignons paſſage, who ſummon the caſtle:  
the which reſuſing to yeeld, he ſends ſixe thouſand horſe, vnder the command of *Stephen*  
*Hagenbac*, to reuenge his brothers death, and to make warre vpon the Biſhop of Baſill, who  
(whileſt that *Sigismond* aſſembles his confederates) ſpoiles about thirtie villages, kills, takes,  
carries away, and ranſomes, men, women, children and cattle. Behold a ſtrong partie made  
againſt *Charles* of Bourgongne, by the Kings policie, whereby the Suiſſes entring into  
Bourgongne, take *Blasmont*, beſeege Hericourt, deſeate the Bourguignons that come to  
ſuccour it, and kill two thouſand: which done they retire.

The Dukes of  
Bourgongne  
Lieutenant  
ex-cured by  
the Suiſſes.

Open warre  
betwixt the  
Duke of Bour-  
gongne and  
the Suiſſes.

Priviledges  
granted to the  
Prince of O-  
range by Le-  
wis.

The Conſta-  
ble ſeekes to  
ſuborne the  
Duke of Bour-  
bon.

The truce now expired: as the King had vnder-hand ſtirred vp the Duke of Lorraine, the  
Germains and the Suiſſes againſt the Duke of Bourgongne, ſufficiently buſied before Nuz,  
he now by open force takes from him, ſpoiles, and burnes Tronquoy, Montdidier, Roye,  
Montreul, and Corbye: and then ſends the baſtard of Bourbon Admirall of France, Gene-  
rall of his armie, before Arras, and thereabouts, who ſpoiles and conſumes with fire moſt  
of the places lying betwixt Abbeuille and Arras. The inhabitants of Arras force their men  
of warre to go to field, vnder the command of the Earle of Rhomont the Queenes brother.  
But the Admirall hauing layed a ſtrong ambuſh, ſends forth about fortie Lances to draw  
forth the townſemen, who ſallying out as to an aſſured victorie, are compaſſed in like par-  
triges in a net, defeated, chaſed and ſlaine to the number of fourteene or fifteene hundred, D  
many are taken priſoners, and of the better fort, *James* of S. Pol, the Conſtables brother,  
the Lords of Contay, Carency, and others. At that time the King did ſet the Prince of O-  
range at libertie, (beeing of the houſe and bearing the armes of Chalon) taken in warre, be-  
ing ſet at thirtie thouſand crownes ranſome, the which the King did moderate to ten thou-  
ſand: and cauſed it to be preſently payed to the Gentleman that held him, by meanes where-  
of he became the Kings Legee-man, and did him homage for the ſaid Principallitie. So as  
the King gaue him power to intitle himſelfe, *By the Grace of God Prince of Orange*, and to  
coyne money of gold and ſiluer of as high a ſtandard as that of Dauphine: to grant all gra-  
ces, remiſſions, and pardons, but for hereſie and treaſon.

This tranſaction, with the former prizes, did wonderfully diſcontent the Conſtable, ieal- E  
ous of the Kings good ſucceſſe, and fearing likewiſe ſome checke by ſo mightie an armie,  
which the Admirall and the Earle of Dammartin had at his gate. For the auoyding whereof  
he giues the King a falſe intelligence, that the Engliſh were at ſea, readie to land at Calais:  
he perſwades the King to prouide for the places of Normandie, hee promiſeth faithfully to  
defend the marches of Picardie; and in his maſters abſence to reduce Abbeuille and Peronne  
to his obedience.

But let vs heare another notable part of trecherie: he ſeekes by all meanes to weaken the  
King, and yet would he not fortifie the Bourguignon: but that the Engliſh ſhould croſſe  
both their Eſtates, that his owne might ſtand firme in the midſt of their confuſions. With  
this deſſeine, he procures the Duke of Bourgongne, to ſend *Philip Bouton* and *Philip Pot*, F  
Knights, to the Duke of Bourbon, and he for his part ſends *Heſtor* of Eſclufe, to ſignifie vn-  
to him, that the Engliſh would ſoone land, that the Duke of Bourgongne, and hee and the  
Conſtable, ioyning all their powers together, would eaſily conquer the Realme, exhorting  
him (for the auoyding of his owne ruine and his countries) to ioyne with them, the which if  
he reſuſe, and that it fall out ill for him, he was not to be pitted.

The

A The Duke of Bourbon ſends the King two letters of this tenor, brought to him at diuerſe  
times by *Eſclufe*, who makes anſwer to the Duke and Conſtable; that neither promiſes nor  
threates ſhould draw him from the obedience and faithfull ſeruice he did owe vnto his Ma-  
ieſtie. *Lewis* will produce theſe letters to the Conſtables confuſion, in the end of the next  
yeare. For the preſent, he muſt aſſure his frontiers. There is no newes yet of the Engliſh.  
*Lewis* marke well this chaſe, and will cauſe the Conſtable (who ſuppoſed himſelfe to haue  
the aduantage of the game) to looſe the partie. Poore Nobleman! how many miſfortunes  
fore-tell thy approaching ruine? Thy Brother priſoner: Thy wife dead at the ſame inſtant, one  
Mournfull  
preſages to  
the Conſtable  
ued thy head: Thy Nephew *Scales* priſoner, with the inſtructions he brought from En-  
gland to the Bourguignon. And to fill vp the meaſure, thy ſonne the Earle of Rouſſy de-  
feated at Grey in Bourgongne, and priſoner with the Duke of Bourbon, who ſhall not leaue  
him vntill the end of the yeare, (for fortie thouſand crownes ranſome) with the loſſe of two  
hundred men at armes, Lombards, the Baron of Couches and many others. The Marſhall  
of Bourgongne, ſonne to the Earle of Saint *Martin*, two ſonnes of the houſe of Viteaux,  
whereof the one was Earle of Ioiny, the Lords of Longey, Liſle, Digoine Montmartin,  
Ragny, Chaligny, the Bayliſſe of Auxerre, the Enſigne-bearer to the Lord of Beauchamp,  
and many others, eſcaped death but not imprifonment.

Sufficient warnings to amaze a reſolute mind. Hereafter the Conſtable is afflicted with  
C ſtrange diſtemperatures fed with the neighbourhood of the Earle of Dammartin, beeing  
lodged neere S. *Quentin* whome he knew to be none of his friends. And fearing left the king  
ſhould aſſault him, he ſends to take aſſurance of the Duke of Bourgongne, intreating him  
to ſend him his brother *James* of Saint Pol, the Lord of Fiennes, and ſome other his kinsmen  
and friends, to put them into Saint *Quentin*, and to keepe the towne at the Dukes deuotion,  
(without bearing Saint *Andrewes* croſſe) the which he promiſed to reſtore vnto him within  
a prefixed time.

They come: they preſent themſelues within view of Saint *Quentin*, once, twice, and thrice: The Conſta-  
ble ſeekes to  
the Duke of  
Bourgongne  
and deceiues  
him.  
but the Conſtable ſuſpects them, and ſends them backe. They came ſtill, either too ſoone  
or too late: ſo as at the bruit of theſe forces the Admirall caſts himſelfe into Arras, where-  
D offollowed the taking of *James* of Saint Pol, who beeing brought before the King, hauing  
libertie to ſpeake, he confeſſed, that at the two firſt iourneys, he came onely with an intent  
to comfort his brother: but at the third time, ſeeing the Conſtable had deceiued both his  
Maſter and him, if he had bene the ſtronger, he would haue kept the place for his Maſter,  
without offering any violence to his brother: whereupon his Maieſtie ſet him at libertie, ve-  
ry well appointed, ſeruing him vnto his death. And although the Conſtable had lately done  
a notable diſgrace vnto the King, yet his Maieſtie diſſembled it wiſely: and to take from him  
all cauſe of iealouſie, he willes him to go and make warre in Hainault, and to beſeege A-  
uennes, whileſt that the Admirall was buſied in Artois. He goes, but very loth, and with  
exceeding feare, and ſtayes but little: he retires betimes, beeing aduertified (as he informed  
the King) of two men in his armie (whome hee deſcribed by apparent ſignes) ſuborned to  
E kill him. This new feare, accompanied with diſtruſt, bredde a terrible diſtemperature in the  
Conſtables head, who hauing loſt his credit both with the King and Duke, will yet intertaine  
himſelfe by both, and perſwade them that he is ſeruant but to one. Hee ſent often to the  
Bourguignons campe to draw him from the ſeege of Nuz, that he might ioyne ſidely with  
the Engliſh at their coming on land, and then vpon the returne of his meſſengers, he gaue  
the King ſome plauſible intelligence, to cauſe him to like of his conference with the Duke,  
ſometimes diſgracing his affaires, to winne the credit of an affectionate ſeruant with *Lewis*,  
ſometimes extolling the Duke, to terrifie the King. But oh policie ſimply ſhadowed!

On the other ſide, he knew well that he had greatly offended the King by his laſt action.  
F He ſees himſelfe forſaken by his moſt confident ſeruants, *Ientis* and *Mouy*, whom the King  
had entertained. Theſe might haue aſſiſted him in his peace-making, the which he ſhadowed  
with ſome recompence that the King had promiſed him for the Countie of Guiſe. *Lewis*  
heares them, giues them good words, and commands the Conſtable to come vnto him.  
But the conſcience of our miſdeeds, is a grieuous teſtimonie. The varietie of his troubled  
thoughts, will not admit an eaſie releefe. He offers to come, ſo as his Maieſtie will ſwear  
vpon

1475. vpon the Crosse of S. *Lan*, that he will neither do, cause, nor suffer any trecherie nor outrage to be done to his person. This crosse hath beene kept at Angiers time out of mind, with an old beleefe, That whosoever swearing thereon, doth forswear himselfe, he dies within the yeare, of a miserable and violent death. *Lewis* refuseth this oath, but submits himselfe to any other. The more he excuseth himselfe, the more the Constable presseth him. Thus posts die hourly from either of them vpon this assurance: behold, two great personages of sunflie houres, wonderfully troubled in mind, and it seemed they feared alike, to perish or to drie humours, wonderfully troubled in mind, and it seemed they feared alike, to perish or to seperate themselves absolutely. Yet *Lewis* was the more cunning, and did his busines more courtly. But if these two afflicted themselves in this sort, *Edward* of England and *Charles* of Bourgoingne were in no lesse doubt one of another. The King had sent *John Tiercelin* the Lord of Brosse, to make his excuse vnto the Emperour, for that he had not sent the armie promised by the treatie, assuring him to do it, when he had ended his enterprises begun, and for the most part well forward both in Bourgoingne and Picardie, intreating him in the meane time not to make any agreement with the Duke: and that the one should not treat of a peace without the other. That he should confiscate all the Dukes seigneuries that held of the Empire, and that he would feaze vpon such as depended on the Crowne of Fraunce, as Flanders, Arthois, Bourgoingne and many others.

*Lewis* sends  
an Ambassa-  
dour to the  
Emperour.

The Emperour, a man of more wit then vertue, answers by a gentle Apologie, *That they must not diuide the Beares skin, before the beast be dead.* As if he should say, Come according to your promise, let vs take this man, and then weare his spoiles. Let vs now see what hee doth before Nuz, where we haue left him much perplexed how to free himselfe with his honour from that enterprife. Two mightie armies attended him, and cut off his victuals both aboue and beneath the Rhine: all the Princes of Germany both spirituall and temporall, had ioyned their forces in infinite numbers; all the townes and commonalties did willingly contribute to this charge. Two other considerations did trouble him. The King made great war against him, and had burnt many places in Bourgoingne, Picardie, Arthois, and Pondieu. Moreouer, he had laboured al his life to draw in the English, but without any effect till now: and would he abandon so goodly an armie, passing now betwixt Douer and Calais, complaining of his breach, threatening (if he delay it any longer) to take another course? Yet must the Bourguignon find some bonorable pretext for his rising.

There was with the Emperour an Apostolicke Legate, going from armie to armie, to mediate a peace. The King of Denmarke was there in person, for the same effect. In the end the place is deliuered into the Legats hands, to dispose as the Sea of Rome should decree. Thus Nuz after a yeares seege, sees the Bourguignon dislodge with the losse of foure thousand of his choice men. A hard departure, that notwithstanding the necessitie of his armie, and this mightie Imperiall power, yet not daring to affront him, he did see the beseegeed and Cittizens overcome with hunger and toyle, who had beene forced within ten daies to yeeld to his mercie. *Charles* would willingly haue beene reuenged of *René* for his desie: yet he forbears vntill the next yeare, but with another issue then he expected: he shall be well beaten and then slaine. At this time vrgent necessitie drawes him elsewhere, and his troupes hauing need to be refreshed, he sends them to liue vpon the spoiles of Lorraine and Barre, and himselfe with a small traine goes to meet *Edward* at Calais. *Edward* being yet at Douer, sends *Garret* his King at armes, a Norman by nation, to *Lewis* with a letter of defiance, the tenor whereof is next more of the French then the English. He summons him, *To yeeld vnto him the kealme of France, as his right, that he might restore the Church, Nobilitie and people to their auuncient liberties, and free them from their great burthens and afflictions: and vpon his refusal, he protests of all the miseries that should follow, after the accustomed manner and forme in such like cases.* A bare desie grounded vpon a subiect long before debated, and often decided. The King reads the letter, commands the Herald to be brought into a Chamber vnto him, beeing alone, and saies vnto him. That he knew well the King of England was thrust into this enterprife by the people of England, by the Duke of Bourgoingne, and by the Constable of Saint Paul. That the Duke came from Nuz like a vanquished and needie man, that winter grew on, vnfitte for the effects of warre, that the Constable would deceiue King *Edward*, and liue onely in his dissimulations, entertaining euery man, and trusting no man. In the end, he sollicitis *Garret*, to perswade his master to make an agreement with him,

*Edward* desies  
the King.

giving him three hundred Crownes with his owne hand, and promise of a thousand, if it might be accomplished: and in publike, he caused a goodly peece of crimson velueto be giuen him, containing thirtie elles. The Herald promiseth to do his best indeauour, aduising him to send a Herald to obtaine a safe-conduct, for the sending of Ambassadors, at what time as *Edward* should haue passed the sea: who at his first entrie finds himselfe much deceiued of his expectation, for the Duke had promised to ioyne with him, with two thousand such hundred men at armes, with a great number of other horse and foote: and for his assurance to put some strong places into his hands, namely, Saint *Quentin*, relying vpon the Constable. That finding the King ouercharged, and readie to receiue a mate, he should begin the warres in France, three moneths before the landing of the English armie: but his armie was so weake and poore, as he durst not shew it.

The first cause  
of *Edward*'s  
discontent a-  
gainst *Charles*.

Let vs here acknowledge another notable fauour of God to this Crowne, who had so blinded the iudgement of this Duke, as he continued obstinate and wilfull, before this strong place resolutely defended, where as he should haue attended the English. We confesse that both together would haue dangerously shaken the estate of this Realme. So the English and Bourguignon part from Calais, passe by Boullen, and draw towards Peronne: where thinking to lodge, they were disappointed, which gaue some dislike vnto the English. Beeing at Peronne, the Constable sends *Lewis* of Creuille to the Duke of Bourgoingne, excusing himselfe, for not deliuering vp of Saint *Quentin*, whereby (said he) he should haue lost all his credit, and intelligence in France, and hereafter be altogether vnprofitable for him. But he was now wholly at his deuotion, seeing the King of England within the Realme. Moreouer he promiseth the said Duke, *To serue and succour him, and all his friends and allies, as well the King of England, as others, and against all men, without any exception:* and intreats him, that that writing of his owne hand may serue as a gage of credit with the said King. The Duke giues his letter vnto *Edward*, assuring him moreouer, that the Constable should not onely giue him entrance into Saint *Quentin*, but into all his other places.

Another er-  
ror of the  
Bourguignon  
that discou-  
rents the En-  
glish.

Both the King and Duke beleeued it. The King, for that he had married the Constables Neece: the Duke, for that the Constable was in so great feare and distrust of our *Lewis*, as it seemed he should not dare to faile of his promises. They part from Peronne, and approaching neare Saint *Quentin*, they send some English troupes before, to enter the towne, as to the taking of a certaine possession. But the Negro (saith the Prouerbe) changeth not his hewe. The signall they giue them of their approach neere vnto them, are skirmishes and Cannon-shot. Two or three English are slaine, and some taken, and so they recover their armie, greatly discontented with this affront. The Bourguignon, to colour this foule and trecherous part, pretends the Constables meaning to be very good, that he could not couer the yeelding thereof, with any apparent pretext, if at the simple sight of so small troupes he should be amazed: that he would be forced thereunto, and if all the whole armie marched, he would make no refusal. But these were iests: he desired but to winne time, and not to shew himselfe enemie for any man. The next day *Charles* of Bourgoingne takes his leaue of *Edward*, promising to returne speedily with all his forces.

He deceiues  
both King,  
*Edward* and  
Duke *Charles*.

*Edward* and his men had small practise in the estate of our realme, they are not those braue Warriours which had so long gouerned our France: they needed conduct and direction to fashion them to our armes, without the which they know themselves at their first arriuall to be vnprofitable: but in a short time they are fashioned and become good fouldiers. In the meane time they are abandoned, and the season of doing any thing almost past: they must therefore resolue. And thus the King discouers that *Edward* would agree. The English had taken the seruant of *James Grasse*, a Gentleman of the Kings house, but for that he was their first prisoner, *Edward* giues him libertie. At his departure, *Howard* and *Stanley*, (both in credit with *Edward*) said vnto him, *Recommend vs to the King your master, if you may speake vnto him.* (*Garret* the Herald had named these two, to obtaine a passport for the Ambassadors that *Lewis* should send to treat.) This message bred some ialousie in the Kings head, who then was at Compienne: for *Gilbert* the brother of *James Grasse*, followed the Duke of Brittanie, and was in great credit: but beeing carefully examined, they find, he deferred credit. *Lewis* remembers the direction the Herald had giuen him, and suddenly takes this resolution with himselfe, To send a seruant, the sonne of *Meridol* of Rochel, belon-

Another error  
in the Duke of  
Bourgoingne.



1475. belonging to the Lord of Halles (or *Scales*) in qualitie of a Herald. This seruant had his countenance and personage very vnpleasing, yet a good wit, and a sweet speech. But why did *Lewis* make choice of a seruant, whom he had neuer seene but once, amongst so many thousands more capable of that charge? he might dis-allow him if need required, as intruding himselfe, or at the least aduenturing without his priuie, and at all hazards, the losse of a seruant was not great. This Herald fashioned after the Kings mind, hath his charge deliuered him, and is attired with a coate of armes, made likewise in hast, of a trumpets banner, enameled like a pettie Herald, that belonged to the Admirall: and then he goes to horse backe, without any mans priuie except *Villiers*, Master of the horse, and the Lord of Ar-genton. Beeing arriued at the English armie, he is brought before the King, to whom hee deliueres his charge; That the King his master had long desired to haue good amitie with him to the end that both their realmes might hereafter liue in peace: That since his comming to the Crowne he had neuer made warre, nor attempted any thing against the Crowne of Eng-land. If he had receiued the Earle of Warwicke, it was onely to crosse the Duke of Bour-gongne: That the Duke of Bourgongne should not haue procured his passage into France, but to make his peace with more aduantage with the King. If any others were actors (mean- ing the Constable) it was but to serue their owne turnes in crossing him, and to worke their priuate profits, not regarding the affaires of England. That now winter grew on: that his armie was not railed without exceeding charge (this was secretly to offer a recompence of all or part, which was a great perfwader to peace.) That such as nourished this warre be- twixt them, were some Noblemen and Merchants, who made their profite of the peoples losse: That if the King of England would giue care to a treatie, the King his master would embrace it with so great affection, as both himselfe and his realme should remaine well sa- tisfied. And for prooffe, if it pleased him to grant a safe-conduct for an hundred horse, the King would send Ambassadors vnto him well informed of his pleasure: vnlesse hee desired a mutuall interview in some place, mid-way betwixt both armies, then the King should grant a safe-conduct for his part.

The policie of  
*Lewis*.

Ambassadors  
sent from both  
Kings.

Articles of a  
greement  
with the En-  
glish.

These speeches please, and this counterfeit Herald returnes with a safe-conduct, as he de- sired, accompanied with another Herald, to carrie one from the King of the same tenour. The next day, the Ambassadors of either side meete, in a village neere to Amiens: For the King, came the Bastard of Bourbon Admirall, the Lord of *S. Pierre*, and *Heberge* Bishop of Eureux. For *Edward*, came *Howard*, *Sellenger*, and Doctor *Morton*, afterwards Chancellour of England, and Archbishop of Canterburie. In truth it was much so to humble himselfe, but the weightie burthen of affaires which oppressed our King, forced him thereunto, who with one stone gaue two strokes: for *Lewis* sent backe his enemy, to the great confusion of the Duke of Bourgongne. Let vs generally confesse, that it is not now alone, that God doth shew his singular grace and fauor to this Monarchie; The Britton was watchfull, and ioyntly with the Bourguignon, they practised crosses of dangerous consequence.

The English from a generall demand of the Crowne of France, restraines himselfe to the Duchie of Normandy or Guienne. But a franke demander, requires a bold denier. *Lewis* protests, that he would do any thing to send the King of England out of his realme: but to yeeld him the possession of any lands, he will rather put all to hazard. He had a goodly and mightie armie, which they esteemed (saith the Originall) an hundred thousand fighting men, and in shew might do much, the English beeing in bad tearmes with the Bourguignon. But the quietest course is the best, and both beeing willing to agree, an accord is soone made. In the end, the King graunts the English three-score and twelue thousand Crownes present pay- ment: (Paris lent the money, vpon promises of restitution by the Feast of *All-Saints* next following) The marriage of *Charles* with the eldest daughter of King *Edward* (both beeing yet very young, neither shall it take effect:) and for the estate of her house, the Duchie of Guienne, or fiftie thousand Crownes yearly, payable in the Tower of London, for nine yeares following; at the end whereof, he and his wife quietly to enioy the reuenues of the said Duchie, and the King should remaine discharged of the payment of fiftie thousand Crownes to King *Edward*.

Moreover, the King promised sixteene thousand Crownes pension to some of *Edward's* fauourites, who had much assisted in this reconciliation: to *Hastings* two thousand, to *Howard*

A *Howard*, to *John Cheney* Master of the Horse, to *Sellenger*, *Montgomerie*, and some others, the remainder. And besides, there was great store of Siluer and Plate distributed among King *Edward's* seruants: so euery Saint had his candle. These conditions performed, *Edward* should repasse the Sea, and leaue *Howard* and the Master of his horse in hostage, vntill hee had recouered England: yet not without an interview of both Kings. This peace should continue nine yeares, comprehending the Dukes of Bourgongne and Brittanie, if they pleased. The Bourguignon hearing these newes, hastes to returne to the English, followed on- ly with sixteene hundred Horse; At his first arriual he discouers his inward passions by his outward countenance. But he came too late to preuent it. *Edward* tels him, that hee hath made a truce for nine yeares, and exhorts him to enter, according to the reseruation hee had made. *Charles* replies by fits, and after a reprochfull manner: That *Edward's* Predeces- sors Kings of England, had performed many high exploits in France, and with much sweat and toyle had wonne great reputation. He checketh him that he did not procure the En- glish to passe, for any need he had, but onely to giue them occasion to recouer their auncient inheritance. And to make it manifest, that he had no need of their comming, he would not accept of any truce with the King, vntill that *Edward* had bene three moneths in his owne countrie. And hauing thus sayd, he returnes towards Luxembourg, from whence he came. A brauado of ill digestion to the English and his Councell, but plausible to all the friends of confusion.

The Duke of  
Bourgongne  
reprocheth  
King *Edward*  
for making a  
truce

C But what is become of our Constable? is there no speech of him during this treatie. Now is he more incombred with feare then euer. He knowes well, that he hath displeased the king, the English and the Bourguignon, all alike, and still he apprehends the conclusion at Bou- uines. In the meane time he seeks to please all, and sets a good face on it. *Edward* had freely made offer to the French Ambassadors, to name some Noblemen, that were traitours (said he) to the King and his Crowne, and to prooue it by their hand-writings.

The Constable  
perplexed.

The King holds a Councell vpon this matter: some maintaine, that this accusation is fraudulent, and that the English would make his demands the greater with the wracke of anothers honour, as hauing good intelligence in France. But *Lewis* his iudgement was more sharpe, he knew the Bourguignons courtes, he considered the season, that the English had not any one place in their hands, and that the Bourguignon had deceiued them. Moreover, he knew well, that the Constable would not giue them any entrie: and least hee should bee farre imbarqued in the league, the King entertained him with many letters, and kept him in good humor: and the Constable likewise sent often to the King, yet alwaies swimming be- twixt two streames, vnderstanding that the treatie betwixt the two Kings, grew to some perfection, he seemed well satisfied, and sends *Lewis* of Creuille a Gentleman of his house, and *John Richer* his Secretarie, aduising the King, that to auoide this threatening foraine tempest he should procure a truce, and to satisfie the English, it were good to graunt them one or two small Townes to winter in. Hee supposed in doing this, the English should bee beholding to him, and to rest fully satisfied for the affront at Saint *Quentin*.

*Edward* dis-  
cusses the  
Constables  
disseins.

E Note alwaies, that *Lewis* was a wonderfull instrument of diuision, when he pleased. Con- tary a prisoner at the defeat of Arras, went and came vpon his faith to the Duke of Bourgo- gne, to treat a peace. He was by chance in Court at the comming of these two persons. The King hides him in his chamber behind the hangings, to heare and report to his master the speeches the Constable and his people held of him. *Creuille* by the Kings commandement, with a loud voice, said, that the Constable had sent them to the Duke of Bourgongne, with many instructions, to diuide him from the English; and that they had found the said Duke so farre incensed, as by their perswasions he was not onely readie to abandon them, but to charge them in their retreat. *Creuille* in speaking this, did counterfeit the gesture of a paitionate Prince, stamping and swearing, *S. George* (the oath of *Charles* of Bourgongne) say- ing, that he called the King of England, *Blanchorgne*, and the sonne of an archer, whose name he carried: words accompanied with all the indignities that might be spoken. This mooued laughter in the King, who taking pleasure at the repetition thereof, and seeming somewhat deasse, made him to straine his voice in the report. *Contay* no lesse amazed then the King was pleased, would neuer haue beleueed it, if he had not heard it.

*Lewis* subill  
indulgence.

And although it greeued the King much to dissemble the Constables counsell, to giue some



1475. some places to the English; yet would he not discouer his discontent to these Deputies, but answered them graciously: *I will send to my brother* (the Queene and the Constables wife were Sisters) *and let him understand my mind*, hauing cunningly drawne a promise from his Secretarie to reueale what did concerne him. And at the same instant hee dispatcheth Con-  
 The Constables trecherie.  
 say to the Duke his master with letters of credit of the Kings owne hand; and somewhat to satisfie the Constable, he giues the English Eu and S. Vallery, to lodge in during the treatie of peace. In the meane time, (oh notable trecherie!) behold one of the Constables ordinarie trickes; he sends his Confessor to the King of England with letters of credit, and intreats him earnestly not to trust to the Kings promises, but rather to seaze vpon Eu and Saint Vallery, and there to passe some part of the winter: that within two moneths hee would lodge him better. Yet he giues him no other securitie, but much hope, and an offer to lend him some thousand crownes, with many other goodly shewes, to draw him from so profitable an tie accord. *Edward* answers, that the truce is concluded, & that he will not altar any thing. That if he had kept his word, he would haue accepted it. Thus our Constable despaires on all sides.

The King (foreseeing that the Constable would thrust *Edward* into ielousie) resolved by his bountie to take away all cause of suspect: for the effecting whereof, he sends *Edward* three hundred carts laden with the best wine he could get: and within Amiens (*Edward* lodging within halfe a league, for confirmation of the truce) he causeth two long tables to be set vp at the entrie of the towne, furnished with exquisite meates, and all kinds of prouocations to drinke, with men to attend all commers and goers at the table. At euery table were five or six men of reputation, fat and bigge, the better to encourage the Drinkers: amongst others were the Lords of Craon, Briquebec, Bresme, and Villiers, Gentlemen of a pleasant humour: and wheresoeuer the English tooke any lodging, they might not spend any thing. This bountie continued three or foure daies, during the which, if *Lewis* had meant treacherously, he had good meanes, they entering into Amiens confusedly, to the number of nine thousand, for of this great multitude, some did sing, and some slept, overcome with wine and drowinesse. But contrariwise, he committed the guard of the gate to English archers, whom *Edward* (at *Lewis* his request) had sent, to take in, and put out whom they pleased. It was then concluded, to appoint a place for an interview of these two Kings. It is done with lesse confusion and hazard in a small place. Picquiny vpon Somme was held convenient: an auncient Prophecie which the English obserued, described this very place. To this effect they build vpon the bridge two pentiles of wood, the one for *Lewis*, the other for *Edward*, either of them capable of ten or twelue men. Betwixt both was a partition, with grates to put through ones armes, going ouerthwart the bridge, that no man might go from the one to the other. *Lewis* made his profit of fore-passed euents: he knew that if the barre at Montereau had had no more passage then this, *John* Duke of Bourgogne had not ended his daies so lamentably, in the narrow bounds thereof. The 28. of August *Lewis* comes first to the barre, accompanied with *John* Duke of Bourbon, the Cardinall his brother, and followed onely with about 800. men at armes. *Edward* comes after, hauing with him the Duke of Clarence his brother, the Earle of Northumberland, his Chamberlaine *Hastings*, his Chancellor, and others: and behind him all his armie in bataille. Either King had twelue men about him, foure of the which went from one part to another, to search if there were nothing practised to the preiudice of their masters. They imbrace each other through the grate, and sweare vpon the holy Bible, to obserue the articles agreed vpon. The oath taken, *Lewis* mingling his serious discourse with some mirth, inuites *Edward* to come to Paris, that he would feast him with the Ladies, and giue him the Cardinall of Bourbon for his Confessor, (a pleasant man and of free life) who willingly would giue him absolution, if happily hee should sinne in that case. Then they conferre together awhile without any witnesses. And vpon the Kings demand, whether the Duke of Bourgogne would not accept of the truce, (men take an oxe by the horne, and a man by his word, as with the like policie the Duke of Bourgogne might haue beene surprized at his departure from Liege.) *Edward* answered, that he might do as he pleased, *I will summon him againe* (saith he) *if he will not hearken to it, I will reserve my selfe to you two*. This accord beeing made, *Lewis* begins to play vpon another string, and makes the like demand touching the Duke of Brittain, for whom hee chiefly made the motion. But he findes the English resolute in his protection, as hauing found no friend

An interview of the Kings.

A friend so kinde in his affliction. *Lewis* surceaseth, and with a wonderfull curtesie takes leaue of the King of England, contents all his followers with some kind words, and giues presents to some priuate Noblemen, the Heralds and trumpets, who to shew their thankfull minde began to cry, *A largeesse for the most noble and mighty French King: a largeesse, a largeesse*. He hath alwayes made it manifest, that he was exceeding suspitious, and that from an antecedent he could cunningly draw a good consequence. He is no sooner on his way to Amiens, but he studies of *Edwards* facility to harken to the going to Paris: that he was a very goodly Prince, and of an amorous complexion, and that some nice Parisien might stay him longer then his estate required, or at the least draw him to passe the sea an other time: that his Predecessors had loued Paris and Normandy but too well: Hee therefore desires to see their backs, and must by some meanes with-draw him from this humor, wishing rather to haue him his good Brother and friend beyond the seas, then here. The necessity which forced the King against the Bourguignon, serued for an excuse.

Moreover, the King was grieved, to see the English so resolute to defend the Brittons quarrell: hee would gladly haue obtained that freedome, to make warre in Brittain, the which hee wonderfully affected: and made a second motion vnto him by *Bowichage* and *S. Pierre*, who returned with this answer, *That whosoever doth attempt, (saith he) against the Duke of Brittain, I will passe the seas in person, and succour him*. So hee was no more importuned. *Edward* had an especiall cause to entertaine the loue of the Duke of Brittain, for at the defeat of *Henry* King of England, as we haue heard, *Henry* Earle of Richmond, and nearest kinsman to the said *Henry*, after the death of his sonne the Prince of Wales, saued himselfe with his vnkle the Earle of Pembroke, and hauing entred a barke in hast, they were with tempest driuen vpon the coast of Brittain, and there forced to take land, where they were seized on, and led with sure guard to Vannes: A very happy chance for the Duke, for while hee holds this goodly gage, he was assured to command the forces of England: but very vnhappy for the Earle, for if hee might haue landed in France, *Lewis* without doubt (to crosse *Edward*) would haue laboured to restore him. This truce did wonderfully displease some of *Edwards* household seruants: *Lewis* of Brettailles among the rest, a Gentleman of Gascony, was greatly discontented, giuing out, that the King his Maister hauing in person

The reason why King Edward protects the duke of Brittain.

D wonne nine batailles, had gotten more dishonor by the voluntary losse of this tenth, (which was in a manner gotten) then he had purchased honour in the former nine. That the French might with reason laugh at *Edwards* credulous facility. *Lewis* aduertised by the Lord of Argenton, of this Gascons free discourse, resolves to stoppe his mouth, to the end hee should not here-a-fer spend his tongue to the preiudice of this Estate: He sends for him, and makes him dine with him, offers him great aduancement, so as hee will serue him. Vpon his refusal, he giues him a thousand crownes presently, and promiseth to doe good for his brethren that remained in France: binding him to maintaine (as much as in him did lye) the friendship growing betwixt these two Crownes. *Brettailles* did not iudge amisse. Our *Lewis* had some-times a more liberall tongue then was conuenient, and feared much, least some words E had passed him, whereby the English might discouer that he mocked him: and so it chanced, yet behold how he couered it. The day after this enter-view, being in his Cabinet, hee fell to iest of the wines and other presents he had sent to the English. But he discouered not a Gascoyne marchant dwelling in England, who by chance was crept in to obtaine a licence of the King for the transporting of certaine pipes of wine, freed from impost. This marchant might talke, he must therefore be wone, and staid in France, vnder some apparent pretext. The King sent the Lord of Argenton to talke with him, aduanceth him to a good office in the towne where he was borne, hee giues him a thousand Frankes presently to transport his family, the transport of wines he required, and a man to conduct him to Bourdeaux: but all vpon condition that not he, but his brother, should make the voyage into F to England. Thus the King made amends for his rash speech.

*Edward* is now vnder saile, hee was a new Conqueror, his presence was therefore more needfull in England: he did neuer much affect the voyage. Two principall reasons drew him into the action. The one was, all his subiects gaping after the possession of this Crowne, did sollicit him, & the Bourguignon prest him. Another was, he might reserve a good part of the mony that should be raised for this voyage (for the Kings of England leuy nothing

Causes that moued Edward to passe and to returne home into England.

1475. about their reuenues, but for the warres of France.) But see the policy of *Edward*: hee had of purpose brought with him ten or twelue of the chiefe bourgeoisie of the City, whose credit was great with the commons, and who had with all care procured this tax. These men were soone weary with this military toile, presuming that at the first arriuall, a profitable battaile should decide the quarrell. And to make them taste more feelingly the sweetness of peace, from the sharpnesse of warre, *Edward* doth some-times trouble their heads with doubts, some-times with feares, to keepe them from murmuring at his returne into England. On the other side, he loued his pleasures, and was of a complexion not able to endure the trauels requisite for the conquest of this realme: and although the King was charged with enemies, yet had he provided well for his defence. But see the most urgent reason of *Edward's* retreat. The performance he desired of the marriage betwixt the Dauphin, and his daughter. A marriage which made him dissemble many things, whereof *Lewis* will make his profit. To conclude, as they which haue benee deceived in their friendship, hate without dissembling, *Edward* before he parted from Calais, sent the King those two letters of credit, which the Constable had written vnto him, with all other verball assurances which he had giuen him. Sufficient testimonies to accuse and conuince him of those crimes, where with he shall be here-after charged. Let vs now reconcile the Dukes of Bourgongne, and Brittain with the King. *Contay* was now returned from the Duke of Bourgongne, the day of the enter-view, and had found his maister in a good humour, when as the English were returned. *Hugonnet* Chancellor of Bourgongne, and other Ambassadors for the Duke, meete at a bridge mid-way betwixt Auenues, and Veruins in Hainault, so well accompanied with Archers and other men of warre, that one of the English hostages, whom the King had led with him, tooke occasion to say, that if the Duke of Bourgongne had benee followed with many such men when he came to salute King *Edward*, peradventure, they had not made a peace. The Viconte of Narbonne answered: That the Duke wanted no such men, and that he had sent them to refresh themselves, but six hundred pipes of wine, and a pension which the King gaue them, made them half home to their country.

Edward sends the Constables letters vnto Lewis.

Discontent betwixt the English and Bourgignons.

A truce betwixt Lewis and the Bourgignons.

The English moued here-with; *It is as querey man said* (replies he) *that you would deceiue us. Do you call the money the King giues vs. a pension? It is a tribute: and by Saint George you may take so much, as wee will returne againe.* This quarrell staied their proceeding; neither did they preuaile any more, the second time, when as the King appointed *Tannequoy* of Chastel, and the Chancellor *Orriole* to heare the said Ambassadors at Veruins: but the third assembly which was in the Kings Chamber, made a full conclusion (and in truth *Brezay* had reason to say one day to the King, that his horse was well laden when hee was on him, for that he carried all his Councell with him: for indeed, hee did effect more in his presence, then all his Ambassadors together,) where there was a truce accorded for nine yeares, according to the other, but by reason of the oath which *Charles* of Bourgongne had sworne to *Edward* in his choller, it might not be published vntill the 17. of October following.

*Edward* (discontented that the Duke of Bourgongne would treat a part) sends *Montgomery* (a Knight very inward with him) to the King to Veruins, hee requires two things, the one, that hee would take no other truce with the Duke then that which he had made: the other that hee would not suffer Saint *Quintin* to be yielded vnto him; and if he would continue the warre against the said Duke, he would returne the next spring and ioyne his forces with the Kings, so as hee would recompence him for the losse he should sustaine by the customs of *Voll* at Calais, which would bee of no value, (being estimated at fifty thousand Crownes) and pay halfe his Army.

The King to satisfie *Edward*, answers, that it is the same truce they had made together, and for the same terme: but the Duke would haue letters apart; hee thanks him for his good offers, and returns him home his Ambassador and hostages. *Lewis* had lately learned, that the French and the English doe easily quarrell when they are together, and a small matter would reconcile them with the Bourgignons. As for the Britton, the King could not well digest the answer which *Edward* had made to *Bouchage* and *Saint Pierre*, whereby he easily discovered the strict allyance betwixt them: but seeing hee could not diuide them, being in the Abbey of *Victorie* nere to *Senlis*, where hee had a priuate deuotion, the peace was absolutely confirmed, whereby the King renounced all rights pretended by him to the Duchie

A Duchy of Brittain, reseruing the souerainty and homage according to the ancient custom. He promised to keepe the Dukes person in safety, and to maintaine his priuileges, and prerogatiues, without forcing him to follow him out of his Duchy, but with his owne good liking: and moreover he should cause to be giuen vnto the Duke of Brittain the hands and seales of all the Princes of his blood, and of the Noblemen of the Realme, both spirituall and temporall, with renouation of all alliances, or former promises, and restitutions to be made, of all things taken during the warre. The patent hath the same date with that of the duke of Bourgongne.

1475. A peace confirmed with the Duke of Brittain.

Let vs now bring the Constable into open view, to play the last act of his tragedy: finding that all these shifts and deuises, could not breake the reconciliation of the two Kings, the next day after their interview, he writes very humbly to the King, by a seruant of his named *Rapine*: That he was well informed how his enemies labored to bring him in disgrace, charging him with many things, whereof he had shewed contrary effects: for that during all the forepassed confusions, he had faithfully kept all those places which his maiesty had committed vnto him, and beate backe the enemy whensoever he presented himselfe. And to purchase some credit, he offers to deale with the Duke of Bourgongne who (if the King please) shall helpe to defeat *Edward* and all his army. *Lewis* dissembles, and writes to the Constable, what was concluded the day before, that at this time he was busied with many affaires, and had need of such a head as his. A captious word but well vnderstood by *Rapine*, who takes it for a beginning of saluour for his maister. But alas how easily doth man deceiue himselfe in his vaine imaginations, and what can a perplexed soule produce, but trouble and confusion: the truce is no sooner confirmed with the Bourguignon, but the conclusion of Bouuines is reuiued whereof we haue made mention. Now this poore Constable knowes not to whome to fly.

The last act of the Constables Tragedie.

Lewis dissembles with him.

And as euery man runnes as far as he can from an imminent shipwracke, his best friends, his most affectionate seruants, and his most confident soldiers abandon him. What shall he then doe? whome shall he implore? what Sanctuary? what succors? he knowes well he hath equally displeased, *Lewis Edward* and *Charles*; his lands are on all sides inuironed by his enemies. He is too farre from any safe retreat. He holds strong places, yea almost impregnable: but who shall defend them? he inioyes great treasure, but they violently hunt after it.

The Constables piteous estate.

What refuge shall he choose? shall he goe to the King? but by what meanes shall he purchase grace? he is too farre incensed; and is seized of the letters which the Constable had written to the King of England; and the Dukes of Bourbon and Bourgongne. May he rely vpon *Lewis* his word? but he would not sweare vpon the crosse of Saint *Lau*. Shall he passe the seas? he gaue *Edward* too vnkind wellcome neere Saint *Quintin*. Shall he cast himselfe into *Charles* of Bourgongnes armes? but he hath spoiled his Country of Hainault, he would haue forced him to marry his daughter with the Duke of Guienne deceased, and hath often treacherously deceiued him; being aduanced by his meanes to that great dignity of Constable.

The Constable in a desperate estate.

To conclude, he alone hath more then all others maintayned these Princes in hatred, so as what party soeuer he takes, he is vndoone. Yet must he needes vnmaske him-selfe and fly to one, for what meanes hath he to warrant himselfe alone against so mighty enemies? which shall he choose? poore soule! beaten with distrust, feare and dispaire; for yielding to the one he incensed the other. Moreouer there is lesse danger for him to be beseeged by two, then by one alone, being impossible for two armies to accord long together: and contrariwise, being charged but by one, there is some hope to make his peace. Sometimes he resolues to fly into Germany, and to buy a place there, vntill he be reconciled to the one: sometimes to keepe his strong Castell of Han, the which he had well fortified to serue his need. But he is so amazed as he dares not discouer him-selfe to those few seruants that are left him. Moreover they are all subiects to some one of these Princes. Yet he must resolue: and better is it to fall once, then stagger alwaies.

But they haue both ioyntly conspired his death, he is well informed thereof, and hath scene a copy of their mutuall seales. Yet when once he hath passed his word, hee will make

1475- make a conscience to breake it. But there is no faith in the Court of France: he hath offended the King too much, and hath too great aduersaries, and no man might safely loue him whome *Lewis* hated. The Duke of Bourgongne is more moderate, more easie to pacifie, and if he giue his faith, he wil be ashamed to deliuer him who had thrust him-felfe vnder his protection. He gaped after Saint *Quintin*, he must yeeld it vp vnto him, and redeeme his head with the price of this good place. He stands firme in this resolution, and beseecheth *Charles* to send him a safe-conduct, to goe and treat with him of matters concerning his estate and person. At the first *Charles* makes some difficulty, but in the end he thinks he may well dispense with his conscience for Saint *Quintin*.

The Constable yeelds to the Bourgongne.

Saint Quintin yeelded to the King.

So the Constable accompanied onely with fifteene or twenty horse, goes towards Mons, B in Hainault, to *Esmeriez* great Bayliffe of Hainault, the dearest of his friends, attending newes from the Duke of Bourgongne, who made warre in Lorraine vpon the deffie we haue spoken of. The Foxe is now out of his earth. It must bee fore-seene, that this yeelding reconcile not the Constable to the Duke. The King well informed what troupes were in Saint *Quintin*, and of the inhabitants affection, hasteth thither with seauen or eight hundred horse. They meete him with their keyes: the quarters are ordered, all his forces enter and he followes. And to take from the Bourguignon all hope to recouer Saint *Quintin* by the Constables meanes, he giues him aduice of the taking thereof: for although in the diuision made at Bouuines of the Constables places, this fell to the Duke, yet would not the King that he should make his peace with the Bouruignon by the deliuey thereof.

The Constable prisoner.

*Charles* aduertised hereof sends to the great Bayliffe, that he should gard Mons well, that the Constable goe not forth, and that he should appoint him his lodging for a prison. Here the Bayliffe preferres obedience to his maister, before the Constables loue. *Lewis* aduertised of the Constables detention, requires the Duke of Bourgongne by *Bouchages*, and Saint *Pierre*, either to deliuer him, or to performe the conuention. He promisseth to doe it, and causeth him to be carried with a sure gard to Peronne. He had now taken diuerse places in Lorraine and Barrois, and did batter Nancy, whereof he desired to see the issue, for the deliuey or retaying of the Constable, so as with this desleigne, in steed of eight daies concluded on at Bouuines, he lets passe a moneth and more. But the Kings great instance, and his army which lay houerling in Champaigne, as ready to succor the Lorraine, and to crosse the Bourguignon in that enterprise, the conquest whereof he greedily pursued, to vnite his territories, and to passe freely from Luxembourg into Bourgongne, (for inioying this Duchy, he came from Holland vnto the Confines of the Diocese of Lion, vpon his owne land) made *Charles* to send *Himbercourt*, and the Chancellor *Hugonnét*, (both great enemies to the Constable) to deliuer him at an appointed day, to such as the King should send. *Charles* supposed to haue wonne Nancy by that day, but he was deceaued in the time. And in truth they had no sooner left him, but a countermand comes from the Duke, after the taking of Nancy, but too late.

The Constable deliuered to the King.

The prefixed day being come, they deliuer the Constable at the gates of Peronne, into the hands of the bastard of Bourbon, Admirall of France: *Bouchages*, *S. Pierre*, *Cerifay* and others: who led him prisoner to the Bastille at Paris, the said Admirall charging the Chancellor, first President, and other Counsellors of the Parliament being there present, in the Kings name, to make a speedy triall of him, vpon his letters written to the King of England, and the Dukes of Bourbon, and Bourgongne. So by iudgement of the Court, giuen by the President *Popincourt*, he was beheaded at the Greue, the 19. of December, and by an especial grace was buried at the Gray Friars in Paris. A pittifull spectacle, to see so great a personage layd vpon a scaffold, allied to the houses of France, England, Bourgongne, Sauoy, and many other great personages, the chiefe Officer of this crowne, mighty in lands, in treasure and in friends, abandoned of his friends, his goods confiscate, degraded of his offices, and finally to serue as a spectacle to the whole world.

The Constable beheaded.

He was witty, valiant, and of great experience: but in his latter yeares bereaued of the grace of GOD. Let vs apprehend this Oracle: *It is a terrible thing to fall into the hands of the liuing God*. The pit he had digged for an other, must swallow him vp. He had with all his force laboured to maintayne these two Princes in hatred and mutuall dissension, to

substit

A substit in the midst of their partialities: He had often and impudently lied vnto them, and being both very reuengefull, it was impossible to auoide their snares. But who can warrant the Duke of Bourgongne from the law *Cornelia*? must his cruell couetousnesse force him to giue security to this poore Lord, to thrust him into an vndoubted ruine. Four score thousand crownes in mouables, and three score thousand crownes in ready money which he got by his spoiles, were they valuable to the falsifying of his conscience? God leaues nothing unpunished, and wee shall learne hereafter, that this disloyall act in him was the iust ruine of his house: a house for a hundred yeeres. flourishing in all perfections of felicity, the which hereafter shall runne headlong to a strange Catastrophe: and by the means of a yong and vnexperienced enemy, weake in regard of the Bourguignons great and redoubted power, *God resists the high minded and chooseth contemptible things to raise and confound the proud*. Let vs with one breath, see the declyning and ouerthrow of this house of Bourgongne.

1476.

Charles of Bourgongne breakes his oath with the Constable affecting the title of a King.

The violent ambition of *Charles*, had (as we haue heard before) armed him with a boyling desire to be a King: but *Frederic* the third scorned it. From that time he still plotted to get this quality. *René* (before Earle of Vaudemont, sonne to *Ferry* of Lorraine, and of Yo-land, daughter to *René* King of Sicilia & duke of Aniou, & of the only daughter of the Duke of Lorraine, eldest brother to *Iohn* Earle of Vaudemont, Father to the said *Ferry*, and now Duke of Lorraine) had defied him before Nuz, greeued with the Bourguignons outrages. C This is a good expedient to purchase this pretended royaltie. Lorraine made him a free passage, to vnite his countries, and moreover by the conquest of this Duchie, he should qualifie himselfe King of Sicilia, and Ierusalem, the hereditary title of this house. This vent of vaine-glory transports *Charles* into Lorraine: and for pretext of a quarrell, he pretends a great summe of money to be due vnto him by *Renés* predecessor: for non-paiement whereof (after the taking of many places) hee camps before Nancy, besiegeth it, batters it, but takes it not so soone as he presumed, being valiantly defended beyond his expectation. The King also vnder-hand fauoured this yong Duke, procuring him secretly the alliance of the Suiffes, and the Imperiall townes of Alsatia.

*Charles* since the siege of Nuz had in pay about a thousand men at armes, Neapolitains D for the most part. The Earle of Campobasso commanded foure hundred, a partizan of the house of Aniou, against that of Arragon: and for this cause being banished his country, had alwaies followed the Duke *René* of Sicilia, or *Nicholas* sonne to *Iohn* Duke of Calabria and Lorraine: after whose death *Charles* of Bourgongne entertayned many of his seruants: especially this Earle, a wicked man & of a corrupt conscience, who in the beginning of the warre of Lorraine, entered into practise with Duke *René* (heire apparant to the house of Aniou, after the death of King *René* his grandfather by the mother) promising to prolong the siege of Nancy, and cause defects in necessary things touching the siege. He might well doe it, hauing more authority in this army then any other capitaine. But behold an other act of notable villany.

E The duke of Bourgongne had giuen him forty thousand ducats before hand, to raise his company. Passing at Lion, to goe into Italie, hee grew familiar with a physitian, named *Simon* of Pauy, giuing by him the King to vnderstand, that for an hundred thousand crownes in ready money, his company entertained, and a good Earledome, at his returne, he would deliuer him the Duke of Bourgongne, and confirme the same to Saint *Pry*, who then was Ambassador for the King in Piemont. Being returned, and his troupe lodged in the country of *Maile*, hee reiterates his offer to the King, to kill the Duke when hee should come to the campe, if hee desired not to haue him brought a prisoner vnto him, assuring himselfe to excute it easily: for (saith he) he is accustomed to visit his army, mounted vpon a Nag, and il accompanied: Or if the King and the Duke should at any time fight a battaile, F he would turne to the King with his company.

Charles makes an vniust pretension vnto Lorraine.

Campobasso a traitor to Charles of Bourgongne.

He offers to kill the Duke.

Lewis discouers his treason to Charles.

Charles strikes Campobasso.

*Lewis* abhorres the treachery of this wicked wretch, and to shew the duke his franke and royall disposition, hee giues him intelligence thereof by *Contay*. In the meane time, *Campobasso* diuerts the Bourguignon all hee can from the warre of Lorraine, and makes the taking of Nancy, prooue more difficult. The duke is so much incensed therewith, as from iniurious words, he proceeds to blowes, and strikes him. A blow which the Earle will reuenge,

1476. reuenge in fit time. He dissembles for the present, and *Charles* either thinking the Neapolitane had forgotten this outrage, or supposing that his hired souldier had bene bound not to reuenge it, or happily fearing if he lost him, his affaires would receiue some dangerous checke, he entertaines him still in his seruice: yea (euen contrary to the Kings aduice) he loued, or made shew to loue him better, supposing that *Lewis* his intention, was to set diuision betwixt him and his most trusty seruants. But let vs rather say, that hee which sounds, euen to the deepest thoughts of man, had by a iust iudgement, taken away all apprehension from this prince, not to taste the holesome counsells that were giuen him, with most apparent reasons. This proud presumption, like vnto *Nembrosb*, made him conceiue a world of Chimeraes, and bring forth a shamefull confusion, as wee shall read hereafter.

The Suisses craue peace of *Charles* with great submission.

Hee is now puffed vp with the new purchase of Lorraine, by the taking of Nancy, with the possession of Saint Quentin, Han and Bohain, and with the Constables moueables, but he would not make this the limits of his conquests. The Suisses had incensed him, redeeming of the county of Ferrete for Sigismund Archduke of Austria. Moreouer, they had spoiled *James* of Sauoy Earle of Rhomont, brother to the prince of Orange of many places, lying within their marches. These Noblemen were allied, and partakers to the Duke, and thrust him on to reuenge. On the other side, the King desired to parle with him, after the manner of *Picquigny*, wishing him to lodge and refresh his troupes, tired both with the siege of Nuz, and the warre of Lorraine, and to grant a peace to this mountaine nation, being poore but yet froward. But *Charles* prefers the violent passions of his ambition, before the honest and holesome counsell of *Lewis*, and enters into Suifferland. The Cantons hearing of his approach, intreate for peace: they offer to yeeld vp the place in question, and by a second Ambassage, to renounce all alliances that should dislike him, especially the Kings: to serue him against all men, yea against the King, with fixe thousand men, for what pay hee would giue them, and as often as he would call them. If he did triumph ouer them by an absolute victory, there were no profit to be found, seeing the spurres of his horsemen, and the biss of his horses, were of more value then all their country.

The Suisses arme for their defence.

But he refuseth all accord, no preuention can stop this streame. He marcheth, and after this imaginary conquest of the Cantons; hee passeth the Alpes, and laies hold of Italy, for that *Frederic* prince of Tarentum, sonne to *Ferdinand* King of Naples, was lately come to him, with hope to marry his daughter. Moreouer old *Rene* King of Sicilia and Duke of Aniou, and vncle to the King, seeing his sonne *John*, and his Grand-child *Nicholas* were deceased, promised to resigne vnto him his pretensions of Sicilia, to adopt him for his sonne and heire, and soone after, to put into his hands the Earledome of Prouence. But wee shall soone learne the causes that mooued him to this attempt: he gaped, aboue al other things, after the goodly estate of Milan, where he presumed to haue great intelligences. The Ambassadors being returned, the Suisses protest of their submission, and of their desire to pacifie all things, calling God and the world to witnesse: and then they prepare for their defence. *Charles* for the first fruits of his army, fortified with fiftene thousand men from the Duke of Milan, and fife thousand from the Duchesse of Sauoy (for now heloues strangers better then his owne subiects, and the troubles of his minde, makes him conceiue a hatred and ielousie against them) he takes Lozanna, a mountaine towne, seated vpon the Lake Lemman, with other places in the country of Vaux, causing the garrisons for the most part to be hanged. Then he brings the whole body of his army (being about fiftie thousand men, and fife hundred peeces of Artillerie of all forts) before *Gransson*, lying neere to the Lake of Yuerdun, which belonged to Rhomont, being defended by seuen or eight hundred Suisses of the Canton of Berne. He batters, makes a breach, and giues an assault, with the losse of a hundred men. But the batterie continuing, the defendants (not able to hold the towne) fire it, and recouer the castle, where hauing many Towers beaten downe, they compound to haue their liues sau'd. An accord treacherously broken, for hee caused foure score to bee hanged (some write fife hundred and twelue) hee drownes two hundred, and puts the rest in prison. A detestable cruelty, and so odious vnto all the citties vpon the Rhine, as they send men to the Duke of Lorraine and the Suisses to their aide.

*Gransson* taken, and the souldiers cruelly and treacherously flaine.

He

A Hee is nothing amazed therewith; but for the stately entertainment of Ambassadors that came vnto him from diuers countries, namely from Germany and Italy, hee shewes himselfe in his campe with incredible pompe and state: pavilions and rich tents, glistering armes, goodly standards, vessell of good and siluer, of inestimable value, rich apparell, exquisite Tapistry, Jewels, precious stones, and other costly ornaments: to conclude, the goodliest furniture that might beautifie a campe. The Suisses not yet aduertised of the losse of *Gransson*, send foure or fife thousand men to releue it: but too late. The duke (contrary to the opinion of the best aduised) goes to meete them. They campe at the entry of the mountaines, hold the straites of hard access, and of great aduantage for the foot, and dangerous for the horse, where one man might stay fifty. But he was (as the proverbe saies) mounted to the Pies neast, and God blinding his vnderstanding, prepared an exemplary abatement of his pride. He sends a hundred archers before, to seize on a passage of the mountaines; who discover not an ambush of shot that kept it, the which suffer a part of the foreward to enter, whereas the battaile could not succour them, whom they charge with such resolution and fury, that with this terror the Bourguignons fle, and fall vpon the other part, which was yet in the plaine, which likewise turnes head towards the campe. The battaile and rereward seeing the foreward in route, shrinke presently, and (notwithstanding all the dukes labour to stay them) they saue their liues by flight, ill-informed of the small numbers of their enemies, who pursue them with all fury. *Charles* himselfe was forced to ioyne with them that fled, abandoning both campe and artillery, to saue their persons, staying in no place vntill he came to Ioine, fiftene or sixtene leagues from *Gransson*. A haltier flight then the pursute, for want of horses, so as the duke in the midst of so great a terror, lost but seuen men at armes, but very many foote. This happened the second day of March.

The overthrow of *Gransson*, where *Charles* lost all his baggage.

A day not so famous for the losse of men, as of spoile, esteemed at three millions, where-with the Suisses (not so cunning in those daies as now) made themselves rich, although they were ignorant of the value of things. For a prooue of their grosse and rude ignorance, the Originall obserues: that they did teare in peeces the goodliest and most sumptuous pavilions in the world, to apparell themselves. That a souldier did sell a siluer dish like vnto pewter, for two pence halfe peny. An other taking vp the case of the dukes great Diamond, whereat did hang a great pearle: the which he viewing, put vp againe, and so cast it into a Cart, comming afterwards to fetch it, he sold it to a Priest for a Florin worth twelue pence: the priest sent it vnto their Lords, who gaue him fixe shillings. They held it to be the goodliest in Christendome. Besides many others, they got threer pearles of inestimable value, the which they called the three bretheren, with two other the most rare stones that could be found.

Esteemed at three millions

To conclude, whatsoeuer the duke had of rich or sumptuous, he caused to bee carried after him in ostentation, to shew his superfluous and fearefull greatnesse vnto strangers. So, the eternall God did signifie vnto *Ezechias* by *Esay*: That all the cofers of his drugges, siluer and gold, his sweete perfumes and precious ointment, with all his artillery, yea all that was found in his treasures, all that was in his house, all that his fathers had gathered together vnto that day, should be carried into *Babilon*: for that he had made a shew to the Ambassadors of *Berodac-Baladan* the sonne of *Baladan* King of *Babilon*.

Presently after this battaile, the Suisses recouer their lost places, take downe their companions and bury them, and hang vp as many Bourguignons with the same halters. The King remained at Lion, attending the successe of the Bourguignons forces, fearing exceedingly, least he should subdue the Cantons. He disposed of the house of Sauoy as his owne: the duke of Milan was his ally: he held Lorraine, and hoped for Prouence, which succeeding, his power extended from the westerne sea, vnto the East: and France had had no issue out, but by the dukes fauor, or by sea: for the preuention whereof, *Lewis* sent often to the Duchesse of Sauoy his sister in law (being wholly at the dukes deuotion) to *René* his vncle, being much incensed against him, so as he would scarce heare his messengers, to the princes and comitalties of Germany, who returne him an answer; Say vnto the King, that if he warre not against him, wee will make our peace, and warre our selues against him: This was it hee feared, yet would hee not breake the truce, neither haue *Charles* discover the messages hee sent.

The Suisses reuenge the cruelty of *Charles* at *Gransson*.

*Lewis* fears the good successe of *Charles*.

But



1476. But now the Bourguignons shipwracke cheered him, grieuing onely at the small number A that were slaine.

The Duke  
sees he  
King shuld  
breake the  
truce.

The duke on his part was toucht with feare, and to preuent it, he sends *Contay* to the King, charged with humble and gracious speeches, contrary to his custome. He beseecheth his Maiesty to obserue the truce loyally, excuseth himselfe that he did not assist at their enter-view nere vnto Auxerre, and promisseth to be there shortly, or wheresoeuer it should please the King. The King assures him of his demands, neither was it yet time to doe otherwise, but to keepe himselfe in the shade, whilest that *Charles* chafed. *Lewis* was well acquainted with the loyalty of the dukes subiects, who would easily crosse him, seeing him oppressed with aduersitie. One mischiefe comes neuer alone: the losse, shame, and despight, to see himselfe vanquished, laies him sicke in his bed. But behold a rougher charge: in prosperity friends come by hundreds, in aduersitie they flie by thousands. *Gali* as duke of Milan leads the dance; he was allied to *Charles* by reason of his praetiles in Italy: which being dissolved by this checke, hee sends a cittizen of Milan to the King, hee dissuades him from making a peace with the Bourguignon, and to preuent it, he offers him a hundred thousand Ducats presently. The King detesting the inconstancie of this man, who three weekes before was estranged from him, hunting after the Bourguignons fortunes, with a great and sollemne Ambassage: considering also that their wiues were sisters, and his couetous proceeding: he reiects his money, reprocheth the little loue hee bare to his brother in law, but in the end he accepts of his alliance. *Rene* King of Sicilia seconds him. *Charles* had already (vpon the hope which this good old man gaue him) sent the Lord of Chasteauguion into Piedmont, with twenty thousand crownes, to make a leaue of men, to take possession of that Earledome.

*Lewis* reconciled to the King of Sicilia

But vpon this defeat, he was happy to saue his person, and to loose but his siluer, seized on for the King by *Philop* of Sauoy Earle of Bresse. Vpon this amazement *Lewis* sends to his vnckle, desires him to come, and to assure himselfe of good entertainment, else hee would provide by force. *Iohn Cosse* Seneshall of Prouence, an honest man, and of a good house in the Realme of Naples, perswaded his maister to this voiage, giuing the King to vnderstand, that the treaty of *Rene* with the Bourguignon (the which he himselfe had procured) tended to no other end, but to let the King know the wrong hee had done his vnckle, hauing taken from him the castles of Barre and Angiers, and intreating him ill in al his other affaires, and that he neuer had any will to performe the accord. A liberty of speech very pleasing vnto *Lewis*, who from that time respected his vnckle, and they liued like good friends. Then *Rene* made a transaction with the King, that after his death the Earledome of Prouence should returne to the King, and be incorporate to the crowne.

In doing whereof, the Queene of England, daughter to the said *Rene*, and widow to *Henry* the sixth King of England, whom *Edward* held prisoner, was redeemed by the King, for fiftie thousand crownes. For this cause she yeelded vnto the King all the right shee might pretend to the said county, and for a certaine pension which the King assigned her during her life. The Duchesse of Sauoy sent *Montaign* secretly, to reconcile her to the King, yet will shee trie the issue of the dukes fortune. The Princes of Germany, and the imperiall townes, who before were enforced to temporise, now shew themselves enemies, and turne from him.

*Frederick* prince of Tarentum, grieued with the strange dissembings, touching the pretended marriage, leaues him: and soone after, returning into France, he marries a daughter of Sauoy, the Queenes sister: what then shall he flie to his Hollanders and Flemings? But he knowes their inconstancy, and that they fauored not his flight: yet he sends his Chancellor *Hugonnet*, with twelue commissioners, to require aide of men and money from his subiects, who returne with this resolution. That if the Duke their Lord were prisoner, they would mortgage and sell their liuings, to redeeme him: that to dissuade him from the warre, and draw him home into his countries, they would assist him with all their power. But to continue it, they are not resolu'd to doe any thing. To conclude, euery bird had his peck at this Owle. Euen as when a tempest ouerthrowes some great tree, euery one reares off a branch. He yeelds not yet, but would bee ashamed to confesse himselfe beaten by such a wretched people: and although all these crosse had wonderfully increased his sicknesse, and

*Charles* armes againe.

A and that heauinesse, melancholy, choller, and other passions, had altered his bloud, with great preiudice to his health: yet he gathers together the peeces of his wracke, and within few moneths goes to field with his army. Hauing staid some space at Lauzanne, he went the ninth of Iune to campe before Morat, a small towne two leagues from Berne, belonging to the Earle of *Rhomont*, who lead the forward. *Anthony* bastard of Bourgongne camped vpon the Lake, with thirty thousand foote and horse. The Duke lodged in the mountaine, and *Rhomont* vpon the descent towards the Lake, with twelue thousand men. The Cantons were sooner in armes at this shooke, then at the other: and if before they gaue him a light defeat, they shall now giue him a generall ouerthrow. In their league B are numbred twenty townes, prelates and commonalties: Zurich, Berne, Lucerne, Vri, Suits, Vnderual, Zug, Glaris, Fribourg, Soleurre, Basill, Chafhouze, Appenzel, Sangall, the Grisons, the Earle of Tocquembourg, the Abbot of Sangall, Valois, la Cassé, Dye: and the ten iurisdiccions of Malny. All these did furnish eleuen thousand pikes, ten thousand halberds, 10000. shot, and 4000. horse: and the King, who made warre against the Bourguignon at an other mans cost, had vnder-hand giuen the Duke of Lorraine meanes to ioyne with sixe hundred men at armes. Moreouer the townes of Rhine, Songoy and Ferrete had sent a supply of three thousand men.

He besieged Morat.

*Charles* is ouerthrowne.

All these forces being ioyned, the two and twenty of Iune, behold at the first encounter, the foreward is so violently charged, as the Earle of *Rhomont* is forced to saue himself with C ten or twelue horse. The garrison of Morat falls out, and ioynes with the Duke of Lorraines troupes: they charge the Bourguignons campe, force it, and ouerthrow him with a horrible slaughter of his men. He recouers Befanson by the swiftnesse of his horse; and from thence, *Riuere* in the county of Bourgongne. In this battaile died about eightene thousand men (others say two and twenty thousand seuen hundred) and of Swisses fifty men only. At this day are seene the spoiles of this battaile, in a chappell built, where the battaile was fought, and filled with the bones of such as were slaine. The Swisses pursuing their victory, take all the places of the county of *Rhomont*, and along the Lake Lemane, euen vnto Geneua, which are at this day vnder the iurisdiction of Berne, and the bishop of Basill, razed many places and castles vpon the marches of the Franche county. The D Duke of Lorraine, hauing a good share in this notable victory, with his French troupes, and some supplies from the confederates, recouers Vaudemont, Espinal, Nancy and some other places by composition. Now is *Charles* of Bourgongne exceeding heauy, and for that the house of Sauoy had bene the chiefe motiue of this warre: (whereof the first firebrand had bene for some carts laden with skinnes, taken by *Rhomont* from a Suisse) and doubting least shee would speedily be reconciled to the King, he sends to take her by force, and brings her to Rouure neere Dijon, with her youngest sonne, since Duke of Sauoy. *Philibert* the eldest then Duke, was (with the helpe of some seruants of his house) retired to Chamberi. The King, who neuer lets slip any aduantage, and who politickly builds vpon E anothers shipwracke, treats with the Bishop of Geneua, a sonne of Sauoy, a man of a free disposition, and gouerned by a commander of Rhodes, both tractable: who deliuer into his hands the castles of Chamberi, Montmelian, and another place, in the which were all the Duchesse Jewells. She seeing her selfe deprived of liberty, dissembles no longer, but sends *Riuicrol* a Gentleman of Piedmont, to the King, to mediate her peace, but with all the surety that might bee: knowing well, that it was dangerous to displease him, beseeching his Maiesty to free her. *Lewis* a better brother then shee had bene a sister, sends to deliuer her, by *Charles* of Amboise Lord of Chaumont, gouernour of Champagne, who brought her to Plessis by Tours, whether the King was returned: who hauing renounced the alliance of Bourgongne, recovered her children of the King, with the places, Jewells and all things that belonged to her, and then conducted her home at his own charge. But F *Charles* is he tired? So many disgraces: so many losses of men of war, places, friends and treasure, haue al these so daunted him, as he hath lost al courage? He is now solitary at *Riuere*, sad, mournfull, grieued, displeased in himselfe, way-ward to his seruants, despised of his subiects, abandoned of his friends, and hatefull to all the world: he seekes neither comfort or counsell of any man, and his great gusterity is the cause that no man dare giue it him. And doubtlesse these encounters were sufficient to make him lay aside armes, and humbly to

*Charles* surpriseth the Duchesse of Sa. uoy with her youngest sonne.

*Lewis* sets her at liberty.



1476. acknowledge, that the scourge of God doth aduertise vs, that we are straiued from our duties, A  
and to lift vp our eies, hands and hearts to heauen, there to seeke for consolation; and not  
among men: rather restoring that which wee haue pulled from others vniustly, then con-  
tinuing obstinate in our reuenges.

Nancy taken  
by René, and  
besieged by  
Charles.

But Nancy must be the place of his funerall, it was wonderfull commodious for his pas-  
sage to his other Signeuries; but his army being vtterly ouerthrowne, it was not possible to  
leauy new troupes so speedily, to succour the Lord of Beures, of the house of Croy, who de-  
fended it against the Lorraine. *Campobasso* did diuert him, shewing that the city was but slack-  
ly besieged, that it was needfull to breath, and to refresh his spirits, tired with the forepassed  
toiles; and in the meane time, continues his practises with Duke René. Beures pressed him B  
still for succours, yet could he not arriue vntill the day it was yellected, with such forces as hee  
could get out of Flanders, Luxembourg, and Bourgongne. He besiegeth it againe before  
it could be fortified and victualled, and within few daies, brings it to exceeding famine. The  
Lorraine not yet strong enough, attending such troupes as came to him out of Germany  
and Suifferland, aduentures a company of souldiers, carrying some victualls. They crosse  
through the campe, mainteining the skirmish, whilest that such as carried meale entred the  
towne. *Cifron* a Gentleman of Prouence, and Steward to the Duke of Lorraine, was taken  
prisoner amongst others. *Charles* commands he should be hanged. This gentleman had  
beene the actor betwixt *Campobasso* and the duke René. Seeing that he must of necessity C  
die, he desires *Charles* to heare him, and that hee would discouer a matter which concerned  
his person. *Charles* answers in choller, that they were but shifts, and *Campobasso* fearing  
his tongue, doth hasten both the duke and prouost to this execution; for (said he) by the law  
of armes, euery one that seekes to releue a place after the Canon hath plaied and is taken,  
deserues death. *Cifron* makes a new request, and the Duke sends to know what hee would  
say. He refuseth to reueale it, but to the duke himselfe, and as they returned with this an-  
swere to the duke, *Campobasso* remaining at the chamber dore, where the duke was writing  
with a Secretary, makes them beleue that the dukes pleasure was they should dispatch him:  
and so *Cifron* was hanged. Hee still continues his siege, and neither shame, losses, the sea-  
son of the yeere, nor his weake army, neither the great succours which he sees comming to  
the Lorraine, nor the secret aide the King gaue vnto his enemy, neither *Alphonfus* King of D  
Portugall, his cousin germaine, who then attended some succours from the King at Paris, a-  
gainst the Castilian, and went expressly to him to mediate a peace, to be the sooner dispatch-  
ed (for the King excused himselfe, vpon the issue hee feared of this warre of Lorraine) could  
moue him.

Nancy releu-  
ed by Duke  
René.

The integrity  
of the Suiffes  
in old time.

Nancy pressed with famine was ready to compound, if *Campobasso* had not by secret in-  
telligence reuiued their spirits: when as behold the duke of Lorraine comes with an army  
of foureteene or fiftene thousand men, French, Suiffes, Germaines and Lorraines and  
lodgeth at Saint *Nicholas* of Varengeuille. *Campobasso* not able to doe the Bourguignon a  
greater dispiight, leaues him, with nine score men at armes with him, and the Lords of Ange  
& Montfort with six score, & they go to René. A great maiime for the duke, whose troupes E  
were but bare and weake. Norwithstanding vpon the Suiffes protestation, that they would  
not fight in the company of a traitor, the duke sends him to Conde a castle vpon the riuier  
of Moselle, a passage for victualls which came to *Charles* from the vallie of Luxembourg  
and Metz. He takes this passage and stops it with trees and carts, to stay the flight of such as  
should thinke to saue themselves, foreseeing already the Bourguignons ouerthrow, hoping  
by this means to haue a share of the booty and prisoners, as it happened indeed. But the  
fowlest and most trecherous act of his tragedy is, that he left men suborned to beginne the  
flight at the first charge, and others to obserue the duke, & if he fled to kill him. *Charles* vnder-  
standing these newes, harkeneth thereto (contrary to his custome) yet he follows not the  
advice of his counsell. The most experienced counsellled him to retire to Pont a Mousson, F  
whitch he held yet, & to fortifie himself there, suffering the victual Nancy. They told him  
that the Germaines loued the ayre of their hot-houses too well: that René would want mo-  
ney, so all would disband, without meanes to ioyne together againe in long time: that their  
victualling could not be so plentifull, but it would be spent before the middest of winter, &  
in the meane time he should refresh his army, increase his troupes, and furnish himselfe with all

A all things necessary, seeing that he had money which was the sinew of warre. A wife coun-  
sell, but *Charles* hastened to his ruine. He had in his army, but foure thousand men, whereof  
not aboute twelue hundred were in case to fight, yet by the aduice of some foolish people  
he will hazard a third battaile, exposing a handfull of men ill armed, and ill mounted, pan-  
ting yet with the first and second encounters, against an army fresh, lusty, and glorious with  
two notable victories. The fifth of Ianuary, vpon twelfth Eue, René puts his army into bat-  
taile, nere vnto a lake at Neuf-uille. The Germans and Suiffes diuide themselves into two  
battallions: the Earle of Abestein and the Gouernours of Zurich and Fribourg lead the  
one, the Aduoyers of Berne and Lucerne the other: the rest both French and Lorraines,  
B march vnder their ensignes: one battallion goes towards the riuier, the other takes the high-  
way from Neuf-uille to Nancy.

The battaile  
of Nancy.

The duke of Bourgongne attends them swiftly, in a place of strength and aduantage, ha-  
ving before him a little riuier, betwixt two strong hedgrowes nere vnto the hospitall of Ma-  
gonne, and at the entry of this great hie-way (where one of the battallions marched) *Charles*  
had planted the greatest part of his artillery, which thunders vpon the Suiffes at their first  
approch, but with final hurt, being farre off. This battallion leaues the hie-way, and mountes  
vp towards the wood, coasting along the dukes army. The duke makes his archers to turne  
head, appointing two wings of men at armes, the one led by *James Galiot* a Neapolitaine,  
an honest man and a valiant captaine, the other by the Lord of Lalain lieutenant of Flan-  
C ders. This battallion hauing gotten the aduantage on the higher ground, stands firme: then  
like vnto a violent streame it fals vpon the Bourguignons army, and with a thundring volle  
of shot defeats the foote. At the same instant the other battallion chargeth *Galiot's* squa-  
dron, who behaued himselfe like a wise & valiant captaine; but the horse seeing the foote  
men amazed, leaue all & flie after. The other wing commanded by *Lalain* maintaines the  
fight, but vnable to withstand the violent shocke of the Suiffes, in the end they giue way, and  
turne towards the bridge of Bridores, where was the greatest shew of their men that fled.  
This bridge is halfe a league from Nancy towards Thionuille and Luxembourg. *Campobas-  
so* had stoppt the passage, so as all such as tooke that course, were either slaine, drowned, or  
taken: if any recovered the woods, the peasants beate them downe with leuers. A chase  
D which continued from noone vntill two houres within night. *Charles* thinking to saue  
himselfe, was ouerthrowne by a troupe of men that followed him; discovered by them,  
whitch the traitor *Campobasso* had left to obserue him.

*Charles* ouer-  
come and  
slaine.

The next day he was found among the dead, lying frozen in a ditch, well knowne by ma-  
ny of his household seruants. He had three wounds, one with a halbard aboute the eare,  
whitch cut him to the teeth, the second with a pike through both the thighes, the third by  
the fondement. René caused him to be honourably buried in Saint *Georges* Church at Nan-  
cy. In this battaile there died three thousand Bourguignons, and there were taken, the Earle  
of Nassau, the Marquis of Rothelin, an English Earle, *Anthony* and *Bildouin* brethren, bast-  
ards to the duke (whose ransomes the King did pay) and many gentlemen. The booty was  
E small: but the victory of Granffon was yet fresh, and as they then did sing: *hee lost his  
goods at Granffon, his men at Morat, and his life at Nancy*. Behold this great *Nembroth*  
who made himselfe equall with Emperours, and yielded not to the greatest Kings: before  
time the terror of Christendome, feared by his subiects, sought to by his neighbours: who  
had purchased to himselfe the surname of terrible, and warrior, dronke with ambition, tran-  
spored with the desire of an others estate, now confounded with his owne greatnesse, who  
with his fall ruines his house. Doubtlesse, the daies of mortall man are like to grasse, hee  
fades like the flower of the field: for the winde passing ouer it, it is no more seene, nor the place  
therof knowne. Shame and destruction follow pride at the heeles. And who doth iudge  
by the effects, that the chiefe causes of his ruine were couetousnesse, pride, and crueltie  
F by the effects, that the chiefe causes of his ruine were couetousnesse, pride, and crueltie  
couetousnesse, in that contrary to his honour and faith, hee had deliuered the Consta-  
ble, for the greedie desire hee had to enioy Saint *Quentin*, *Han* and *Bohain*; and some  
moouables: Pride, in that God hauing raised him to greater dignitie then any of his pre-  
decessors, accompanied with many goodly and singular graces, yet hee thought that the  
habitable earth could not prescribe limits to his conquests: attributing all to his owne  
force, and not to the power of the eternall: and the happy successe of his affaires to his  
owne

The causes of  
his ruine.

1477.

owne iudgment. Cruelty, for that in the warre of Liege, he had bathed himselfe in the bloud of his poore subiects, glutting his wrath with that sex and age, whom the rigour of warre doth vsually pardon.

And what shall we say of the right hands he caused to be cut off, of those poore souldiars at Nefle? Of the fires wherewith he hath wasted so much country? Of the Suiffes hanged at Gransson, after they had yielded vpon his faith giuen to the contrary, and of late had hanged a gentleman being taking in the warre. He had good parts, valiant, painfull, vigilant, desirous to entertaine men of merit, liberall, but with discretion, to the end that many might taste of his bounty. He gaue aduice priuately, honoured strangers, and receiued Ambassadors, with State. But since the battaile of Montlehery, presuming by his onely valour to haue forced a mighty King, to leaue him the field, he conceiued so ouerweening a presumption of himselfe, as neuer after would he beleue any other counsell but his owne: attributing the issue of his enterprises to his owne iudgement and industry, with so obstinate constancy in his vnmearured designs, as in the end it was his confusion. So the voice of the Eternall breakes downe the Cedars: yea the Eternall beates downe the Cedars of Libanus. But let vs note the iudgement of God, that before Nancy he deliuered the Constable, and before Nancy he was betrayed by Campobasso. And let vs obserue the like in our daies, as we shall see hereafter. Eleuen daies before this battaile, Galeas duke of Milan was murdered in a Church by Andrew of Lampogagno, a Milanois, who leauing a sonne very yong, left withall many discordes for the gouernment of the Duchie, amongst many Noblemen, one among them called Robert of Saint Seuerin, nere kinsman to the Duke, banished from his house by the stronger faction, retired himselfe into France, hoping to perswade the King to attempt something against the state of Milan. Lewis taught by former experience, that the French haue alwaies lost easily and with shame that which they had gotten with much paine and sweate in Italy, would not harken vnto it, no nor suffer any succors passe for the reliefe of the Florentines, being ancient friends and allies to the French, against whom Pope Sixtus and Ferdinand King of Naples made warre. But for that he would not seeme utterly to abandon them, he sent the Lord of Argenton vnto them, with some troupes leui- ed in the State of Milan, as we shall shortly see.

But what doth Francis Duke of Britan, hauing lost one of the chiefe supporters of his building? He sees, that of three of the strongest heads of the common-weale, two are cut off, Charles Duke of Guienne and Charles Duke of Bourgongne, and he knows full well, that the King will not leaue this outrage vreuenged vpon such as remaine. The treaty made at the Abbay of Victory had bene confirmed by the Estates of Britany. Lewis had by his Deputies renounced all pretension to this Duchy: but hee forgets nothing, though he sleepes. Hee is now freed from his most mortall enemy: by all probability, he should hereafter employ his forces in Britan: he must therefore warrant himselfe with some fauorable support, and must seeke protection from the English.

This negotiation required much secrecy and silence, for Lewis was exceeding iealous, and discouered cunningly such practises. So as the subtilt were surprised in their owne subtilities. Peter Landays Treasurer of Britan, was the man best acquainted with the dukes most secret intelligences, and vnder him, William Guiguen. For the dispatches for England, he vsed one Maurice Bromel, who for three yeeres space was the messenger to carry letters betwixt the duke of Britan and the King of England. It chanced that Bromel passing at some port, discouered himselfe to a seruant of the Kings, who presently aduertised his maiesty. Lewis did cunningly make his profit of these aduentures. Yet must he not rashly apprehend the companion, thinking it best to discouer more. The King, to winne this messenger, cunningly imployes a certaine man of Cherebourg in Normandie, who could counterfeit the Dukes hand, the King of Englands, and their Secretaries; This Agent for the King, treats with Bromel, and for a hundred crownes for euery letter coming from either part, gets a promise of him, and a place appointed to deliuer the letter and to receiue his money. The Agent made copies, counterfeited their hands, and sealing them vp with a seale either counterfeited, or stolne by Bromel, he sent the copies into England, and brought the King the originalls. In the end, two and twenty letters, what of the Duke and Edwards, fell into the Kings hands, without discouery.

And

1477.

A And although the duke sought to the English more to defend him at neede, then to offend, yet would he maintaine himselfe in the Kings good fauour. For this effect, one day among others, he sent Chauvin his Chancellor, the Seneshall of Vannes and others of his counsell, to giue Lewis to vnderstand the deuotion he had to his seruice. At that time the King pursued his conquests vpon the heire of Bourgongne, being ready to besiege Arras, as we shal presently shew. Being arriued, they are al committed prisoners, and sequestred vnder diuers gards. After two daies, the King sends for the Chancellor, reprocheth him, that hauing often conferred with him of the affaires of Britan, holding him for an honest man, he findes it strange, that he had alwaies so constantly assured him, that his maister had no secret intelligence with the King of England, seeing that now the contrary was manifest. B The Chancellor continues in this protestation, and for more assurance engageth his life; but twelue letters written by Guiguen and signed by the duke, and ten others by Edward, made him hang downe his head, and to confesse himselfe faulty. But for his owne particular, he protests of his innocency, and in case that he or his companions deputies, be found to haue bene acquainted with this intelligence, he will loofe his life. The King is satisfied herewith, he returns them backe without any farther audience, and giues them the originalls, for a prooffe against the duke. He iustly complains, that making shew to fauor him, he doth notwithstanding practise with the most ancient enemy of the crowne. That if hee do not renounce all intelligence with the King of England, he will not take him for his friend. Chauvin being returned, makes his report, deliuers the Kings commandement, his answers, his countenance in speaking, the accents of his words, and the consequences that might ensue. He beseecheth the duke to retire himselfe in priuate, and then to verifie his sayings, he laies vpon the table the two and twenty letters.

The duke amazed to see that plainly discouered, which hee thought to haue bene knowne but to two, sends for Landays and commands him vpon his life to tell him, by what means they might fall into the Kings hands; the which must needs proceed from one of the two. Landays knowes the hands and seales, but cannot conceiue the residue; and all amazed he offers himselfe to prison, and to loofe his life, if he be any way found guilty. Then he remembers, that only Bromel had alwaies carried and re-carried these letters: they must finde out him (being then imploied in that action) and make him vnfold that doubt. He therefore sends after him in post, and takes him at Port-blanc, where he attended a winde to imbarke, and was brought to Nantes. His confession did absolue Landays; and he was cast into the riuer, in a sacke very secretly, least the King should be aduertised thereof, who sufficiently informed of the dukes ill minde, turned his armes into Britan. But the warre against Mary of Bourgongne troubled him sufficiently: yet to proceed with some lawfull pretext, he would fortifie himselfe with a grant he obtained from the Lord of Boufflac, and of Nichole of Britan his wife, the onely heire of Charles of Britan, Earle of Ponthieure: a house which in old time did quarrell for the succession of this Duchy, by the which transaction, in the yeere 1479. the 19. of January, they yielded vnto him all the rights they might pretend to the said Duchy. But it is now incorporate to the crowne, by a iuster title then by armes.

By what meanes, Abbeuille, Dourlans, Montreuil, Roye, Montdidier, Peronne, Han, Bobain, Saint Quentin, Tournai, Arras, Hedin, Boliobongue, Terouenne, Douay, and other plates were reduced to the Kings obedience; and Bourgongne united to the Crowne.



He first intelligence the King receiued of the ouerthrow of Charles of Bourgongne, gaue no assurance of his death; for by means of the posts he had newly established, he had speedy aduice. Thereupon he resolues to enter Bourgongne with the army he held in Champagne and Barrois attending the Duke, and vpon this sodaine terrour to seize vpon the country.

Pp 3

The disposition  
of Charles  
of Bourgogne.

Galeas duke  
of Milan  
murdered.

The practises  
of the Duke  
of Britan.

Discouered  
by the King.

Lewis discou-  
ers the duke  
of Britans let-  
ters to his  
Chancellor.

The Duke of  
Britan amazed  
to see his in-  
telligences  
discouered.

1477.

country. And he imagined to haue both right and meanes to doe it: right, for his rebellion and treachery committed against the crowne; meanes, for that the flower of all the Nobilitie of Bourgongne was lost; and all his forces disperfed. If happely the Duke liued, this would be his ruine. It was also to keepe the Germanes and Suiffes from the possession thereof, and to saue the prouince from ruine, loth to suffer a stranger to seize thereon, seeing it holds in foueraignty of him.

In the meane time hee giues away, (in case the Duke bee dead) some lands which the Duke possessed, and sends the Admirall with the Lord of Argenton, with authority to open all pacquets vpon the way, and if the duke were dead to receiue into his obedience, all such as would yeeld themselues. Vpon the first day of their journey they had certaine aduice by a messenger which the Lord of Craon sent to the King. Abbeuille made the way to the rest. The Admirall, and Argenton had sent a man before, to treat with the souldiers; who attending the comming of these noble men, there came forth to the number of foure hundred Lances. Beeing come forth, the people open the gates to the Lord of Torcy: and they spare the King those crownes and pensions, which the Admirall by vertue of his warrant had promised the capitaine. This was one of the townes which Charles the seuenth, had deliuered by the treaty of Arras: the which should (for want of heires males) returne to the crowne.

Dourlans follows. They summon Arras, the King, pretending this towne to bee his by confiscation, for not performance of duties, and in case of refusal, they threaten force. The Lords of Rauastain and Cordes make answer to John of Vacquery (afterwards chiefe president of the parliament at Paris;) that the county of Arthois appertained to Mary of Bourgongne, and came to her directly from Marguerite Countesse of Flanders, Arthois, Bourgongne, Neuers, and Rhétel, married to Philip the first, Duke of Bourgongne, sonne to King John, and yonger brother to King Charles the fifth, beseeching him to mainteine the true made with Dukes Charles deceased. So they returne without doing any thing, but onely wonne some men, that soone after serued the King well: who (resolving to reduce such places by force, as should disobey his command) goes into Picardy. In this voiage, hee causeth his Court of parliament at Paris to come to Noyon, with the masters of requests, and some princes of the bloud, to resolve vpon the proccesse of James of Armagnac Duke of Nemours, and Earle of Marche, prisoner in the Bastill at Paris, and taken in the yeere 75. at Carlat, by Peter of Bourbon Earle of Beauieu, at what time the dukes wife died, partly for grieffe, and partly by child-birth. Shee was daughter to Charles of Aniou, Earle of Maine. By which Court (beeing found guilty of high treason) hee was condemned by a sentence pronounced by John Boulenger the first president, to loose his head vpon a scaffold at the Halles at Paris, on Munday the third of August: and was by the like grace buried at the Gray-Friars, as the Constable had bene. Hee was one of the chiefe of the warre for the common-weale, whom the King laboured to bring to his end all hee could. Lewis is exceeding glad, to haue surmounted his most malicious aduersaries: the Duke of Guenne his brother, the Earle of Armagnac, the Constable, the Duke of Nemours. All the house of Aniou was dead, René King of Sicilia, John and Nicholas Dukes of Calabria, and their cousin the Earle of Maine, afterwards Earle of Prouence, whose successions hee had gotten.

But the more the house of Bourgongne exceeded all the rest in greatnesse and power, hauing with the helpe of the English, continually shaken the estate of this realme, for the space of thirty two yeeres vnder Charles the seuenth, & their subiects being alwaies ready to trouble this crowne by warres: so much the more pleasing was the death of their last Duke vnto him, knowing well, that beeing now freed of his greatest incoimber, hee should hereafter finde greater ease. Yet he erred in his proceeding, not taking for good a course, as hee had fore-cast, in the life of Charles of Bourgongne, in case hee should die; for allying himselfe by the marriage of the Daulphin, his sonne, with the heire of Bourgongne, or at the least with some of his princes (for that there was a difference of age betwixt them) hee had easily drawne vnto him the subiects of these large and rich Seignories, and had preferred them from many troubles, the which haue afflicted both them and vs by the same meanes: and freeing them from warre, he had greatly fortified his realme, recovering with

Townes in  
Picardy yeeld  
to the King.

The Duke of  
Nemours be-  
headed.

Lewis his  
error after the  
death of  
Charles.

1477.

A small toyle, that which he pretended to bee his. The which he might easily effect, for the Bourguignons were very humble, without support and without forces, nor able to make above fiftene hundred horse and foote, which were preferred at this generall ouerthrowe.

But these are humane discourses, wherein he had done better, then thus resolutely to haue fought the ouerthrow of that house, and by the ruine thereof, to purchase to himself friends, in Germanie or elsewhere, as he pretended, but without effect. Presently vpon his arriual, Han and Bohain yeelded. Saint Quentin takes it selfe, and calles in the Lord of Mouy. William Bische, (borne at Molins in Niuernois, a man of base qualitie, but enriched and raised to great authoritie by Duke Charles,) Gouvernor of Peronne, yeelds the place, and the Lord of Cordes inclines to the French partie: They failed of their enterprize at Gand, but it succeeded at Tournay. The King had sent Master Oliuer le Dain his Surgeon, borne in a village neere vnto Gand, not onely to carrie letters of credit to Marie of Bourgongne, (who then was in the possession of the Gantois, that suffered no man to speake vnto her, but in the presence of witnesses) perswading her to yeeld vnto the Kings protection, seeing that both by father and mother, she was issued from the bloud of France: (beeing well assured that hee should hardly obtaine her) whilest that he provided her a husband fit for her qualitie, as also to worke some alteration in the Cittie, they beeing discontented with the Priuiledges which Philip and Charles had taken from them, and the rigorous exactions they had made. Oliuer hauing stayed some daies at Gand, is called to the Towne-house to deliuer his charge. Hee deliuers his letter to the Infanta, assisted by the Duke of Cleues, the bishop of Leege, and other great personages. Shee reads it, and they call him to deliuer his message. He answers, that he hath no charge but to speake to her in priuate. They reply: It was not the custome, especially to a young Gentlewoman that was to marrie: Hee insists, that he will deliuer no thing but to her selfe: they threaten him with force: he is amazed, and going from the Council, (considering the qualitie of the person) they do him some disgraces, and if hee had not speedily escaped, he had bene in danger to haue had the riuier for his graue. Doubtlesse it is a great hazard, when matters of importance are managed by men of meane estate, and the people thinke themselues contemned, if they be treated with all by men of base qualitie. This barber knew something for to preuent this inconuenience, he tearmed himselfe Earle of Meulan, (others write of Melun) whereof he was Capitaine. But Lewis reposed great trust vpon the frontiers of Hainault and Flanders, a strong and a goodly towne, but free, and at that time a neuter, seated fitly to keepe those two Prouinces in subiection. Oliuer was there some dayes without respect, during the which he corrupted thirtie or fortie men, and fraught with their promises, he sent secretly to the Lord of Mouy, that at the breake of a certain day appointed, he with his companie and some other troupes, would be in the suburbs. Hee comes at the appointed time, and master Oliuer with his men giues him entrance, to the content of the people, but not of the Gouvernors, of the which he sent seauen or eight to Paris, who departed not whilest that Lewis liued.

To speake truly, Oliuer shewed both wit and valour in this stratagemie, and for the action of Gand, he is not so much to be blamed, as he that employed him. Conde, a small towne betwixt Tournay and Valenciennes, cut off all victuals from the French, and hindred the victualling of Tournay. It was taken and burnt, for that it did but employ men which might serue else-where, and Tournay was sufficient to keepe the Countrie in obedience. It seemed that the prosperitie of the Kings affaires and his great desseins began to trouble his spirits: for prooffe whereof, a Gentleman of Hainault (the Originall doth not name him) associated with many others, offers to deliuer vp the principall Townes and places of the Countie. Hee talks with the King, who likes not of him, nor of the rest hee named. The reason is, they would sell a good peece of seruice very deare. Yet hee referred them to the Lord of Lude, bredde vp from his youth with him. But Lude seasoned with the same humour, transported with his priuate profit, demands at the first, what the townes would giue him to manage their affaires: So as the Hannuyer (who would haue no competitor in his gaine) departed without effecting of any thing, & the enterprize proued vaine. Without doubt God would not glut vs with felicitie, and it is needfull to haue some crosses, to make

The Surgeons  
indiscretion.

The Kings  
health decays.

1477. vs to know our selues. Moreouer, it was not reasonable to vsurpe any thing vpon this Countie of Hainault, for that it holds of the Empire, and in regard of the auncient alliances betwixt the Emperours and our Kings, whereby they ought not one to take from another. And for prooffe, Cambray, Quefnoy le Conte, and some other places of Hainault, had willingly put themselves vnder the protection of *Lewis*, the which he deliuered as freely, with the forty thousand Crownes that they of Cambray had lent him, for the charges of the warre.

Ambassage  
from Mary of  
Bourgongne.

Whilst the King was resident at Peronne, an Ambassage comes to him from the Infant of Bourgongne, consisting of the principall men about her: as namely, the Chancellor *Hugonnet*, a very wise man, and honourable; *Himbercourt*, a Gentleman experienced in matters of weight; *Vere*, a great Nobleman of Zeland; *Cripture* (otherwise called *Grutuse*, or *Grutere*) with other Ecclesiasticall and secular men. They intreate the King to retire his armie, and that all controuersies might be quietly ended, according vnto right and reason. They shew, that by the customes of France, and the ordonances of his Predecessors Kings, the women did succeed in the Counties of Flanders, Arthois and other Prouinces thereabouts. That remaining but one onely daughter of the deceased Duke of Bourgongne, young, and an Orphelin, he should rather protect, then oppresse her. That the marriage of the Dauphin with her, should be more proportionable, then with the daughter of England. And for the more credit, they brought a letter, written part of it by *Mary* the Infanta of Bourgongne, and some part by the Douager her mother-in-law, Sister to *Edward* King of England, and some part by *Rauestein* brother to the Duke of Cleues, and neere Kinsman to the young Ladie, yet none of any credit but that of the Infanta. This letter gaue authoritie to *Hugonnet* and *Himbercourt*, and said moreouer: That *Mary* Duchesse of Bourgongne, was resolved to gouerne her affaires by the aduice of foure persons, the Douager, *Rauestein*, *Hugonnet*, and *Himbercourt*. *Mary* beseecheth the King, that whatsoever it should please him to negotiate with her, should passe by their hands, and that he should not impart it to any other. The King (fore-seeing that by the confusion of this people he should settle his affairs) meanes cunningly to make his profit of this letter, but not thinking it should cost two so vertuous heads, in sowing diuision betwixt the Duchesse and her subiects. Yet before hee giues audience to these Ambassadors, he treats priuately with either of them, *Hugonnet* and *Himbercourt*, (whereof the first had all his liuing in Picardie, and the other in Bourgongne,) and they desirous to be continued in their auncient authorities, giue care to the Kings of-fers: they promised to serue him, so as the foresaid marriage might take effect.

Diuision be-  
twixt Mary  
and the Gan-  
tois.

The rest, whose Estates were not vnder the Kings command, would not tye themselves by promise, but with the alliance of the houses of France and Bourgongne. This was most expedient for the King, but the violent conditions they propounded, withdrew his loue much both from her and them in particular, supposing he should soone haue all, without accepting of a part by an accord. Moreouer, hee was possessed with a wonderfull desire to conquer Arras. The Lord of Cordes might do much, he was Lieutenant in Picardie vnder the deceased Duke, Seneschall of Ponthieu, Capitaine of Courtray, Boulongne and Hedin, Gouverneur of Peronne, Montdidier and Roye: hee was younger brother to the Lord of Creuœur, and already did shew himselfe to be French, his estate lying within the territorie of Beauuais. The townes vpon the riuer of Somme, by the death of *Charles* (the last issue male of the house of Bourgongne) returned to the King, and so *de Cordes* became the kings Leage-man. His dutie then bound him to yeeld vnto the King such other places as he commanded, but he was bound by oth to his Mistresse seruice. A dispensation will salue it. There is no hole but *Lewis* finds a pin for it. Vpon his motion to the Ambassadors, that the deliuerie of Arras would make the way plaine for a good peace, and request, that they would bee a meanes to open the cittie of Arras vnto him, (for in those daies, there were both walles and ditches betwixt the Cittie and the Towne) *Hugonnet* and *Himbercourt* dispence with *de Cordes* of his oth, and consent to the deliuerie of the said Cittie.

Arras yeelded  
to Lewis by *de*  
*Cordes*.

Hedin fol-  
lowes.

Hee doth it willingly, and sweares fealtie to the King, who presently stoppes vpon all approaches to the town, then he goes to incampe before Hedin, leades *de Cordes* with him, whose men made a shew to defend the place, as engaged by oath to their Ladie: for their credits sake they indured the battery some daies, then seeing their defences taken away, and their

A their loope-holes battered, *Rafle* of Launoy, giues care to his Capitaine, and yeeldes the Towne. The King for his reward gaue him a chaine of twentie links, and euery linke worth twentie Crownes in gold, and a good pension for his maintenance. The taking of Hedin, brought the King to Therouenne and Montreuil, the which easily yeelded to his obedience. Boulongne beeing summoned refuseth, but beeing battered, it yeelds the fifth or the sixth day. The town belonged to *Bertrand de la Tour*, Earle of Auvergne: the King finding it commodious for the State of his Realme, compounded, giuing him a sufficient recompence, and as new Lord of the town he did homage, without sword or spurres, bare headed and on his knee, before the virgin *Mary*, offering (as a dutie to the said image) a heart of masse gold, weighing two thousand Crownes: vpon condition, that he and his successours Kings after him, should hold the Countie of Boulle of the said Virgin, and do homage vnto her image, in the Church dedicated to her name, paying at euery change of a vassall, a heart of pure gold of the same weight.

Therouenne  
and Montreuil

Lewis purcha-  
seth the cony  
of Boulle, &  
doth homage  
for it.

While the King remaines at Boulle, those of Arras seeing themselves enuironed on all sides, write to their friends of Lille and Douay, to succor them with some numbers of men, and moreouer they send to the Duchesse of Bourgongne, to furnish them with some succours, meaning to put themselves into her hands. The Deputies beeing two or three and twentie in number, make shew to go to the King, to treat with him, and vnder this colour they obtaine a passe-port of the bastard of Bourbon, Admirall of France. But beeing discouered vpon the way to Flanders, they were taken, brought to Hedin, deliuered to the Provoost Marshall, condemned, and eightene of them beheaded, the rest were saued by the Kings arruall. Amongst them that were executed, there was one *Oudard* of Bussie, borne at Paris, and married at Arras. The King had in former time offered him the place of a Councillor of the Court of Parliament at Paris then voide, and since he gaue him the office of Master of the accounts at Arras. He caused his head to be vnburi, and set vpon a pole in the market place, with a red hood furred with meniuer, like to the Councillors of the Parliament. A worthy punishment for so malicious an ingratitude.

The Deputies  
of Arras taken  
and many of  
them executed

There were some few horsemen at Douay, of the remainders of Nancy: they arme three hundred good and bad, and some few foote, and march at noone day in the sight of Arras. D The Lords of Lude and Fou, with the companie of the Marshall of Loheac, aduertised of their approach, go to meete with them, they fight with them, kill and take in a manner all of them. The king at his arriuall, caused foure-score of these prisoners to be executed, to terrifie those few men of warre that remained in the Countie. Some of them enter the town, but they were not able to stand out against so great forces. So as after a hard batterie they yeeld by composition: That they should remaine vnder the Kings obedience, as their Soueraigne, for want of heires male, rights and duties beeing not performed. That the Subsidies and Tributes should be leauied by the Kings officers, and deliuered by them to *Mary* the heire of Bourgongne, until she had done homage and taken her oath of fealtie to the King her Souerigne Lord. During which time the Inhabitants should receiue no garrison from the King. This was the fourth day of May.

Arras yeelded

E These things thus concluded, the King sent the Cardinall of Bourbon, the Chancellor of Orle, *de Cordes* Gouverneur of the Towne, and *Guio* Pot, Bayliffe of Vermandois, to take the oath of fealtie of the inhabitants. But after this oath, holily and religiously receiued by the deputies, who took their repast in the Monasterie of *S. Vast*, behold an insolent troupe of desperate people comes crying, *Kill, kill*: yet they were but terrified, and saued themselves presently in the cittie. This terror, together with the greedinesse of the Commanders, was the cause the composition was but ill obserued: for in the presence of *Lude* and *Cerisy*, many good cittizens and other rich men were spoyled and slaine, and the Cittie let at three-score thousand Crownes fine to the King, the which they pay was afterwards restored. And F to keepe these mutines in awe, the King transported most of the Inhabitants of Arras, and planted it with a new Colony of French, commanding it should be called *Ville Francoise*. At the same time the King aduertised, that the Flemings were in troupe, and lodged at *Blanc-fosse*, he sent to charge them, but they dislodge at the bruite thereof, yet not so speedily, but they leaue about two thousand men slaine at the first charge, and the like number in the chase, beeing pursued eight Leagues within the Countie of Flanders. The French in their returne,

A mutinie at  
Arras, and the  
Deputies in  
danger.



1477. returne, razed Mont-Cassell, Fiennes, and some other places. The Gantois, (whome the A  
seuerer punishment of the Liegeois had kept in awe,) now breake forth: They make a ward  
of their Duchesse, force her to restore their auncient priuiledges, which *Philip* and *Charles*  
had taken from them, and suddenly they resolute a deadly reuenge, vpon such by whome  
they say they had bene controuled. They lay hold vpon those whom they called their twen-  
tie and sixe Lawyers, whom *Charles* had established in the gouernment of the cittie, and puts  
them all, or the most part to death. They haue (say they) cut off ones head without any au-  
thoritie, for their power ended with the death of *Charles*. And moreover, they slew many  
good men within the cittie, that were wife and faithfull friends to *Charles* in his life. But they  
proceed yet farther.

Influence of  
the Gantois.

Their barba-  
rous ciuilitie.

The happie course of *Lewis* his conquests doth much amaze them, whereupon they as-  
semble some forme of a Parliament, by aduice whereof they make a motion of peace to the  
King, by an Ambassage, giuing him to vnderstand, that the Infanta of Bourgongne is deter-  
mined to gouerne herselfe hereafter by the aduice and counsell of the three Estates of her  
Countries: they request the King to desist from making warre, and to appoint a day when  
they may quietly pacifie all controuersies. There was nothing at that time able to withstand  
the violence of the Kings armie. The Low-countries were left naked of souldiers, those  
which suruiued, being inconstant, had forsaken the Infantes seruice: He was well acquaint-  
ed with the inconstancie of this people, not able to digest any man of iudgement that had  
bene in any authoritie with their deceased Prince. He knew, that their inclination was to  
loue the declining of their Lord, so as it were not with the preiudice of their countrie. And  
therefore he fore-casts, if he might, to sow some seeds of diuision amongst them, whereby he  
should greatly incoimber them. He stayes the Ambassadors vpon their speech, That their  
Princesse would not conclude any thing without the counsell of the three Estates of the  
Countrie: whereunto he replies, that they spake without warrant, and that he is duly infor-  
med, her meaning is to gouerne her affaires by priuate persons, who desired no peace. And  
vpon their protesting to the contrarie, affirming that they were grounded vpon good in-  
structions, the King opens *Maries* letters, brought by *Hugonnet*, *Himbercourt*, and other  
Ambassadors, at their first Ambassage, and they returne with no other dispatch then this  
letter.

Behold here a companie vnexperienced in affaires, returne light with care, but fraught  
with reuenge and diuision: they make their report vnto their Ladie, assisted with the Duke  
of Cleues, the bishop of Leege, and many other great personages. They strike on that string  
which they meant to play vpon: that the King had prooued them liars, in that they maintai-  
ned constantly, that she referred the gouernment of her affaires to the resolution of the  
States. And for prooffe, as they maintained the contrarie, not imagining her letter to haue  
bene produced, behold the Pensionarie of Gand, a brutish man and without respect, draws  
the said letter out of his bosome, and confounds this bashfull Princesse before the whole  
assembly. The Dowager, *Rauestein*, *Hugonnet* and *Himbercourt* were likewise present. The  
Duke of Cleues treated the marriage of his eldest sonne with the Infanta: hee sees himselfe  
now frustrate by the aboue-named, so as he presently becomes a mortall enemy to *Him-  
bercourt*, from whom he expected fauour in this sute. The bishop of Leege complained of  
many disorders committed by him at Leege, whereof he had the gouernment. The Earle of  
Saint Paul, sonne to him that was beheaded, loued neither *Hugonnet* nor *Himbercourt*, for  
they had deliuered his father to the Kings seruants. The Gantois, according to their hu-  
mors, hated them deadly, for that they were men of merit, and had bene good and loyall  
to their master.

To be short, the night after the letter was deliuered, *Hugonnet* and *Himbercourt* were tu-  
multuously seized on, and deliuered to suborned men of their Lawe: and for that they had  
caused the Cittie of Arras to be yeelded by the Lord of *Cordes*, as they said, or rather vpon  
certaine corruptions in iustice, and bribes which (they said) had bene received by them of  
the cittie of Gand, in a sute against a priuate man, and vpon many extorsions in their char-  
ges, and other things contrarie to the priuiledges of Gand, against the which (say they) who-  
soever offends must die: these two reuerend and graue personages, were with a shadow of  
Law condemned by the Sheriffe of Gand, and notwithstanding their appeale before the king  
of

*Hugonnet* and  
*Himbercourt*  
condemned &  
beheaded.

A the King in his Court of Parliament at Paris, supposing that this respite and delay, might  
giue their friends meanes to procure their deliuerie, they were vnworthily put to death. Oh  
vniust, barbarous, and inhumane people! That the humble and earnest supplication of thy  
Princesse, being in the Towne-house, nor her weeping and desolate presence before that  
mournfull scaffold, were not of force to preferue and keepe the liues of these two her faith-  
full seruants.

1477.

This execution ended, they sequestred from this poore Princesse, the Dowager and *Ra-  
uestein*, who had signed the Letter, they disposing absolutely of her. Poore, without doubt,  
hauing not onely lost so many good and great Townes, but also sees her selfe now in the ty-  
rannicall possession of the auncient persecutors of her house. A great corrosiue, to be com-  
manded by such as should obey. Afterward they banished whom they pleased, placed and  
displaced officers after their owne appetites, chase away indifferently all such as had best de-  
serued of this house of Bourgongne. And to continue their popular furie, they deliuered  
out of prison *Adolfe* Duke of Gueldres, whom *Charles* had long detained, and making him  
their head, they made a leaue in Gand, Bruges, and Ypre, of about twelue thousand men,  
the which they sent to Tournay, and burnt the suburbs, and then they retire. But the garri-  
son issuing forth, put wings to their feete: so as *Adolfe* a valiant Prince of his person, turning  
head to fauour them that fled, and to make the retreat, was ouerthrowne and slaine, with a  
great number of his people with him. The Infanta was nothing grieved; for if this stratagem  
C had succeeded for the first fruites of his armes, some hold they would haue forced her to  
marrie this *Adolfe*.

*Adolfe* Duke  
of Gueldres  
slaine.

But we haue wandred long enough in Arthois and Flanders, let vs retire a little into  
Bourgongne, and consider how this Duchie became French. *Iohn* of Chaalon, Prince of  
Orange, was in great credit there. He possessed much land, both in the Duchie and Countie,  
he was a man of action, and much esteemed in the Countrie, and pretended some inhe-  
ritances against the Lords of Chaumergnon his Vncles. *Charles* of Bourgongne had giuen  
sentence in fauour of his aduersaries, and (as he said) to his great preiudice, so as hee had  
twice left his seruice. Now the question is to winne him againe. The King promiseth to in-  
uest him in all those places which he pretends to belong vnto him, by the succession of his  
D grand-father, and to giue him good preferments in France. So he makes him in shew the  
head of that armie which the Lord of Craon commanded, being Lieutenant generall for  
the King in Bourgongne, whome the King trusted more then the Prince, being rash and  
light in the change of parties. *Craon* hauing commaundement to enter into Bourgongne,  
sends the Prince of Orange before, to practise the Towne of Dijon. He wrought so poli-  
tically, that Dijon and many other places, both of the Duchie and Countie, did willingly  
submit themselves to the French command. Auxonne and some other places of strength  
continued still vnder the obedience of *Mary* of Bourgongne. *Craon* seeing himselfe in pos-  
session of these places, desired rather to hold them vnder the Kings authoritie, then to deli-  
uer them to the Prince of Orange, notwithstanding the Kings promise and instance, who  
E desired to gratifie this Prince, and yet would not discontent *Craon*, who commaunded the  
forces. The Prince hauing to do with a man that would yeeld nothing without good consi-  
deration, and seeing himselfe frustrate of his pretensions, he ioynes with *Chastelaugnon* his  
brother, and *Claude* of Vaudry, a braue Gentleman, raiseth some troupes, with the which he  
draweth from the King the most part of the aboue-named places, with as great facilitie, as if  
he had conquered them for him, and then follows the Infantes partie, whose age and  
weaknesse, required a great support by some worthie alliance.

The rout of  
the Prince of  
Orange.

There was some speech of *Charles* the Dauphin, but he was but nine yeares old. The duke  
of Cleues laboured for his eldest sonne, the Emperour for his sonne *Maximilian*, King of  
Romanes. *Mary* desired much the alliance of France, but the King had done her a great dis-  
F grace, deliuering her letters to the Gantois, the which she had secretly written: which cau-  
sed the death of those two good men, and the banishment of her most affectionate seruants.  
Moreover, her Estate required a man to gouerne it. She would willingly haue married with  
the Earle of Angoulême, if the King had bene so pleased.

The humours of the heire of Cleues pleased her not, nor such as were about her. The  
Emperour kept (as a pawne) a Diamond with a letter which the Infanta had written vnto  
him,



A range of  
the mountains  
and the sea.

him, by her fathers command; whereby she promiseth to accomplish the marriage, in forme, according to her fathers pleasure. He sends it to the Duchesse, to aucter her hand and promise, demanding if she would persist therein. Shee doth auouch the contents, and agrees to make it good. So *Maximilian* comes to Gand, and there the marriage was consummated. A marriage which should prooue a fire-brand, to kindle (by their descendants, both within this Realme, and in many other estates) the combustuous tumults and furies which haue followed; the which happily had bene auoided by a French alliance. But God had otherwise decreed. This marriage was consummated during the Orangeois reuolt in Bourgongne, the which continued somewhat long, by the support the Germanes gaue him in fauour of *Sigismund* of Austria Vncle to *Maximilian*, who (hauing his territories adioyning, and especially the Countie of Ferrette, the which he had retired by the *Suisses* meanes) would gladly haue gotten somewhat of his neighbours. But the indiscretion of *Sigismund*, and the want of money to pay the *Bourguignons*, were a meanes that the King did more easily preuent the Prince of Orange his practises, who now called himselfe Lieutenant to the said Germanes. They supplied him with some troupes, with the which hee recovered almost all the Countie, continuing his course, vntill that *Craon* came to beseege him in Grey, a small towne of the said Countie.

*Craon* beaten  
before Dole.

*Chasteauguion* seeing his brother cooped vp, and the place readie to yeeld to *Craons* discretion, posts thither with all the forces he can, and comes to charge *Craons* armie in front, whilst that the beseeged should set vpon him behind. So charged both before and behinde, he found the match hard: yet by the defeat of fourteene or fiftene hundred men, for the most part enemies, and the taking of *Chasteauguion*, he wonne the victorie. *Craon* leades his armie after this victorie before Dole, the chiefe towne of the Countie: but for that hee did presse it but slackely, and neglected his enemy, whose forces he knew to be but small, he had ill successe: For in a fierce sally they slew many of his men, and carried away a great part of his artillerie. This affront brought him in disgrace with the King, who fearing a more dangerous checke, hearing likewise complaints from all parts, of his great exactions and money vnjustly taken, puts him from the gouernement of Bourgongne, preferring in his place *Charles* of Amboise, Lord of Chaumont, a valiant, wise, and vigilant Captaine. Loue preuailes more then force. He perswades the King to pacifie the *Suisses* and other Germanes, who followed the Prince of Orange, in fauour of the house of Austria: and to make the way more easie for the King, he himselfe doth practise the Commanders.

A league with  
the *Suisses*.

Then beganne the *Suisses* first league with the King; the which he effected by meanes of twentie thousand franckes hee gaue yearly among the Cantons, and the like summe to bee distributed among some Captaines which he employed. And to please them, he made him selfe a Bourgesse amongst them, and obtained the title of the first allied to their Commonweale. A title which the Duke of Sauoy pretended to bee due vnto him aboue all others. They likewise for their parts, promised to furnish fixe thousand men to serue the King continually, for foure Germaine Florins and a halfe a moneth, a number which continued alwaies vnto the death of *Lewis*. The *Suisses* are now vnder the Kings pay, and so the *Bourguignons* partie much weakened, who assemble the Nobility of the cuntry together, vnder the Prince of Orange, and defeat the companies of *Salazard* and *Coninghen* neere vnto Grey. But *Amboise* (beeing fortified with men and artillerie) takes Verdun, Montsaun, Semeur in Lauois, Chastillon vpon Seine, Bar vpon Seine, Beaulne, and Rochfort neere vnto Dole, belonging vnto *Vaudray*. Thus hauing freed all the approaches to Dole, hee camps before it, batters it, makes a breach, gives an assault, and takes it. Some troupes of the townes last subdued thrust themselues into it, either to warrant it from spile, or to haue a better share, but there enters such a multitude of frack-archers, as it was impossible to saue it from sacke and fire. Yet the King repaired the ruines about the walles, building a great part of the wall towards the riuer of Doux, with a great trench; whereby a great part of the said riuer did run forth, inuironing of that part of the wall: but this is nothing, in regard of the fortifications which haue bene since built, whereby it exceedes most of the cities of Christendome, beeing famous at this day, in Senate, Vniuersitie and Armes.

Auxonne deferred a long and sharpe sege: but the wisdom of *Amboise* preuailed so well after the sege of Dole, that (giuing the chiefe offices of the towne, to such as demanded them)

A them) it was yeelded within fixe or fixe daies, and likewise the Castles of Iou, Saint Agnes vpon Salins, Champagne, Arguel, and some others built vpon rockes. Besanson, an Imperial towne, yeelded to the King (by his Lieutenant generall) the like duties as they were accustomed to do the Earle of Bourgongne. Thus Bourgongne beeing conquered, remained sometime in the Kings quiet possession. A young horse hath need of a gentle hand, to make him taste the bit with delight. But Verdun and Beaulne not able to endure the command of the French, began first to lickie, yet by the Gouernours discretion, they were speedily subdued and recovered from *Simon* of Quingey, who led a troupe of fixe hundred men of foot and horse, Germanes and others, tumultuously assembled in Ferette and thereabouts, to put into the aboue-named places. Verdun was taken by assault, and subiect to the accustomed infolencies in the like prizes. Beaune yeelded by composition, in the beginning of Iuly, with liues and goods saued, and for a fine they payed fortie thousand crownes. These sodain exploits did so terrifie the other townes, as all kept themselues within their due obedience.

But how doth *Edward* King of England looke vpon this Theater, where our men play the pettie Kings? And how doth he suffer the King without any opposition, to enlarge his estate by the taking of Arras, Boulongne, Hedin, and so many other Townes, and to bee lodged many daies before *S. Omer*? In truth our *Lewis* had a quicke conceit, and very watchfull. Hee knew well that the English in generall, were wonderfully inclined to warre against this Realme, as well vnder colour of their auncient pretensions, as for the hope of gaine, inticed by many high deedes of armes, wherein they haue often had the aduantage, and of that long possession both in Normandie and Guienne, where they had commanded three hundred and fiftie yeares, vntill that *Charles* the seuenth dispossessed them. That this baite might well perswade them to crosse his desseignes, these two mightie Princes neighbours, cannot see (without ielousie) the one to grow great by new conquests, and the other to be at quiet. He therefore entertaines *Edward* with sundry Ambassages, presents, and goodly speeches: causeth the pension of fiftie thousand crownes, to be duly payed at London, and some fixeene thousand distributed among such as were in credit about him: so as the profite they drew from the iudicious bountie of *Lewis*, tyed their tongues, and blinded their eyes. Money was mucke to him in regard of a man of seruice, and he was pleased to vaunt, that the great Chamberlaine (whereof there is but one in England) the Chancellor, Admirall, Master of the horse, and other great Officers of England, were his Pensioners. So he gaue vnto *Howard* foure and twentie thousand crownes in money and plate, besides his pension, in lesse then two yeares: and to *Hastings* great Chamberlaine, a thousand markes of siluer in plate at one time, as appeares by their quittances, in the chamber of accompts at Paris.

*Lewis* had great need to vse this policie and bountie, for this young Princeesse did infinitely presse *Edward*, who for her cause did often send to the King to demand a peace, or at the least a truce; and in the Court of England, there wanted not some to incense *Edward*, that seeing the tearme was expired, by the which *Lewis* should send for the Infanta of England, E (whom they called *Madame the Dauphine*) he would deceiue him. Yet no respect, neither private nor publicke, could moue *Edward*: he was pursie, louing his pleasures, vnable to suffer paine, glorious of nine famous victories, and fraught with home-bred enemies: and aboue all, the loue of fiftie thousand crownes (so well payed in his Tower of London) kept him at home. Moreouer, the Ambassadors that came from him, returned laden with rich presents, and alwaies with irrefolute answers, to winne time; promising speedily to resolve the points of their demands, to their masters satisfactions.

But let vs obserue another ingenious policie: *Lewis* neuer sent one Ambassadour twice vnto *Edward*, to the end that if the former had happily treated of any thing that tooke not effect, the latter knew not what to answer, and so ignorance serued him for an excuse, with delay of time. Moreouer, he instructed his Ambassadors so well, as the assurance of the marriage they gaue to the King and Queene of England (the accomplishment whereof they both greatly desired) made them take hope for paiement. Yet the King had neuer any such meaning: there was too great an inequality of age: and thus getting a moneth or two by mutuall Ambassages, he kept his enemy from doing him any harme, who (without the bait of this marriage) would neuer haue suffered the house of Bourgongne to bee so oppressed.

The politike  
liberalitie of  
*Lewis*.

The dispositi-  
on of *Edward*  
King of En-  
gland.

1478. Another reason dissuaded *Edward* from embracing of *Maries* quarrell. Shee had refused to A  
marrie with the Lord *Ruers*, brother to the *Queene* of England. The which match was not  
equall, he being but a poore Baron, and the the greatest heire of her time. And the better  
to keepe *Edward* quiet, the King inuited him to ioyne with him, and consented that he should  
haue for his part the Prouinces of Flanders and Brabant, offering him to conquer for him,  
at his owne charge, foure of the greatest Townes in Brabant, to entertaine him ten thou-  
sand English men for foure moneths, and to furnish him with Artillerie and carriages, so as  
*Edward* would come in person, and seaze vpon Flanders, whilest that he employed his for-  
ces else-where. But *Edward* found that Flanders and Brabant were hard to conquer, and  
painefull to keepe: and also the English, by reason of the commoditie of their trafficke, had B  
no will to this warre. Yet (said he) *since it pleaseth you to make me partaker of your victories,*  
*giue me of those places you haue conquered in Picardie, Boulougne, and some others: then will I*  
*declare my selfe for you, and assist you with men at your charge.* A wise and discrete demaund:  
but thole places were no lesse conuenient for *Lewis*, who was loth to beate the bush, for an-  
other to get the birds.

It appeares, that *Edward* did wonderfully affect the alliance of France, and feared to giue  
the King any occasion to infringe it; so as (some say) hee caused his brother the Duke of  
Clarence to be put in prison, vpon colour that he would passe the seas, to succour the Dow-  
ager of Bourgongne: for the which crime, he was condemned to haue his head cut off, and his C  
*body to be quartered, a punishment inflicted vpon traitors in England.* But at the intreatie of  
their mother, *Edward* did moderate this sentence, and gave him the choice of what death he  
would, whereupon he was drowned in a Pipe of Malmesey. But this Duke was sonne in lawe to  
the Earle of Warwicke, whom *Edward* had slaine in battaile, as we haue said: and it seemes  
the greatest crime they could obiect against him, was the priuate hatred which vsurpers com-  
monly beare to those whom they doubt might but crosse their tyrannicall vsurations. And  
as we haue recreated our selues beyond the Seas, let vs now passe the Alpes, and see what is  
done there, suffering our warriors to enioy a truce vntill the next yeare. There were at that  
time two mightie families at Florence, the one of *Medicis*, the other of *Pacis*. These were  
supported by Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, and by *Ferdinand* King of Naples, to ouerthrow the  
absolute gouernement of the cittie: they attempt to murder *Laurence de Medicis*, and all his D  
followers, and gaue for watch-word to the murderers; when as the Priest celebrating the  
high Masse, should say, *Sanctus*, in the Church of S. *Reparé*, where they should assist at a  
certaine day.

A trecherous  
attempt a-  
gainst the  
house of Me-  
dis.

*Laurence* escaped, but being maimed of many of his members, hee saued himselfe  
in the Vestrie. *Julian* his brother was slaine and some of their followers. Then runne they  
to the Pallace, to murder all those which had the gouernement of the Cittie; but being  
mounted, they see that some of their men had abandoned them, so as they were not aboue  
foure or fife, and which was worse, the gates were shut vpon them. The Senatours (seeing  
these rascals thus banded) put their heads out at their windowes, they see this tumult, and  
heare *James Pacis* and others crying *Liberta, Liberta*, and *Popolo, Popolo*, (words to moue E  
the people, and to make them follow their faction) but they moued not: so as *Pacis* and his  
companions fled from the place, and those that were entred were presently hanged at the  
barres of the Pallace windowes. *Francis Saluat* Arch-bishop of Pisa, hauing said Masse with  
a cuirasse on his backe, was taken and hanged in the same habit. The Gouernours seeing  
the whole Towne to stand firme for them and the *Medicis*, they send presently to all the pal-  
sages, to apprehend all such as should be found flying. *James* and *Francis Pacis* were present-  
ly taken, with another Captaine of the Popes troupes vnder the Earle *Ieronimo*, and hanged  
instantly, with other great personages to the number of fourteene: some groomes and o-  
ther base people, were knockt downe in the streetes. *Nicholas*, Cardinall of Saint *George*, F  
nephew to the Earle was a long time prisoner.

The King aduertised of this hurli-burly, sends the Lord of Argenton, both to take (in  
his Maiesties name) the homage which *Bonne* Duchesse of Milan, ought for the Duchie  
of Genoua, in the behalfe of the young Duke *John Galeas* her son, and to receiue the men at  
armes, which they had granted in fauor of the *Medicis*. The Pope aduertised of the execution  
done at Florence, doth excommunicate the citizens, and with the same breath commands his  
army

A  
armie to march, and to ioyne with that of Naples, being great and faire. It was comman-  
ded (for the Pope) by the Duke of Vrbino, *Robert of Rimini*, *Constansine* of Pescara, and ma-  
ny others: and for *Ferdinando*, by his two sonnes, the one Duke of Calabria, the other *Don*  
*Fredericke*. They take many places about Florence, and almost ruine the whole state. There  
were few Commanders, of small experience, and weake forces. The Kings assistance did  
some-what comfort them, being after much warre absolved and reconciled to the Church.  
As also to terrifie the Pope, *Lewis* had called a Councell of the French Church at Orleans  
for the restoring of the pragmaticke Sanction in France, and to abolish the custome to car-  
rie money to Rome for the obtaining of Bulls: yet the assembly brake off without any con-  
clusion, and was referred to Lions the next yeare, but without effect. Thus passe the affaires  
B of this world, but many do oppresse him at the length. Our *Lewis* hath in a manner out-  
liued all his greatest enemies, and now he begins to decline. Troubles, care and waywardnes,  
call him mildly to his graue: the vigor of his spirits faile him, and hereafter we shall see a  
strange alteration in his humors. The truce ends, and seeing we must returne to warre, let  
vs beginne it by some notable stratagem. The Archduke *Maximilian* hath now the Flem-  
mings hearts at his deuotion. To employ them, he campt before Therouenne, with aboue  
twentie thousand Flemmings, some Germaine troupes, and three hundred English, led by  
*Thomas Abergeiny* an English Captaine. The Lord of Cordes Lieutenant generall for the  
King in Picardie, assembles what troupes he can, out of the neighbour garrisons, eight thou-  
sand francke archers, eleuen hundred men at armes, and makes hast to releuee it. *Maximili-  
an* understanding of their approach raiseth the slege, marcheth towards them, and affronts  
them at Guinegaste. *Des Cordes* was the stronger in horse, but the weaker in foote. The for-  
wards ioyne without any stay, the Arch-dukes (being led by *Rauestern*) doth not maintaine  
the fight, but is soone broken and chased euen vnto Aire by *Cordes* and *Torci*. The foot stand  
firme, supported by the Arch-duke himselfe, the Lord of Rhomont, the Earle of Nassau,  
and two hundred Gentlemen all on foote: the francke Archers of the French, supposing that  
these footemen would flie with the fore-ward, fall vpon the baggage. The Duke doth charge  
them, forcing them to leaue their bootie and fall to armes. The slaughter was great, but  
most of the enemies. Eleuen thousand Bourguignons were slaine, sayeth the Historie, and  
D nine hundred prisoners, amongst the which was a Germaine Earle, and the King of Polands  
sonne: of the French there died fife thousand, and the small number of the Kings armie,  
made the enemy continue master of the field, who gathering together the remainders of  
his troupes, tooke the Castell of Malaunoy by assault, where Captaine *Remonet* (notwith-  
standing the faith which was giuen him when he yeelded) was hanged. For satisfaction here-  
of, ffitie of the aboue-named prisoners, were hanged by ten in a place, ten where as *Remonet*  
was executed, ten before Douay, ten before Saint *Omer*, ten before Arras, and ten before  
Lille. *Des Cordes* did runne rashly to this battaile and without the Kings commaundment:  
who was somewhat amazed with the first newes, thinking they had concealed the truth, and  
that it was quite lost for him. If it be so (saith he) farewell all my latter conquests: he was not  
accustomed to loofe, but alwaies very happie, being loth to hazard much in fight. But if  
E any Captaine had meanes to sell him a good place, he was a liberall purchaser at what price  
soeuer: but the seller must afterwards take heede of his Gossippe the Hermite the Controu-  
ler of his house.

This blast made *Lewis* resolute to treat a peace with *Maximilian*; so as it might be profi-  
table vnto him; and that hee might thereby curbe the Arch-duke, and by the helpe of his  
owne subiects, so as afterwards he should haue no meanes to annoy him. For this effect the  
King seeks to the Gantois, that by their mediation, a marriage might be made betwixt  
*Charles* the Daulphin, and the Daughter of the said Arch-duke, vpon condition to leaue  
the Counties of Bourgongne, Auxerre, Mascon, and Charolois, and to quit him Arthois,  
reseruing Arras in the estate hee had fetled it, the Cittie commanding the Towne, the  
F which hereafter should beheld of the crowne by the Bishop. As for the Duchie of Bour-  
gongne, the Earledome of Boulougne, the Townes lying vpon Somme, and other places in  
Picardie there was no mention. The Gantois (and by their solliciting, those of Bruges with  
some other chiefe Townes of Flanders and Brabant, who desired rather to suppress, then  
to fortifie their new Lord) gaue eare to this transaction, ill intreating *Maximilian* and his

1478.  
The Pope and  
the King of  
Naples lead  
their forces  
against Flo-  
rence.

The battle of  
Guinegaste

Many slaine  
on both sides,  
but the French  
left the field.

*Lewis* seeks a  
peace w<sup>th</sup> *Maxi-  
milian*.

1480.  
The Gantois  
and those of  
Flanders and  
Brabant hate  
their new  
Lord.

Lewis seeks  
to reforme his  
Realme.

Lewis iealous  
of his autho-  
rity euen in  
sicknesse.

Cardinal Ba-  
lue set at li-  
berty.

Lewis dis-  
trusts all men  
in his sicknes.

wife all they could, being loth to submit them-selues to his command: first for that he was a stranger: secondly for that they knew more iudicious Princes, but not any more courteous then his father, whose sonne was seasoned with the same base couetousnesse, which carries with it great contempt. Notwithstanding this treating ended with a truce, attending the conclusion of a generall peace. In the meane time, our *Lewis* applies himselfe to order his realme, to reforme Iustice, and the Court of Parliament (especially for the tediousnesse of suites) one of the principall points for the which hee hated it) but without any diminution of the number of his officers nor of their authority. Moreouer he desired to bring into all the Countries of his obedience one custome, one waight, and one measure, to suppress those horse-leeches the practitioners, and the Marchants fraud. He had wonderfully oppressed his people, yea wittingly: and neither admonitions nor supplications could procure any releefe: the motion must come from him-selfe; hee is now wholly addicted there-vnto, but some-times a burning feuer tending to fury, some-times a cold palsy, some-times the trouble of the Hæmorrhoids, some-times his speech fayling, some times some other fits or distemperature of minde, diuerts him from his good humor. To teach vs, neuer to defer that vntill to morrow, which we may presently performe: for wee ought to feare, that God will not giue vs the will and meanes to do well, when wee haue once neglected it. All these ordinary infirmities made him froward and vnpleasing to his household seruants, causing him to take their seruices well meant in euill part. And being one day at Forges netre vnto Chinon, about dinner time, troubled with his ordinary fittes, as hee would haue drawne towards the windowes, they hindred him: vpon his first recouery, hee chased away all those that had by force staid his approach to the windowes: neither would hee euer after admit them to his presence, holding them-selues happy to enioy their offices. His iudgement being troubled, it made him thinke, that this manner of proceeding did derogate from his authority, which he sought to maintaine aboue all things, neither would hee be disobeyed in anything, doubting least in the end they should controule him in the gouernment of his affaires, as distraict of his witts. Vpon his amendment after any infirmity, hee would still know what expeditions and dispatches they had made. Hee tooke the letters, and made shew to read them, although he had no knowledge, or very little. Yet must they please him in all things, being dangerous to offend him. This first fit continued about fiftene dayes, at the end whereof hee recovered both speech and iudgment. Hee sets the Cardinall of Balue at liberty, (a prisoner since the yeare 1468.) at the request and pursuite of Cardinall Saint Peter ad Vincula, Legat in France, being sent to mediate a peace betwixt *Lewis* and *Maximilian*, and to sollicit them to succor the Christians oppressed vnder the Turkes persecutions, whom the King satisfied with hope and good words.

But being come to Peronne, and hauing giuen *Maximilian* and the Flemings intelligence of his arriuall, they would not admit him, and so his voyage prooued fruitlesse. Neither admonitions nor requests could euer moue the King to deliuer *Balue*, and now a scruple drawes him to it, seeking an absolution for that he had detained him so long in prison. And as he fees his strength and senses to decay, so ielousie and distrust (very incident vnto him) increased dayly, and apprehending death, hee feared least his owne subiects should hasten it by some new practises. In this perturbation, hee remembers that *John* Duke of Bourbon had followed the Duke of Guienne in the warre of the common-weale: and that hee might ioine with the Duke of Brittain, to raise vp new troubles and so shorten his dayes. He appoints certaine Commissioners ill-affected to the house of Bourbon, who not able directly to touch the Dukes person, they summon his Chancellor, his Attourney general, the Captaine of his gards, and other principall officers, to appeare in person, before the Court of Parliament at Paris. Being examined and heard, and finding nothing where-with to charge them, they were freed, and death did soone after free the said Duke from feare he had conceiued of the Kings hatred. Hee had imitated the Duke of Bourgongne's army, & by the aduice of *des Cordes* his Lieutenant generall in Picardy had newly imposed fiftene hundred thousand Frankes, for the maintenance of ten thousand foote: whereof the sixe thousand Swisses before mentioned were a part: two thousand fise hundred pioneers, and fiftene hundred men at armes of his ordinary, to fight on foote when as need should require, causing a great number of carts to be made to inclose them in, and

tents

A tents to campe in, and therefore he called them soldiars of the campe. And for that they complained that the franke archers did greatly oppress the poore people, he did cassier all their companies. When this new campe was ready, he went to see it ranged in bataille in a valley neere to Pont de Larche in Normandy, vnder the command of his said Lieutenant generall, causing them to lie in campe a whole moneth together, to the end he might see what quantity of victuals were necessary for them: and then he returned into Touraine. Being at Tours, behold a relapse, which he feared greatly. He looseth his speech, they hold him for dead, he remains two houres couched on a pallet in a gallery. Being some-what recovered, seeking to diuert his disease and to reuiue his spirits by the change of aire, he went to Argenton, and then returned to Tours, but still languishing of his disease foretelling death. Then he vndertooke the journey of Saint *Claude*, which many gentlemen had vowed being present at his fall. Vpon his returne, newes comes of the death of *Mary* of Bourgongne, who going a hunting mounted vpon a stirring hobbeys, was cast, and after died of a quotidian, hauing had by *Maximilian*, *Philip* Arch-Duke, *Margaret* after-wards Queene of France, and *Francis* that died yong. A vertuous Princes, liberall, respected and beloued of all her subiects.

This death was wonderfull pleasing vnto our *Lewis*, in the midst of his afflictions, who not dreaming that he had one foote in the graue, thinkes now to do his busines the better: for (sayd he) the Emperour is miserable, ill beloued and of small credit in Germany: *Maximilian* young and of small experience, and ill beloued of his subiects: and moreouer the pupilles are in the Gantois keeping, a people inclined to mutiny against the house of Bourgongne. Yet he repined much at the secret intelligences the Duke of Brittain had with the English: and now a new subiect thrusts him on to this enterprise, the which doubtlesse he had vndergone, if his health would haue suffered him. *Francis* Duke of Brittain, vnderstanding that they made excellent armes at Milan, sent to buy a great number, and (to the end they should not be discovered by the noyse, and breed a new suspicion in the King, if he heard thereof) he caused them to be trussed vp in packs of silke, with cotton. These armes passing vpon moyles through Auvergne, *Doyac* Gouernor of the country had some intelligence, and aduertiseth the King thereof, who declares them forfeited to the benefit of *Doyac*.

This buying of armes, made *Lewis* to gape, more then euer, after Brittain, but he defers the execution, to practise the Gouernors of Gand by the Lord of Cordes, and treats the marriage of the *Dauphin* his sonne, with *Marguerit* the daughter of *Maximilian* and *Mary* lately deceased. The late surprise of Aire by *Cordes*, amazed the Flemmings and Brabanders, and made them willing to seeke an agreement with the King. To this end, *Maximilian* and they together send a great Ambassage to Arras, managed for the Arche-duke, by the Lords of Bergues and Launoy, with som Secretaries: and for the Comonalties by the Abbots of Saint *Bertin* and Saint *Peter* of Gand. The King appoints his Lieutenant generall in Picardy to heare them, with *la Vacquery*, lately created first President of the Parliament of Paris, and other graue personages. A peace is concluded by meanes of the sayd marriage, in fauour whereof, they giue (as a portion to the sayd *Marguerit*) the Counties of Arthois and Bourgongne, the lands and Seigneuries of Masconois, Auxerrois, Charolois, Salins, Bar, Sens and Noyon, to enioy them for euer. And in case that young *Philip* Earle of Flanders should die, *Marguerit* should succeed him in all the Lordships that belonged to her deceased mother, the fowerinty of Flanders remayning to the King. By meanes hereof, the Artoisians (that had bin confined) returned to Arras, and the citty recovered her ancient name.

Thus *Marguerite* was conducted into France by the Lady of Rauastein, the bastard daughter of *Philip* duke of Bourgongne, and receiued by the duke and Duchesse of Bourbon, who led her to Amboise, the place of the *Dauphins* abode, where the marriage was solemnly celebrated. *Edward* was wonderfully incensed at this marriage, seeing himselfe deprived of his pension, and tearing least this disgrace should breed him great contempt, yea a rebellion of his subiects, seeing the effects of that which he would not beleue. Moreouer hee did finde, the King had newly planted strong defences betwixt them two, and his conquests did stretch very neere vnto him. Hee conceyued so great a grieve vpon all

Q9 3

these

1482.

The Kings  
relapse.

The death of  
*Mary* of  
Bourgongne.

The Duke of  
Brittain's  
armes forfei-  
ted.

A peace be-  
twixt the  
King and  
*Maximilian*.

The *Dau-  
phins* mar-  
riage with *M  
arguerite*.

1483.  
Edward of  
England dies.

Troubles in  
England.  
Richard mur-  
ders his two  
Nephewes, &  
viurpes the  
Crowne.

The last act of  
Lewis his life.

His dispositi-  
on in his de-  
clining age.

these considerations, as soone after he died, partly for sorrow, and partly of an Apoplexy. A Soone after the death of Edward, Lewis receiues letters from the Duke of Glocester, who (by the murder of his two nephewes the soones of Edward his brother) had vsurped the crowne of England, and was called Richard. This Richard fought the Kings friendship, but Lewis abhorring so barbarous a cruelty, would not vouchsafe to answer his letters, nor to heare his message. But hee enioyed not long this tyrannous vsurpation. God raised vp that Earle of Richmond (whome we haue seene so long prisoner in Brittain) who with some little mony from the King, and three thousand men leuiued in the Duchy of Normandy, passed into Walles, and ioyned with his father in law the Lord Standley, with 26. thousand English, and with which forces he encountered Richard, fought with him, and slew him in the field, and then was crowned King of England. At the same time, William of March, brother to him whome they commonly called the Boare of Ardenne, (to instill his sonne in the Bishopricke of Liege,) leauiues a great number of foote and horse, and beleegeth Lewis, brother to the Duke of Bourbon, being Bishop there. The Bishop craues succors from the Arch-duke of Austria and the Prince of Orange his brother in law, who not able to come in time, and prest by some secret partisans of La Marche, hee goes forth in armes to fight with his enemy; and was slayne: wherby La Marche entred into Leige, but soone after he was surprised by the Lord of Montaigny, ayded with some troupes from the Arch-duke, and sodenly beheaded.

Our Lewis is now well satisfied touching the affaires of Flanders: there remained nothing but a reuenge of Brittain. But oh! how doth suspition, feare distrust, and finally death, breake off his great desseins? he is now at Plessis neere Tours, priuat, solitary, and shewing him selfe to few. He feares a decay of his estate, and yet is become vnable to gouerne a great Estate. The opening of a doore feares him; his owne shadow amazeth him, death terrifies him, but (the worst is) his conscience troubles him. He puts his most trusty seruants from him, he doubts his neere kinsmen, he abhors them he suspects, and suspects all the world. Those whom he doubts most, he dismisseth, with a couple of his Guard to guide them, pensue, sad, dreaming, froward, peeuish and cholericke: euery thing displeaseth him, all is vnreasonable, all offends him, hee knowes not what is fittest for him, either life or death, and yet he would liue and raigne. Hee knowes that he hath many enemies, and hath offended many, that the greatest of the Princes loue him not; that the meaner fort murmured, and that the peopple hated him: for hee hath ouercharged them, yea more then any of his predecessors; and hath not meane to ease them; and although he hath a will, yet it is now too late.

Oh what a greuous testimonie is the conscience of our mis-deedes! few enter at Plessis, but his household seruants, and the Archers of his Guard, whereof there are foure hundred daily in guard at the gate. No Nobleman lodgeth there, none come there but his sonne in lawe Peter (afterwards Duke of Bourbon, by the death of John his brother) and few of his followers: and yet he thinkes still, that some one enters in to offer violence to his person: or that by loue or force they will pull his scepter from him. He causeth his sonne to be streightly guarded, and will not suffer many to see him, least hee should be made the head of a faction. His daughter hath no access to him: his sonne in lawe no credit. His sonne in lawe returnes from the Daulphins marriage: Lewis with a deuise, makes the Captaine of his Guard to search such as are entred with the Duke, to see if they were not secretly armed. He commaunds him to hold the Councell, then he dissolues it: for in his absence they would make Monopolies. Who did euer see a mind more distracted, more vnquiet, and fuller of cares? He distrusts his sonne, his daughter, his sonne in law, and generally all those that may command.

The Castle gate is safely guarded; but they may leape ouer the walles, they must be planted with gaddes of iron, with many points, and so thicke as no man might passe them: and moreover the ditch at Plessis, compassed in with great barres, with foure engines of yron at the corners: Canoniers, and fortie Crosse-bow men were appointed to stand, ten day and night Centinell in the ditch, with commission to shoote at any one that should approach in the night, vntill the opening of the gate in the morning. Doubtlesse, the iustice of God would that those cages of yron, and those of wood covered with plates of yron both

A both within and without, those shakles, bolts, manacles, cheines, tyed to a great bowle, waighy beyond humane force: where hee had often-times imprisoned many, (yea and of honour,) for very fruitious causes, should now bee so many tortures to his conscience, at the last point of his death: and as he had giuen them eight foote in bredth, and it may bee so much in height, to stretch out them selues, so hee now retires him selfe into a little corner of the Castle, and like an other Perillus, they were farall to their first deuiser. The Bishop of Verdu remained foureteene yeares shut vp in the first that was made. To conclude, no dispatch came to Court, during this lamentable estate. The King had but one or two about him, men of no credit, who knew well, that after his death, the best that could chance vnto them, was to be shamefully chased away. But a great confusion attends them short-

ly. These men made no report vnto him of any thing that happened, but onely that which concerned the Estate and the realme, labouring to maintaine loue with all men. As for his person, euery day a new grome of his chamber, euery day new seruants. Yet knowes he not whom to trust. One onely amongst the rest gets some credit, but forced. It is his Phisition, James Cottier a Bourguignon: he giues him ten thousand crownes monethly, and what offices, or what lands he will demand, bee it from him selfe, or his friends; and for a nephew of his the Bishopricke of Amiens; and (as a man would say) his Crowne and his scepter, so as he will prolong his life. An odious, impudent, and audacious Phisition: who to continue his credit, said vnto the King, *I know well that one of these mornings, you will send mee away with the rest, but (swearing a great othe) you shall not liue eight dayes after.*

A strange heart-breaking, to be braued by a rascal, whereas so many great Princes did yeeld him voluntary obedience. But oh vanity, to thinke that the deuice of man can adde one minute to mans life! Lewis had neede to haue beene put in minde of this Oracle. *I haue said, you are Gods, and all the children of the Lord, but you shall dye like men, and you that are Princes shall fall like other men.*

At that time liued Francis borne at Paul in Calabria, a deuout Hermit, without learning, but of an austere life, and holy reputation, founder of the Friars Minimies. The King sent for him by a Steward of his house, in the company of the Prince of Tarentum, sonne to the King of Naples: at the first sight hee kneeles vnto him, and desires him to prolong his dayes. In truth, we haue often zeale, but not according to knowledge. But, *Put no confidence in the chiefe of the people, nor in any of the sonnes of man, who haue no power to deliuer thee. O how happy is hee, whom the mighty God of Iacob helpe; and whose trust is in the Eternall!* In the meane time, Lewis declines, and death followes him at the heeles: yet will hee not haue men to thinke so, and omits no inuention to diuert this opinion, both within and without the realme. Within, hee attires him selfe richly, contrary to his custome, and shewes himselfe, but onely in his Court, and gallery: hee makes seuerall lawes to be feared: sends away officers, dischargeth men at armes, cuts off pensions, and takes some quite away. To conclude, he passeth his time, to make and marre men. Without the realme, he payes that duty in England which he owes, and all other places, where he will haue them thinke that he is sound and alieue: hee sends men vnder colour to buy some thing: Into Spaine, Naples, and Germany for some horses; in Sicile, some good Mules, but especially of some good officer of the Country, and payed double for them. In Brittain, Gray-hounds, and Spaniels. In the kingdome of Valence, little Water-dogges. In Denmarke and Sweden, Hawkes. In Barbary, little Lions, of the bignesse of Foxes. To conclude, the more hee feared the decay of his dignity toward his latter end, the more hee sought to bee feared, and takes away all occasions to thinke that his end approached. Feeling his end draw neere, hee sent for the Daulphin his sonne, whom he had not seene in many yeares, causing him to be nourished apart, least the colour of his presence should haue bred some faction, as there had rashly risen in his yong age against Charles the seuenth his Father. And experience hauing taught him, how dangerous a sodaine alteration was; hee commanded him expressly not to displace any Officer, and especially to maintaine Oliver le Daim in the offices and goods hee had gotten in his seruice, as hauing assisted him well in his sickness. (But as this man was hastily and too highly exalted, so must hee and some others of like sort bee shortly supprest,) and John Doyac, gouernor of Auvergne, from whome hee had receiued good and notable seruices; to call maister Guyot Pot, and the Lord

1483.

Strange di-  
stempers aures

Lewis braued  
by his Phis-  
ition.

His disordered  
zeale.

His inuention  
to make men  
believe that  
he liued still.

Lewis his ad-  
monitions to  
the Daulphin  
his sonne.



1483. of *Bouchage* to Councell, and to follow *Philippe* of Cordes for armes: Not to beleue his mother, especially in the gouernment of his State. Who (as a Sauoisien) hee had found by experience, to fauour the Bourguignon, and generally to confirme all those in their dignities, whom hee had aduanced: And to ease the people, whom hee had oppressed by the necessitie of the warres. Few dayes after the King had spoken to the Dauphin his sonne, his ordinary infirmity takes him, and he sodenly lost his speech, with a great debility of his forces. Hauing recouered (iudging him selfe but a dead man) hee sent the Duke of Bourbon to the King his sonne (so then he called him) giuing him the charge and gouernment of his said sonne. Then he sent the Chancellor with the seale, and part of the archers of his gard, and Capitaines, all his hounds, hawkes, and other things, and all such as came to see him, he sent them to Amboise. Yet was he not so well resolu'd for his death, but he had some hope to escape, namely by the meanes of his Hermit, and a multitude of reliques which were brought from Rheims, from Paris, and from Rome, the holy oyle, the rods of *Moses* and *Aaron*, the holy Crosse (were it true or false) and such like, vntill the diuines had taken counsell to let him vnderstand, that hee deceiued himselfe, and that his onely hope must consist in the mercy of God. A hard sentence to a man that had so often commanded, that euen in the last panges they should not pronounce that cruell word of death, the which hee feared beyond the condition of man, and preuented by all the remedies that might be inuented. Yet behold hee disposeth him selfe; *I haue* (said hee) *hope that God will helpe me: but wisball he addes: yet happily I am not so sicke as you suppose.* Norwithstanding, he felt the helpe of heauen, for his speech was restored, his vnderstanding good, his memory perfect, whereby he pronounced many prayers, adding there-vnto, by his last Will and Testament: That *de Cordes* should giue ouer the enterprise they had concluded vpon Calais: that they should suffer the Duke of Brittany to lue in peace, without feare of suspect, and likewise all the neighbours of the realme: that vnder the fauour of a peace of siue or sixe yeares, the people might breath, and the King his sonne grow in age. Finally, on Saturday the thirtieth of August, he yeelds vp his soule quietly to God, hauing liued threescore yeares and one, and reigned three and twenty: hee made choise for his buriall at our Lady of Clery, the place of his deuotion.

The Diuines  
tell Lewis that  
he must die.

Lewis dies.

His dispositi-  
on.

Lewis was  
most content-  
ment.

State of the  
Church vnder  
Lewis.

A cunning Prince, wise, painfull, reuengefull, vigilant, industrious, of a great memory, neuer hazarding that, which by policy, dissembling, money, or any other industry he might obtaine: vnquiet in his raigne, vnquiet in his life, and vnquiet in his death, not able to resolve but in extremities: Deuout, but inclining to superstition. A great oppresser of the people, but to giue to Churches, to forraine pensioners, and to purchase them deere, whom he had found fit for his purpose, as wee may easily perceiue by the discourse of his life. Hee was continent beyond the ordinary of great and generous Princes: and in truth greatly to bee commended, in that hee had so vertuously contained himselfe within the bounds of his professed vowe, and neuer to haue knowne other women then his owne wife. And if the 61. yeare, (the which he alwayes apprehended as the fatall period of his life, for that none of his predecessors since *Hugh Capet*, had passed that terme) had not ended his life, hee had reformed the State, ordred iustice, and releued the people. Happy in his death, hauing changed a continuall toyle, into an eternall rest: happy in that rest (which we hope for in heauen) to haue left a Successor quiet of himselfe, young, but of great hope, and chiefly, for that he had seene the Church, during his raigne, freed from that long and inueterate three and twentieth Schisme, which had so long turmoyled it. Thus are we come to the end of this raigne: but before wee proceed, wee must succinctly view the Estate of the Church and Empire vnder his raigne, seeing the course of our History hath drawne vs on thereto without interruption.

Wee haue seene, that by the renunciation of *Felix* the fift, *Nicholas* the fift of that name, remained in quiet possession of the Pontificall Sea. The most memorable acts of his Papacie, were the great lublie, which he did celebrate in the yeare 1450. where there was so great a concourse of people, that about two hundred were smothered, going and coming out of the Churches, besides an infinite number of people that perished in the riuer of Tyber, through the fall of the bridge of Saint *Angelo*. This Pope loued learning, hee gaue great pensions to learned men, sent them into diuerse places, to seeke out bookes which lay

1483. A lay hidden in darkenesse, by the negligence of the ancient, or perished by the violence of the barbarous, filling his Library at Vatican, he caused many Greeke Authors to be translated into Latin. He repaired many churches and other buildings ruined at Rome, enriching them with vessels of gold and siluer, and crosse beautified with precious stones. Finally (griued for the taking of Constantinople from the Christians) hee died of thought, a Feuer, and the Gout (or as some will say, of poison) the 25. of March 1455.

*Calixtus* the third of that name, a Spaniard, of the age of 85. yeeres, before called *Alphonso Borgias*, bishop of Valence, and Cardinall of the foure crownes, succeeded by the consent of the whole Colledge: commended, for that in the first fruits of his Popedom, he had (according to a vow he had made) proclaimed a warre against *Mahomet*. And to stir vp B princes, he sent some notable preachers in those daies, as *Iohn Capistran*, and *Robert de la Lize* friars, to exhort Christians to releue their brethren, detained vnder the Turkes tyranny, and by ringing of the bell at noone day, to inuite them to pray for those that fought for this quarrell: yet blamed, for that vnder colour of his Indulgences and pardons, which were sold for siue ducats a peece, hee had gathered together; and left to his successor, a hundred and fiftene thousand ducats.

He died in Iuly 1458. *Pius* the second called *Aeneas Silvius*, a Siennois, a poore boy, hauing attained to much knowledge, by his laborious study, obtained the dignity of Pope. He had bene the Popes Secretary, at the councell of Basill, and by writing had impugned the authority of *Eugenius* the Scismaticke: and soone after was crowned poet laureat, by the Emperor *Frederic* the third, and honoured by him with many Ambassages to diuerse princes. *Nicholas* the fifth made him bishop of Triest, and after of Sienna; and *Calixtus*, Cardinal. But vpon his entry to the popedom, he sought to suppress two bookes, which hee had published for the approbation of the councell of Basill, and afterward laboured very ambitiously to enlarge the Romaine sea: for the encrease and preservation whereof, the History saith, he neither feared Kings, nor princes, people, nor tirants. A great enemy to King *Lewis* the eleuenth, whilest that hee would not yeeld to the abolition of that pragmatike sanction: who to crosse him in that yeere 64. did forbid to carry any money to Rome, or to bring any bulls from thence, renewing the same Edicts in the yeere 1478. But in the end hee was so flattered by this *Aeneas*, and by his successor *Sixtus* the fourth, as hee renounced all the rights of the pragmatike sanction. He had likewise proclaimed a voiage into Turkey, by a councell assembled at Mantua. But the Ambassadors of King *Lewis* and of *René* Duke of Aniou (hauing laid open the rights which the house of Aniou had to the Realme of Naples, and the wrong was done him, vsurping it to the behoofe of *Alphonso* the bastard of *Ferdinand*, whom this Pope had by his absolute authority put in possession of the Realme) grew so better against the French for *Ferdinand*, as the said Ambassadors would not promise any thing, in their masters name, for this warre: so as the assembly was dissolued, the eight moneth, without any good to Christendome. An ambitious man, austere to princes, a great persecuter of the enemies of the clergy, courteous and officious to his friends, busie for the enriching of the church, a great builder. And finally, as hee was ready to depart from Ancona, to march in person against the Turke, who was then entred Italy, a quotidian ague seized on him, whereof hee died in the yeere 1464. Of him wee read thus much: as *Platina* and *Sabellicus* doe report. *Priests are forbidden to marrie for a great reason, but yet there is a greater for the which they should bee suffered; and moreouer. Peraduenture, it should not bee the worse, if many Priests were married, for many being Priests and married, should bee saved, the which in their barren Calibat are damned.* Hee likewise would haue abolished some Nunneries of Saint *Brigit* and *Clare*; and caused the Nunnes to come forth, to the end (saith *Calixtus Secundus*) that vnder the habit of religion they should not hide their adulteries.

*Paul* the second, borne at Venice, before named *Peter Barbo*, Cardinall of Saint Mark, succeeded. His first calling was marchandise, but seeing an vnle of his chosen Pope, hee applied himselfe somewhat to learning, and was first created Arch-deacon of Bononia, then bishop of Ceruio, after Cardinall, and finally Pope. A man of a good personage, but arrogant and proud: so as *Platina* obserues, that hee first spake these wordes: *That the Pope carries within the circuit of his bosome al diuine and humane laws.* Exceeding al his predecessors

1483.

The Ambassadors proceed-  
ing of Pope  
Pius the 2.

In the second  
booke of the  
Council.

The pride and  
pompe of  
Paulus the 2.



cessors in attire: but above all in his mitre, the which he enriched with pearle and stones of an inestimable price, shewing himselfe proudly vpon sollemne daies, thus sumptuously attired, followed by his Cardinals with scarlet hats (the which he did forbid all others to weare, vpon greuous punishments) and mounted vpon mulets with foote-clothes of the same colour: grosse and dull-witted, louing neither learning, nor learned men: so as he declared them Heretiks that either in sport or earnest did pronounce this word Academy or Vniuersity. Couetous, dissolute, voluptuous, turbulent, giuen to coniuring, and the whole time of his raigne hee troubled Italy, with combustions and home-bred warres. Finally they report little good of him, but that he had bene pittifull to the poore and needy, to haue pre-pared Rome from famine, and reformed many Monasteries, reducing them to a better discipline. They say, that hauing one day read certaine poesies, made against him and his daughter, he began to greeue, and to blame the rigour of the law made by his predecessors, who did forbid priests to marry: so as seeing himselfe a scorne to the people, he resolved to giue priests liberty to marry, but an Apoplexy tooke him sodenly out of this world, the 25. of July 1471. leauing a rich treasure. In trueth, *They gather goods (saith the Oracle) and know not who shall enioy them.* Some impute this sodaine death to the Author of the Magicke art, the which he practised.

*Sixtus* the fourth, borne a Sauonne, and named *Francis* of Ruere, Generall of the Grey-Frias, and Cardinall of *Saint Sixte*, Legat of Auignon, was installed by the election of the Colledge, in the pontificall chaire. Liberall and charitable to his owne, beyond the bounds of true zeale: for in their fauour he gaue Indulgences and pardons prodigally, and granted many other things against all right and reason: so saith the History. Amongst the rest, he advanced *Peter* of Ruere to a Cardinallship: a monstrous man in his expences, who in two moneths deuoured in vanities, dissolution and loosenesse, about two hundred thousand crownes, besides the debts wherewith he chargeth his heires. He repaired many decayed churches and monasteries, built new, and gaue them great reuenues. Hee restored the A-breuators (which was a colledge of learned men, and studious in diuine and humane lawes, Poets, Orators, Historians, &c.) first instituted by *Pius* the second, then abolished by *Paul* the second his successor. Then did he institute a new the Bullistes, people fitter to get money, then for any other thing, and nine Notaries of the Apostolick treasure, appointing them certaine reuenues: which offices were sold in the beginning for fise hundred crowns, and since for two or three thousand crownes: so well could they sell their marchandise. *Sixtus* made many vniuersal warres, against *Ferdinand* King of Naples, for that against the Popes liking, he had succoured his sonne in law *Hercules* of Este, Duke of Ferrara, besieged by the Venetians; against the Venetians whom hee did excommunicate; against the Florentines, excommunicated likewise with an interdiction of fire and water. But by the intercession and threats of the King, and the succours the Venetians gaue to the Florentines against the Pope (who had incensed *Ferdinand* King of Sicilia, *Alphonfus* Duke of Calabria, and *Frederick* Duke of Vrbin, capitaine generall for the church) to make warre against them, hee absolved them. Then being sick of a feuer, hauing newes that a peace was made betwixt the Venetians and other potentates of Italy, hee died sodainly. There flourished vnder him *Iohn Regiomontanus*, a great Mathematician, *Rodolphus Agricola*, *Pomponius Letus*, *Ambrose Calepin*, learned men in humanitie. Let it suffice to haue noted such Popes as haue raigned vnder our *Lewis*, and now let vs see that which concerns the Empire.

That great *Iohn Huniades*, a firme and sound rampier for the Christians against the Turkes, had left two sonnes, *Ladislaus* and *Matthias*. They had for an hereditary enemy *Vlrrike* Earle of Sicilia, nere kinsman and a fauorite to *Ladislaus* King of Hungary and Bohemia, sonne to *Albert* of Austria, borne after his fathers death. *Ladislaus* the eldest, complaining one day to *Vlrrike*, of the slanders wherewith hee wrongfully charged him to King *Ladislaus*, they passed from words to blowes, so as he slue *Vlrrike*: for the which the King of Hungary caused him to bee publicly beheaded, and lead *Matthias* the yonger prisoner to Prague in Bohemia, to put him to death, farre from the view of the Nobility of Hungary, to whom the memory of *Huniades* was wonderfull deere and precious. But as *Ladislaus* prepared for his marriage at Prague, to bee sonne in law to *Charles* the seuenth, behold a blacke and

A and deadly poison sodainly shoakes vp the ioy which that new alliance had conceiued. After whose death there did arise great quarrells for the succession. Some Noblemen of Hungarie, wished the Emperour *Frederick* the third for their King: the greatest part preferred *Matthias*, both for that hee was of the nation, as for the happy memory of his father *Iohn*.

The election beeing made, *Matthias* is set at liberty by *George Boicbrac*, the new King of Bohemia: hee demands the crowne. *Frederick* armes himselfe with a constitution, which he had receiued from *Elizabeth* mother to *Ladislaus* deceased, when shee sent him her sonne to bring vp. Vpon refusall they goe to armes; but the Germane princes pacified this quarrell, concluding, that *Matthias* should pay for his crowne vnto the Emperour, foure-score thousand crownes. In the meane time there springs vp new seeds of warre in Germany. *Pius* the second (making the Emperour, and his deuotion to the Romaine sea his support) puts *Dietrick Isebourg* from the Arch-bishopricke of Mentz, aduancing *Adolph* of Nassau in his place. *Isebourg* opposed himselfe vigorously against the popes exactions, who spoiled (as he said) the provinces, vnder a pretext of warre against the Turke: and moreover hee would not tie himselfe by oath vnto the pope, who would likewise binde future Ecclesiasticall Electors; not to assemble the Electors of the Empire, for the election of any new Emperour, or for any other cause concerning the Empire, before hee were duly informed, to the end his pleasure might be preferred before all others. An audacious and vncivil demand. *Frederick* the victorious Conte *Palatin* of Rhine then administrator of the Electorship of his Nephew *Philipp*, the sonne of *Lewis* his brother being a pupill, stood firme-ly for *Isebourg*. *Lewis* Duke of Bauaria, surnamed the rich, ioynes with *Frederick*. The Emperour hated them both, and desired much to crosse them (although in his heart he had reason to fauour that party, for the which they fought) but he feared the valour of *Frederick*, and the wealth of *Lewis*.

The pope vrgeth him to stirre vp some great princes of Germany, to oppose against the protectors of *Isebourg*, rather then against *Isebourg* himselfe. *Adolph* of Nassau, was assisted by *Albert* Marquis of Brandebourg, *Lewis* of Bauaria, surnamed the black, *Charles* Marquis of Baden, and his brother, *Iohn* bishop of Metz, with *Vlrrike* Earle of Wirtemberg: all which eniued the prosperity of *Frederick*, and yet feared to try his valour. *Frederick* was the weaker in men, but right hath a strong party. They neglecting their enemies small forces, charge him disorderly: he resists them valiantly, beates them, defeats them, and puts them to flight, takes the Marquis of Baden, the bishop of Metz, and the Earle of Wirtemberg prisoners, the first of July 1461. and to let them vnderstand that they had erred in the discipline of warre, spoiling the corne, and burning the Mills, hee caused them to sup the first night of their imprisonment without bread.

The end of this warre was the beginning of an other, more fatall for the Emperour. The pope deposed *George Boicbrac* from the crowne of Bohemia, as fauouring the doctrine of *Hus*, and appoints *Matthias*, surnamed *Cornutus*, but the Emperour would not grant it, depending of the Empire. *Matthias* was much mooued, and the more, when as after the death of *George*, the Lords of Bohemia, and the Emperour likewise, leauing him, made choise of *Ladislaus* the sonne of *Cassimir*, King of Poland, and of *Elizabeth*, daughter to *Albert* of Austria. In this warre, the imperiall Maiestie was not onely shaken, but through *Fredericks* misfortune almost ruined, and hee in a manner expelled out of all Austria, and it reduced vnder the power of a strange Lord, mighty and warlike. When as behold *Albert* Duke of Saxony, sonne to *Frederick* the second Elector of Saxony, father to Duke *George* and *Henry*, Grandfather to *Maurice* and *Augustus* Electors, leauies a goodly army at his owne charge, assailes *Matthias*, and so weakens him in many battails, as hee abandons the greatest part of Austria, and forceth him in the end to accept a peace with such conditions as *Albert* would impose. During these partialities in the West, God raised vp some meanes to crosse the Turkes exploits, if the diuisions of Christian princes, for the most part procured by the popes, whilest they settled themselves, had not conuerted their owne forces against themselves. Three yeeres after this pittifull wound which the christian church receiued by the losse of Constantinople, *Mahomet* the second, besieged Belgrade, but to his confusion. A handfull of men, lead by that braue *Huniades*, in two daies together, giue him two bloody

1483. bloody batailles, wins them, kills about forty thousand of his men, spoiles his campe, takes his artillery, and with some difficulty he saued his person, being wounded in the left pap, and carried out of the fight as dead. *Mahomet* seeing by this disgrace, that the land did not fauour him, means to try an other element: hee rigges a great fleet of gallies, to seize vpon the Islands of the Archipelagus. But he had purchased a mighty enemy, *Vsumcassan* of the race of *Asimbei* a Turke, Lord of Cappadocia, Armenia and some other countries adioyning, who had lately slaine *Molsombre*, or (as some write) *Demir* of Persia, and by that victory inuaded the Realme. *Vsumcassan* hauing disapointed the designs of *Mahomet*, grew so proud, that to make his victory the more famous, he drew rich presents out of the treasures of Persia, and sent them vnto *Mahomet*, requesting him not to attempt any thing against Trebifonde, nor Cappadocia (a conquerors request imports an imperious command) countries which belonged vnto him by reason of the dowry of his wife, the daughter of *Danid Commene*. *Mahomet* not able to digest that a meaner then himselfe should prescribe him a lawe, imploies all his wit to obscure the glorie of this new King. Hee therefore sends a part of his fleet into Asia, directly to *Pontus* and *Sinope*, towards Trebifonde. And hee himselfe with an incredible speed crosseth Asia, and campes neere to *Vsumcassan*. Three batailles are fought: *Vsumcassan* winnes the first against *Amurath Bascha*, a Greeke by nation, neere to the riuier of Euphrates, which *Bascha* was slaine: and the second against *Mahomet*, where hee was in person. These two batailles did wonderfully weaken the Turke forces. In the third, the Persians amazed with the vnaccustomed noise of the Turkish shot, vnable to endure the terror of the harguebush, *Vsumcassan* and his men oppressed with this new army, lost the honour of the two first daies, and *Zemald* the sonne of *Vsumcassan* was slaine with a shot.

The Turkes  
ouerthrowne  
twice in Asia,  
winne the  
third bataille.

*Mahomet* pursues his good fortune, besiegeth and takes *Sinope* the capital city of the Province; and afterwards all Paphlagonia: then he campes before Trebifonde; batters it by sea and land, and in the end takes it; spoiles the treasures of King *David Commene*: sends him prisoner with his two sonnes, and his cousin *Iohn le Beau*, to Constantinople, to serue for a shew, the day of his triumph, causing them afterwards to be barbarously slaine, rooting out the race of *Commene*s. In the same voiage he tooke Cilicia from *Piramet Caraman*, and being returned to Constantinople, he conquered with his army by sea, the Islands of Lemnos and Lesbos: he vnpeopled Mitilene, and transported the Inhabitants of the Island into another country.

With his forces at land he assailed *Dracula* prince of Valachia: who with such small forces of foote and horse, as the shortnesse of time would suffer him to leauy, did so surpris and shut vp *Mahomet*, as both he and his army were in a maner ruined: when as behold *Mahomet Bascha*, Lieutenant Generall in the Turkes army, with a braue and hardy resolution opened the passage by force: but with great losse of his men, the which (fortified with new troupes,) hee sends into high Misia and Sclauonia: chased *Stephen* King of Bosnia, out of laize the chiefe city, dispossessed him of his Realme, and in the end slew him about the yeere 1463. A while after *Mathias* King of Hungary recovered the sayd city and Realm, E ouerthrew a great army of Turkes spoiling the country of Sirme, tooke many places in Croatia and Dalmatia, and in the end expelled *Mahomet*, being come to besiege laize, spoiled his campe, and was master of all his baggage. *Scanderbeg* (expelled his country) was retired into Italy, where shewing that the diuision of Christian Princes was the meanes to confirme the Turkes estate, and that it was impossible to make him giue ouer this audacious and insatiable desire, being at Lisse vpon the riuier of Drille, he was surprisid with a seuer, whereof hee died, being threecore and three yeeres old, in the yeere of our Lord 1467.

Scanderbeg  
dies.  
his valuer.

A prince exceeding all men in valour, of a wonderfull courage, so as euen with vehemency his lippes did bleed, at the beginning of euery charge. He neuer refused bataille, neuer turned his backe, neuer was hurt but once, lightly in the foote with an arrow: he neuer led about sixe thousand horse and three thousand foote, and had slaine with his owne hand about two thousand Barbarians, striking with such force, as hee cut many in two peeces.

*Mahomet* being freed by the death of *Scanderbeg*, vnderooke three warres at one instant: *Misfihes* of the race of the *Paleologues*, had commission to goe to Rhodes: *Acomath Bascha* into

1483. A into Italy, to conquer it, with Rome, and the Empire of the West: and *Mahomed* himselfe goes into Asia. *Misfihes* being often beaten, was forced to returne with the remainders of his army, languishing and in pittifull estate. *Acomath* lands in Calabria, takes Otranto, and so amazeth all Italy, as the Pope (neglecting all in regard of the safety of his person) resolues to leaue Rome. *Mahomed* going into Asia, died of the Collick, neere vnto Nicomedia, in the yeere 1471. A happy death for the Christians: for Otranto besieged by the Italians, ayded by *Matthias*, was yeelded by composition, with their liues and goods saued, without attending five and twenty thousand Turkes, which *Acomath* (pursuing his victory) brought to their succours. Thus Italy was deliuered from imminent danger, and the Pope assured: B we will now leaue the rainge of *Baizet*, second successor to *Mahomed*, to continue our worke in the West.

## CHARLES the eight, the 56. French King.



His raigne will not hold vs long, but after the Duke of Orleans league, the motiue of five yeares warre in Brittanie ended, by the Kings marriage with *Anne* the eldest daughter to *Francis* Duke of Brittain, we shall be transported beyond the Alpes, to take the possession, which *René* King of Sicile, and *Charles* Earle of Maine his brother, had by their testaments left to *Lewis* the xi. to the rights they pretended to the realme of Naples: vpon the way we shall see him entertained by *Lewu Sforce*, in the Towne of Asti; then hauing received the Forts of *Florence*, with the City of *Pisa*, from *Peter de Medois*, hee enters Rome, notwithstanding the gain-saying of Pope *Alexander*, and hauing vsed there in the rights of a conquerour, he treats an accord with the said Pope: receiues from him the title of Emperour of Constantinople, with the inuestiture of the realme of Naples: and consequently causeth him selfe to bee crowned King of Sicile. And to augment his honour, hee makes his passage, maugre the forces of all the Princes and Potentates of Italy,

A brieue  
hearsall of  
Charles his  
raigne.

1483- at Fournoue: and laden with glory and spoiles, returns triumphantly to seeke some rest in France, after his weary toyles. But alas! when as in the greene and vigorous season of his life, he shall meditate of a second voiage for the recouery of his Realme of Naples (as easily lost as wonne) and when as the Easterne parts liued in hope to haue the Christian Church restored by him, oppressed now vnder the Turkish tyranny; Death vniust and vnseasonable, according to man, shall with himselfe cut off all his goodly designes, the which hee had laid in the beginning of his flourishing youth, to carry him to the fruition of a better rest. The iudicious reader may iudge, if wee haue reaped more honour and profit in the getting, then shame and hurt in the losse of so many Estates lying farre from vs. *Charles* came to the crowne at the age of thirteene yeeres, delicate, weake, sickly in his youth, mild, gracious, deuout, but wilful in his humors. *Lewis* had bred him vp at Amboise, attended on by few seruants, not visited by any, without any instruction, but bare reading, not willing to helpe nature by art. Yet the weaknesse thereof hath oftentimes more need of a prop to support it, and a spur to pricke it forward, then of a bit to restraine it. Did he feare that learning should impair his health, or corrupt the good seeds which nature had planted in his minde. He was content, that according to his fathers humor, his sonne should learne this only sentence in Latin. *He that cannot dissemble, cannot rule.* But he did him wrong: for, he was inclined to the reading of French bookes: and hee came no sooner to the crowne, but they found in him a desire of knowledge, which made him to haue a taste in the Latin tongue. But as the aptest time of his age was slipt away without profit, so did hee salute the Muses but a farre off: weake of body, but of a good wit, capable of counsell, and succceptible of the helpe requisite for the gouernment of a firme and solid State. His minority was the cause of a quarrell, betwixt the Duke of Orleans (a yong prince and neresst to the crowne) and the Earle of Beauieu, for the Regency, which caused his coronation to be deferred vntill the next yeere: after the which an assembly of States should determine of the administration of the King and Realme. The princes of the bloud attending this sollemnity, hauing bene so often wronged by *Oliuer le Daim*, *Daniel* his seruant, and *Doyac*, who had wholly gouerned the deceased King, did without the Kings priuity (whose yong yeeres with-held him from gouernment) informe of their insolencies, proud carriage, vniust murders, thefts, extortions, and other crimes, which they had committed vnder the authority of *Lewis* the eleuenth, and by a decree of the Court, make *Daniel* to forfeite both body and goods, and his master likewise some few daies after. *Doyac* whipped at the corner of euery street, lost one of his eares vpon the pillory, at the Halles in Paris, then hauing his tongue peared with a hot iron, he was conuicted to Mont-Ferrant in Auvergne, where he was borne: there they cut off his other eare, and whipt him likewise. Moreouer, the excessiue rewards which *Lewis* had giuen to some persons, were reuoked, and they constrained to make restitution. To teach meane men, raised by the bounty of Kings, that man is mortall, but the memory of indignity is immortal with great men.

*Charles* his disposition, and education.

The Duke of Orleans and Earle of Beauieu contend for the Regency.

*Oliuer* and *Daniel* hang-ed.

*Doyac* whipt, and lost his eares.

*Landays* gouerns the Duke of Britany insolently.

At the same time the Duke of Britan was wholly possessed by *Peter Landays* his Treasorer, (of whom we haue formerly spoken) by whose flanders and suggestions he had suffered his Chancellor *Chauuin*, to die miserably in prison, of hungar, and cold: beeing a very honest and a reuerend man. *Landays* was the sonne of a poore Taylor in the suburbs of Rachapt, at Vitry in Britan, as it appeareth in his proces, quicke-witted, and busie-headed. His first access to the duke was in the quality of a Taylor, and after he vsed him to carry his loue letters, the said duke being of a very amorous disposition. In the end he makes him master of his wardrop, and finally his Treasorer generall; then he begun to manage the Treasor, iustice and affaires of State at his pleasure, hee did preferre Officers by his letters without the dukes appointment, and place or displace whom hee pleased: proud, treacherous, reuengefull, implacable to such as had offended him. Presumptuous, declaring such Noblemen of Britan, as could no longer endure his arrogancy, guilty of high Treason, for that they had attempted against his person, forfeites their goods, banisheth their persons, and arming his maiesty to their destruction, the which they could not auoide, but by a generall pardon and remission.

In the end their patience is moued. *John* of Chalon prince of Orange, sonne to one of the dukes sisters, and *John* of Rieux Marshall of Britan, the principall of his Court, hauing

A hauing laied a plot, with the other Barons of the country, at all aduentures to seize vpon *Landays*: they enter the castle of Nantes, beeing secretly armed, seeke for *Landays*, and find him not, being gone to Pabotiere, a house of his vpon the Loire, nere vnto Nantes. The Duke is amazed at this insolent proceeding, and beleeueth it is some practise against his person. One of his seruants goes vp to the batlements towards the towne, and cries out aloud: That they seeke to force the duke. The archers of his gard storme: the Officers and gentlemen of his house flie thether, the people troupe together. They plant such Artillery as they finde in the towne against the castle, readie to batter downe the gate. The vnder-takers (who had not foreseene so dangerous a consequence) shew forth the duke vpon the batlements, and cause him to speake. He assures them, that they haue not attempted any thing against his person: and to satisfie the multitude, *Philip* of Montrauban enters by agreement, he aduise the Noblemen to absent themselves for a time, in the meane time the people would be pacified, and the Dukes wrath appeased. *Landays* on the other side hauing escaped a troupe that was sent to surprize him in his house, saues himselfe through the ditches of his garden, alone, and on foote: and so in the night recouers the castle of Poence, and giues the Duke notice of his aduenture. The duke sends a Conuoy for him, and is more ruled by him then before. So *Landays* assembles all the Officers and men of counsell in Britan: he sends to the Vniuersities of Italy, laies open the violence done to the Duke in his owne house, by his vassalles and subiects, and demands what punishment this offence deserues. The assembly answered, as *Landays* desired: that they found them guilty of high treason, yea in the highest degree, and therefore deserued death and losse of goods. A decree followes, with condemnation of death, houses beaten downe, woods cut vp at the waist, with all the rigours which men condemned for such a crime might deserue. They flie into France, and offer their seruice to the countesse of Beauieu, the Kings sister, complayning of the insolencies of *Landays*, without making further mention of their quarrell with the Duke. *Landays* discouers their retreat, hee vnderstandes of the discord betwixt *Lewis* Duke of Orleans, and the said Lady, and causeth his maiesty (by letters written to *Lewis*) to accuse the disobedience and treachery of his nobility, who acknowledging *Anne* for Regent of the Realme, deprived him of the honour and right that was due to him rather then to a woman, as the first prince of the bloud: he exhorts him not to relinquish his iust title, and promisseth to assist him with his best meanes. The Duke of Orleans had against his minde (as we haue heard) married *Joane* the yongest daughter of *Lewis* the eleuenth, deformed and vnfit for conception, and followed the onely aduice of the Earle of Dunois, sonne to *John* bastard of Orleans, a man of great fore-sight, aduised, a good and a valiant capitaine.

This Earle did presently forecast, that (by the meanes of *Landays*, who did so secretly inuite Duke *Lewis*) forsaking *Joane*, he might marry with *Anne* the eldest daughter of *Francis* Duke of Britan. This hope drew him soone to Nantes, where hauing heard the complaints of the French, and contented them with words and promises, without any meaning to accomplish them, moued rather with desire to gouerne the state, he returns into France, to assist at the Kings coronation at Rheims, whereof the day approached. There were present at the Kings coronation, the Dukes of Orleans, Alençon, Bourbon and Lorrain, the Earles of Beauieu, Angoulesme, Vendosme; la Roche sur-Yon, Montpensier, Longueville, Foix, Dunois and those that were fled out of Britan; the prince of Orange, *John* Lord of Rieux and Ancenis, the Earle of Aumale, *Poncet de la Riviere* (who was created Maire of Bourdeaux) the Lord of Vrfe (who was made master of the horse) and others of their troupe, all which brought him with pompe to make his entry into Paris, and to prepare for a generall parliament to be held at Tours, with more free access then had bene vsuall, yet not so effectually as was expected: euery one seeking rather to maintaine his priuate authority, then to procure the peoples ease. The Pragmatick Sanction was restored, to vse it as they had accustomed. The Constables sword was giuen to the duke of Bourbon: the gouernment of the Kings person to his sister, a cunning woman, and some-what of her fathers humor: but the name of Regent was forbidden to them all, to preuent ialousies. There was a counsell erected of twelue, by whom matters should be dispatched in the Kings name: of the which *Lewis* duke of Orleans should be president.

1484-

*Landays* escapes and comes to the Duke.

He condemns the Noblemen of high treason.

*Landays* causeth his maiesty to inuite the Duke of Orleans against the Countesse of Beauieu.

The Duke of Orleans comes into Britan, the Kings coronation.

1485.

The Duke of Orleans discontented leaves the Court.

A league made by the Duke of Orleans.

*Lewis* is discontented with this device, seekes to hold his ranke, hee pretends that being the first prince of the blood, the Regency belonged vnto him; hee assists at the Counsell in parliament, and in the assemblies in towne, and notwithstanding the last will of King *Lewis*, and the decree of the Estates, yet will he by force haue the name and effect of Regent. But our Kings who may not (to preiudice the elder, or for want of issue, their next kinsman, being a male and legitimate) dispose of their crowne: haue they not then power to commit the gard of their children, being yet pupills, and the Regency of the Realme to whom they please? Moreouer was it reasonable that he which was not yet five and twenty yeeres old, who liued vnder his mothers wing, who by right had yet need of a gouernor, should be declared capable for the gouernment of this Realme? So, want of yeeres depriued him of grandfather of the same dignity, during the phrensie of *Charles* the sixth. This discontent is nourished by a new accident: *Lewis* playing one day at Tennis, where the Ladies were present, there fell a stroke in controuersie, the which *Anne* iudged for the aduerser part. *Lewis* otherwise moued, casts out some word, importing a lie. *Anne* discontented herewith, causeth it to be decreed in counsell, that the Duke should be committed prisoner: hee is aduertised thereof by *John Louen* (or *Louaine*) a gentleman of his house, and so retires to the Duke of Alanfon. The Duke of Lorraine was come to demand the Duchy of Barre, (the which *Lewis* the eleventh had held) and the Earldome of Prouence, which he pretended to be his, as sonne to the daughter of *René* King of Sicilia, Duke of Aniou, and Earle of Prouence, and by consequence, the next kinsman to *Charles* Duke of Aniou (who by transference, on and testament had made *Lewis* the eleventh his heire) yet was she but nephew to *René*, and sonne to *Charles* of Aniou, Earle of Maine his brother. Barre was restored, and the Lorraine had a hundred men at armes entertained, with thirty sixe thousand frankes for foure yeeres, during the which they should looke into the title of the said Earldome. During this terme, some well acquainted with the Estate of Prouence, produce certaine testaments of *Charles* the first of that name, brother to Saint *Lewis*, and Earle of Prouence by his wife, and of other Kings of Sicilia, which had beene of the house of France, by the which, the house of Lorraine was not only excluded from the succession of Prouence (not liable to the daughter, while there remained a sonne of the race) but that also the Realme of Sicilia, and all other Seigneuries possessed by the house of Aniou, belonged to the King. That King *René* having regard to the said testaments, had at his death preferred his nephew *Charles*, before the said Duke of Lorraine, sonne to his daughter.

The Duke of Orleans greeued to be thus excluded from his pretensions, and that *Anne* alone gouerned the King her brother, practiseth the dukes of Bourbon, Alanfon and Britan (the chiefe support and refuge of the discontented French) the Earle of Angoulesme, *John* Vicount of Narbonne, *Francis* Earle of Longueville, and many others. *Alain* Lord of Albret, hoping (by the meanes of *Lewis*, whom hee found to haue great credit with the Duke of Britan) to marry with *Anne*, the eldest daughter of the said Duke (having not duely examined the heart of *Lewis*) enters easily into this faction.

Thus all things threaten a horrible and pernicious warre, but more in shew then effect. *Lewis* with his allies assembles some troupes, and thinking to put them into Orleance, the Inhabitants giue him to vnderstand by the Lord of Ioyeuze, deputed there on his behalfe, that he might well enter with his household, but not with his souldiars. Boifgency was then his retiring place.

*Anne* and the twelue counsellors, cause him to be besieged by *Francis* Earle of Vendome, *Lewis* his brother, Earle of Roche-sur-Yon, *René* duke of Lorraine (whom the said Lady had wholly won vnto her, knowing him to be resolute, vehement, and of faction) and *Peter* of Rohan, Lord of Gie, Marshall of France. In the end this warre was pacified by this agreement, that the Duke of Orleans should come to Court, and inioy the place that belonged vnto him: but *Francis* Earle of Dunois (the Dukes right hand) a busie body and the first author of the trouble, should retire himselfe into the county of Ast, belonging to the said Duke, or to what other place hee pleased without the realme. Must *Lewis* then bring his confederats in disgrace with the King, and now abandon them? Behold the Duke of Bourbon and the Earle of Angoulesme leading 300. Lances, eight thousand foote, and about eightene hundred gentlemen of Auvergne, Bourbonnois, Forest, Beau-seulois and Angoulesmois,

1485.

Agoulesmois, and *Alain*: eight or nine thousand fighting men. If *Lewis* had attended them in some place of strength, how dangerously had he shaken the new estate of *Charles*, not wellsted during his minority? But he had too good a minde to teare out his own bowels, in their persons, whom the law in time should submit vnto him, and dismember the crowne, which he should weare in his turne. *Anne*, to disperse this storme, causeth the Earle of Beauieu her husband, to encounter their troupes, and forceth the Duke of Orleans to march in person, against those that came to his seruice. They were all Frenchmen: and as they were lightly armed, so were they as lightly disarmed: the Marshall of Gie, and the Chamberlane of Graille, shall easily reconcile them. *Alain* being stoppt in his passage of Garonne, at Saint-Basille, by the Earles of Vendosme, and Roche-sur-Yon, was admitted to the same accord, vpon charge to furnish the King a hundred men at armes for his seruice: the which hee deliuered vnder the command of Saint Cyr, and *Forsais*. They are all dispersed: the King at Amboise, *Lewis* at Orleans, *Alain* in Bazadois, and all the rest to their houses: the Vicont of Foix, and *Peter* his brother being Cardinall at Nantes, vnder colour to visit their sister, wife to the duke of Britan. They find their brother in law much incensed against his Nobility, & they resolute to defend themselves. But as both armies were ready to ioyn, an accord is made by some mediators: that considering the dukes age and weakenesse of iudgement, the State should be gouerned by the aduice of his next kinsmen, and friends. *Landaïs* is reiect-ed, and stormes: he drawes letters patters in the dukes name, and declares all those of the

dukes army, that had entered into capitulation with the enemies troupes, guilty of high treason, forfeiting all their goods as traitors: he carries this patent to the Chancellor *Francis Chrestien*, to be sealed, and brings a commandement from the duke to that effect: the which the Chancellor refused to doe. Behold *Landaïs* hath purchased two enemies for one, and both haue sworn his ruine, but they must countenance it with iustice. They depute the Lord of Pont-Chateau to summon the Chancellor to do iustice vpon *Landaïs*, to appoint Iudges for his triall, and to force him to appeare. They make informations against him, wherevpon they decree to apprehend him. It is bruted throughout the towne, that *Landaïs* by sentence should be committed prisoner. The people runne by heaps, they fill the castle-yard, and wil not depart vntill *Landaïs* be deliuered. He saues himselfe in the dukes chamber. The Nobility doth force the Chancellor to repaire to the castle and to demand this man. The duke being constrained, deliuers him, but vpon condition that hee should not be vsed contrary to Iustice, and commands vpon paine of death, that he suffers no outrage be done vnto him, vnder colour of Iustice.

The Nobility being aduertised of his taking, posts to Nantes, and offer themselves vnto the Duke, like humble subiects, suing for his fauour. *Landaïs* proceesse being made with that of *John* of Vitry, one of his seruants, by certaine Comissioners, they were hanged. This done, the people were pacified, and the Nobility, by the intercession of the Earle of Cominges, returned into fauour, and obtained letters of pardon. Then returns the Earle of Dunois to his towne of Parthenay in Poitou, but without the Kings permission. The King (that is to say, the twelue vnder his authority) suspect his returne, and (fearing least the duke of Orleans had sent for him, or that he practised some new worke) sends for the duke. He sends backe the messenger with promise to follow, and vpon a second charge by the Marshall of Gie, doubting the humour of the Countesse of Beauieu, and moreouer mad at his ill vsage, keeping him as it were confined within Orleans, without liberty to go forth in safety; he parts from Orleans, vnder colour to goe a hauking: he takes the way to Fontenay, and from thence to Nantes, whether the Earle of Dunois went to meet him. This departure was presently knowne, and Parthenay was sodenly besieged, taken and razed, with many other places in Guienne, which belonged to the Earle of Cominges, and others that were in Britan. These men slept not. A league is presently made vnder the dukes of Britan and Orleans, whereinto there enters the prince of Orange, *Francis* of Lauall, *Landaïs* of Dinan and Chasteaubriant, *John* Lord of Rioux and Earle of Aumale Marshall of Britan, the Earles of Angoulesme and Dunois. The duke of Lorraine who finds no great satisfaction of promises, is easily drawne into it. *Maximilian* King of Romaines giues his consent. *Charles* opposeth *Lewis* of Bourbon, Earle of Roche-sur-Yon, great grand father to the duke *Montpensier* last deceased, and makes him his Lieutenant generall in this warre:

R r 3

with

Troubles in Britan.

They are reconciled to the ruine of *Landaïs*.*Landaïs* hanged.

The Earle of Dunois can new combutions.

A league made by the Orleannois.



1487. with Lewis of Bourbon the yongest brother of the Earle of Vendosme, he giues them for assistant, maister Lewis of Tremouille Vicont of Thouars, who had married *Gabrielle* of Bourbon, sister to the said Conte Lewis.

*Francis* Duke of Brittain had no great reason to bee a Sanctuary for these mutines, and by receiuing them to draw all the forces of France vpon his decayed age, attending nothing but his graue. But supposing to protect him-selfe from the Kings surprises, hee must ruine his Country, his Nobility, and his subiects. But then fallies out an other accident. The Lords lately reconciled grew in ieaousie, that the French were come to reuenge the wrong done vnto their Duke: or else with their ruine and the Dukes to make their peace in France. They desired to send them home for two respects; the one to content the King and his Sister, the other for that they should not grow in any such credit with the Duke, as in the end he might employ them against them-selues, wishing in a manner for *Landais*, to oppose him against them. Moreouer they feared *James Guise*, a Captaine of the Dukes men at armes, and in good credit, Nephew to *Landais* and his seruant, least he should seeke some reuenge for his Vncles death. If it should be so, how could they subsist? The King discouers this secret ieaousie, and findes a good expedient, to thrust them on to their owne mutuall ruines. To this end he sends *Andrew* of Espinay Cardinall of Bourdeaux, and the Lord of Bouchage, with instructions to *Rieux* Marshall of Brittain, and commission to offer them men and meanes to expell the French out of Brittain.

The best aduised discover the Kings intent, that accepting of this offer, they make the way open for the King to enter into Brittain. But in the end they agree: *That hee should not send into Brittain for this succour, above foure hundred lances, and foure thousand foote, and that at the Barons request. That the King should pretend nothing to the Duchie, whilest the Duke liued. That hee should not beseege nor take any Towne, Castell, or Fort within the Country: That when as the Duke of Orleans, the Earle of Dunois and others should take nothing without paying. That when as the Duke of Orleans, the Earle of Dunois and others should retire out of Brittain, the King should be bound to withdraw his forces. And for the Brittons: That the Noblemen of Brittain should arme with him, and accompany his armie to expell the French.* The confirmation of these Articles is seconded with foure hundred Lances, and fiue or sixe thousand men led by the Lord of Saint Andre, who enters Brittain on the one side: the Earle of Rochefur-Yon on an other, and the Vicont of Tours on the third. All the Country is sodenly filled with French-men at armes, and the Orleanois are amazed, being vnfurnished both of force and counsel to resist. The Earle of Dunois being of more iudgement then the rest, considers, that the company of a hundred Lances belonging to *Alain* of Albret, was a part of those foure hundred commanded by Saint Andre: that it was conuenient to winne him, and with this dessein to put him in hope of the marriage of *Anne* of Brittain. An inuention according to the necessity of the time, but this was not the Earles intent, who laboured to winne her for the Duke of Orleans, neither the Prince of Oranges, who vnder hope of this alliance, had drawne the Arch-Duke *Maximilian* into this league, whereby hee should enter into Bourgogne, with a mighty army led by the Duke of Lorraine, whilest that he him-selfe should annoy the King in Flanders and Picardy. But great shewes and small fruits. He was so poore and needy, as the King might easily disappoint all his practises and stratagems. Now are we deeply ingaged in warre. The Duke of Brittain (accompanied with *Lewis* of Orleans, the Earles of Dunois and Cominges, the Lords of Montmorency, Joyeuz, du Lis, St. George, Dampierre and Beauuau) tooke a view of his army at Malestroit, consisting of six hundred Lances, and sixteene thousand foot, good & bad, ill armed and ill trained: whilest the French and Brittons being ioyned together, take Redon, & (to terrifie Rennes) they spoile the country euen vnto Meçay, besiege Ploermell, batter it, and in three daies take it, spoile & ransom it. The Dukes army marched to succor this towne, when as *Maurice* of Mene being great of body & courage said, *whether go we my friends? Our Duke is onely governed by the French, by whose persuasions we march against the French, who at their first encounter will betray him to their nation, whereof I am well aduertised. Were we not better to remaine in our houses with our wives and children, then to be thus led by the humors of others?* a speech of great consequence. He was of the best allied in Brittain, issued out of the house of Guerlesquin, & had well seru'd *Lewis* the xi. as gouernor of Guise and Captaine of a hundred men at armes in the wars against

The King  
like to di-  
uide the Brit-  
tons from  
the Duke.

A secret trea-  
ty of the No-  
bility of Brit-  
tain with  
King Charles.

The French  
enter Brittain.

The Duke of  
Brittons  
army.

A against the Flemings: a man of valour and counsell, and well aduanced by the said King, hauing the proffits of *La Ferte-Bernard*, *Aiguesmortes*, *Benurage* and *Gorlonniere*: but very inconstant in his changing of parties. At this speech they all scatter: so as of sixteene thousand, scarce the fourth part keepe the field: the Duke amazed here with, leaues *Malestroit*, and recouers *Vennes*: but he was pursued so speedely, as he loofeth his baggage, being faouored in his retreat by the Prince of Orange, who had posted from *Nantes* to his succor, very hapily: for other-wise he had beene beleeged and taken. *Vennes* being beleagard, yeelds for feare. The Duke at his departure had left two thousand eight hundred horse in it, vnder the command of *Coetquen* Lord Stuard of Brittain, and of *Amanury* of *Moussay*; and for Captaine of the towne *James le Moine*, who vnable to maintaine the sege, retired in hast. *Coetquen* went to *Dinan*, where he commanded; *La Moussaye* with his horse to *Nantes*, where the Duke was, and the Kings army did bend that waies. *Adrian de l'Hospital* a Captaine of men at armes, meetes him vpon the way, defeated him, kills a great number of his troupe, and takes many prisoners: some six hundred recouer *Nantes*. This was about *Whitson tide*. The Duke thus pressed, being weake in his person, and weake in his subiects: being diuided, weake in friends, weake in those who had ingaged him in this warre for their quarrel, sends the Earle of Dunois and *Oliuer* of Coetman (who soone after fell to the French and was made gouernor of *Auxerre*) to craue succors from *Henry* King of England. But to increase his misery, *Henry* was not yet in quiet possession of his realme, crossed by some remainders of *Richards* party, the which he must suppress. The King resolved to beseege the Duke in *Nantes*, he comes in person to *Ancenis*, thether come the associat Brittons, repenting their indiscretion, for that they had taken townes, and spoiled the country, contrary to their promise; and their owne lands suffered the like extremities. Thus *Nantes* was beleeged the 19. of Iune, well battred, well assailed, and as well defended. The deputies of England were foure times shipped to crosse the seas, and foure times put backe, by tempest of wether. Instead of English, they brought fifty thousand Brittons of the commons, greued to see their Duke beleeged. The Kings army, either holding themselves vnable to fight with them, or neglecting them as frutelesse forces, or doing it of purpose, the sooner to furnish the towne, gaue them free passage, and holding it likewise impossible to force a towne well furnished with commanders, men and victualls, they raised the sege the sixt of August, to go without losse of men to *Dole*: the which was taken and spoiled without resistance, the Brittons and other soldiers were put to ransom.

During the sege of *Nantes*, *Peter* of Rohan Earle of *Quintin*, of the French faction, surprised *Montcontour*, and summoned *Guingamp*, a passage for succors that came to the Duke from the Bishopriks of *Treguer*, *Leon* and *Cornouaille*. *John* of Coetman Lord of *Chasteaugui*, Captaine of the Towne, was at *Nantes*. He flies thither, and furnisheth the place with men sufficient to defend it, and hauing intelligence that *Plusquelice* with about fifty Gentlemen, Bretons of the Kings army, spoyling the country and drawing the Nobility to their party, dined in the Abby of *Begar*, hauing called together the neighbour parishes, and assembled some troupes, he charged them, ouerthrew them, and led them all prisoners to *Guingamp*: where the Iudges of *Goello* and *Guincamp*, by the Dukes expresse comandement, began to informe against them, and had finished their proccesse, if some friends and kinsmen had not found meanes of delay, vntill the Dukes death ended that proceeding. This prise gaue courage to the Capitaines of *Dinan*. They assemble about fiue thousand men, and beseege *Montcontour*. But the Vicont of Rohan, and the Earle of *Quintin*, offering to succour it, and moreover the sege of *Nantes* requiring force and expedition, they retire to *Rennes*, to ioine with the other forces, consisting of six or seauen thousand men. At the same instant *Yvon* of Rocerf, Lord of *Bois de la Roche*, and *Peter Long* Lord of *Kaeruegues* (inticed with the great welth which the Earle of *Quintin* had left in his Castell,) assemble some soldiars with many peasants, and beseege *Quintin*: they take it, and against the composition sworne, spoile the towne and Castell, and (in hatred of the Earle, who followed the King) burnt it to ashes. The Earle by meanes of his subiects recovered it soone after: and *Gouquet* captaine thereof before, expelled them againe, and spoiled the towne. But to what end serued this cruell stratagem, seeing that *Rocerf* had a house in the country, and the Earle good meanes to be reuenged: as he was a yeare after, by

Moussay de-  
feated.

Nantes be-  
leeged.

Montcon-  
tour taken.

The Brittons  
reconciled to  
the Duke.



1487. by the taking of *Rocess* himselfe, and the spoile and burning of his house? The Phrigiens A grow wise too late; sayeth the Prouerbe. The Nobilitie of Brittanie finding their error, by drawing the Kings forces into the countrie, to their owne ruine, they send to the Duke: protesting to be no way associat with the King, but to defend themselves against the French that were neere his person, who they doubted had bene drawne in to preiudice them: they offer to serue him hereafter, and against all men, so as he will pardon them. The Duke receiues them, and grants his letters of abolition, deliuerie and restitution of all their goods and dignities, as before the warres, namely, to the Vicount of Rohan, to the Lords of Auagour and Rieux, (lately put from the office of Lieutenant generall, and Marshall of Brittanie) as well for themselves as their assistants. *Rieux* enjoyed it, but the rest persisted in the Kings seruice. In the meane time the Kings armie prepares to go into Base Brittanie, and to beseege Guingamp: but the Marshall of Rieux changing his partie, makes them to change their proiect. *Rieux* was at Ancenis, wonderfully perplexed to see the French entred the Countrie, by a breach which the Nobilitie of Brittain had voluntarily made them, deuising some meanes to repaire these confusions, drawne thereunto by his reception into grace. The Earle of Cominges going Ambassador to the King, passed by Ancenis, and confirmed *Rieux* in this good resolution, perswading him to go vnto the Duke, with assurance that he should be graciously receiued. *Rieux* thinking to strike two strokes with one stone, sends *Francis du Bois* to the King, who at that time was at Pont de Larche: giuing him intelligence that the Duke of Orleance, the Prince of Orange and others retired into Brittanie, were willing to leaue the Countrie, so as they might rest safely in their houses, without touch for that was passed. Which beeing concluded, he beseeched his Maiestie to retire his men at armes, according to the treatie he had signed with his owne hand. *Anne* hearing this proposition. My friend (said she vnto the gentleman) say vnto my Cousin the Marshall of Rieux, your master, that the King hath no companion and seeing he is entred so far, he will make it good. The Earle had no better satisfaction. An answer discovering the kings intention, which was to incorporate this Dutchy to the crowne: the which caused the Marshall to yeeld to his Prince without dissembling. He drawes some fouldiers from Nantes in October, & deliueis his town of Ancenis into their hands, swearing they should keepe it for the Duke. In the end *Francis* of Lauai, Baron of Chasteaubrian, sonne in law vnto *Rieux*, suffers him to enter the Castel, holding him to be the kings seruant. Being the stronger, and lodging his troupe within the towne, he commands, (seeing that the King had broken the contract) all those that would not sweare fidelity and seruice to the Duke, to retire the next day with bag and baggage. Could he beill receiued of his Maister, carrying with him the deliuey of two so good places? The Prince of Orange hauing ioyned with some Germane succours, sent by *Maximilian*, and lead by *Baldwin*, Bastard of Bourgongne, and some three thousand men of the countries of Cornouaille, Leon, Treguer, and Goello, resolved to besiege Quintin, where the Brittons (ioyned with the French that were commanded by the Barron of Pont-Chateau) did wonderfully annoy Guingamp: who being in a towne vnfit for warre, left the place, and gaue the Prince meanes to campe before La Chaise a Castell belonging to the Vicount of Rohan, but weakened by the losse of many of his men, part of them going daily to the French, and part disbanding by reason of the winter; he retired his army to Montcontour, resolute to take a view, and to punish such as were departed without licence. Yet notwithstanding all his care, and the Dukes seuer command to the gentlemen, to returne to the Campe within two daies, vpon paine of the losse of their goods and honours, and to others of corporall punishment, those few forces which remained, vanished sodenly.

Rieux results from the King.

Ancenis and Chasteaubrian were led to the Duke.

Competitors for the heire of Britanny.

Thus the Duke wauers, betwixt hope and feare, fortified on the one side, but weakened on the other, seeing his estate incline to ruine. He had two pillars, which in his conceit might raise him, or at the least support him; *Anne* and *Isabel*. The Prince of Orangewood *Anne*, for *Maximilian*; *Rieux*, the Lady of Lauai, and the greatest part of the Nobility, for *Alain* of Albret. The first promised greater conditions, yet the King had incombred him much in Flanders, supporting the Garois against him, so as he could not succour his pretended Father in Law, neither with his person, nor his subiects; hauing small credit amongst them, and lesse mony: for that they would not assist him to preiudice the King.

*Alain*

A *Alain* (whome others call *Amand*) had some forces in hand; and fed with this plausible hope, he brought about a thousand men out of Castile, and three thousand Gascons. The Duke would willingly haue made two sonnes in lawe of one daughter, and vrgent necessity forced him, (like vnto *Charles* of Bourgongne) to promise her to many, whom he could giue but to one: euen as *Erichonius* satisfied his gluttonie and continuall hunger, whereunto *Ceres* had condemned him (hauing cut downe her groue) by the many sales of his daughter *Marsya*. In the end *Anne* is promised to *Maximilian*, who should come to marrie in Brittanie, and withall, he should bring great troupes of men to succor the Duke against the oppression of the French. But he abuseth no lesse then he is abused. Hereupon *Alain* comes with his Castilians and Gascons. At his first arriuall he went to salute the Duke at Nantes, and then his mistresse, thinking to haue the greatest interest in her loue. But oftentimes two braue Grey-hounds courting of a Hare, a third crosse them, and carries away the game, as wee shall soone see. The Marshall of Rieux beeing arriued, gaue his consent in fauour of *Alain*, at the Countesse of Lauais request, sister in law to the said *Alain*. It was no time now to leaue this Marshall (newly reconciled) idle. The Duke giues him the charge of his armie, with commission to take Vennes, where *Gilbert* of Grassai, and *Philip* of Moulin, (of whome wee shall make mention in the battaile of Fornoue) commanded. He marcheth thither, batters it, and takes it by composition, the third of March. Then Saint Cir and *Forrais* (who led the hundred men at armes of *Alains* companie) declared themselves Brittons by their Capitaines commandement, building friuolously vpon this marriage: yet some of the companie retired to the King. The Kings armie wintered, but *Lewis* of Bourbon aduertised of the raking of Vennes by *Rieux*, requites him by the surprize of Ancenis and Chasteaubrian, places razed neere the riuier, to make the sege of Fougères more easie, on the one side, being a frontier towne, and of good defence, and on the other side, that of *S. Albin le Cormier*. The Brittons armie had bene eightene moneths in field without rest, to make head against the French, but now they must shew what courage is in them. The Duke of Orleance, *Alain* of Albret, the Earle of Dunois, the Marshall of Rieux, the Lord *Seales* an Englishman, (commanding some three hundred men of his nation, sent by *Henry* King of England, by the meanes of the Lord *Manspertuis*) the Seignior of Leon, eldest sonne to the Vicount of Dunois, the Seigniors of Chasteaubrian, Crenetes, Pont l'Abbe, *Pleisis*, *Baliczon*, *Montigni*, *Balues*, *Montuel*, and other Capitaines of bands, go forth of Nantes, with an intent to raise the sege. Their armie was 400. Lances, and 8000. foote, (besides 300. English, and 800. Germanes, sent by *Maximilian*) with good store of Artillerie, for this great rabble armed, and tumultuously assembled by the Earle of Dunois, had bene in a manner all sent backe, as an vnprofitable burthen vpon the earth.

But the matter is of importance, the French are not so easily forced to rise, and if an occasion of battaile be offered, shall they accept it? The Marshall of Rieux (best experienced in matters of warre) with some others, are not of that opinion: for to what end (say they) should we hazard the estate and countrie, vpon an euent which may be auoided. If we loofe the day, by what meanes shall we releue our selues? The Souldiers that shall remaine after the ouerthrow, will want courage, and change their minds: the people would bee amazed, the Townes stand in suspence, the Conquerour would become master of the Countrie, and take all Townes he should attempt without resistance. It were best to temporize, and to in campe at Rennes, beeing well furnished with victuals and things necessarie, and in the meane time, to keepe the enemy occupied, forcing him to lie in field, tiring him with their horsemen, and cutting off his forrage, or else to lodge the armie in the frontier townes, to shutte vp the victuals, and attend the winter: which beeing come, the enemy shall haue no means to lodge abroad, but must of force dislodge: and in the meane time, we shall see what profit will grow by the leagues of the Kings of England and Castile; of the Arch-duke, and the Duke of Lorraine; all which giue the Duke great hope, to countermine the Kings practises in Brittanie. The rest (rashly thrust on, partly by a young and boiling humour, partly with desire to make triall of their forces) make answer. That the souldiers are wearied with this long bearing of armes without effect; that hauing now an opportunitie to do well, they obseue a great ioy in their resolutions, the which it was more fitte to nourish then to quench: that their forces were vnited alkogether, and asked nothing but employment; and that delay

1488.

Vennes taken for the Britton

Ancenis and Chasteaubrian taken for the King.

1488. lay would make them leaue their Ensignes by litle and litle. In the meane time, Fougeres was at the last gaspe; a towne of importance, and one of the keyes of the countrie, that to leaue it in this extremitie, were to shew a manifest prooue of cowardise to all the rest. To conclude, they say in a manner, that to temporise, were to play the cowards. The first opinion was most probable, but the vehemencie of the Earle of Dunois, and the heate of yonger heades carried it. All march: but see the pittifull first fruites of their first lodging at Andouille, a village vpon the way from Rennes to S. Albin, a contention fals betwixt the duke of Orleance, and the Lord of Albret, a man of great reuenues, father to John the last of that name, King of Nauarre: but his mistresse did not affect him, a good scholler in dissembling to vse the power of *Albret*, for the benefit of the Duke her father. The Duke of Orleance did flie a higher pitch, and by the mediation of the Earle of Dunois, was very farre in fauor with *Anne* of Brittain: *Alain* discouers some good shewes of *Anne*, to the Duke of Orleans, whereupon they grow to so bitter words, as the day approching they were readie to fight. But the enimie beeing at hand, was it now time to contend, to the preiudice of a whole armie? But now the foresight of the Marshall of Brittain, doth pacifie all vpon this diuision: they receiue two seuerall aduertisements. Saint *Aulbin* of Cormier was battered by the French with three batteries, and yeilded by composition, with their liues and goods saued: a small towne, but furnished with a very good Castle, but at that time vnfurnished of men, victuals and munition, and Fougeres yeilded vpon the like accord: S. *Aulbin* was commanded by *William* of Rosneuen, an ancient Captaine, who had had a commaund of men at armes vnder *Charles* the 7. and *Lewis* the eleuenth, but in the warres betwixt *Charles* the 8. and the Duke of Brittain, he returned to serue his naturall Prince. The Brittons arme marcheth to recouer this place, and the French to preserue their conquests, when as behold there riseth a mutinie among the Brittons. It is secretly murmured, that the French Commanders their associats, had intelligence with the heads of the French armie, the which suggestion did euen then hazard all, and if the Brittons had beene farther off, without feare of charge, they had easily disbanded. The Duke of Orleance, and the Prince of Orange aduertised of this conceit, had great paine to worke any other impression. What do they? to giue an assurance of the contrarie, they leaue their horses, and sweare all to fight on foote with the Brittons and Germanes. A more bold then wise resolution, but necessitie did force them to appease this mutinie which tended to sedition.

The order of  
the Brittons  
armie.

The order of  
the French.

The battaile of  
S. *Aulbin*.

They order their troupes to fight. The Fore-ward to the Marshall of Rieux: the battell to the Lord of Albret, with some horse to couer his flanks. The Rere-ward to Chasteaubriant, and on either side, their carriages of artillerie and baggage to couer some of their foote, being fauoured on their flanke with a small groue betwixt Saint *Albin*, and the village of Oranges. And to make the small numbers of strangers seeme great, they attire twelue hundred, (some say, seuentene hundred) Brittons, with cassocks bearing a red crosse, the English liuerie. *Lewis* of Tremouille in the absence of *Lewis* of Bourbon his brother in lawe, commaunded the Kings armie. He giues the fore-ward to *Adrian del Hospital*, an old French Captaine, and famous in this warre: he takes the battaile to himselfe, and giues the rere-ward to the Marshall of Baudricourt, pressed by a more sudden charge then he expected. *Gabriel* of Mont-fauois with ten or twelue horsemen, sent out to obserue the Brittons countenance makes report of their good order.

The two armies approach, the artillerie thunders, and kills many men of either side; a skirmish continues about two houres, which giues the French leysure to order their battaile. The two fore-wards ioine, the Brittons endure the shooke so couragiously, as the French yeeld to the resolute valour of the Marshall of Rieux, who goes to charge the battaile: and at the first they kill *Claude* of Montfort, a braue Captaine, sent by the King of England to succour the Duke, and the Lord *Scales*, a valiant Knight, with some others of the foremost rancke. *Blaise* a Germane Captaine, to couer himselfe from the French artillerie, changeth his quarter, marching byas-wise with his battalion, like vnto a Croisant: but hee is sodainly charged in flanke by foure hundred French horse, broken, and many of them slaine. At the same instant, two hundred horse charge those which had the baggage in charge, and force them to retire. The Brittons horse that flanked the armie, growes amazed, and leaues the foote naked. They charge them, and force them all to giue way, and all flie, some here, some there,

there, the Brittons horse into the wood, and likewise their foote. The Duke of Orleance, and Earle of Dunois fighting vnhappy on foote, do what possibly may be expected from such gallant Princes, but the Duke flying among the Germanes was taken in the wood, the other seeing this generall ouerthrow, tore off his blacke crosse, the liuerie of Brittain, and hid himselfe among the dead bodies: an Archer (that had beene of his company) knew him, and both of them were led prisoners to S. *Aulbin*, whence the Duke of Orleance was soone after carried to the great Tower of Bourges. The Marshall of Brittain, and the Lord of Albret saued themselves in Dinan by the swiftnesse of their horses. All the counterfeit English with red crosses were slaine without remission.

The Lord of Leon (sonne to the Vicount of Rohan) Pont l'Abbe, the Lord *Scales*, (an Englishman issued from that braue *Talbot*) *Montfort* (kinsman to the Prince of Orange) with sixe thousand souldiers of their armie were slaine. *Mosen Gralla* (a name fauouring of the Iewe) Lord Steward to *Ferdinand* King of Castile, and chiefe of the Spanish troupes, was taken prisoner. Of the French, *James Galeot* a Neopolitane, a valiant and renowned Captaine: and others to the number of a thousand or twelue hundred men, but few of any mark. This was on Monday, the 28. of Iuly: a day of great import for the State, the which did wonderfully shake the Dukes affaires, beeing troubled in mind, and his subiects tired with toyle and terror, whereof doth follow practises of places, yeelding vp of Townes, and finally, euery one frames himselfe to follow the Conquerors fortune: a day eternizing the happy memorie of that Noble Knight, *Lewis* of Tremouille, great great Grandfather to *Claude* Lord of Tremouille last deceased, Duke of Thouars, Prince of Talmond, Earle of Guignes, &c. and of the noble Princeesse, *Charlotte Katherine* of Tremouille, Princeesse of Conde, Countesse of Taillebourg, Baronesse of Suiile, Craon, Boufiniers, S. *Hermine*, la *Chaise*, in the Vicountie, &c. mother to the most high and mightie Prince *Henry* of Bourbon, Prince of Conde, first Prince of the blood, and first Peere of France, &c. hauing at the age of 25. or 26. yeares, by his incomparable valour and vertue, wonne the honour of so memorable a victorie. The next day, the Lord of Tremouille turnes towards Rennes, summons the towne, and (to terrifie the Inhabitants) hee lodgeth his armie in the Villages of *Acigne*, *Chasteaugiron*, *Veru*, S. *Suplice*, and others thereabout. The Heralds returne an answer: That the King had no right to the towne, and that he wrongfully made warre in Brittain; That notwithstanding his forces and happie successe, God the guardian of their right, might do vnto him, as he had in former times to King *John* before *Poitiers*, and to *Philip* of *Valois* at *Crecy*. That if Tremouille come, he shall find twentie thousand men to resist him. So the armie leauing Rennes, marcheth to Dinan, vnder the command of the Vicount of Rohan, *Amaulry* of Mouffay, Gouverneur of the towne, compounds at the first summon, to deliuer it into the Kings hands, vpon the accustomed conditions in like cases: to commit the guard thereof to whom he pleased, and the inhabitants to sweare vnto the King: which done, the French armie should retire. On the other side, *Guy* the fifteenth of that name, Earle of Laual, causeth some French troupes to enter by night into his Castell of *Vitré*, and so they became masters of the towne: and by the same meanes he drew his brother *Francis* Lord of Chasteaubriant, and *Montafiant* to the Kings partie. The Baron of Pont-Chasteau, brother to the Vicount of Rohan, followed the example of *Francis* of Auau-gour, the Dukes base sonne, who had alreadie deliuered the towne and castle of *Cliffon* into the Kings hands; and the greatest part of the Nobilitie followed the same course. Hereafter we shall see a ciuill warre, rather then a forraigne. And for the last worthie exploit of this armie, Tremouille besegeth S. *Malo*, both towne and castell, one of the strongest places in Brittain, beautified with a goodly hauen. It was able to hold out against the forces of a mightie armie, as well for the seate thereof, as for the fortification: but they easily enter into composition. The Kings affaires aduanced thus, as the Dukes declined: his Maiestie beeing at Angiers, he propounds in Councell whether he should proceed to an absolute conquest of the Duchie, lease vpon the dukes person, and his daughters, giue them some pension, and marry them at his pleasure. He wanted no fire-brands in Court, to kindle these combustions, disperfed throughout all Brittain. My Lege (say they) if you once get the father and his daughters into your hands, you shall easily obtaine the whole countie, without striking stroke, and reduce the Nobilitie at your discretion. *Guy* of Rochefort Chan-

Dinan yeelds.

Cliffon yeelds

The Kings  
proposition in  
Councell.

1488. Chancellor of France, a iust man, and of a good conscience, shewes, That the Duke of Orleans recetrete into Brittanie, had bene the chiefe motiue to draw downe the Kings forces. That his Maiestie hauing now the said Duke in his power, the cause ceasing, the effect shold cease, That the Duke was somewhat to be excused, if by the bond of alliance and affinitie, he had bene intangled in the disgraces of these Noblemen, fledde vnder the shadow of his wing. Moreouer, the King had no iust cause to pursue his owne vassall with such violence, to ruine his estate, to inuade a pupils patrimonie, and to spoile her of her Grandfathers inheritance. If the King were not satisfied to haue the chiefe motiues of these confusions in his power, he armed himselfe with a transport made to K. Lewis, by the Lord of Bouffac and Nicole of Brittanie his wife: that he must then examine the titles, and appoint men to looke B into the rights of the one and the other: if the Kings pretensions were iust, it was in him to put them in execution: if not, the people would exclaime against this violence, and God the protector of the oppressed, would soone or late, raise vp some to reuenge it: for the peoples voice, is the voice of God, who cries to Princes; *Doe right to the needie and Orphelins: do iustice to the afflicted and poore.* This aduice made the Lords of the Councell pause awhile, and many in the end conclude: That it was more conuenient to agree vpon Iudges, to decide this controuersie iudicially. Doubtlesse God holds the hearts of men in suspence, and makes them yeeld to what he pleaseth: But our Countesse of Beauieu was not well pleased with this resolution, hoping to haue the Earledome of Nantes for her share. They let the Duke vnderstand what the Councell had decreed. The crosses, distemperatures, age, and weaknesse of iudgement, hindred the apprehension of his affaires, yet will hee deale surely. He chargeth the Earles of Dunois and Cominges with offers and submissions to the King, the King referres them to Verger to consider thereof: a house belonging to the Marshall of Gyé. Behold there growes great pretensions. The King pretends the proprietie of Britanny, by reason of the grant made by Bouffac. The Vicount of Rohan had not renounced his interest. He descended of Mary of Brittanie, sister to Marguerite the Dukes first wife, the onely heire of Francis the first, and Mary preceded the Duke that then was, in degree of blood. But the pittie was, she was a woman.

Pretendants  
for Brittanie.

As for the pretended rights and grants of Bouffac, they answered: that the matter had bin fully decided by the treatie made at the Abbey of Victorie, and many others. To the Vicount of Rohan: That it was ended by the contract of marriage, testaments, and ordinances of Dukes their Predecessors, and decrees of Parliaments. But the King hauing two strings to his bow, like a Conqueror, grew wilfull, and his sister Beauieu more then he. If one failed, the other was ready bent. Charles demands the ward-ship of the Dukes daughters. It was of purpose, that obtaining this ward-ship, hee might marrie Anne at his pleasure, being twelue yeares old, and her sister seuen. This might not be; the Nobilitie would neuer haue endured it. Moreouer, Charles discouers, that forraigne Princes repined thereat, and were readie to imbrace this quarrell. They must therefore agree vpon Iudges, and a certaine place. Yet leauing nothing of his conquests of Brittanie, and being seized of some townes won by their swords, let the Iudges determine what they will, we will do what we please. In the end they E draw Articles: the King accepts them, and sends them to the Duke being at Coyron vpon Loire, where the Duke remained. He signes them, some willingly, the rest by force: enioying this happinesse in the end of his daies, to haue changed this wretched warre into a publicke rest.

The Duke  
dies.

The Kings  
new and  
strange de-  
mands,

So, a peace is concluded, and sworne on either part, the one and twentieth of August. The King promiseth to call home all his men at armes, and the Duke to dismisse all strangers: he promiseth to giue the King for hostages, the Lord of Montafiant, Rainfort, and the sonne of the Lord Stewart of Brittanie: and within a certaine time, to assemble the Estates of the Countrie, and to make them confirme this treatie. But Francis the second of that name, Duke of Brittanie, oppressed with griefe, melancholy, and age, and fore brused with F a fall: fallies sicke and dies the ninth of September, leauing the Marshall of Rieux guardian of his daughters, the Earle of Cominges for an assistant, and Francis of Laual, Ladie of Chateaubriant for gouernesse.

Presently after the Dukes decease, the King sends Ambassadors to Anne the new Duchesse, who giues her to vnderstand, that the Kings intention was to maintaine the treaty

A treatie made betwixt his Maiestie, and the Duke deceased: but to make it more firme, it was expedient for her to yeeld in three points to the King. The first: That seeing they were allyed vnto the King, reason would, that he should haue the guard, or wardship, and during their minoritie, the disposing of their lands and Seigneuries. The second: That Commissioners appointed should decide their controuersie, touching the principallitie of Brittanie, by the first day of Ianuarie next ensuing: and in the meane time, neither the one, nor the other, should carrie the name nor the authoritie of Duchesse, nor receiue the oath of fealtie. The third: That all strangers should voide the countrie, as was contained in their contract. Anne makes answer: that she desires to keepe the treatie betwixt the King and her deceased father, without any other conditions: And for confirmation of her words, she calls a Parliament the 29. of December following, as the Duke was bound, to haue them ratifie the conuentions of peace. In the meane time there were robberies, taking of ransomes, massacres, thefts, depolation of the Countrie, sale of townes, euen as in open warres. The Vicount of Rohan laboured to winne the townes by sweet words, and amiable letters, he shewes vnto them the miseries of this warre, farre from any end, by the decease of their Duke: that at his request, the King had retired his armie, attending, if the Nobilitie and commons, would put themselves into the hands of the said Rohan, vnder whose commaund his Maiestie meant they should remaine, otherwise he was readie to reduce the obstinate to reason by force. Rennes, Guincamp and others (to whom he had particularly written) answer: That neither they nor the rest, can or ought acknowledge any other commander then the Duchesse: to whom during her fathers life, (and since his decease) they were bound by oath. Moreouer, they were aduertised that the King was resolu'd to entertaine a peace with their Princeesse, in the same manner as had heene accorded. They beseech him to rest satisfied with this answer, vntill they be informed of the Duchesse intention, of the Councels, and the Marshall of Rieux: and in the meane time, to haue the good of the countrie, and the peace in recommenda- tion.

New troubles  
by the Vicont  
of Rohan.

This answer puts the Vicont into choller, and the Earle of Quintin his brother thrusts him on, being desirous to be reuenged for the often taking, and spoiling of his towne. He goes to field with his troupe, and neere vnto Pontrieu he encounters some men gathered together, with an intent to go to succour the Duchesse: he doth charge them, defeats them, and kills a part of them, being abandoned by some Gentlemen that conducted them: then he takes and sackes Pontrieu and Chateaulin vpon Trieuf, and so makes his way to Guincamp. He summons Chero and Gouicquet Capitaines, to yeeld the towne. They answer, that they will not obey him, so long as there shall be a Duke or Duchesse in Brittanie. Vpon this refusall, he sends a Capitaine called S. Pierre; Seneshall of Tholoufa, and La Forest to be-leaguar it: who being repulsed out of the suburbs of Treguer, takes them of Montbareil and Pontauquen, spoile and burne them; and Rohan being arriued, hee takes the suburbs of S. Croix: then he lodgeth in Monthareil, from whence he discouereth the whole towne so plainly, as he might shoote point-blanke into the market place: he burnes a part of the suburbs, and lodgeth his artillerie; he plants another batterie in the Iacobins garden, to batter the curtain of the wall betwixt the ports of Rennes and Fontani, and he makes a breach but not sufficient, yet he giues an assault, and is repulsed. The next day he changeth his batterie, and plants it at the vpper end of the Friars garden: he plays a whole day, beates downe a part of the wall, betwixt the Ports of Montbareil and Treguer: he offers a second assault, but it was as valiantly defended as assailed. Gouicquet thrust into the thigh with a pikey is carried out of the fight. The night brings counsell, and those which had withstood two assaults, will be vnable for the third, being now weakened of one of their chiefe supports, who was made vnable to serue, by reason of his hurt: morning being come, a truce is granted, to take aduice of their Duchesse. Rohan presseth it, and the Capitaines seeing their men decayed in number, as well by the taking of the suburbs, as at the two assaults, compound for tennethousand Crownes to the Generall, to retire his armie, and to receiue them into his protection, promising to furnish victuals & munition for the seerge of Conquer, the which he had charge from the King to beseege, and for want of present money, by reason of the losses sustained by the warre, to giue hostages. But this parle was fruitolous. During which time Capitaine Brijfel declares himself for the French, seizeth vpon the gate of the tower Quencile, & brings

Fougères taken.

1489. brings in the Earle of Quintin, (who gaped onely for reuenge of this place) hee takes and spoiles the Towne, and ransomes the inhabitants, and amongst them Captaine *Chero*: *Gouiques* saues him-selfe at la Roche de Rien. This chanced the three and twenty of Ianuary, after fīue dayes siege. Conquet yeelds vpon their approach, and Brest followed, a most strong place, and the key of all the Country.

The pittfull  
estate of  
Brittany.

Thus Ploermel, Chasteaubriant, Malestroit, Vitre, Fougères, S. Malo, Dinan, S. Aulbin, Guingamp, Conquet, Brest, and other places, are in the Kings power. The Nobility disposed for the most part of their best places, shroud them-selues vnder the conqueror: there is small hope of succours. The English are diuided amongst them-selues: the King of the Romaines hath worke at home, and those small succours that come from both, preuaile nothing: there is no money in the treasury, the Souldiers are not paid, the Crowne is worth eight Frankes: *Anne* is forced to sell of her reuenues for the maintenance of her house: and to aggrauate these mischiefs, her counsell is greatly diuided about her marriage. The Marshall of Rieux, and the Lady of Laual, hold for *Alain* of Albret, but shee will none of him. She protests, that what soeuer she had done in her fathers life, was in respect of him, being loth to disobey him, or to giue him discontent; and causeth the said protestation to be signified vnto him. The Chancellor and the Earle of Cominges, support her against the Marshall: he flies to armes, and besiegeth the Chancellor at Guerrende, (being seized of *Annes* person, to keepe her from falling into his hands, who would marry her against her will, where he pleased,) but he could not enter. All these confusions made an easie way to the King, for the execution of his enterprises. Being thus oppressed, he sends to her allies, the Kings of England, Castile and Romaines: the English succour her (and in a manner beyond her expectation) with an army of nine or ten thousand men, vnder the command of *Cheney* Maister of the horse, accompanied with the Comptroller, and Ambassador of England: not for any hatred he bare vnto the King, but for feare of too mighty a neighbour, if hee vnited this goodly Prouince to the crowne. The Marshall of Rieux, (hauing an other meaning a part, seeking to tye the English commanders vnto him, and to draw them to his faction) sends the maister of the horse of Brittany, and the Lord of Kaeroussi, to Penmarch, to receiue this Ambassador, and to offer him a conuoy to go to the Duchesse, (who to haue this army neere vnto her person, makes it to land at Croisic, a port neere vnto Guerrende.) And to haue the people at his deuotion, *Rieux* giues out, that the Earles of Dunois and Cominges, the Chancellor and others, had laid a plot to deliuer the Duchesse to the French King. *Anne* fortified with this new supply, goes to field, desirous her selfe (being a Virgin) to affront the Marshall of Rieux, if he presented him-selfe: and being preuented of her entry into Nantes by the Marshall, she retires to Rennes, to giue order for the recouery of Guingamp. For this effect, shee assembles some troupes, being assured that the French garrison could not be sodenly releued, the Kings army being imployed farre off in the conquest of the Townes of base Brittain. These troupes were seized of Pontrieu, & to stop the courtes of Guingamp, had sent some Gentlemen, with a number of the common people. Those of Guingamp, incounter them, charge them, ouer-throw them, & kill many of the chiefe Gentlemen of note, *William* of Rostrenen Lord of Breledi, *Tuon* of Ploesquer Seigneur of Katergabin, *Tuon* of Lesuersault, *Kaerlot*, *Pontglou*, *Kaermechriou*, *Botloy*, *Pregent* the eldest sonne to the Lord of Lanchriou, and an infinite number of the commons. They presently take Pontrieu, sack it, and burne it. This was the 7. of April. The next day, *Gouiques* being aduertised that about 1500. men of the English army, appeared at the Isle of Brehat, he went vnto them, and so wrought with the commanders, as they landed at Pontrieu. The French hauing notice hereof, being about 1500. horse, being loth to ingage their honours in a place not to be held, without succors, and ill furnished with victuals and munition, they set fire of many places of the towne, carry away what they can, exact 12. thousand crownes of the inhabitants, and retire them-selues, leading eight hostages, for the security of fifty thousand Frankes, granted by the inhabitants to the Vicount of Rohan. This English army was presently followed by another of Spaniards, commanded by *Don Diego Peres* of Sarmiento Earle of Salmas, consisting of 2000. men at armes, & a great number of foot. Now *Anne* is strong, fortified with two new armies, and the king feares, that in steed of inuading another mans country, he shall be forced to defend his owne. To preuent all danger, he fortifies his

The Brittons  
ouercome at  
Pontrieu.

*Anne* succoured  
by the  
English and  
Spanish.

A frontiers, and sends *Francis* of Luxembourg, Vicount of Martigues, and *Charles* of Marigni, to *Henry* the 7. King of England, to draw him from the alliance of Brittain, considering his bond vnto the King, by whose meanes he was installed in the royall throne: but they were fruitlesse admonitions. The King calls for his Nobilitie, and all his companies of men at armes, and resolues to enter Brittain with the greatest forces of his Realme. In the mean time he puts two thousand 4. hundred foote into Chasteaugontier and Prouence: *John* of Bellay with his companie of fortie lances into Brest: into Conquet *Claude* of Montaulon, and *Bongars* a Captaine of foote, with artillerie, victuals and munition: and foure thousand French and Swizzers were distributed into Dinan, Fougères, Saint Malo, and Vitre. But this was not sufficient to assure these places: a man of seruice doth oftentimes import more then the whole bodie of a towne. He therefore practiseth with *John* of Quellence, Vicount of Fou, Admirall of Brittain, by the meanes of the Vicount of Rohan. This Admirall armes some ships, to keepe the Brittons from beseeing of Brest by sea, and *Maurice du Méné* (of whom we haue made some mention) with the Lord of Chastell (newly reduced to the Kings seruice, by the Lord of Kaerisac) tooke the guard of the sea coast, to hinder the enemies landing. In the meane time the Brittons lodge their strangers at Lamballe, and assemble all into one bodie. The Marshall of Rieux, impatient to haue beene left Tutor vnto *Anne* by testament, and not to haue her in his possession, being too weake to take her by force in regard of *Alain*, he seekes to the English, and sends *Sourdeac* to *Henry*, to let him vnderstand, that *Albret* might assist him much in the recouerie of Guienne. That it were good to binde him vnto him by the marriage of *Anne* of Brittain, and to sequester those from her that were opposite. If he please, he hath the meanes to draw her into his Captaines power, vnder color to perswade her to visit these great & goodly succors, that were come to serue her. Yet could he not preuaile in this point. She had already conceived some ielousie of the English for her Treasurer (carrying them fixe thousand Crownes, which they had required, attending their pay) had discovered, that they treated with the Kings men, and that they were now in speech of a truce. Being moued herewith, she doth aduertise *Henry*, and beseecheth him to giue order, beleeuing that this dealing was not with his consent. She complains moreover, that the Marshall of Rieux detained Nantes from her, kept her reuenues, placed and displaced her officers: beseeching the King to command the Lieutenants of his army, to giue no support nor fauor vnto *Rieux* against her, but to pursue him as a rebell, and disobedient to his Princesse, attempting against her and her authority. *Henry* won by the Marshall, assures the Duchesse of the continuance of his great loue, and that he will answer at large to that which her Ambassadors had propounded, by some that he would send vnto her. In the meane time he desires his army shold go to Rennes to the Duchesse, or that she might go to them, to the end she might visibly see, if those forces were sufficient to succor her. And he giues her to vnderstand by *Tusbourne* Secretary of State, that he had sent his army to succour her against all men, and especially against *Rieux*: so as the armie, with the commanders may come to her to Rennes, or that she may go to the army, as she shall thinke best. A grosse policie, easily discovered at the first sight, that this was but a practise to put her and the chiefe of her Council into strangers hands, to rule her at their pleasure. *Anne* finds this condition of hard digestion. And *Henry* fearing lest this distrust should make her to sue for an accord with the King; aduise, that the surest meanes to fortifie the Duchesse party against the French, was the Marshalls reconciliation with her: and wrought therein so politickly, that by mediation of *John* of Coetman and other Noblemen of Brittain, an accord was made betwixt the Duchesse, the Earle of Cominges, and others of that partie, with the Lords of Albret and Rieux, and the Lady of Laual: so as in the beginning of Ianuary all quarrels were pacified, and all were vnited in the common seruice of their country. During this treatie, the Marshall well informed that Brest and Conquet wanted both munition and victuals, went to beseege the fortresse of Brest by land and sea with threescore Britton ships: and the English went to Conquet. The King knowing how much these places did import, sends *S. Pierre* and *Chazeron* with 5. thousand foote, to ioyne with the forces of Rohan, Saint Andre, the Seneshals of Tholoufa and Carcassonne: and to draw forth part of the Garrisons of Vitre, Fougères and Dinan, and five and twentie shippes by sea, which put all the gallies of Brittain to flight; and after their example, the army at land retires so hastily, as they leaue part of their Cannon, wherewith

1489.

The Admirall  
of Brittain  
for the King.

The Marshall  
of Rieux seeks  
to winne the  
English.

Brest and  
Conquet be-  
sieged.



1490.

the Towne was furnished, victualled, and releued with fresh men: and Conquest likewise A  
was freed from the feege of the English. Winter approched, and the cold and rainie weather forced both armies to leaue the field. And therefore a new truce was concluded, during the which, Iudges should be appointed to examine the interest of all parties: who for that effect should be sent to Auignon, a neuter towne, and they should name a neuter Prince who (according to the report of the Iudges) should decide the controuersie. Maximilian was chosen. Doubtlesse it was a folly to spend much in spies, and want good intelligence. The King beeing vpon the point to consummate his mariage with the Arch-dukes daughter, relyed on him. But in whose fauour should he giue sentence, beeing in no good rearmes with the king: and hoping on the other side to ioyne vnto his ordinarie titles; the qualitie of Duke of Brittain? Charles and Anne send their deputies vnto him, who are referred to Francford. The Iudges come and pronounce a sentence, but not definitiue: That the King should deliuer all such places as he held, vnto the Duchesse, except S. Aubin, Cormier, Dinan, Fougères, and S. Malo, which should be sequestered into the hands of Maximilian; and the Duke of Bourbon: to yeld them vnto him to whom the Duchie should be adiudged: and all Frenchmen that bare armes, should leaue the countrie, and the Duchesse likewise should dismissthe English and other strangers. Taking a new assignation at Tournay, to iudge definitiue of the cause, but all this was but to winne time, Maximilian makes his peace with the King, for his owne regard, whereby many places he held in Flanders were deliuered: and during these treaties, Isabell the sister of Anne of Brittain dies at Rennes the tenth of Iune.

Anne remaining sole heire, the King of Romaines loue increased, and the Duchesse desired to be supported against the King made her willingly to yeeld. And for that Maximilian could not go in person, he deutes the Earle of Nassau, wolfgang Baron of Polhem in Austria, James Comdebaux his Secretarie, and Lopian Steward of his house, with authoriti to treat, and conclude the marriage and to wed the said Duchesse. Notwithstanding the truce, no man will leaue his hold, neither will the King giue ouer the places he holds, nor the Duchesse dismissthe her strangers, but some part of them, and puts therest into garrisons. Shee sends not to Auignon, fearing perhaps the surprize of her writings. The garrison of Nantes runnes ouer Poictou, Aniou, and other Countries. The Kings troups commit the like acts of hostilitie. Some Germaines enter into Brittain. The Chancellor of Montauban goes to sollicite in England. Charles will haue Anne first to discharge her English and Castilians. Anne replies, that in like sort he ought by the treatie of Francford, to yeld her her places, and to leaue the other foure townes aboue mentioned, as newters. Shee imputes the spoiles of Nantes, to the former diuisions betwixt her and the Marshall of Rieux, and promisseth that hereafter the like insolencies shall not be committed. That the Germaines coming was onely to force some of her subiects to obedience. That the Chancellors going to the King of England, was to agree vpon the charges due for the succors hee had sent. That in truth, seeing the King to make new preparations to the preiudice of their treatie, she had giuen the Chancellor commission, to treat for some succors of men. The King is discontented herewith, so as Guement and Coetquen her Ambassadors returne with no other answer but a new assignation at Tournay. In the meane time the King armes, and makes great preparations at Pont-See. Anne serueth him with the same sauce. Shee sollicites the Kings of England and Castille, and her new spouse, to ioyne their forces, and to inuade France with a mightie armie. He that cannot circumuent his enimie with the Lions skinn, must vse the Foxes. Charles is aduertised of this new alliance of Austria and Brittain. The neighbourhood is dangerous, beeing thus fortified. He must auoide this, and by some meanes get that for himselfe, which an ill neighbour pretends. He therefore sends to treat with the Duches, but she cannot affect him, that had shewed himselfe so violent an enimie. Yet he finds another expedient. Alain of Albret was frustrate of his hopes, and this deniall had mightily discontented him: he was therefore easily drawne away. The Duke of Bourbon gouernes him so absolutely for a time, that vpon certaine promises and other preferments, he winnes him for the King, who promisseth to deliuer him the towne of Nantes, wherein he might do much, being armed with the Marshall of Rieux fauour. The effects follow: Aline surprizeth the castell of Nantes, and in hatred of Annes disdain, he spoiles the Tresurie of the Dukes of Brittain, in the which were all their pretious stones, and the Duchesses Jewels, and deliuers

Anne married to Maximilian.

New causes of warre.

King Charles seekes to haue Anne to wife.

Nantes taken for the French

1490.

A deliuers both towne and castell into the Kings hands, yeelding him the right hee pretended to the Duchie, by reason of his wife Francis of Brittain, daughter to William Vicont of Limoges, a yonger brother of the house of Ponthieure, for a pension of six hundred pounds a yeare, issuing out of the lands of Gaure, neere Tholousa, where vnto the Chamber of Accountants at Paris, with the Kings Proctor generall, and the inhabitants of Gaure opposed, maintaining, that there was no recompence due to the Lord of Albret for that seruice, seeing he had none. The King (who was in Sentinell) marcheth thither in person with his army, the fourth of Aprill, hoping now to finish this warre, and to send home the English. He marcheth, with an intent to besiege Anne in Rennes, whether this new terror had drawne her. But they had so sodenly pestred all the approches with numbers of trees cut off the neere forest, as they were forced to giue ouer that enterprize, to vndertake the siege of Guingamp, being the Key of base Brittain. The inhabitants were reduced to extreme pouerty, hauing lodged the English army almost a yeare, who for want of payment, had spoiled them of all their goods, and left it ill garded with men for defence. Lieutenant for the King, had this charge, who sent Adrian l'Hospital before, with part of the armie, to beleager the place. At his approche the inhabitants demanded a composition: the Lieutenant receiues them, with assurance of life and goods. But in his absence, hee cannot saue the towne from spoile.

Then fell out the appointment for Tournai: Anne sends sixteene Deputies, who find the gates shut against them, and no lodging but in the Suburbs: the King disdaining this treaty, hauing intelligence of the marriage of Maximilian with Anne: fore-seeing, that from this stock might spring a plant, which here-after might crosse his estate. Maximilian was now much moued for the taking of Nantes: the Emperour Frederick his father held a Diet at Noremberg; to prouide some meanes to recouer this losse, and to encounter the French forces. The Princes of Germany promise him twelue thousand Laufquenets, which the Colonell George of Terreplaine should bring to him by August following. The King of England should augment this army with a leuie of six thousand English. But the discord that fell out betwixt these two Princes, and the tediousness of the Germaines, who are wonderfull heauy, gaue the King meanes to effect his desire, and to supplant Maximilian. At that time the King freed the Duke of Orleans from prison, and by the same meanes the Prince of Orange and the Earle of Dunois were reconciled vnto him. These men were great meanes to put the King in Maximilians place, being onely married by a Deputy. The Counsell found no better expedient, to pacifie all these quarrels and troubles. But the Duchesse was strange: what meanes is there (saith shee) to loue a Prince, who these three yeares hath made such cruell warres against mee? beeing a pupill and vnder age? who detaines my townes vniustly? who spoiles my subiects? doth out-rage and kill my officers, vpon refusal to pay him my rents and reuenues? who (notwithstanding former transactions passed betwixt vs) spoiles my Country, makes desolate my townes, and hath sought tyrannically to seaze vpon my person. It was needfull to imploy many great personages to pacifie this discontented minde. The King sends the Duke of Orleans to that end, who cunningly doth practise the Marshall of Rieux, the Chancellor of Montauban, and others of the Counsell, with the Lady of Laval (gouernesse to the Duchesse,) and other Ladies her familiars, who both publicly and priuately lay before her, her fore-passed dangers, the miseries in the which her subiects had bene plunged through warre, the neighbourhood of so mighty a King, who would continually oppresse her, and the farre distance of Maximilian, a poore Prince, full of affaires, and of small credit, who hath no meanes to raise her, neither could he euer succour her with aboue two thousand men. That shee had no better meanes to purchase rest to her selfe, and peace to her subiects, then by imbracing the alliance of King Charles, whereby she should not onely recouer her places, but of a Duchesse of Brittain, should become a peaceable Queene, and well-beloued of the whole Realme. If they were both married, it was but by Attorneys: finally, in such accidents, the Church doth willingly dispence with such couenants not personally performed, to preuent the miseries that grow by warre.

Maximilian was fatre of, vnacquainted with these practises, no man sought to preuent it: and these perswasions did ring dayly in the eares of Anne, so as in the end shee yeelds to follow

Guingamp taken.

The Duke of Orleans freed from prison.

Anne much discontented with King Charles.

Her Counsell perswades her to imbrace the alliance of France.



1491. follow the resolution of her states. They were wonderfully toyled and wearied with the warre, the people turmoyled, the Nobility impouerished, the Clergie oppressed, some townes taken, and some waivering: and moreouer they did see a great Prince demand their alliance with force, and the chiefe Noblemen inclined to the French faction. These reasons made it seeme more conuenient and to be preferred before the slow succors of *Maximilian*.

A small peace  
in Brittain by  
a cary of  
marriage.

Thus was *Anne* Duchesse of Brittain persuaded, and a peace concluded and ratified by a happy and pleasing treatie of marriage, by the which (to maintaine the subiects of the Country in peace that were armed for either side) it was said. *That all exploits and offences committed and done upon assurance, or otherwise, during the warres on either side, should bee forgotten, and remaine without reproch to any, as remitted, abolished, and recompensed: every man should returne to his home, and all soldiers depart the Country.* A wife aduice to main-  
taine these two Countries in loue and concord. The City of Rennes yeelds at this happy composition, where the King entred in Nouember, vpon the assurance and conduct of the Duke of Orleans, with his simple traine, and without any men at armes, (for so it was agreed) to see the Duchesse and to ratifie the treaty, making the Prince of Orange (for that he had beene a chiefe instrument in this businesse) his Lieutenant generall in Brittain: then he tooke the way to Langeais in Touraine, whether *Anne* was conducted by the Chancellor *Montauban*, Coetiquen Lord Steward, and by the Lord of Chateaubriant, and the marlor age was consummated the sixteenth day of December. The Articles of the contract are to be seene in the Originalls. If this marriage were pleasing to God or not, let vs leaue it to the iudicious reader: so it is, that of three sonnes they could not bring vp one. Soone after *Francis* of Orleans Earle of Dunois died, the chiefe fire-brand of this warre, and likewise the principall motiue of this peace. From him are issued the Dukes of Longueville; and a little before *John* the second Duke of Bourbon was decessed without Children, to whom succeeded *Peter* Earle of Beauieu, who here-after shall bee Duke of Bourbon, the eleuenth of that name.

The marriage  
of Charles  
with Anne.

The praefices  
of the English  
vpon Brittain.

This yeare was borne *Gaston* of Foix, Duke of Nemours, sonne to *John* of Foix, Vicont of Narbone, and of *Mary* of Orleans; one of the greatest Captaines of his age, who shall giue ample testimony of him selfe in the warres of Italy, which now approach. There died also at Rome, *Peter* of Foix, Cardinall, brother to the said *John*, and Vncle to *Queene* *Katharine* of Navarre. *Henry* of England, wonderfully incensed at this marriage, sought by all therime of Nauarre. *Henry* of England, wonderfully incensed at this marriage, sought by all secret praefices to surprize some of the chiefe places of the Prouince: and at the first retreat of his army out of Brittain, hee caused it to make an offer at Port-blanc, and some other ports, but they were still repulled by the faithfull care of the Noblemen of the Country: namely by the Chancellor of Montauban, of *Bartrand* d' Aigne, and other sea Captaines. Thus the Englishmen seeing their attempts like to take none effect, bent their course to go towards Calais, in the company of their King: who was making warre in the County of Guines, whilest that *Maximilian* should enter the Realme with forces on the other side: then they besieged Boullen by sea, being kept from landing by the Lord of Cordes, and the bastard of Cardonne, Captaine of Arras, with such small forces as they could suddenly oppose.

Arras betrayed  
to Maximilian.

But oh Bastard! whilest thou repellst this common enemy, how preiudiciall shall thy ablenche be from Arras? Foure young gallants (saith the history) make false keyes to the gates, and giue *Maximilian* intelligence, bringing him by night into the towne, vnkowne to *Carqueleuant*, Lieutenant to *Cardonne*. Some write that one of those, in whom hee trusted for the opening of the gates, made this stratagem. But (how soeuer) he was taken in his bed sleeping at his ease; and for a second token of base cowardise, he yeelded vp the Castell, without attending the succours that came vnto him. The towne was spoyled; without sparing of the Churches, or the Traitors houses. A worthy reward of their treachery. Thus wee preferre our Conquests. A while after they attempted Amiens. A shame to the soldiars, that a woman should heare the first brute, and that by her advertisement to the watch, in ringing the great Bell of Beffroy, should put the towne in armes. And as the first aduice came from a woman, so are they honorably qualified in the History. To haue borne weapons and armes with their husbands, who by the care and command of *Rabempré* and of *Anthony* *Clabauts* Maire of the towne, did their duties so well (euery one repaying to the

A quarter, which had beene formerly assigned him) as the enemy returned amazed. A duty which made them as famous, as their descendants infamous, by the notable treachery they committed in our daies. *Henry* loued peace, and was imbarke more at the instance of his subiects (least they should thinke him more gracious to the French then the ancient quarrells of both nations required) then for any desire he had, to haue the King his enemy, to whom he had a great and strict bond, as we haue heard. The chiefe cause of his grudge was a great summe of mony, which he said he had lent to the decessed Duke of Brittain. The King hauing discouered it, commands the Lord of Cordes to treat with him, and paies him the mony and so sends him home satisfied into England. This peace made *Maximilian* willing to be reconciled. Moreouer the Princes of Germany laboured in this pacification, and the affaires of the Empire, (in the which his father had associated him, since the year 1486.) began to call him. The Suisses laboured it, and the people, especially those of the Lowe-Countries (as well through the French warres, as by their owne priuate diuisions) were so toiled, as they detested the warres. In the end, a peace was concluded for foure yeares onely, by the means of the Duke of Bourbon, the Prince of Orange, and the Lord of Cordes. So he receiued his daughter *Marguerit* againe, with the counties of Artois and Bourgongne, receiuing the reuenues and homages, and the King keeping the castles, to place garisons in them, vntill the end of foure yeares. Behold this estate doth now enioy a happy rest, by the vnion of this goodly and great Duchy, to the Crowne of France, and by a peace confirmed with *Henry* and *Maximilian*. But as *Charles* had enlarged his Diadem, with this new acquisition, so the vrgent importunity of his Shoolemaster, *Lewis* of Amboise, Bishop of Albi, and of Doctor *Maillard*, made him to restore the counties of Roussillon, and Parpignan (too religiously) vnto *Ferdinand* King of Arragon, the which *Lewis* the 11. his Father had gotten, hoping by this meanes to tye the Spaniard to a perpetuall peace. What should *Charles* do then with his Nobility and his youth, he being young, vigorous and of no idle complexion? Now a great deffiance makes him to cast his eyes beyond the Alpes, and drawes him to the conquest of goodly and rich Estates. But let vs examine the causes and proceedings farther off.

Peace with  
Henry.

And with  
Maximilian.

We haue said before, that *Rene* Duke of Lorraine was in Court, and demanded restitution of the Duchy of Bar, and the County of Prouence. During his aboad, the Realme of Naples being reuolted, the Nobility and the three estates of the Realme, put them selues vnder the Protection of the Church, as holding of it in fee. The Pope sends for *Rene*, to inuest him in the Realme, vpon some right which he pretended. The Gallies of Genoa attended him: the Cardinall of Saint Pierre was there to conduct him, and some from all the Noble-men of the country prest him thereunto where they expected him so long, as the Pope was forced to make an agreement with *Ferdinand*, being assisted by the Florentins. Vpon assurance of this accord, which the Pope, the Venetians, the King of Spaine, and the Florentins had sworne, and were bound to see obserued, the Barons of the realme returne home to their houses, and were all taken prisoners. The Prince of Salerne chiefe of the house of Saint Seuerin escapes, and three of his Nephewes with him, sonnes to the Prince of Bisignan, who retire them selues to Venice, and demand of the Seigneury what refuge they would wish them to choose, to the duke of Lorraine, or to the kings of France or of Spaine. The Venetians answer. That the Duke of Lorraine was a dead man, vnable to support so heauy a burthen. That the King of Spaine was already strong at sea; and the realmes of Naples and Sicile would make him too mighty, that they had liued in good correspondency with the Kings of France, who in former times had possessed the said realmes. The delais of the Lorraine being but poore, made them thus to qualifie him; for he wanted neither courage nor valour. They were iealous of the Neighbourhood of a mighty Prince, and did not consider that to call in a King of France to these Estates, was the meanes to ruine them. So they passe into France, where the affaires of Brittain held them about two yeares in their pursute. One called *Stephen de Pers*, a man of base fort, who had serued the King well in his infancy, as a grome of his chamber, and now made *Seneball* of Beaucaire and President of the Accoumpts of Paris, and the Generall *Brissonnet*, afterwards Cardinall, ruled their Maister.

The first mo-  
tiue of the  
voiage of  
Italy.

These Neapolitains gouerne them, and they imbarke him in this voiage, who of himselfe

1493.

Wants for  
this voyage.

was fatal: He wanted all necessarie things. The King was young, & weake of complexion, he hath few good Commanders, and fewer wise men: no money, and himselfe wilfull, the best was, he had a gallant Nobilitie and young, but ill commanded, nothing obedient, and too wilfull, like to their head, the which notwithstanding purchased to the King an immortall glorie. The leading and returne of this armie doubtlesse was the worke of heauen. Before his departure, *Charles* requires ayde and counsell of the Venetians. *Aide we cannot give you* (say they) *for feare of the Turke, yet were they in peace with him, and the Turke then raigning,* was of small reputation: *As for counsell, it were presumption for us to counsell so wise a King, assisted with so good counsell, notwithstanding we will helpe you rather then hurt you, and you shall be very welcome.* In truth GOD will haue vs confesse, that neither the wit nor policie of man can dis-appoint that which his eternall providence had decreed. This succeeded otherwise then that commonweale expected. First they conceiued not, that the King would undertake this voyage in person, moreouer, they hoped to be reuenged of this house of Arragon, whom they hated exceedingly, imputing it to *Ferdinand*, as the meanes to drawe downe *Mahomet Othoman*, who conquered Constantinople, and had done many outrages to the Venetians; and *Alphonso* sonne to the said *Ferdinand* had stirred vp the Duke of Ferrara, to make that chargeable warre against them, the which had almost ruined them, and had sent a man to Venice to poyson their cesterne, with many other complaints which they framed against this house. But the chiefe motiue was, for that by their meanes they could not extend their dominions, as well in Italy as in Greece. Thus they thought to vse the King as a scourge to whip their enemy, but not to ruine him, and by their shipwracke to haue means to seaze vpon some townes in Apulia lying vpon the gulfes, as it happened.

This was one motiue to transport the French forces beyond the Alpes. Another was, that *Bonne* a daughter of *Sauoy* and widow to *John Galeas* Duke of Millan, a woman both without honour and iudgement, was chiefly governed by a Secretarie of her, named *Chico* bredde vp in that house, and by her Caruer, *Antonio Tascino*. *Chico* to assure the estate of the young Duke *John Galeas*, sonne to the said *John*, had expelled all his fathers breethren, vnto the sonne, and amongst the rest *Lodowicke Sforze*, and *Robert* of Saint *Seuerin*, sonne of a bastard Daughter of the house of Saint *Seuerin*: *Tascino* (who had a great interest in his Ladies bed and fauour) calles them home with her consent. Being returned they take *Chico*, and against their promise to offer him any violence, they put him in a pipe, and dragging him through the citie of Milan, send him prisoner to Paulia, where he died, and they modestly dismissed *Tascino*. *Lodowicke* and *Robert* freed from these two obstacles, fortifie themselves neere the Duchesse, and euen then did *Lodowicke* practise to vsurpe the Duchie of Milan. For the first fruites of this proiect they sequester the two sonnes of *Bonne* and lodge them in the Castell, and cease vpon the Treasure (which was then held to bee the greatest in Christendome.) They make three keyes, whereof she kept one, but they had the guard of all. They force her to renounce the Wardship, and *Lodowicke* was made Tutor. This was not all, the Castell was carefully kept, and the Captaine went not without the turne-pikes. *Lodowicke* and *Robert* were not admitted, but with one or two followers. But two great Princes cannot raigne long together in one State without ialousie. *Lodowicke* supplants *Robert*, and puts him from all gouernement.

Thus *Lodowicke* commaunds Milan absolutely, and *Robert* serues the Venetians: yet *Galeas* and the Earle of Caiazzo, children to *Robert*, shall returne and doe *Lodowicke* good seruice in the State of Millan. Then beganne *Lodowicke* to increase in authoritie, grauing the Dukes picture on the one side of their coyne, and his owne on the other, not without the muttering of many, namely, of *Isabel* the wife of *Alphonso* Duke of Calabria, sonne to *Ferdinand* King of Arragon, as proude and haughtie a woman, as her husband was weak of iudgement and without courage. This repynning made *Lodowicke* to hasten his resolution. And thus he proceeded: when the Duke went forth of the Castell, his brother remained within, and *Lodowicke* conducting him home, the Captaine did vsually come forth vpon the bridge to receiue him. One day among the rest, *Lodowicke* staies him purposely a little without the bridge, to draw forth the Captaine, whom *Galeas* and the Earle of Caiazzo seaze vpon, and on such as followed him.

They within draw the bridge, *Lodowicke* lights a candle, and sweares to cut off their heads that

1493.

A that were in his power, if they yeeld not the place before the light be burnt: the which they do. He enters, and placeth men at his pleasure: he puts the captaine in prison; and arraignes him, vpon colour that he meant to deliuer vp the castle to the Emperour. He staies some Germanes, and makes them beleue, that they treated in fauour of the house of Austria, which of old time pretended some right to the Duchy: yet afterwards both he and they were set at liberty. *Lodowicke* is now maister of the fort. He must seeke meanes to maintaine this vsurpation: yet least he should grow too odious, he makes all dispatches in the name of *John Galeas* duke of Milan his Nephew, a duke in name only, but he in effect. In the meane time *Isabel* sollicitis her father and grandfather, to reuenge the iniustice and tyranny of *Lodowicke*. *Lodowicke* vnderstood well, that this act would offend many princes: that his insolent and not accustomed exaction of money made his name odious to all the subiects of the Duchy: and that *Ferdinand* King of Arragon with his sonne *Alphonso* would not faile to imbrace the quarrell and right of *John Galeas* and of their *Isabel*. To crosse them, he cunningly (to the preiudice of the ancient confederacy of the Estates of Italy) makes a league betwixt the pope, the Venetians, and *John Galeas* duke of Milan his Nephew (arming himself alwaies with that name) for their common defence, and namely of *Lodowikes* gouernment, vpon condition, that the Venetians and the said duke should either of them send presently two hundred men at armes to Rome, and greater forces (if need were) for the recovery of such places as were detained from the church by *Virgilius Vrsinus*, in fauour of *Peter of Medicis* his kinsman, associat with *Ferdinand*, and *Alphonso*. And more to crosse their estates, *Lodowicke* (who could not subist in the midt of their vnited forces) sends an honorable Ambassage to the King, whereof the Earle of Caiazzo was the chiefe, assisted by *Charles* of Balbiano Earle of Belzoiofo, and *Galeas* of Saint *Seuerin*, who had married a bastard of *Lodowicks*: who greatly vrge the title he had to this goodly and pleasant country of Naples. They easily drew the King to taste a vaine glory of Italy, perswading him by great offers of seruice, succors of men, money, and munition. But before we passe the Alpes, let vs examine the estate of Italy, and the right which our *Charles* pretended. Since the declining of the Romaine Empire, Italy neuer enioyed a more happy prosperity, then about the yeere 1490. A long peace had made the most barren places fruitfull, it abounded in people, riches, great men of itare, and good wits, in learning, industry and military fame, such as that age could produce, beautified with the State of many princes, not subiect to any other command but of themselves.

*Laurence of Medicis* a Citizen of Florence, was a great meanes to hold things in this prosperous Estate, a man of a quiet spirit, experienced in affaires, iudicious, of great authority about all his fellow citizens, and (for that he gouerned pope *Innocent* the eight, his kinsman absolutely) renowned throughout all Italy. He knew that the greatnesse of other Potentates, would mightily shake the common-weale of Florence, and therefore he sought by all meanes to hold them equall, by a generall obseruation of peace. *Ferdinand* of Arragon, King of Naples, a wise prince, and of great reputation, did much affect this publike quiet, but he had worke at home: *Alphonso* duke of Calabria his eldest sonne, being much discontented, seeing that *John Galeas Sforze*, duke of Milan his sonne in law, should carry but the naked and simple title of duke, vnder the oppression of *Lodowicke* his vnkle. But *Ferdinand* hauing yet a fresh impression of the late reuolt of his subiects of Naples, not ignorant that at the first motion they would open their armes to the house of France, considering the affection which most of his subiects bare vnto it of old, feared least the diuisions in Italy should draw the French to inuade the Realme of Naples: preferring a present benefit before the indignation of his sonne, desiring rather to vnite himselfe with the other Estates, especially that of Milan and Florence, to countermine the Venetians greatnesse, being then fearefull to all Italy, puffed vp with the late ouerthrow of the duke of Ferrara, father in law to *Lodowicke*, after a long and dangerous hazard of their estate. *Lodowicke* was in the same predicament with the rest: and moreouer peace was farre more necessary then warre, for the preservation of an authority lately vsurped. Herevnto that commendable inclynation to peace which he found in *Laurence of Medicis*, did moue him. And considering, that in regard of the inueterate hatred betwixt the house of Arragon and the Venetians, they should hardly make any firme league betwixt them, he therefore concluded, that *Ferdinand* and his

The Estate of  
Italy 1490.

1493. his sonne should not be at need assisted by any other, to crosse him in his designs: and having them alone opposite, he should easily withstand them.

Troubles by  
the death of  
Laurence of  
Medici.

So Ferdinand, Lodowike and Laurence continued the alliance cherefully which they had renewed in the yeere 1480. for five and twenty yeeres: all the meaner Potentats in a manner leaning vnto them: to whom the Venetians greatnesse was wonderfully suspected, managing their affaires a part, not imparting their counsells to the body of the common league, watching onely opportunity to grow great by the publike discords. Being all thus vnited, they were too strong for the Venetians; yet were they full of enuy and mutuall ieaousie, one prying still into an others estate, and continually making designs, so as they could not long liue in true and faithfull friendship.

The death of Laurence of Medici was a great cause of the breach of this generall peace. An vnseasonable death for him, having not yet liued foure and forty yeeres comple: for his country, the which (by his wisdom and iudgement) flourished most happily in all the benefits which a long peace doth vsually bring forth; and for Italy, as well by reason of the affaires which he did wisely manage, to the generall good of the whole country, as also for that he was a notable instrument to temper the diuers humors and ieaousies which sprang vp dayly betwixt Ferdinand and Lodowike, and to quench the flames which might easily cause a generall combustion.

Pope Alexan-  
ders dispositi-  
on.

The peace of  
Italy ruined  
by Peter of  
Medici.

This peace being well shaken by his death, was presently quite broken, not so much by the death of Innocent, who by his sloth was growne vnprofitable as well for himselfe, his friends and the publicke, after he had retired his armes, the which he had displaied at the instance of the Barons of Naples, as by the succession of Roderike Borgis, who was then called Alexander the sixth, a Spaniard, chosen vnder the factious discords of Ascanius, Sforza brother vnto Lodowike, and Iulian of Saint Pierre, buying the suffrages of many other Cardinalls, partly with ready money, & partly by promises of Offices and benefices. He was subtile and quicke-witted, excellent in counsell, vehement to perswade, and a great man of state. But (saith the Originall) *his vertues were surpassed by his vices, dishonest in manners, no sinceritie, no shame, no truth, no faith, no religion in him: but an insatiable covetousnesse, an immoderate ambition, a cruelty more then barbarous, and a violent desire to aduance (by what means so euer) his children, which were many in number.* Peter the eldest sonne of Laurence of Medici, was successor to his goodly honors, but not to his fathers good humors. Peter suffered as much from Laurence, as that Hector drawne dead at a chariots taile, from Hector returning victorious, honored with the spoiles of Achilles.

At his entrance to the government, following an aduice directly contrary to his father, without any other counsell then of Virgilius Vrsinus, of whose humor Peter depended (both their Mothers being of the family of Vrsins) hee made so strict a league with Ferdinand and Alphonso, as Lodowike (a vigilant and subtile man) conceived presently that the Florentine forces might easily be drawne to preiudice him, in fauour of the Arragonois. This ieaousie was laied open by this accident. The confederats according to their custome, must send to congratulate and acknowledge the new Pope. Lodowike had wisely aduised, that all the Ambassadors should enter Rome together in company, and likewise into the consistory before the Pope, and that one should speake for them all: for (said he) *by this manner of proceeding we shall make knowne to Italy, that there is not only a singular loue and league betwixt vs, but also so firme a coniunction, as we shal seeme to be but one body and one Principality.* Ferdinand approved this aduice. Peter did not publicly gainsay it, but in priuate he could not digest it, being one of the Ambassadors chosen for the common-weale of Florence, hauing resolved to beautifie his ambassage, with a proud and stately traine. He considered, that entering into Rome, and presenting himselfe to the Pope in troupe, his traine would appeere farre lesse stately in so great a company. And therefore he caused the King of Naples to frustrate this designe, as not to be done without confusion. But Ferdinand loth to displease one to please another, doth aduertise Lodowike, that he did not recall his first consent, but at the instant request of Peter of Medici.

There was yet an other reason, which made Lodowike to suspect some secret intelligence betwixt Peter and the Arragonois. Francisco Cibo bastard sonne to Innocent, after his fathers death had retired himselfe to Florence, to Peter of Medici, brother to Magdalene his wife.

A wife. Being planted there, Virgilius Vrsinus bought of him, by Peters meanes, Languillare, Ceruete, and some other places nere to Rome, for forty thousand ducats. The money was in a manner all lent him by Ferdinand, of purpose, to the end that Virgilius being his kinsman and entertained soldiary, growing great about Rome, he might reape the more profit. Ferdinand found no better foundation for his safety, then to tie all or the greatest part of the Noblemen, within the territories of the Church, to suppress that Hydraes head, if it should rise too high. This he labored more carefully, doubting that Lodowikes authority would proue great hereafter with the Pope, by the meanes of Cardinal Ascanius his brother.

B The vanity of mans conceites must needs discouer the weakenesse of his iudgement. Of two mischiefs Ferdinand did choose the greatest, and grounding vpon a light profit, he did not foresee, that he layed the way open to his owne ruine. For the Pope discouering the Arragonois intention, and pretending that by the alienation of these small places lying in his iurisdiction, done without his priuity, they were by right forfeited to the Apostolike sea. He exclaimes and complains against Ferdinand, Peter and Virgilius, protesting to omit no meanes that may serue for the defence of his dignity, and the rights of the Romaine sea. Lodowike embraceth this occasion, and seeing the pope to study of some great reuenge against Ferdinand, he feeds his passions, by the loane of forty thousand ducats and three hundred men at armes, leuied vpon the common treasor. Yet apprehending new troubles, he aduiseeth Ferdinand, to perswade Virgilius, to content the pope by some honest composition, to preuent the inconueniences and scandales this diuorce might breed, and counselleth Peter to follow the domestical example of his father, and to bee a mediator, as he had bene, betwixt Ferdinand and him, rather then a fire-brand to kindle diuision: but he talked to a deaffe man. Ferdinand promisseth to doe it, but he ruined with one hand, what hee raised with the other: he secretly sollicitis Virgilius to take possession of those townes and not to yeeld the Pope any thing, but some certaine summe of money, by meanes whereof he should remaine peaceable Lord of the said places, promising to warrant him from all troubles.

Lodowike findes hereby, that it behoues him to fortifie himselfe with new supports and new alliances. He hath a good opportunity: the disdaine of Alexander against the King of Naples, and the affection the Senat of Venice seemed to haue to the dis-union of this league whereby their proiects had so long bene made frustrate. But the Pope loued his children deerely, and contrary to the custome of others (who called them Nephewes, as a more modest name) he impudently called them sonnes. He hoped to obtaine one of the bastard daughters of Alphonso, for one of his bastards sonnes (graft crab vpon crab, and you shall neuer reape good fruit) and whilest this vaine hope possessed him, he opened his eares rather then his heart to Lodowikes motion. Ferdinand gaue his consent, but Alphonso hated the ambition and pride of Alexander. The pope being thus frustrate, turnes all his thoughts to Lodowike, moued partly with disdaine, and partly with feare, seeing Vrsinus, by the exceeding great fauours which hee receiued from Ferdinand and the Florentins, to bee growne mighty in all the territories of the Church.

The Venetians had yet fresh in memory, the leagues made against them in the warre of Ferrara, in the which Sixtus had intangled them: and yet to withdraw them, he employed both his spirituall and temporall power. They had no more confidence in Alexander. Yet the policy of Lodowike did in the end worke this league; betwixt the Pope, the Senate of Venice and the Duke of Milan, in the moneth of Aprill 1493. Thus Lodowike is fortified on the one side: but he had an other meaning then the Pope or Senat of Venice: and foreseeing that he could not long build vpon the foundation of this new alliance, he resolves to assure himselfe by forraigne forces, seeing that both his owne, and his friends in Italie were doubtfull vnto him. He therefore conuertis his thoughts on this side the Alpes, seeking to draw the King to seize vpon the ancient inheritance of the house of Aniou. But let vs see by what right? Urban the fourth gaue the Realmes of Naples and Sicilia (vniuently detained by Manfroy bastard sonne to Frederick the second) to Charles Earle of Prouence, and of Aniou, to hold in fee, being brother to Saint Lewis, who obtained this title that was giuen him by armes. Charles the second succeeded his father, who left it to Robert his sonne, and this

A league be-  
twixt the  
Pope, the Ve-  
netrans, and  
the Duke of  
Milan.

1489.  
The right of  
France to Na-  
ples & Sicilia.

man died without heires. *Ioane* daughter to *Charles* duke of Calabria (deceased before his father) enjoyed the succession. Being disdained not so much for her sex, as for the lewdness of her life: she adopts *Lewis* duke of Anjou brother to King *Charles* the wife for her sonne, and then died of a violent death. *Lewis* passing thither with an army, died of an ague in *Apulia*, seeing himselfe almost in possession of the Kingdome: so as the house of Anjou reaped no profit by this adoption, but only of the Earldome of *Prouence*, which was continually possessed by the successors of *Charles* the first. Notwithstanding *Lewis* of Anjou sonne to the first *Lewis*, and afterwards the grandchild of the same name, thrust on by the popes, as often as they had any quarrell with the Kings of Naples, haue often (but infortunatly) invaded this Realme. By the death of *Ioane* the Realme was transported to *Charles* of *Durazzo* issued likewise from *Charles* the first, to whom *Ladislaus* his sonne succeeded: who dying without issue left his sister *Ioane* the second for his heire: and vnfortunate name in that place, whose indiscretion and impudency of life made them purchase the name of *Wolues*. *Lewis* the third, making warre with the helpe of *Martin* the fifth against *Ioane*, (leaving the government of the Realme, to those to whom shee had abandoned her body) she adopted for her sonne and sole refuge, *Alphonso* King of *Aragon* and *Sicilia*. Afterwards hauing reuoked her adoption, vpon colour of ingratitude, shee adopted the same *Lewis*: who employing his forces for her against *Alphonso* expelled him the Realme: but he died the same yeere, leaving *Ioane* in quiet possession the remainder of her life. Then dying without children shee instituted *René* Duke of Anjou, and Earle of *Prouence* for heire, being brother to the said *Lewis* her adoptiue sonne. This institution displeasing some Barons, who said that the will was forged by them of Naples, they called backe *Alphonso*. Hence sprong the warres and factions betwixt the Angeuins, and the *Aragonois*, nourished so long, by the couetousnesse of popes, who according to the oportunitie of times, haue oftentimes granted their inuestitures diuersly. *Alphonso* carrying it by force, and dying without lawfull heires, left *Ferdinand* his bastard to succeed, as a purchased estate, not belonging to the crowne of *Aragon*. *John* sonne to *René* assisted by the chiefe Barons of the countie, came to assaile him, but the happines and valour of *Ferdinand* giues him the repulse. *René* furuiuing his sonne *John*, and dying without an heire male; names *Charles* his brothers son for heire, who dying without children, resigned all his inheritance to *Lewis* the eleuenth. D Father to *Charles* the eight.

All the wisest  
of the Kings  
Council dis-  
suade him  
from the en-  
terprife of Ita-  
lie.

*Charles* was but two and twenty yeeres old, little experienced in affaires, couetous of glory, and thrust on with a warlike desire: he often neglected the wholesome counsell of the wisest, namely *James* of *Grauille*, Admirall of France, preferring the aduise of some of base quality that possessed him, corrupted by the Neapolitaines that were retired for reliefe, and by the Ambassadors of *Lodowike*. The Nobility of France, commended the wisdom of *Lewis* the eleuenth, who refused to accept of the Geneuiois when they offered themselves, being alwaies loth to attempt any thing vpon Italy, being both painefull, & fatal to the Realm. They knew *Ferdinand* to be a wise prince, rich in money, and of great fame, and his sonne *Alphonso* to be valiant and well scene in the art of warre (but these were but shewes, and all their reputation turned into a ridiculous smoake.) That for the government of warre, and state, the Kings counsel was but weake, and their experience small that had most credit with him. He must haue a huge masse of money, and there was not any in his treasury. Moreover they objected the subtilty, and policy of the Italians: that *Lodowike* himselfe for a light profit would breake his faith. That he would be loth to see the Kingdome of Naples, in the French Kings power; finally to make any conquest beyond the Alpes, were to vn furnishe the Realme both of men and money.

Articles be-  
gint  
Charles and  
Lodowike.

All this was but to cast oyle into a fire already kindled. *Charles* reiects all aduice of peace, and without the priuity of any but *de Vers* and *Brissonnet*, he agrees secretly with *Lodowikes* Ambassadors: That an army passing into Italy for the conquest of Naples, the Duke of *Milan* should giue him passage through his country, he should accompany him with five hundred men at armes entertained: hee should suffer him to arme what shipping he would at *Genoa*; and before he should march, hee should lend the King two hundred thousand Ducats. On the other part. The King should defend the Duchy of *Milan* against all men, and should especially maintaine *Lodowikes* authority: & during the warre, he should maintaine two

A two hundred lances in *Ast*, a City belonging to the duke of *Orleans*, so supply all necessities in the Duchy. This he signed with his owne hand, and promised moreouer vnto *Lodowike*. That going to the Conquest of Naples, he should giue him the principality of *Tarentum*.

1494.

But did not *Lodowike* feare the power of so great a King, lately fortified with three goodly prouinces of *Bourgondy*, *Picardy* and *Britan*, the which his father *Francis Sforce* would haue doubted, if a poore Earle of *Prouence*, had conquered the realme of Naples? and did he not apprehend him who had publickly protested, that he would neuer suffer the oppression of his cousin? for *Charles* and *John Galeas* were sisters children. Doubtlesse now the time was come, when as that should be verified which *Lawrence of Medecis* spake a little before his death, vnderstanding of the vnion of *Britan* to the crown. That if the King of France knew his owne forces, Italy should suffer much, and the publicke predictions of *Friar Ierofme Savonarola*, whereof we will speake hereafter.

The King now takes his way to *Lions*, to assemble his forces, and diuides them into two armies at land, and at sea. In that at land were about sixteene hundred men at armes, two Archers to a Lance, sixe thousand Archers on foote, sixe thousand crosse-bow-men, sixe thousand pikes, eight thousand *Harguebusiers* carrying two-hand swords, twelue hundred expert Canoniers, sixe hundred maister Carpenters, three hundred masons, two hundred men to cast bullets, to make coale, cordes and cables, foure thousand carters, and eight thousand horse for the artillery. The army at sea consisted of eightene galleies, sixe galeons, and nine great shippes. The chiefe Commanders that did accompany the King, were; *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans* Lieutenant generall for his Maiestie by sea, the Earle of *Angoulesme*, the Earle of *Montpensier*, the prince of *Orange*, the Duke of *Nemours*, *John* of *Foix* Vicount of *Narbonne*, the Earles of *Neuers*, *Ligni*, *Boulongne*, *Bresse*, the Lord of *Albret*, *Lewis* of *Tremouille* Vicount of *Thouars*: the Marshalls of *Gié*, *Rieux*, and *Baudricourt*: the Lords of *Crusol*, *Tournon*, *Pienes*, *Silli*, *Guise*, *Chandenier*, *Mauleon*, *Prie*, *Montaillon*, d' *Alegre*, *Bonneual*, *Genouillac*, *Frainzeles*, *Chaufmont*, *Chastillon*, *Palice*, *Vergis*, d' *Hospital*, *Beaumont*, *Myolans*, *Mathew* bastard of *Bourbon*, the bastard of *Bourgonne*, with a great number of Noblemen, and voluntary gentlemen. The Lord of *Cordes* (so famous in our history, for his singular valor, wisdom, and loialtie) died at *Bresse*, three leagues from *Lions*. The Lord of *Vrfe*, master of the Kings horse, prepared all things necessary for the flecte at *Genoa*.

The voiage to  
Naples.

The Kings  
army.

Some infection transported the King from *Lions* to *Venne*, from whence the Duke of *Orleans* parted for *Genoa*, and there the voiage was fully concluded: for vntill that time the dissuasion of the best aduised, and the defect of the chiefe finewes of warre, had held them in suspence: for that a hundred thousand frankes, borrowed vpon great interest, in the banke of *Soly* at *Genoa*, could not long maintaine the ordinary charge of his house. Yet fifty thousand Ducats lent him by *Lodowike Sforce*, and the liuely impression of the Cardinall *Saint Pierre* (the fatall instrument of the miseries of Italy) did somewhat reuiue the fainting courage of *Charles*. What shame (saith he) what infamy, to giue ouer so honorable a resolution? an enterprife published throughout all the world? the Popes amazement? the terror of *Peter of Medecis*? the ruine of the *Aragonois*? who can stay the violent descent of this army? euen vnto the marches of Naples? Doth hee doubt the want of money? At the feareful thunder of his artillery, yea at the least brute of his armes, the Italians wil bring vnto him: and the rebels spoiles shall feed his army: what shadow then? what dreame? what vaine feare doth cause this inconstant change? where is that magnanimity? where is that courage, which did but euen now brag to ouer-run all the forces of Italy vnited together? In the end, the King marcheth the 23. of August, leaving *Peter* Duke of *Bourbon*, his brother in law, for Regent: who conducted the Queene from *Grenoble* into France.

Doubtlesse, wee must obserue a singular and fauourable prouidence of God, in the conduct of this voiage, vnderaken vpon borrowed money: but where God workes, all things are easie. For a third prooffe of his need, being at *Turin*, the King borrowed the Jewells of the Duchesse of *Sauoy*, daughter to *William* Marquesse of *Montferrat*, and widow to *Charles* Duke of *Sauoy*, and pawned them for 1200. Ducats: and for a fourth, being at *Casal*, he pawned the Jewells of the Marquise, widow to the Marquis of *Montferrat*, for the

Tt

like



1494. like summe: women worthy doubtlesse of our history, hauing loued our France with a singular affection. At Ast the King was toucht with the small pockes, and a feuer, which did hazard his life, but within sixe or leuen daies hee was recovered. Thether came *Lodowike Sforze*, and *Beatrice* his wife, daughter to the duke of Ferrara, to salute him, and withall came very fauourable newes.

*Ferdinand* was lately deceased. *Alphonso* his sonne had two armies in field, one in Romagna, towards Ferrara, the which *Ferdinand* his sonne duke of Calabria commanded, accompanied by *Virgil Vrsin*, the Earle of Petilliano, and *John Iaques* of Triuulce, who afterwards serued the King. This army had to incounter them the Earle of Caiazzo, and the Lord of Aubigni a Scottishman, who stopt their passage. The other at sea, led by *Don Frederick* brother to *Alphonso*, accompanied by *Obietto* of *Fiesque* a Geneuois, and others, by meanes whereof they were in hope to draw the city of Genoa into their faction. But the Bayliffe of Dijon entring with two thousand Suisses, assured it for the King. *Obietto* with three thousand men had taken Rapaille, twenty miles from Genoa. The two Saint *Semvins* brethren, and *John Adorne* brother to *Augustin* Gouvernor of Genoa ioyned with the duke of Orleans, and a thousand Suisses charged them, ouerthrew them, and slue a hundred or six score: (It was much in that age, for then their warres were not bloudy) tooke some prisoners, and al that escaped were stript by the duke of Milans people: so as *Frederick* could neuer gather them againe together. A disgrace which did much distaste the Florentines, being alwaies more inclined to the house of France, then to that of Arragon, and encouraged the King to proceed, animated thereunto, by the persuasions of *Lodowike*. My Lord (saith he) doubt not of this enterprise: there are three great parties in Italy: you hold the one, that is Milan: the other stirs not, those be the Venetians: you haue no businesse but at Naples, hauing conquered that realme, if you will giue me credit, I will assist you to become greater then euer was Charlemagne, and wee will expell the Turke out of Constantinople. Hee spake well, if Christian princes had bene well vnited.

Finally, *Charles* makes his entry into Pauia, in quality of a King, vnder a canopy, the streetes hanged, and the people crying, *God saue the King*. Then grew there some ialousie, they would haue the King rest satisfied with the towne for his lodging: but in the end, the castle was opened vnto him, where he did visit *John Galeas* his cousin, being sicke, and at the point of death: not without great compassion of such as thought the course of his life would be soone cut off, by the notable treachery of his vnele.

Placentia receiued him as willingly as Pauia, and thither newes was brought of the death of the duke of Milan, leauing a sonne and a daughter. *Lodowike* posting thither, with promise to returne, vsurped the Duchy absolutely with the title. Thus all Lombardy marched at the bruite of this French army, some for loue, and some for feare. They held our men to be religious, loyall and full of bounty: but couetousnesse, robberies and other insolencies of souldiers, made them soone to alter their conceits, and the horror of the artillery (whose thunder was yet strange vnto them) amazed them. The Florentine, a cunning dissembler, had sent twise vnto the King, before he parted from France: at the first came the Bishop of Rhegium, and *Peter Soderini*: of whom they only demanded passage, and a hundred men at armes maintained: at the second time, *Peter Caponi*, and others, who made answer, that by the commandement of King *Lewis* the eleuenth they had renounced the alliance of *John* of Aniou (if he were associate with *Charles* of France in the warre of the common-weale) to enter into league with *Ferdinando* of Arragon, and therefore they could not rashly leaue it. But in either of these troupes, there was still some enemy to *Peter of Medici*, who gaue the King intelligence of the peoples desire, lifting vp their hands for the recouery of their liberty oppressed by *Peters* government, enuied euen by his neereft kinsmen, and the best families, as the *Caponi*, *Soderini*, *Nerli* and others.

And for a second baite, *Lawrence* and *John de Medici*, cousins to *Peter*, came secretly to the King at his departure from Placentia, vowing great loue in generall to the house of France, and much hatred to their kinsman, against whom *Charles* was greatly incensed, for the excuse he made to his Ambassador, which was sent from Arr: That the chiefe Citizens were in their houses in the country, and could not so speedily returne him an answer, but they should shortly let him vnderstand their resolution, by speciall Ambassadors.

The first overthrow of the Arragonois.

The death of John Galeas.

Great practices against Peter of Medici.

In the meane time they arme ioyntly with the Pope. The King must not leaue Tuscany and the Estate of the Church behinde him as his enemies. The army passeth the Appennin at Pontreme vpon Magre, the which diuides Liguria (which is the country of Genoa) from Tuscany and is vpon the marches of the Florentines country, of purpose to force them to plant the Standard of France vpon their walles, or else to take the weakest places to winter in.

The second exploite of the Kings army, was at Fiuzane, a towne taken by force, sackt, and all mercenary souldiers, with many inhabitants slaine. A hard stratagem, for men, who (as we haue said) made warre rather in pompe and brauery then with blowes.

*Serezane* was sufficient to withstand, yea to ruine a great power: *Serezanelle* was more strong, a fort built vpon the hill about the towne: but the Florentines diuisions had hindered all necessary prouision, but men. And indeed they were loth to make warre against the house of France, of whom they had of old time depended: and the rather for that they were forbidden to trafficke, and their men banished out of all France, by the especiall aduise of *Caponi*. The armie could not continue there, the countrie is straight and barren, compassed in by the sea and mountaines, no victuall but what was brought from farre, and great store of snow. But the way must be laid open to Pisa, and if they had neglected the first place that resisted, what village but would haue held out? *Paul Vrsin* led some horse, with three hundred foote (meaning to put them into *Serezane*) who are incountred, beaten, and in a manner all slaine or taken prisoners, by some troupes of the forward going to forrage beyond Magre. This terror made the Florentines to protest publicly, That they would no longer incur the Kings displeasure, nor the Duke of Milans. Whereupon they send fiftene or sixteene citizens; and offer the King free entry into their city, whose onely designe was to expell *Peter of Medici*.

*Peter* practised (by the meanes of *Lawrence Spinola* his factor in the banke at Lion) the Earle of Bresse, and *Myolans* the Kings Chamberlaine, Gouvernor of Daulphiné. They procure him a safe-conduct, and at the first treaty he graunts the King all his demands. That the forts of *Serezane*, *Serenazelle* and *Pietro-saincto* (the keyes of the Florentine dominion of that side) those of Pisa, and the port of Liurorne, should be put into the Kings hand, who should be bound to redeliver them after the conquest of Naples. That the King should receiue the Florentines into his alliance and protection, vpon the loare of two hundred thousand ducats, and the assurance of these promises should be concluded in Florence. A facility which discouered a wonderfull feare and trouble of minde: for the King would haue bene well satisfied with more easie conditions.

*Lodowike* was present at this Capitulation, who to reape some benefit of *Charles* his conquests, obtaines from his maiesty for thirty thousand ducats; a transport for him and his heires, of the possession of Genoa: (which the King some yeeres before had granted to *John Galeas* Duke of Milan) yet discontented that *Charles* would not giue him *Pietro-saincto* and *Serezane* in gard (which places hee demanded as forceably taken away by the Florentines from the Geneuois, and had serued him as a meanes to lay hold of Pisa) hee returned to Milan, and did neuer after see the King, leauing notwithstanding *Galeas* of Saint Seuerin, and the Earle of Belzoiozo nere his maiesty.

Thus by the configuration of these strong places, the ports of Romagna are opened vnto the King, he enters Luques being very honourable receiued by the citizens; crying *God saue the King of France* Augustus. From Luques he goes to Pisa, *Galeas* of Saint Seuerin, following the instructions giuen him by *Lodowike Sforze* (who did not foresee that the like accident would be the cause of his ruine) called the chiefe citizens, and aduiseeth them, that rebelling against the Florentines, they should craue liberty from the King: hoping by this meanes that hee should one day draw Pisa vnder the duke of Milans command, to whom they were subiect, before the Florentines held it; this was in the same yeere that the Venetians conquered Padoua. Through this aduice the people troupe together, men, women, and children: they flocke the next day about the King going to masse, crying with open throat, Liberty, Liberty, beseeching him with hands lift vp, and teares in their eyes, to free them from the Florentines oppression, by whom (say they) they were most tiranously intreated. *Rabon* a Councillor of the parliament of Daulphiné, & maister of requests, said vnto

1494.

The Florentines offer the King free entry into their City.

*Lodowike Sforze* discontented with the King.

Pisa revolts against the Florentines.



1494- the King, that their demand was iust, and that it was a pittifull thing to see the hard subiection A that did oppresse them. The King (who did not cōsider the importance of this action) breaking the treaty of Serezana, and that he could not giue liberty to a towne that was not his, into the which he was receiued only by curesie, rashly lets slip these words: *I am content.*

Prick forward a strong headed horse, and he will runne at randon. This multitude doth presently change their cry of liberty, into cries of ioi, and running to the bridge vpon the riuier of Arne, they beat downe the Mazorco (this was a great Lion, planted vpon an high pillar of Marble, with the armes of Florence) and cast it into the riuier, and in the same place they set vp a King of France, holding a sword in his hand, and treading this Mazorco vnder his feete. But oh the lightnesse of Italians! few yeeres after, at the entry of the King of Ro- B maines, they shall deale with the King as with this Lion.

This ignominious and rash wound, giuen to the estate of Florence, by *Peter of Medici*, contrary to the example of his predecessors, without the aduise of the citizens, and without any decree of the Magistrates, had wonderfully incensed his fellow citizens. Being returned to Florence, to prepare his lodging for the King, going the ninth of November, to enter the palace of the Seignurie, to treat of the Kings arriuall, behold *James Nerli*, a yong man, Noble and rich, with other Magistrates, being armed, offer him the entry alone, but denieth it to all his followers. Hee retires home to his house, and resolues to get that by force, which he could not willingly obtaine. He armes, and causeth *Paul Vrsin* to approach with his troupe, the which was in the Florentines pay. The State proclaimes him a rebell: C the people flie to armes, and cries liberty. *Peter* recouers the gates, and with him were the Cardinall *Iohn*, and *Italian* his bretheren: they flie to Bologna, and from thence to Venice. *Peter* had no cloake, but one of his groomes: being hated of his fellow citizens, did dained of his domesticall seruants, his house spoiled, with losse of aboue a hundred thousand Ducats in moueables: and to increase his misery, a factor of his at Venice, refused him for the value of a hundred Ducats in cloth. A notable example, of the inconstancy of worldly affaires. Thus by the rashnesse of one yong man, lately equall in a manner to great princes, the house of *Medici* fell for that time, which vnder colour of ciuill administration, had gouerned the common-weale of Florence three-score yeeres peaceably, and with a respected authority. D

*Charles* entred the next day triumphantly into Florence, himselfe and his horse armed, and his Lance vpon his thigh. The Florentines were not ignorant of his discontent, for that they sought to crosse him in his enterprife, and that many of his followers, thrust on by couetousnesse, gaped after nothing more, then the sacke of so rich a city, hauing first of all resisted the power of France, and that others also did solcite the restitution of *Peter of Medici*, especially *Philip* Earle of Bresse. And although the city might worthily iustifie that violence, whereof *Peter* and his complices were the onely motiues; yet did they wisely foresee, that the King would not let slip this opportunity, to become their Lord. But being vnable to stop this violent streame by any force, they had secretly filled their chiefe houses with resolute men, receiued their entertained captaines into the city, and did giue E order, that euery man, both within and without, nere the city, should arme at the sound of the palace great bell. Thus fortified with men, they stand stiffly vpon the tearmes of composition. Oft times wee loose the eeble by ouer-gripping. The fauour they did see some beare vnto *Peter*: the insupportable summes of money that were exacted, the absolute Seignury of Florence which the King demanded, as hauing conquered it by the law of armes, considering in what manner hee entred, made them refuse these rigorous demands, with a firme resolution to mainteine their publike liberty with the perill of their liues. Thus they grew angry on either side, and for a conclusion of the last conference, the Kings Secretary reading the articles which his Maiesty would resolutely haue concluded; behold *Peter Caponi*, one of the foure deputies for the city (a violent man, and one of the mightiest families in the State) puls the articles from the Secretary, and teares them. F *Seeing you demand of vs (saith he) so outrageous condicions, you shall sound your Trumpets, and we our Belles.*

This audacious brauery did moderate the excesse of their demands; for how lamentable had it beene, to haue fallen to any tragicall decision of their controuersie. The King calls

Peter of Medici and his bretheren expelled Florence.

His miserable estate at Venice.

The Kings entry into Florence.

The Florentines fortifie themselves in their houses for feare of the King.

A calls him back, and containing him selfe within the bounds of reason, passeth this capitulation. *That the City of Florence, should be a friend, confederate, and in the perpetuall protection of the Crowne of France. That at the end of the enterprife of Naples, the King should yeeld vp (without any charge to the Florentines) Pisa, Liurne, Pietrosanta, Serezane, Serezanelle, and all other places taken or retolued: and in case of demiall they might recouer them by force, that they should giue the King fifty thousand Ducats in fifteene dayes, forty thousand in March, and thirty thousand in Iune following. They should pardon the Pisans their rebellion, and other crimes. They should free Peter of Medicis from banishment and confiscation; vpon condition that hee should not approach within an hundred and fifty miles of their confines: nor his bretheren nearer then a hundred miles.* This accord was sworne vpon the great Altar, in the Church of Saint Iohn at Florence. But matters succeeded otherwise, as we shall see: so the Florentines changed their red Lillie into a white.

Two dayes after, the King parted towards Sienna, a City well peopled, seated in a fertile country, in ancient time rich, mighty, and the second City in Toscare, which yeelded in many factions to the stronger party, so as they enioyed more the name then the effects of liberty. They tooke off their gates for the Kings entry: notwithstanding the City being suspected of him, (for that it had beene alwayes at the deuotion of the Empire) hee left a garrison, and tooke his way to Rome. Aqua-pendenté and Montfiatconi, (places belonging to the Pope,) receiued him with royall pompe, and laid the way open to Viterbio. The C Florentine fortes which the King held, and the garrison left in Sienna, made the Venetians and Milanois to feare, that he would hardly end his conquests with Naples. To prevent this common danger, they treat of a new confederacy, and had concluded it, if Rome had made that resistance to the King which many expected. *Ferdinand* Duke of Calabria, the Popes forces, *Virgile Vrsin*, and the remainders of the Arragonois army, had resolved to campe at Viterbio, and there to make head against the King; but the roades which the Colonis made (who had taken Ostia from the Pope, and hindred the passage of victualls to Rome by Sea) hauing put all the country about Rome in alarme, beeing iealous of the Popes integrity, who began to hearken to the French demands, made him to retire, leauing the way open for the King to enter into Viterbio by the fauour of the Cardinall of Saint D Pierre, and the Colonis, and so into the territories of the Vrsins.

The Pope is now wonderfully perplexed: he knowes himselfe to haue beene one of the chiefe motiues of *Charles* his voyage; and since, without any offence, hee hath opposed his authority, his counsell, and his armes. Hee imagines, that the assurance hee shall draw from the King, shall be no firmer then his to the King. Hee sees the Cardinals *Ascanius*, *S. Pierre*, and other his enemies in credit about the King. Hee feares that this prediction of *Sauonarola* should now take effect. *That the Church should bee reformed by the sword.* Hee remembers with what infamy he came to the Popedomme; his government and his life controules him. The Cardinalls *Ascanius*, *Saint Pierre*, *Colonne*, *Sauelle*, and aboue fifteene others, vrge the King to suppress a Pope so full of vices, and abhominable to all the world, and to proceed E to a new election. He hath no sufficient forces to withstand the stranger. *Alphonso* droopes; *Ferdinand* is weake. *Vergilus Vrsinus* Generall of the Arragon armie, Constable of the realme of Naples, allyed to *Alphonso*, (*Iohn Iourdaire*, sonne to the said *Vrsin*, hauing married a bastard daughter of *Ferdinand* the father of *Alphonso*) bound to the house of Arragon for so many respects, had of late consented, that his sonnes should giue the King passage, lodging and victualls within the territories of the Church: and leaues him Campagnana, and other places for his assurance, vntill the armie were past the territories of Rome. The Earle of Pettillano, and all the rest of the family of Vrsins, followed the same accord. And now *Ciuita-uecchia*, *Cornette*, and in a manner all about Rome, is in the power of the French. All the Court, all the people, are troubled, they demand an vnity. F Being thus troubled in minde, he sends the Bishops of Concord and Terne, to the King: but hee seeks to compound both for him selfe and *Alphonso*. The King had not aduanced his armes euen to the gates of Rome to that intent. Hee sends the Cardinalls *Ascanius* and *Colonne*, *Lewis* of Tremouille, and the President of Gannai, to the Pope, who in an humour brings *Ferdinand* with his army into Rome, and suffers them to fortify the weakest places. But where is the meanes to defend it? Ostia cuts off their victualls. The Cardinals being T t 3 arriued

1494- The Articles of the agreement.

The Venetians and Milanois growe iealous of the Kings proceedings.

The Pope in perplexity.

The Pope hath many enemies.

He sends to the King.

1495. arriued (an act worthy of *Alexander*) they are presently taken prisoners, to make them to A deliuer vp Ostia, and in the same tumult, the French Ambassadors are staied by the *Arragonois*: yet the Pope caused them to bee presently deliuered, and the Cardinals soone after. Hee sends the Cardinall of Saint Seuerin to the King, being at Nepy, and treats no more but of his owne affaires. And that which vrgeth him most, the King is come to Bracciano, the chiefe towne of the Vrsins: the Colonois haue many of the Gibelin faction within Rome: the Earle of Ligny (cousin germaine to the King by his mother) and the Lord of Aligre were ioyned vnto them, with fise hundred lances, & two thousand Suiffes, to spoile

The wall of Rome, all alone at the Kings entry.

the country beyond Tiber, and to keepe *Ferdinando* within Rome. But hee was more amazed when as about twenty fadomes of the wall fell downe of it selfe, the which inuities the B King, and forceth the Pope. But he feares the Cardinals hatred, and the ruine of his estate. The King frees him of this doubt, and doth assure him, by the Marshall of Giè, the President of Gannai, and the Seneshall of Beaucaire, that hauing meanes to make his passage by force; he is notwithstanding moued with the same reuerence that his predecessors haue alwayes borne to the Romaine sea, that entring peaceably into Rome, all their controuersies should be conuerted into amity and friendship. Hee yeelds, and first he obtaines a safe-conduet for *Ferdinando*, to passe safely through the dominions of the church. Thus the King entred Rome with all his armie, by the port of Saint Mary de Popoly, in like manner as he had done into Florence: euen as *Ferdinando* Duke of Calabria passed out at Saint Sebastians gate, the last day of this year. The Pope fraught with feare and distresse, shuts him- C selfe vp into the Castle Saint Angelo, whilest he should treat with the King. And for that hee refused to deliuer the castle vnto the King, the artillery was twife drawne out of the castle of Saint Marke, where the King was lodged: yet the presents and promises of *Alexander* preuailed much with some of the priuie Counsell, and the King of his owne disposition, was not inclined to offend the Pope. But what needes there any Cannon to batter a place, which opens of it selfe, fiteene fadom of the castle wall, (saies the original) fell at

The wall of the Castle S. Angelo falls.

the Kings arriuall. In the end the Pope giues the King the forts of Ciuita-uecchia, Terracine, and Spolero (yet this was not deliuered) To hold them untill the Conquest of Naples, and grants impunity to the Cardinals, and Barons that had followed the King. *Zemir Ottoman* brother to *Baiazet*, the second who since the death of *Mahomet* their father (being pursued by D the said *Baiazet*) had saued him-selfe at Rhodes, and from thence being led into France, had bene put into Pope *Innocents* power: for whose gard *Baiazet* paid yeerely forty thousand ducats to the Pope, that by the greedinesse of this summe, they should bee the lesse willing to yeeld to any prince, that might make vse of him against him. The King desired to haue him, to make him an instrument of the warre, which hee resolved against the Turke; after that of Naples. But *Alexanders* holynesse, aduised the Turke to stand vpon his gard, and to prouide that this yong king preuaile not in his enterprise: for a recompence hereof, *Baiazet* (although he detested the Popes impiety) sent him two hundred thousand crownes, by *George* of Antie, the messenger of this aduice, intreating the Pope to free him of this feare. It was generally beleueed, that hee was poysoned, and dyed within few dayes after E that *Alexander* had deliuered him. Moreouer it was said: That *Cæsar*, Cardinall of *Valence* the Popes sonne, should follow the King three moneths, as the Popes Legat, but rather to be a pawne of his fathers promises.

The Popes impiety.

By meanes of this accord, the Pope returnes to the Vatican, the Pontificall Pallace, where the king made his filiall submission, obtaines two Cardinalls Hatts, the one for the Bishop of Mans, being of the house of Luxembourg; the other for *Bisconnet* Bishop of S. Malo, and for him-selfe the title of Emperour of Constantinople; and a promise to inuest him in the realme of Naples, without any prejudice to an others right, and then he cured many of the Kings euill. And to shew, that as eldest sonne of the Church, hee had as great iurisdiction, as the Pope within Rome, hee caused three seates for Iustice to be made, and executi- on to bee done of some that were guilty of a sedition made in the Iewes streete.

*Ferdinand* was no sooner parted out of Rome, but the hatred which the people bare to the house of Arragon, discouered it selfe. The tyrannous oppressions of *Ferdinand* father to *Alphonso* were yet fresh. The Isle of Iſchia flowed yet with the bloud of foure and twenty Princes and Barons which had returned vpon his word, who beeing imprisoned after

A after the reuolt of Arragon, *Alphonso* (to make his coming to the crowne famous) 1495. caused to be slaine, amongst others, the Duke of Sessa and the Prince of Rosane, who had married the sister of *Ferdinand* his Father *Ferdinand* had bin a man without faith, 2 The cruelty of Ferdinand and Alphonso dessembler, cruell, violent, a great exactor, infamous, a rauisher of women, and irreligious, (witnesseth the Bishopricke of Tarentum, the which he sould to a Iew for thirteene thousand ducats, for his sonne, who he had sayd was a Christian.) *Alphonso* had the same qualities: and moreouer he was dissolute, impious, and wicked. Herevnto were added the old reliques of the Angeuin faction, which might helpe much to breed an alteration. Thus the people of Naples rise: *Aguila* and *Abruzzo* aduance their enfeignes: *Fabrizio Colonna*, keeps all B in awe about Albi and Taillicouffe, and all the rest of the Realme was ready to rebell. But that which most imports, the furies of his owne conscience torment him. He thinks that the ghosts of these murdered Noblemen appeere vnto him, that the trees and stones sound into his eares the names of France. He sees his subiects ready to reuenge the bloud shed against his fayth. Thus, vnable to withstand both a foraine and a home-bred enemy, he causeth his sonne *Ferdinand* to be crowned, whose young yeares had yet giuen no cause of scandall; and with foure light Galleis, laden with all kindes of wine, (whereunto hee was much giuen) seeds to gardin withall, some Iewels, and a litle money, he fled to Marare in Sicile, where he sodenly changed his horrible excesse into a Monkish life, assisting the religious at al houres of seruice, both day and night, liuing in abstinence, almes and prayers: but C oppressed with the hemroids and grauell, he died, being ready to shut himselfe vp in a monastery at *Valentia* the great.

*Alphonso* affrighted with horrible apprehensions.

*Alphonso* crownes his sonne and flies.

This flight made the Kings way more easie, and verified the saying of Pope *Alexander*. That the French were come with wadden spurres and chalke in their harbingers hands, to marke out their lodging without any difficulty. Alluding it to the prickes of wood which pages and lackeys put in the heeles of their maisters shoes, when they ride vpon their moyles. And in truth, our Frenchmens backs were not much ouer-heated with their armes in this expedition; not any one place staying the King about a day, but the Castelles of Naples. The King going from Rome comes to Vellitre, from whence the Cardinall of *Valentia* (his fathers right sonne) stole from his maiesty. From Vellitre he comes to Montfortin, a towne D belonging to the Church, strong of situation, yet was it battered and taken in few houres. All that were found in armes were slaine, except the three sonnes of *James Comte* a Romain gentleman Lord of the towne; who preferring the hatred he bare the Colonois, before his honour, had left the Kings pay to follow *Alphonso*. These with some others being retired into the Castle, yeelded them-selues prisoners vpon view of the Cannon. Mont-Saint-Ian, a towne belonging to the Marquis of Pescara, seated in the same plaine, vpon the confines of the Kingdome of Naples, strong both by art and nature, fortified with three hundred strangers, and fise hundred inhabitants, which were resolute to defend their state, yet was it one day befeeged, batted, assailed and taken in the Kings presence. Seauen hundred and six men were slaine in the fury of the fight, and but thirty French: and to terrifie the rest, E it was burnt.

Mont Saint Ian taken and burnt.

We are now ready to enter. The Arragonois must shew his courage. *Ferdinand* the new King assembles all the forces he can, hauing fifty cornets of horse, and fixe thousand choise foote, vnder the most expert Capitaines of Italy, and camps at Saint Germaine. The place is of easie defence, on the one side an high and inaccessible mountaine, on the other side the waters hinder the approach, and in front is the Garillan, a riuer vnease to passe: and not farre off is the passage of Canello, a mountaine which of necessity they must passe: It is the keye of the whole kingdome, here must they fight, or giue way. But this army was daunted, without courage, and without force: the name of the French had amazed them, and the captaines, partly desirous of innouation, partly greedy of better intertaynment, wauered in F their faith and courage. The Marshall of *Giè* appogeth with three hundred Launces, and 2000. foote, but terror goes before him. In this amazement both Canello and Saint Germaine are shamefully abandoned, and eight peeces of great artillery are taken to thunder hereafter in fauour of the French.

The first entry of the French into the realme of Naples.

*Capoma* was sufficient to receiue the army, which marched after the forward, rather like trauellers then men of warre, without order, without commandement, and without obedience,

1495. obedience, the souldiars gaping after nothing but spoile. The situation is very strong, ha-  
 uing Vulturno before it (a riuer very deepe in that place) but their resolution was like to that  
 of Saint Germaine: and to increase it, as *Ferdinand* made account to defend it, and by that  
 meanes to hold Naples and Caiette. The Queene his Grandmother sends him word, that  
 since the losse of Saint Germaine, there was so great a tumult at Naples, as all would be in  
 vpror if he came not speedily. He goes, and promiset to returne the next day. But  
*John laques* of Triuulce (to whome he had giuen the towne in gard) comes with some gen-  
 tlemen of Capua to the King being at Calui: he presents him the towne and his seruice,  
 and makes an offer to bring *Ferdinand*. The King accepts the Capuans offer, and the  
 comming of *Ferdinand*, vpon condition that he retaine no portion within the realme, but  
 should content himselfe with such meanes as he should giue him in France. In the meane  
 time the soldiars sacke *Ferdinand's* lodging and his stable: the men at armes disperse them-  
 selues in diuers places; *Virgilius* and the Earle of Petellano craue a safe conduit from the  
 King, and retire with their companies to Nola, *Ferdinand* thinking by this iourney to haue  
 assured the Neapolitaines, returnes at the time prefixt, when as the Capuans aduise him  
 not to set forward, seeing they were other-wise resolved. *Auerse* (a towne betwixt Capua  
 and Naples) lends their keyes to the King, and the Neapolitaines determined to follow them.  
*Ferdinand* retired into the castle, knowing that five hundred Lansquenets ment to take him  
 prisoner: he giues them the mouables of the said Castell, and as they were busie to diuide it,  
 he slips from them, sets the young Prince of Rosane at liberty (whome by loue or force he  
 carried with him) and the earle of Popoli: he causeth the ships that remained in the port,  
 to be burnt and sunke, and saues him selfe with the Queene, *Don Fredericke* his vnkle, his  
 daughter *Ioane*, and some few seruants, in the Ile of Ischia: and whilest he was within sight of  
 Naples, he often repeated this goodly Oracle, *If the Lord keepe not the City, the watch-men*  
*watch but in vaine.*

Auerse yeelds.

Ferdinand  
King of Naples  
flies.

Nola taken.

Naples yeelds

The whole  
kingdome of  
Naples con-  
quered by  
Charles.Charles makes  
a royall entry  
into Naples.

Thus all wauer at the Conquerors fame, and with such cowardise, as two hundred horse  
 vnder the command of the Earle of Ligny going to Nola, tooke both it, *Virgilius* and the  
 Earle of Pertilano, without resistance, being retired thither with 400. men at armes, atten-  
 ding the safe-conduit they had obteyned from the King, being amazed like to the rest of  
 their army, and from thence they were led captiues to the fort of Montdragon, and all their  
 men stript. In the meane time the Neapolitans Ambassadors come with their keyes, desiring  
 a confirmation of their ancient exemptions and priuileges. The King enters the twenty  
 one of February, and is receiued with such exceeding ioy, both of great and small, of all  
 ages, all sexes and al qualities, as euery one runnes as to their dearest redeemer, from a hate-  
 full and insupportable tirany. Thus *Charles* (without planting of tent or breaking of launce)  
 in foure moneths, and a halfe, with an admirable happinesse, came, saw and ouercame. They  
 say commonly, that the poyson lies in the taile, and that the hardest part to flea of an eele, is  
 the taile. The perfection of the victory consisted in the taking of the Castles of Naples. The  
 tower of Saint Vincent, built for the defence of the port, was easily taken. The new castell,  
 the lodging of their Kings, seated vpon the sea, strong by nature and by art, plentifully fur-  
 nished with victuals and munition, and manned with five hundred Lansquenets, but aban-  
 doned by the Marquis of Pescara, to whome *Ferdinand* had left it in gard: who seeing the  
 garrison bent to yeeld the place, had followed *Ferdinand*, and was after some small defence  
 yeelded, vpon condition to depart in safety, and to carry what they could away. And see here  
 the first and greatest error which the King committed in this exploit, himselfe wanting ex-  
 perience, but his minions and fauorits no couetousnesse. He gaue al these victuals and other  
 moueables, to the first that begged them: who furnished themselves with the munition, wher  
 on the preferuacion of the towne and place depended. The Castell de l'Ouo, built vpon  
 a rocke, hanging ouer the sea, being battered with the canon (the which might onely inda-  
 mage the wall, but not the rocke it selfe) compounded, if they were not releued within a  
 certaine time, and after foure and twenty daies siege, it was deliuered into the Kings  
 hands.

The King made his entry into Naples the 12. of May, in an imperiall habit; and was recei-  
 ued as King of France, and of both Sicilies (whereof the realme of Naples makes a part) and  
 Emperour of Constantinople. But herein he made no iust accompt with him that giues  
 and

A and takes away Kingdomes. The Barons and Commonalties sent away their Captaines and  
 troupes dispersed into diuers parts of the Realme. Those which depended most of the house  
 of Arragon, do first turne taile. The *Caraffes*, who enioyed forty thousand Ducats of inheri-  
 tance: the Dukes of Melfe, Grauina, and Sora. The Earles of Montorio, Iundi, Tripalda,  
 Celano, Monteleon, Merillano, and Popoli, come to do their homage, and generally al the  
 Noblemen of the Realme, except *Alphonso Aualo*, Marquis of Pescara, the Earle of Acre,  
 and the Marquis of Squillazzo, whose liuings the King gaue away. Another rigour which  
 shall be a great cause of the following reuolts.

Calabria yeelds willingly to the Lord of Aubigny, sent thither with a small troope, except  
 the castell of Rhegium: but they wanted meanes to force it, the towne held for the King. A-  
 bruzzo yeelds of it selfe. Apulia erects the Standard of France, except Turpia and Mantia;  
 who notwithstanding had planted the Flower-de-lis, yet refusing any other command,  
 then of the King himselfe: who had giuen them to the Lord *Perfi d'Alegre*, and they returne  
 to their first master. The castles of Brundisium and Gallipoli, were neglected with too great  
 confidence: but they shall serue shortly as a leuaine to stirre vp a masse of rebellion. The  
 rocke of Caiette well furnished with all things necessarie, yeeldes at discretion, after some  
 light assaults. Tarentum, Otrante, Monopoli, Trani, Manfredonne, Barle, and in a manner  
 all other strong places yeeld at the first brute. But some holding themselves wronged, for  
 that they had in a manner disdained to heare their deputies: others, for that they had sent

C no man to receiue them, will soone returne to their first demand. The Isle of Ischia remain-  
 ed yet, and *Ferdinand* vpon the first intelligence of the yeelding of the castles of Naples,  
 had abandoned it to *Ianicke d'Auala*, brother to the Marquis of Pescara, both most faithfull  
 to their Prince, and was retired into Sicile. The King sends thither his armie at sea, the which  
 was cast by a tempest vpon the Isle of Corfe: yet in the end they anchored vpon the realme,  
 but after the last act of the expedition. This armie holding it selfe too weake to force  
 the fort of Ischia, would not assaile it, and therefore the King resolved to send into Pro-  
 uence and to Genoa for more shippes, and to assure the sea, the which *Ferdinand* scowred  
 with fourteene gallies ill armed. But prosperitie doth oftentimes make vs become insolent,  
 and without considering the consequence, we easily let matters passe at aduenture. Our  
 French are now well lodged, they dreame of nothing but feasting, dancing, and turneys: and  
 the greatest about the King haue no other care, but to make the victorie profitable to them-  
 selues: without any regard, neither of the dignitie, nor profit of their Prince, who not satis-  
 fied with the conquest of these goodly and rich estates, determines to aduance his victorious  
 forces. Let vs leaue them glutted with ease, pleasure, and good cheare, and let vs make an  
 escape into the East, to see how he had sped there, if the Pope had as well vnited the Poten-  
 tates of Italie, to ioine their common forces with our *Charles*, as he now stirres them vp to  
 crosse his new conquests.

*Mahomet* the 2. left two sonnes, *Baiazet* the 2. of that name, and *Zemin*, (they name him  
 diuerfly, *Zemin*, *Zizim*, *Gemin* and *Geme*) both resident in their gouernments when the fa-  
 ther died. *Baiazet* in Capadocia, *Zemin* in Licaonia. Their absence sets the Baschaes and  
 Captaines of the Ianisaries at discord, about the succession, so as they fell from words to  
 armes. Hereupon the Ianisaries proclaime *Baiazet* Emperour being absent: *Isaac* and *Mesi-  
 shes*, chiefe Captaines of the Turkish armie, being then at Constantinople, set *Corchut* the  
 sonne of *Baiazet* in the throne of his ancestors: they deliuer him the forts and treasure, that  
 vnder colour of his nonage they might manage the affaires of the Empire at their pleasure.  
*Baiazet* posts thither, and by great bribes doth pacifie and winne the hearts of the Ianisaries,  
 and of their Captaines, incensed against him through the malice of some Noblemen. So  
*Corchut* being yet very young, yeelded him the Crowne willingly.

F *Zemin* on the other side, was called by his friends and partisans, holding him to be a man  
 of greater courage, and better execution then his brother, being more fit for his booke,  
 whereunto he was more addicted, then vnto armes. *Pyramet Caraman* King of Cilicia, and  
*Caiibbey Sultan* of Egypt, incite him to warre against his brother. But he was vanquished in  
 three batailles, by *Achamat Bascha*, and despairing, fled to the great Maister of Rhodes, lea-  
 uing his mother and two twins, a sonne and a daughter in Carras, whom *Baiazet* caused to  
 be murdered. Many Princes of Europe demanded *Zemin*, as *Lewis* the eleuenth French  
 King,

Cause of re-  
uolt from the  
French.

1495.

Pope Alexander  
the poison  
Z. man.

The Turke  
twice over-  
come by the  
Sultan.

The Venetians  
discouer  
an enterprize  
against Scu-  
tari to the  
Turkes.

King, and *Matthias* King of Hongary, hoping by his meanes to ruine *Baiazet*: but this was a good pigeon in the Popes Doue-houfe. *Innocent* the eight would haue him, hoping that *Baiazet* his brother would giue some notable summe of money to redeeme him, or else to keepe him from any other, that might vse him as an instrument to crosse his new Empire. *Alexander*, successor vnto *Innocent*, (a monstrous man in life, monstrous in his election, and monstrous in his death.) I haue horror to read, and more to report, what writers do testifie, intreating the curious reader, to see them rather in the Originalls them-selues) being forced to deliuer him to *Charles* the eight, and so disappointed of his yearly pension of forty thousand Ducats, which he receiued for the gard of him: corrupted by the money of *Baiazet*, he caused him to bee poisoned: either greeued for the losse of his pension, or enuying the glory of *Charles*: or else fearing, least if things should succeed happily for him against the Infidels, hee should turne his thoughts and forces, to reforme the abuses and corruptions which had long before crept into the Church.

A while after the flight of *Zemin*, *Baiazet* caused *Acomath* to bee strangled, for that (growne proud and fierce, by reason of his wealth) hee practised to ruine *Baiazet*, and to transport the Empire to *Zemin*. A happy death for the Christians, of whom *Acomath* was an vniust and cruell oppressor. *Baiazet* freed by the death of these two men, hee turned his forces against the Christians, and subdued Valachia. Then he vanquished *Caraman*, reducing his Principality into the forme of a Prouince. After that hee marched with his army into Asia against the *Sultan Caithbei*, who had succoured his Brother *Zemin* with counsell, men, victuals and money. The Sultan defeated the Turke in two great batailles, the one was giuentneere to Adene in Cilicia, the other neere to Tarsis: in the which he tooke both the Commanders of the Turkish army prisoners, *Mesithes Paleologue*, and *Achomat Chersogole*, sonne in lawe to *Baiazet*, and slew about three-score and ten thousand Turkes.

This check made *Baiazet* to change his climate, and leauing Asia, to passe into Europe, where his aduersaries were not so strong. Hee tooke *Durazzo*, neere to Valone, and wonne a great battaile vnder the command of *Cadi-Bascha*, against the Sclauonians, Hongarians and Croations, who were ouer-throwne in the large plaines of Croatia, neere to Saue, about the yeare 1493. But *Iohn Castriot*, sonne to that braue *Scanderbeg*, recovered that which *Baiazet* had vsurped: forcing him to accept of such conditions as he propounded. *Moreouer* *Cerf-Vichin* defeated him in battaile in Croatia, and expelled him the Country.

Then all those nations which lye betwixt Valonne and Constantinople (being from the one to the other about eightene dayes journey) languished vnder the burthen of the Turkish tyranie, Albanois, Sclauonians, and Grecians, hoping for their deliuey, by the meanes of our *Charles*. But what could he do, seeing those that should second the resolution of this young Prince, were the first to ouer-throw his desseignes by their secret practises? *Charles* notwithstanding the death of *Zemin*, sent the Archbishop of *Durazzo* into Greece, an Albanois by birth, hauing an enterprife vpon *Scutari*, with *Constantin* a Greeke, afterwards gouernor of *Montferrat*, who had intelligence within the Towne: the Venetians haue no sooner knowledge of the death of *Zemin*, but to gratifie *Baiazet*, they will haue the honour to giue him the first aduice: for the effecting whereof they command, that no ship should passe by night betwixt the two Castels, which are at the entry of the gulf of Venice. This was the same night, when as the Archbishop should depart with many swords, bucklers, and iaelins, to arme those with whom he had intelligence. But hee is taken, and shutte vp in one of those Castells: his instructions are viewed, whereby the Venetians informed of the fact, send to aduertise the Turkes in the places adioyning. In truth our French had not yet learned to know him, who guides our hands to fight, and our fingers to the battaile. Attending a strange and sodaine Catastrophe, they must plant the bounds of their victory in the Realme of Naples. Let vs now see the issue of this journey. Wee haue left King *Charles* at Naples, seeking his delights, and his people hunting after profit, neglecting to expell the Arragonois out of those few places which held yet for them. In the meane time the peoples loue and fauour, (who loue not a stranger, but in their need) decreased.

The King had in his bounty freed the Realme of about two hundred thousand ducats by yeare: yet matters were not managed with that order and iudgement as was requisite: hee

1495.

Causes of dis-  
content in the  
realme of Na-  
ples.

A heard not the petitions and complaints of suters, but left the charge thereof to such as ruled him: whose incapacitie and couetousnesse confounded all. The Nobilitie were not regarded, their seruices were not recompenced; they had no access to the King: no distinction of persons; no gratuitie but by chance: mens courages that were estranged from the house of Arragon, were not confirmed: no restitution of goods and offices to the Angeuins, and other Barons, which had beene banished by old *Ferdinand*: preferments were giuen to such as purchased them with money, and other extraordinarie meanes: to many the were giuen without reason, and taken from others without any cause: the townes which were not wont to obey any immediatly but the King, were giuen for the most part to Frenchmen. Things most insupportable to subiects, who had beene accustomed to the wise and well ordered gouernement of Kings of the house of Arragon, and had hoped for better in the change of this royaltie. These things did wonderfully blemish the reputation of the French. On the other side, there was no care to keepe the faith ingaged, for the restitution of the townes and fortresses to the Florentines and the Church. A pretext which serued as a principall ground for the following League.

In the meane time, *Alphonso* and *Ferdinand* lately Kings of Naples, lay before the Venetians the dangers they incurred by this new purchase to the Crowne of France. The King of Castile is in doubt of his Islands of Sicile and Sardinia. The Emperour is ialous, and they giue him falsely to vnderstand, that the King desired his Imperiall Crowne. The Duke of Milan could neuer belecue, the King should find so great facilitie in this expedition, or proceed so farre with his forces. He was vnable to defend his estate newly vsurped. But another feare possesseth him, the seruitude that hangs ouer his head, and all Italy. The Pope opposeth, and the Turke at the Popes instance, threatens the Venetians, if they declare not themselves against the King. The Venetians, hauing seene the violent course of this happie successe, that the King, like lightening, had runne through all Italy: that he had seazed vpon Pisa, and other forts of the Florentines, that he had left a garrison in Sienna, and done the like in the territories of the Church. They imagined, that his proiects had a further reach then the realme of Naples, and hold anothers danger to be their owne. To preuent it, they conclude a League, (for three intents, said they, to the Lord of Argenton, the Kings Ambassador at Venice.) To defend Christendome against the Turke: for the common defence of Italy, and for the preseruacion of euery ones priuate estate. They conclude by secret articles, to aide *Ferdinand* of Arragon, for the recouerie of the realme of Naples, who with great hope of the peoples loue, was readie to enter Calabria. That at the same instant the Venetians should attempt some sea townes of the said realme: The Duke of Milan (to cut off all succours that might come from France) should seeke to surprise Ast, where the Duke of Orleans remained with small forces. And the confederates should giue the Emperour and the King of Spaine a certaine summe of money, to inuade France with a mightie army. The Florentines had iust cause to forsake the King. He had not settled them in the possession of their places. He preferred the counsell of such as supported the Pisans before the Florentines, or his faith, perswading him that if these were restored they would vnite themselves to the other Potentates: yet would not they enter into this League, desiring rather to recouer their places from his hand that did enioy them. The Duke of Ferrara dissembling, would not signe it, yet was he content that his sonne should accept the pay of an hundred and fiftie men at armes, and the title of Lieutenant generall for the Duke of Milan. This League concluded, made the Courtiers desirous to returne into France, thrust forward rather by an inconstant lightnesse, then any wise consideration, or loue to the Kings honour and good: Leauing many important affaires vndecided, and the realme not wholly conquered: some chiefe forts, either not taken or not furnished, gaue an entrie to the Arragonois. We do oftentimes contemne an enemy ouer whom we haue an aduantage. So the Castels of Caieto, Rhegium, Brundisium, Gallipoli, Mantia, Turpia, Otrante, and other townes neglected, made the way to a generall reuolt. Now the confederates march to field, to ioine their forces, meaning either to beseege *Charles* within Naples, or to fight with him in his returne. They must therefore resolue either to defend the realme, or to leaue a good guard, and so depart before this great storme fell vpon them. The Spanish fleet landing at Rhegium, had furnished it, and assured it for the Arragonois. Mantia, Turpia, and Otrante seeing the

League,



1495. League, and that they had not regarded them, plant the Arragon Ensignes, and receive the A  
garrisons which *Don Frederick* had sent them. The Venetian fleet commanded by *Anthony Grimaldi*, appeared vpon the coast of *Apulia*. In the end all the realme begins to make  
the open demonstration of a new will. But see, hee that was euen now the peoples terror, the  
Iudge of an others life and estate, the hope of the East, stands in feare to bee controuled,  
A scourge to abate the presumption which his victory had bred. The King leaues *Gilbert* of  
Bourbon Earle of Montpensier, for his Viceroy, a hardy and valiant Prince, but faith the  
History, *Not wise, he did not rise before noone*. And for the defence of the Realme, two thou-  
sand five hundred Suisses, a part of his French footmen, eight hundred French Lances, five  
hundred men at armes Italianes in his pay, some commanded by the gouernour of Rome,  
some by *Prosper* and *Fabrizio Colonna*, and by *Anthony Sanelli*, Captaines well preferred in B  
the distribution of places and offices within the Realme, especially the Colonnes. *Prosper*  
had in the Duchie of Tracette, the City of Fundi, Montfortin, and about thirty other  
places. *Fabrizio* had the countries of Albi and Taillecouffe, which *Virgile Vrsin* did former-  
ly enioy. The Lord of Aubigni, a braue and wise Knight, was made Gouernour of Cala-  
bria, and had the Earledome of Acri, and the Marquisate of Squillazzo given him. The  
Prince of Salerne was restored to the office of Admiral, and he of Besignan well aduanced.  
*Steuens de Vers*, some-times groome of the Kings Chamber, and after Seneshal of Beaucaire,  
obtained the Duchy of Nola, the Captainship of Caieto, and other commands, with the of-  
fice of great Chamberlaine, & Controuller of the treasor within the realme, well affected to C  
the gard thereof, but too weake of iudgment to beare the burthen and care of so great  
affaires. *Don Julian* of Lorraine (greatly commended for his gouernment) was made Duke  
of S. Angelo. *Gratian des Guerres*, a valiant Captaine of great reputation, had the gouern-  
ment of Abruzzo: *Gabriel* of Montfaucon (of whom the King made great accompt) had  
Manfredonia, but having receiued it well furnished with victuals, and in a Country abound-  
ing with corne, he so deuoured his prouision, as after foure dayes siege, hee was forced to  
yeeld vp the place for want of victuals. The King left *George* of Suilli at Tarentum, who  
carried him-selfe there with much honor. Hee died there of the plague, and the Towne held D  
for the King, vntill that famine forced them to change their party. In Aquila, the Baylife of  
Vitry was commended to haue well discharged his duty. Such was the order the King left  
in the Realme of Naples, whereof followed a horrible disorder: for the greatest part of  
other Captaines, appointed in diuers places, applied to their owne priuate profit such com-  
modities as they found within their places, for the defence whereof the King had greatly  
weakened his forces. So returning but with nine hundred men at armes, two thousand five  
hundred Suisses, seauen thousand men in pay, and fiftene hundred men of defence, chosen  
out of his traine following the Court, he parted the twentieth day of May, taking his way to  
Rome, and his armie at sea to Liurne. The Pope made some shew to reconcile him-selfe  
with the King, and the King laboured to diuide him from the league. In the end a bad con-  
science made him go to Oruieto with his colledge of Cardinals, a thousand light horse, two  
hundred men at armes, and three thousand foote, leauing a sufficient garrison in the Castell E  
of S. Angelo, and the Cardinall of Anastasio for Legat in Rome, to receiue the King, who  
refusing the Vatican, lodged in the suburbs. And the Pope vnderstanding, that hee appro-  
ched to Viterbio, (although he had giuen some hope of an enter-view betwixt Viterbio and  
Oruieto), yet he went from Oruieto to Perugia, with an intent if the King tooke that course,  
to recover Ancona, and so retire himselfe by sea into some place of safety. Yet norwith-  
standing the Kings iust cause of discontent, he redeliuered him Ciuita-uecchia & Terracine,  
reseruing Ostium, the which he left in the hands of the Cardinall of Saint Pierre, Bishop of  
that place. The territories of the Church were not spoiled by his army, onely *Toscanelle*,  
which refusing to lodge his forward, was taken by force & sack. But we must leaue records  
of our indiscretion in all places. His enemies troupe together and during a fruitlesse stay of F  
six or seauen dayes at Sienna, we giue them leifure to ioyne their forces. Moreover the Flo-  
rentines summon the King of his faith and promises, and to draw him there-vnto the more  
willingly, (besides the thirty thousand ducats which they were ready to pay, as remaining of  
their gift) they offered to lend him three-score and ten thousand Ducats more: and to assist  
him in his passage with three hundred men at armes, vnder the command of *Francesco Sacco*,  
a braue

The order  
the King left  
in Naples.

The Pope  
flies.

Noeable er-  
rors of King  
Charles.

A braue captaine, and faithfull to the King, and with two thousand foote. Three reasons  
should moue the Counsell to accept hereof. The want of mony, the increase of their army,  
and that which did most import, the discharge of the Kings faith and royall oath: yet a fire-  
brand must first kindle, and in the end fire all Italy.

The Earle of Ligni, young and vnexperienced, (yet fauoured of the King his cousin) la-  
boured for the Seigneuries of Pisa and Liurno, and the Sienois required him for their Lord  
promising him an appointment of twenty thousand Ducats by the yeare, vpon condition  
he should entertaine three hundred foote for the defence of the place, taking away the or-  
dinary gard, which the order of Monte Nouo (in whose power the gouernment of the city  
B was wont to be) held in the Palace.

The King (becing young) preferred the counsell of young men, before the mar-  
shall of Gie, the President of Gannai, and others well aduised: and agrees, that he should  
take the city of Sienna into his protection, binding him-selfe to defend all that depended  
thereon, except Montepulciano, wherewith he would not deale, neither for the Florentines  
nor the Siennois. But what were the fruites of this conclusion? but the shamefull expul-  
sion of this garrison, and of the Lord of Lisle, whome the King had left there for Ambassa-  
dor, by those of the foresaid order, who soone after recouered their ancient authority by  
force. Then liued at Florence, Friar Ierosime Sauonarola, of the order of Saint Dominick,  
in great reputation of a holy life, and a graue preacher, who by his sermons had greatly con-  
firmed the Florentines affection to the King: hee had long time foretold and pre-  
ached the Kings comming into Italy, saying: that hee was sent of God to punish the tyrants of  
Ital: that nothing could resist him, that he should enter Pisa, and such a day the Estate of Florence  
should die. And in truth *Peter* of Medicis was banished that day, and many other things fell  
out as he had foretold (amongst others the death of *Laurence de Medicis*) and he said he knew  
them by reuelation: that the Church should be reformed by the sword. He likewise affirmed:  
That not withstanding the great fires of the Venetians, the King should returne without any  
great danger to his person: that he should be incountried upon the way, but the honour should be  
his, had he but a hundred men in his company. That G O D which had conuicted him in his  
going, would gard him in his returne: but for that hee had not dischargd him-selfe in  
D the reformation of the Church, as he ought, and had winkt at the thefts and insolencies of his  
troupes, that God had pronounced a sentence against him, and he should haue his chastisement. The  
which he him-selfe did signifie vnto the King in plaine tearmes: adding, that if he would take  
pity of the people, and restraine his men from doing ill, and punish the offenders, as his duty re-  
quired, God would reuoke, or mitigate his sentence. To conclude, that he should not thinke to be  
excused for saying: I doe no euill. A lesson for Kings. That the faults they suffer in their sub-  
iects, are so many burthens layed vpon their owne backs, to pleade one day against them,  
before his Maiefty, to whome they like to all other men, are accountable. And moreover:  
that the peoples voice, is the voyce of God.

In the meane time, the Venetians and *Lodowike Sforce* make great preparations to stoppe  
E the Kings passage: or at the least, to keepe him from attempting against the Milanois. And  
for the better effecting of their desseigne, they entertaine *John Bentiuole*, at their common  
charge, who ioynd the city of Bologna to their League. *Lodowike* armed tenne gallies at  
Genoa, vpon his owne charge, and foure great shippes, at the common charge of the Pope,  
the Venetians and of him-selfe. And to surpriue the Towne of Ast (as he was bound by the  
Capitulation,) he leuiued two thousand foote in Germany, (having lately drawne *Galeas* of  
Saint Seuerin into this action) with seuen hundred men at armes, and three thousand foote.  
By meanes of these forces he promised to him-selfe an assured conquest of the City of Ast.  
He sends the Duke of Orleans three insolent conditions: that hereafter he should no more  
surpe the title of Duke of Milan, the which his father Charles had taken after the death of Phil-  
lip Maria viscont. That he should not suffer any new forces to come from France into Italy. That  
he should send those into France that were in Ast. And for the assurance of these things, he should  
deliuer the said town into the hands of *Galeas* Saint Seuerin, who should keepe it faithfully for  
the King. A wretched man, who by a proud ostentation, thinkes to amaze a noble courage,  
and cannot instantly hide the basenes of his owne. But by the aduice of the Lord of Argen-  
ton, Ambassador for the King at Venice, the Duke of Orleans had from the beginning  
furnished

1495.

King Charles  
returne: that the  
Florentines of  
Genoa.

The prediction  
of the  
Florentines of  
Genoa.



1495. furnished the place with foure hundred men at armes, fise thousand foote, two thousand A  
Suiſſes, and hie hundred men which *Lodowike Marquis* of *Saulces* had ſent. The Duke of  
Bourbon had leuied this army to ioyne with the King vpon the Theſin, and to helpe his paſ-  
ſage: But the Duke of Orleans imploied it in the Marquiſate of *Saulces*, to take *Galfinieres*,  
the which *Anthony Miris*, of *Saint Seuerin* held. And although he had expreſſe com-  
mandement from the King, to lay aſide all enterpriſes, and goe to meete with him, yet did he ac-  
cept the offer made him by two *Opizins*, gentlemen of *Nouarre*, who hated *Lodowike Sforce*.

Nouarre taken

He paſſeth the Pau by night, at the bridge of *Sture*, accompanied by the Marquis of *Salu-  
ces*, and was let into *Nouarre* by the conſpiratours, without any reſiſtance. In this place  
the Duke of *Milan* tooke his greateſt delight, being moſt pleaſant of all others for hauking, B  
and hunting. This ſtratagem had bene dangerous in another of meaner quality, ſeeing  
the queſtion was to ſuccour the Kings perſon, whome the French eſteemed no leſſe then a  
Kingdome. But ſeeing the Duke of Orleans had thus begun, why did he not proceed? *Milan*  
opened her armes, *Pruis* offered it ſelfe, and to that end he ſent twiſe vnto him. *Lodowike*  
(as deſiect in aduerſity, as proud in his proſperity,) ſhewed the baſeneſſe of his courage. The  
Nobility and People deſired nothing more then the ruine of this houſe of *Sforce*.

Milan and  
the whole  
Duchy ready  
to reuenge  
againſt Lodowike

The Venetians had let the King vnderſtand, that if hee made warre againſt the Duke of  
*Milan*, they would ſuccor him with all their meanes. Thus *Charles* foreſeeing, that by the  
taking of *Nouarre*, he ſhould ſoone haue the enemies vpon him, and that the duke of Orleans  
ſhould need ſuccours: he goeth on from *Sienna* to *Piſa*. Then *Sauonarola* comes to him C  
to *Poggibonſe*, and the next day to *Caſtel Florentine*, and vſing (as he was wont) the name  
and authority of God, he declared vnto him: that if he yielded not to the *Florentines* the places  
wherunto he was bound by oth, he ſhould be rigorouſly puniſhed. The King excuſing himſelfe vpon  
that which he had promiſed to the *Piſanes*, to maintaine them in liberty, before he had ta-  
ken any oth in *Florence*, gaue both the Monke & the *Florentine Ambaſſadors* hope of reſti-  
tution, after his coming to *Piſa*. At *Piſa*, the Citizens teares both of men and women,  
(beſeeching them that lodged in their houſes, to intreat the King, not to ſuffer them to fall a-  
gain into the *Florentines* tyranny) made *Charles* to forget the promiſes and oth he had taken  
vpon the altar of *Saint John* at *Florence*: but moſt of all, the importunate ſute of the Earle  
of *Ligni*, that the King would leaue him *Piſa* and *Liurne* at his deuotion. Thoſe which D  
had impugned this reſolution in *Sienna*, did likewiſe contradiſt it in *Piſa*: for (ſaid they) if  
by the oppoſition of enemies, any diſorder ſhould chance, or any difficulty to paſſe through  
*Lombardy*, we ſhould haue a ſure and ſit retreat at *Piſa*: whereas, if we reſtore them to the  
*Florentines*, when as they haue recouered all their places, we ſhall finde them as inconstant  
as the other *Italians*. Moreouer they gaue the King to vnderſtand, that for the ſafety of the  
realme of *Naples*, it were expedient to hold the port of *Liurne*, for if the eſtate of *Genoa*  
ſhould change for the Kings good, he ſhould be in a manner Lord of all the ſea, from the  
port of *Marſeilles* vnto that of *Naples*.

A diſhonor-  
able enterpriſe  
vpon Venice

Finally, the King changed the captaine of the Cittadell, and left one called *Entragues*, a  
man (ſaith the Originall) ill conditioned, ſeruant to the Duke of Orleans, (whome the Earle E  
of *Ligni* had recommended) with ſome foote-men of *Perri Entragues* wrought ſo, as he had  
*Pietraſanta*, *Morrton*, and *Libreſacta*, neere vnto *Luques*. *Serczane* was giuen (by meanes  
of the ſaid Earle) to a baſtard of *Rouſſy* his ſeruant, and *Serezanelle* to another that was at  
his diſpoſing. Thus the King did willingly weaken his forces the which he muſt diſtribute in-  
to theſe places, to make his fauorits great. And as he ſuffered himſelfe to be too eaſily carried  
away by the rath counſell of thoſe he fauored, behold vpon a hope giuen him by the Cardi-  
nals of *Rouere* and *Fregofe*, *Obietto* of *Fieſque*, and other baniſhed men, on a ſodaine altera-  
tion at *Genoa*, he ſends with them (againſt the aduice of his counſell, who did not approve  
the weakening of his army, for if he ſhould win the battaile, *Genoa* would yeeld of it ſelfe,  
but if he loſt it, he had then no need thereof) *Philip* Earle of *Breſſe*, afterwards Duke of *Sa-  
uoy*, the Lords of *Beaumont*, *Polignac*, and *Ambeiou* of the houſe of *Amboiſe*, with ſixe  
ſcore men at armes, and fise hundred croſbowmen, newly come out of France, ſending af-  
ter them the company of men at armes of *Vicelli*, and thoſe men which the Duke of *Sauoy*  
had ſent, fortified by the army at ſea, reduced to ſeuē galleys, two galeons, and two barks,  
commanded by *Milans* gouernour of *Daulphine*, to countenance that at land.

But

A But how eaſily doth man deceiue himſelfe in his owne conceits? All theſe that went to  
take, are taken, euen at the ſame place where we haue ſeene our men defeat King *Alphonſes*  
troopes, and by the ſame men that they had beaten. *John Lewis* of *Fieſque*, and *John Adorne*,  
were led Captiues vnto *Genoa*, where they loſt the fruit and honour of a famous battaile,  
in the which they might haue done good ſeruice.

1495.

But who will not thinke the predictions of *Sauonarola* to bee very true. That God would  
guide the King by the hand into ſafety; taking away his enemies iudgement, not to moleſt  
him in the moſt painful ſtraights of his voyage? Our French are now betwixt *Luques* and  
*Pietreſancte*, inuironed on the one ſide by high mountaines, and on the other, by deepe  
marſhes and bogges. They muſt paſſe a cauſe, which a Cart ſet croſſe, with two peeces of

B cannon might eaſily garde. *Pontreme*, lying at the entry of the mountaines, was held for  
*Lodowike* by three hundred foote. The Marſhall of *Gie* arriuing with the foreward, they  
preſently open the gates in fauour of *Triuulce*, vpon promiſe to ſaue their liues and goods.  
But alas the *Suiſſes* had not yet forgotten, that when as the armie paſſed to *Naples*, ſome  
forty of their companions were ſlaine there in a tumult! For this cauſe, they fall furioſly  
vpon them, kill all the men, ſack the towne, and burne it, and all that was within it, the Mar-  
ſhall not being able to preuent this diſorder. The bloud being inflamed, it transports vs be-  
yond the bonds of reaſon, but as it growes cold, it returns to his right place. Theſe *Suiſſes*  
doubted ſome puniſhment: or at the leaſt, that the King ſhould grow in diſlike of them for  
this out-rage, committed both againſt the lawes of armes, and nations. But what? an vn-  
bridled deſire of reuenge, a military fury hath transported them: they are ready, though

A ſoule re-  
uenge by the  
Suiſſes.

C not to make ſatisfaction, yet to repaire it, by ſome notable ſeruice. And ſee, an opportunity is  
offered. The army ſtaid on this ſide the vally of *Pontreme*, in extreame want of victuals: and  
the artillery could not paſſe theſe troubleſome ſtraights, without great toyle, and loſſe of  
time. And this gaue the enemy leaſure to make one vnited body of all his forces. The *Suiſſes*  
come and doe voluntarily offer to paſſe it by force, ſo as the King will pardon them: the  
which hee doth. Leauing the valley, they muſt mount vp a very ſteepe hill, where their  
Moyle did creepe vp with great difficulty. Theſe men perſorme the worke of horſes of  
burthen: they couple them ſelues by two and two, and ſo vnder-take the worke, a hun-  
dred or two hundred at once, as the burthen required, and one being weary, another ſup-  
plied his place.

Repaired by a  
notable peece  
of ſeruice.

The foreward was lodged at *Fornoue* (a ſmall, but a good village, ſeated at the foote of  
the mountaine, entring into *Lombardy*) where he had the enemy in front: without doubt  
they were in great danger, if they had then charged them. But their deſire to ſwallow vp  
this armie in the middeſt of the plaine: giuing the King meanes (who lay fiftene French  
leagues off) to ioyne his troopes, laide the way open to ſhame and conſuſion, imagining,  
that to charge our French on this ſide the Mountaines, were to cut off all retreat to *Piſa*  
and other places of the *Florentines*. And on the other ſide, to fight with-out attending  
their men, were to doe them wrong, ſeeing that their foote were not excellent. If they miſ-  
carried, they ſhould purchaſe reproach with the Seigneurie of *Venice*. Some light ſkirmiſ-  
hes made the Marſhall retire into the higher part of the Mountaine. Here-vpon the

The armie of  
the league.

E King ioynes with his foreward, on Sunday the fifteenth day of *Iuly*: and all the enemies for-  
ces arriued, being fise and thirty thouſand men in pay, two thouſand ſixe hundred men at  
armes barded, making foure men of combat to euery Lance: fise thouſand light horſe,  
amongſt the which were two thouſand *Albanois*, and of the neighbour prouinces of  
*Greece*, who retaining the name of the country, are commonly called *Siradiors*: as who  
would ſay, men of the campe; good ſouldiers, and well praſtiſed in armes. The reſt were  
ſoor, well appointed with artillery.ouer the Venetian troops, *Francis Gonzaga*, Marques of  
*Mantoua* commanded as Generall, a young man, but of great courage and deſirous of  
glory, and with him *Luke Piſan*, and *Melchior Treuiſan*, were commiſſaries of the armie,  
being of the chiefe Senators of *Venice*: for *Lodowike Sforce* (who oppoſed ſome part of  
his forces againſt the Duke of Orleans: being nine hundred men at armes, twelue hundred  
light horſe, and fise thouſand foote) the Earle of *Caiazzo*, a more politike then hardy  
Captaine commanded, and *Francis Bernardin Viſcont*, chiefe of the *Gibelin* faction at  
*Milan* was Commiſſary: and by conſequence, enemy to *Triuulce*.

Vv 2

Their

1495. Their armie camped at the Abbay of Guaruole, about a league from Fornoue, vpon a little hill on the right hand of the Kings armie. The King had no other forces, but what hee brought from Naples, whereof we haue made mention at his departure. He must passe neere the enemye (beeing halfe a League off, and a smal brooke called Taro, betwixt both.) There was no likelihood, that this great multitude should part without the hazard of a battaile. To trie their resolutions, the King (who desired onely to passe quietly into France) causeth the Lord of Argenton, lately Ambassador at Venice, to write vnto the aboue-named Commissaries, that he desired to confer with them. They promise to meet the next day in a conuenient place betwixt both armies. The night was terrible in raine, lightning, and thunder, a fearefull prediction of the day following.

Monday morning, the King armes himselfe complete, and mounted vpon his Sauoyard (a horse which Charles Duke of Sauoy had giuen him) faire and goodly; manning him, with all agilitie, blacke of colour, and answerable in proportion to him that was mounted thereon: he shewes himselfe to his troupes, with a cheerefull countenance, well coloured, and a speech contrarie to his custome, strong, resolute, and wise, an assured preface of the honour he should winne that day. Putting his armie into battaile, he placed in the forward 350. French Lances, and John Iaques of Triuulce with his companie of an hundred Lances, and three thousand Suisses, the chiefe hope of the armie, commanded by Engelbert brother to the Duke of Cleues (who did fight on foote, with the Baylife of Dijon, that had leamed of them) and to second them, three hundred Archers, some cross-bowmen on horse-backe of his guards, whom he commanded to leaue their horses, and the most part of his force; conceiuing that the fore-ward should be charged with the chiefe of his enemies forces. His Maiestie was in the Battaille, hauing about him seuen or eight young Noblemen armed like him selfe (for the confederates had sent to discouer him by a Herald, vnder colour of some demand) and for counsell he had the Lord of Tremouille. The Earle of Foix commaunded the rereward: the baggage, by the counsell of Triuulce, was left without guard, exposed to pillage, to keepe the enemy occupied with that baite. Thus the armie marched, when as Luke and Melchior the Venetian Commissaries were readie to parte. But the troupes were now in alarme, the Captaines encouraged their men to fight. The nearenesse of both armies calles them from words to blowes, they beginne by skirmishes, the Cannon thunders; but with more noyse then effect. The Marquis of Mantua, his vnkle Ralph of Gonzagua, the Earle Bernardin of Montone, with a Squadron of sixe hundred choice men at armes, a great troupe of Stradiots, and other light horse, with fise thousand foote, passe the Taro vpon the backe of the French reere-ward, to charge them behind: leauing on the other banke, Anthony of Monfetre a bastard of the Duke of Urbins, with a great Squadron, to passe at the first call: ordaining moreover, that at the first shooke, a part of the light horse should charge in flanke, and the rest of the Stradiots should follow, to set vpon the baggage. The Earle of Caiazzo, with foure hundred men at armes, and a great number of foote, passeth likewise to charge the fore-ward, leauing in like sort on the other banke, Annibal Bentiuole with two hundred men at armes, to supply when he should be sent for. And for the guard of their lodging, two great companies of men at armes, with a thousand foote, the Venetian Commissaries reseruing a supply for all euents. Thus the French armie is enuironed on all sides, so as beeing broken, no man might hope for safetie: and the King, who to strengthen the fore-ward, had weakened the other two parts, was forced to leaue the Knights he meant to make to some better leysure, and to turne his backe to the fore-ward, and his face to the enemye, approaching neere the Reere-ward. The Stradiots fall vpon the baggage, they wound, kill, and spoile, and the Marquis is at blowes with the reere-ward, who at the first charge breake their Lances, and then valiantly they ioine pel-mel with their battle-axes, swords, and other short weapons, the Marquis performing the part of a most valiant and vigilant Captaine, and his troupe of most resolute men at armes. The king was brought rashly into danger, his followers beeing disperfed here and there in the conflict, assisted with few about him but Masheu bastard of Bourbon, and Philip of Moulin a gentleman of Solongne, noted for that they had beene seene very neere vnto the King in this conflict. The King did afterwards greatly fauour this Philip, hee made him Keeper of the great Seale, gaue him a companie of men at armes, the gouernement of Langres, and a great summe of money, according to the

The order of  
the Kings  
armie.

The battell of  
Fornoue.

The King in  
great danger.

1495. the time, to helpe him to build Moulin, (a Castle neere to Romorantin in Solongne.) Robert of Frainezelles (who led about foure score lances of the Dukes of Orleans,) Lewis of Tremouille, with about forty lances, an hundred Scottish Archers of his gard, and the Gentlemen of his houshold, did fight more courageously then their forces could permit, not without great danger to his person, being much esteemed by the Marquis, hoping to haue the like adventure ouer him, as hee had vpon the said bastard, being wounded, and taken prisoner, neere vnto the King. But the apparent danger of his Maiestie, had so inflamed those that were neere vnto him, as falling by heapes vpon the Italians, they couer their mailters person with their owne: and so this sodaine fury was stayed, by the charge of a Squadron comming at need from the battaile broken by the death of Ralph of Gonzagua. A death vnworthy of him, for he loued the French, and if he might haue been credited, the King should not haue opened his passage by force, and quite ouer-throwne all by the conuersion of the Free-booters: for these men (seeing their companions enriched with the spoiles of the baggage, and to carry away ouer the riuier, some Moyles with their burthens, and some horse or armor) they leaue their men at armes, and runne to the spoile. The other horse-men were moued presently with the like desire of gaine: and the foote stole out of the battaile, to follow the like example.

On the other side, Anthony of Monfetre appointed by Ralph to succour when he should be called, keeping his stand (for that by reason of Ralphs death no man called him) the French tooke their field at large, and doubting their courage, they doubled their blowes, so as by the death of some, and the wounding and flight of others, the Marquis his troupe opprest with the rough charge of our men at armes, in the end turned their backs, and were chased and beaten euen to the riuers side, without taking of any prisoner, or care of booty, our French beeing loathed of this filthy gaine, by that common voyce flying amongst them. Companions remember Guinegasse, where the greedinesse of spoile had taken from them the better part of a notable victory. At the same instant the Earle of Caiazzo led his troupes against the fore-ward: but this was but a countenance, for euen as they couched their lances, seeing some of his troupe vnhoisted, John Piccinin, Galeas of Corregge and others fainted, and breaking of them-selues, they had meanes to recouer their battaile. The Marshall of Gié seeing on the other side of the riuier another regiment of men at armes, prepared for the battaile, he keepees back his men, the which was held of some to be rather an act of cowardise, then of discretion; but by such as preferre reason before danger, wise and iudicious. The Suisses tooke about twenty of these run-aways, and slue them.

The Marquis of Mantoua gathered together the remainders of this ouer-throw, and the Earle of Petillano (being prisoner vpon his word, since the taking of Capoua) flying in this tumult to the Italians campe, kept them from a more shamefull rout. For the whole campe talked of a retreat, and the high way from Placentia to Parma was couered with men, horses and carts that retired. Then the King going to his fore-ward (which had kept their stand) propounded vnto his Captaines, whether he should charge the enemy in his lodging? E Triuulce and Vitelli counsellled him therevnto, and Francis Sesto (whom the Florentines had sent to conduct the King vnto Ast) thrust him forward: But the passage of Taro being vn-easie (by reason of the raine fallen the night before, and the day of the battaile) the companies being weary, the night approaching, and the King content to haue had the aduantage in so doubtfull a fight, did moderate the heate of the pursute, causing them to lodge at Medefane, a village halfe a league from the place where the battaile was fought. So this battaile ended; a memorable day, being the first of a long time, that had been obstinately fought in Italy with blood-shed, and slaughter, (for in former times the Italian combates, were rather pleasant shewes then battailes) famous also for the great numbers of Comanders that were slaine, the small number of conquerors, in regard of the huge multitude of the vanquished. F There were numbered some fise and thirty or forty French horsemen slaine, and some foure score groomes of the baggage. The Stradiots carried not away (of all their booty) but fise and forty of the best horse, which were the Kings and his Chamberlaines: of Italians three hundred and fiftie men at armes, amongst the which, there were seauen or eight of the house of Gonzagua; Raimundo Farnese, Bernardin of Montone, aboue sixe score Gentlemen of the Marquis his company, and so great a number of others, as they were esteemed

The army of  
the league  
ouerthrowne.

The number  
of the slaine.

to be three thousand five hundred, and not one prisoner. Let vs remember, *That the eternal God scatters the counsels of nations, and brings to nought the practises of men.* And in another place: *That the King is not saued by a great armie, neither doth a mightie man escape by his great force.* The King stayed the next day at the same lodging, and departed on Wednesday the eighth of the moneth, without any sound of Trumpet, busying the enemy vnder colour of a parle, fearing them that feared him. But if he could haue made profit of his victorie; and turned head against them, who were yet amazed, as their owne commanders did confesse, all had fought for their saletie by flight. And if he had displayed his colours in fauour of little Francis, sonne to John Galeas Duke of Milan, the name of the vsurper was so odious to all the Duchie, and the name of their lawfull Lord so pleasing, as the people had easily confirmed Lodowicke into the Castle of Milan, and consequently the Venetians had lost most of the places they possessed in Italy: so readie is that nation to follow the victors happines. This was the counsell of Triumui: but the King would not attempt any thing vpon the right which the Duke of Orleans pretended to the Duchie, beeing now in possession of Nouarre. Moreouer, God which had giuen him the honour of a victorie, would take from him all cause of presumption, depriving him of the principall fruites that depended thereon.

This so happie a victorie, opened a passage for the King, yet was he to encounter a world of difficulties; steepe and craggie mountaines, rough valleys, dangerous forests, riuers hard to passe, want of victuals, and behind him the Earle of Caiazzo had passed the riuier of Taro with two hundred Lances, to cut off them that lingred behind. The riuier of Treby gaue the first obstacle with some terrour: for about ten of the clocke at night, the riuier swelled so high, as it was impossible to passe it before five in the morning, the souldiers wading about breast high. The King did wisely to dislodge without brute, being (besides the enemies army) so neere to Lodowicke Sforces strong garrisons, hauing a great number of horse, and twelue hundred Lanquenets, lodged in Tortone and in Alexandria and five hundred others with the foresaid Earle, who were entred into Placentia fearing some alteration.

Truly Charles did daily feele the truth of *Sanonroles* predictions: *That he should endure much, but the honour should be his.* The riuier of Scriuia was kept by Gaspar of S. Senerin, furnished that the Kings meaning was onely to passe, he retired to his charge, furnished the army with victuals, came vnto the King, and excused himselfe, for that he could not lodge him within the towne: the which he kept for Lodowicke. After a shower comes a Sunne-shine, saith the Prouerbe. The King is now in a friends countrie, at Nice belonging to the Marquis of Montferrat, and from Nice to Ast. Then the great armie of the league, which had followed him into the countrie of Tortone, hauing no more meanes to annoy him, went to ioyne with Lodowickes troupes before Nouarre, the which was in great want, for the Duke of Orleans had gouerned the victuals hee found therein very ill, and had neglected to furnish it as he might haue done, considering the fertilitie of the countrie. He had of late retained the supply of seuen thousand five hundred good fighting men, sent to the King by the Duke of Bourbon: and contrarie to his Maiesties commandement, hee hath taken places from Lodowicke: and now in stead of succouring, he demands succours, for want whereof he shall be forced to yeeld what he hath gotten.

But Charles had other worke. Naples is in danger: Ferdinand sought all meanes to recover it; and hauing presented himselfe with Gonzalve Fernand of the house of Aguilars, of the territorie of Cordoua, with fixe thousand men neere vnto Seminare, after the taking of Rhegium, he had fought to draw the whole realme into rebellion, if the Lord of Aubigni, Gouernour of Calabria, had not by his vigilancie and valour slackt the heate of the peoples rage. And the quarrell had beene ended by the death or imprisonment of Ferdinand himselfe, if John of Capoua, brother to the Duke of Termini, (whom Ferdinand had brought vp a page) had not performed the part of a most faithfull and loyall seruant, who leauing his horse, lost his life to saue his master, Ferdinand hauing his horse slaine vnder him. Gonzalve fled through the mountaines to Rhegium: Ferdinand to Palma, lying vpon the sea neere to Seminare, and from thence to Messina. Ferdinand grieved with this disgrace, will once againe trie the hazard of armes. He is well informed, that all the citie of Naples desires him greatly: many of the chiefe, both of the Nobilitie and people, call him secretly. And therefore

therefore before the brute of this ouerthrow in Calabria should alter this good humour, he parts from Messina with three score vessels with top-masts, and twenty lesse, furnished more for shew and brauery, then for any good seruice, hauing no forces proportionable to so high an enterprize. The peoples fauour and desire supplied his want of men. The townes of Salerne, Melfe, and Caue, display their Ensignes, and he houers about Naples, attending some mutiny in the city. But all was in vaine: the Vice-roy had in time manned the approaches, and suppressed the rebellion which began to breed. But according to the aduice of some, he should haue armed such ships as were in the harbour, with souldiers and men of execution, and haue charged the enemy, who being strong in shipping, and weake in men, was retired to Ischia.

The conspirators faint not, but seeing their practise discovered, make a vertue of necessity. They call backe Ferdinand, and intreate him to land, to giue both force and courage to those that would rise in his fauour. Hee approacheth, and lands at Magdeleine, a mile from Naples. Here the Vice-roy shewed no lesse courage, when hee should most feare, then hee had shewed himselfe fearefull, when as resolution was most necessary. Hee leads in a manner all the garrison out of the city, to disturbe his landing. The Neapolitans imbracing this occasion, flie to armes, troupe together at the soūd of the bel, seize vpon the gates, and proclaime Ferdinands name in all places. Our French are now in danger on all sides: shall they attend the forreine enemy, or shall they goe to charge them within the city? They

haue no meanes to enter by the same way they came forth: all are armed, all is barred vp. There is no other access but by the port ioyning vnto the new castle: but the way is long and hilly, and they must goe about a good part of the towne walles. But during this march, Ferdinand enters, and riding through the city, the people receiue him with great cries of ioy: the French hauing recovered the castle, seeke to winne the heart of the city; but being repulld with crosse-bowes and small Artillery, and finding the entrie of euery streete well manned, the night likewise approaching, abandoning almost two thousand horse, good and bad vpon the place, hauing no meanes to keepe them within the fort, vnfurnished of provisions, all put themselves into the castle, despairing euermore to recover the towne.

Presently Capoua, Auerse, Nola, the castle of Montdragon, and many other places follow this example; and the greatest part of the Realme turnes to Ferdinand. Some one must needs pay for all. Caiete hauing taken armes for Ferdinand, the French garrison enters the towne with fury, makes a horrible slaughter of the rebels, and sacks it. The Venetian army at sea, besiegeth Monopoli, a city of Apulia, both by sea and land, giues a hot assault, they take it by force, and the castle by composition, and afterwards the towne of Pulignan. Charles aduertised of these reuolts, beeing parted from Ast towards Turin, hee sends away Peron of Basche his Steward, to hasten an army at sea, from Villefranche neere vnto Nice, the which carried two thousand fighting men, with store of victuals, vnder the command of the Lord of Arban, a valiant capitaine, and well experienced at sea, yet very vnfortunate in this expedition: for hauing discovered Ferdinands fleet about the Isle of Poreze, consisting of thirty saile, and two great ships of Genoua: they presently turne taile to the enemy, leauing him a small Biscaine ship for a pawne, and recover the port of Liouorne, where the capitaine could not stay the greatest number of his souldiers from landing, who tooke the way to Pisa.

In the meane time, the Arragonois imploies all his forces against the new castle, the castle de l'Ouo, and other forts held by the French. And to make the way the more easie, hee fortifies the Hippodrome, mans the Mont Saint Herme, and Puiffaucon, and assailes the Monastery of the crosse. But being at the first greatly annoyed by the Artillery, hee conuerts his force into pollicy, which proues vnfortunate for the Author. There was in it a Moore, sometimes seruant to the Marquis of Pescara. The Marquis sounds him, and hee promisseth to giue entrance. For this effect, he mounts in the night by a Ladder, set to the Abbay wall, to conclude of the conditions, the maner, and the time, but he discovered not another Paris, who lying behind the battlements of the wall, cut the throate of his Achilles with a Crosse-bow. The Marquises death was repaired by the reuolt of Prosper and Fabricio Cplonnes, who notwithstanding the great aduancements they had from the King (carried away with a light beleefe, spread abroad by certaine lying letters of Lodowicke Sforze, that the

King

Ferdinand  
enters Naples.Caiete sackt  
by the French.The French  
fleet is vn-  
lucky.The Marquis  
of Pescara  
slaine.

1495. King was dead at Fornoue, and seeing moreover that the French affaires declined) they re-  
turne to *Ferdinands* pay. The castles thus beleaguered, the sea shut vp by *Fernands* fleet,  
famine encreasing daily, and all hope of forraigne succors cut off by the voluntary route of  
*Arbans* navy, made the viceroy to yeeld vp the new castle to *Ferdinand*, after three months  
siege, with promise to goe into Prouence, if he were not releued within thirty daies, depar-  
ting with bag and baggage: and for assurance of this capitulation, hee gaue for hostages,  
*Tues* of *Alegre*, *la Marche* of *Ardenne*, *la Chapelle* of *Aniou*, *Roquebertin*, *Catelan* and *Jenlu*:  
this was the sixth day of October. If any releefe came vnto them, it must be of those forces  
that were disperfed within the realme. So the Lord of *Perfi d' Alegre*, brought the *Suiffes*,  
with many of the companies of men at armes, accompanied by the prince of *Bisignan*, and  
diuers others Barons persisting yet in their fidelity. *Ferdinand* aduertised hereof, opposeth  
the Earle of *Monteleone*. They incounter at the Lake of *Pizzale* nere to *Eboli*, where our  
French had a reuenge of that braue flight of their army at sea. For the Earles forces ex-  
ceeding *Perfi* in number, slie at the first approach, without any fight, leauing *Venancio* sonne  
to *Julio* of *Varane* Lord of *Camerin* prisoner, but being not pursued (for that our men came  
to an other end) they retire without any great losse to *Nola*, and after to *Naples*. This vict-  
ory thrusts forward our men to the execution of their designe. *Ferdinand* (to hinder their  
approch) casts vp a trench from *Mont Saint Herme*, to castle d' *Ouo*, and plants artillery  
vpon the hils adioyning, the which doth greatly indomage the French, and takes away all  
meanes to enter the castle. This side wanting fresh water, made them retire in disorder,  
leauing behind them some peeces of artillery, and part of the victuals had brought for the  
releefe of the castles, being discontented with the small endeouour the besieged had vsed  
to receiue them.

Monteleone  
put to flight  
by the French.

Castle Nouo  
abandoned  
by the Viceroy.

Siege of  
Nouarre.

He that giues ouer, looseth the game. The Viceroy frustrate (by this dislodging) of all  
hope of succours, leauing three hundred men in the castle Nouo (a number proportionable  
to the victuals that remained) and a conuenient garrison in that of de l' *Ouo*, he imbarcs  
by night with the rest of his souldiars, being 2500. and takes his way to *Salerne*. *Ferdinand*  
complaines that the accord is broken: that it was not lawfull for the Earle of *Montpensier*  
to depart sodenly, without taking leaue, and with such a company, before he had consigned  
him the castles, threatening to bee reuenged of the hostages for this iniury and fraude, the  
which were yeilded a moneth after the prefixed time, when as the garrisons compounded  
for their departure, being vnable to endure the famine any longer: those of castle Nouo,  
vpon condition the hostages should be deliuered: those of de l' *Ouo*, if they were not suc-  
coured by the first day of *Lent* ensuing. But let vs leaue *Ferdinand* confirmed in his throne,  
and returne to *Nouarre*.

*Nouarre* was at the last cast, they had no more corne, no more horses, but for few daies:  
some died of hunger, some languished of sicknesse. *Mugnes*, *Brione*, *Camarian*, *Bolgare*, &  
other nere places (with the forts built by the French) were taken by force, and the enemy  
lodged in the Suburbes, were so many block-houses, neither was there any meanes to suc-  
cure them without a bataille. But how? The King tooke his pleasure at *Turin*, and at *Qui-*  
*ers*, he had no will to hazard another bataille for one towne onely, which the duke of *Or-*  
*leans* would keepe, and no man would fight but in the Kings presence. The prince of *Or-*  
*ange* (who in matters of warre had great credit with the King) and all the other comman-  
ders, desired rather to end the siege by some friendly agreement, then by the hazard of a bat-  
taile. Winter approached: euery one sees his store spent, many are sicke, some retire  
without leaue, others obtaine it. The enemy giues eare to a peace. His army was newly in-  
creased by a thousand *Reisters*, led by *Frederick Capelare*, of the country of *Ferrete*, and by  
eleuen thousand *Lanquenets*, commanded by *George* of *Aberfing*, borne in *Austria*. The  
leuy which the Bayliffe of *Dijon* went to make in *Switzerland*, was not yet ready. Why then  
(considering the consent of both parties) are not these great numbers dismissed friendly  
without force? Some few fought contention, they had the Kings eares open, and their  
words were Oracles, as *Brissonnet* Cardinall of *Saint Malo*, and the Archbishop of *Rouan*:  
yet would they not leaue their robes to put on armes, but keepe themselves safe  
from blowes. The King (say they) must not begin, let his enemy speake first, hee is here in per-  
son: The Pope, the Emperour, the King of Spaine, the Venetians, and the Duke of Milan  
are

A such their Deputies. But whilest they stand vpon this point of honor, their teeth grow and  
their stomacks shrinke at *Nouarre*. And thus the matter was handled, referuig the honour  
of both parties. About that time the Marquisse of *Monterrat* died, daughter to the King of  
*Serua* in *Greece*, leauing two sonnes, whereof the eldest was but nine yeeres old. The Mar-  
quis of *Saluce*, and *Constantin* vncle to the said Marquis, one of the ancient Noblemen of  
*Macedony* (the which *Alahomct Ottoman* had many yeeres before inuaded) contended for  
the government of the two pupils. To accord this controuersie, for the safety of the children,  
and the content of the country, the King had sent the Lord of *Argenton* to *Cafal Ceruas*,  
and the Marquis of *Mantoua*, a Steward of his, to condole this death. These two fall into  
discourse, to pacifie both armies without blowes: so as by the Stewards perswasion, *Argen-*  
*ton* writes to the Venetian commissaries, vnder colour to continue the parle they had vpon  
*Taro*. Giuing eare thereunto, they impart it to the Duke of *Milans* capitaines. In the end, by  
common consent, they meet betwixt *Bolgare* and *Camarian*. There were for the King, the  
Cardinall of *Saint Malo*, the Prince of *Orange*, the Marshall of *Gié*, and the Lords of *Pien-*  
*nes* and *Argenton*. For the confederates, the Marquis of *Mantoua*, *Bernard Contarin* the  
Comissary of the Venetians *Stradiots*, and *Francisco Bernardin Visconte*.

Their chiefe controuersie was vpon the deliuey of *Nouarre*. *Milan* holds in fee of the  
Empire, and therefore the King did vrge, that *Nouarre*, as a member of the said duchie,  
should be deliuered to *Maximilian*, by the hands of the Germane capitaines, that were in the  
Italians campe, and the confederates would haue him leaue it absolutely. In the meane  
time, the famine growes so great, as it kills about two thousand of the Duke of *Orleans* men:  
and their great necessity required nothing but expedition. But more difficulties growing  
then could sodenly be decided, they conclude a truce for eight daies, with permission for  
the duke of *Orleans* to come forth with a small traine. For the suretie whereof, the Mar-  
quis of *Mantoua* did willingly offer himselfe, as an hostage to the Earle of *Foix*, after an  
oth taken, that they should proceed sincerely in the treaty of peace, and that it was not  
onely to free the Duke of *Orleans*. The duke beeing come to the King to *Verceil*, for the  
prolongation of the truce, vntill a conclusion of peace, all the men of warre came forth,  
and were conducted into a place of safety, by the Marquis of *Mantoua*, and *Galeas* of *Saint*  
*D* *Seuerin*. So the towne remained in the Inhabitants keeping, with an oth, not to deliuer it to  
any, but with the consent of both parties. And thirty men were left in the castle, vnder the  
duke of *Orleans* authority, to whom they should daily send victuals out of the Italians  
campe for their money.

Within few daies after, arriued the Bayliffe of *Dijon*, with his *Suiffes*, who vnder colour  
of ten thousand which he thought to bring, the number was doubled, running at the name  
of the Kings purse. So great a number of men of one nation, was suspicious. The one moiety  
ioyned with the Kings army nere to *Verceil*, the other camped apart, fife leagues off. This  
new supply, reuiued the courage of the duke of *Orleans*, and of those whose fingers itched.  
But to what end were a bataille, seeing that *Nouarre* had not moued the King, but onely to  
free the duke, and his seruants that were now deliuered from captiuitie? And what meanes  
were there to fight with two thousand eight hundred men at armes barded, fife thousand  
light horse, eleuen thousand *Gernains*, and an infinit number of other foote, in a campe  
intrenched with palissadoes, and deepe ditches full of water? a counsell fit for scarlet robes,  
thrust on rather by their owne couetousnesse, then with any respect of the Kings honour or  
the dukes. This Cardinall of *Saint Malo*, did hee more affect his Maiesties seruice, or the  
priuate aduancement of his house, seeing that his vnmeasurable greedinesse extorted this  
confession from his owne mouth. That the Duke of *Orleans* had promised him ten thousand  
Ducats of rent for his sonne, if he had this Duchie of *Milan*? Doubtlesse great princes vse good  
and bad instruments to satisfie their desires, but in the end they abhor the vnlawfull practi-  
ses of their workemen.

On the other side, this great number of men, newly arriued, who desired nothing but  
imployment, made the Italians mindes more inclinable to peace. So the Marshall of *Gié*,  
the president of *Gannai*, the Vidame of *Chartres*, *Argenton*, *Piennes* & *Moruilliers*, hauing  
conferred againe with the confederates, where the duke of *Milan* did assist in person, they  
concluded an accord, more through the necessity of the season, and want of money,  
desirous

Twenty thou-  
sand Suiffes as  
Verceil for the  
King.



1495.  
The treaty  
of Vercell.

desirous to returne home with the shew of an honorable peace, then with any confidence it would continue. It was agreed; That the King should be serued by the Duke of Milan for Genoa, as of his vassal, against all the world, and in so doing, the duke should furnish at his owne charge, two Ships to succor the castle of Naples (the which held yet) and the yeere following, should serue the King with three, and goe with him in person to the enterprise of Naples, if by chance he returned, and should suffer the Kings men to passe. If the Venetians did not accept of the peace within two moneths, but would maintaine the house of Arragon, he should aide the King against them: and the King should giue him all that should be taken from them. That of fixe score and foure thousand Ducats lent to the King in that voyage, he should forgiue fourescore thousand. And for the expences made at Nouarre, hee should pay the duke of Orleans fifty thousand Ducats, by the moneth of March following. That for the surety of Genoa, the duke should giue two hostages, and deliuer the Chastelet into the duke of Ferraras keeping, as a Neuter, for two whole yeeres, the gard thereof to be paide at their common charge: and in case the duke of Milan should forfait Genoa to the King, the duke of Ferrara should then deliuer the Chastelet to the King, and the duke of Milan should giue two other hostages of Milan. That the duke should not empeach the Florentines, to recouer what belonged vnto them. That *Trivulce* should be restored to his lands and goods. And that the prisoners, the confederates had taken should bee deliuered. This peace was sworne on either side: the Venetians craue respite for two moneths, to accept or not, and the King transported with a great desire to see his France, resolved to part the next day. But aduertised that the Suisses practised either to assure themselves of his person, or to seize vpon the chiefe in Court, for three moneths pay, which they said was due vnto them, by an accord made with *Lewis* the eleuenth, that so often as they should goe forth with their Ensignes displaid, they should receiue that payment, he parted from Vercell (into the which many Suisses were gotten) and went towards Trine, a towne belonging to the Marquis of Montferrat. This humor possessed them by the instigation of thole to whom this peace was not pleasing.

The Suisses  
practised  
seize vpon the  
King.

From Trine, the King sent the said Marshall of Gie, the President of Gannai, and Argenton, to *Lodowike Sforze*, to moue him to an interview. But he grounded his excuse vpon some speeches which the Earle of Ligni, and the Cardinall of Saint Malo had vsed. That they should take him when he came, to the King to Paulia, yet would he willingly parle with the King, hauing a barre and riuer betwixt them. Hee had heard talke of the parle betwixt *Edward* and the Constable of Saint Paul, with *Lewis* the eleuenth. *Charles* taking this distrust in ill part, receiued his hostages of Milan, and impatient to attend the Geneuois, aduancing to Quiers, he sent *Peron de Basche* to Genoa, to receiue the two carrakes promised by the treaty, and to arme foure others, wherein he made account to ship three thousand Suisses, to releue the castles of Naples, knowing that the army of Nice had bene altogether vnprofitable. But it was sufficient for the Milanois to promise: hee knew well that hungar would force the wolfe out of the wood, that is to say, that want of victuals would shortly expell the garrisons out of those castles. Moreouer beeing perswaded, the King would hardly repasse the Alpes, hee seekes the friendship of *Ferdinand*, arming two ships for his seruice.

*Charles* did then send the Lord of Argenton to Venice, to know if they would accept of the peace, and to passe three articles. To re-deliuer Monopoli, which they had taken from him: to draw back the Marquis of Mantoua, their Lieutenant generall, and all others they had in the Realme of Naples, for *Ferdinands* seruice: and to declare King *Ferdinand* to bee none of the league lately made in the which there was onely named the Pope, the King of Romans, the King of Spaine, and the duke of Milan. For answer, they flatly refuse all the Kings demands, as hauing no warre with him, and that their meaning was onely to succour the duke of Milan as their ally, whom the King sought to ruine.

And for the making of an agreement, they offer to bee a meares: that *Ferdinand* should doe homage to the King, for the Realme of Naples, with the Popes consent: and should pay a hundred and fifty thousand ducats yeerely, and a present summe of money, the which they would lend: for the loane whereof they should haue Brundusium, Ottanto, Trani and some other places in Apulia in pawne: that *Ferdinand* should giue the King some

A places for safety, to make warre against the Turke, according to the hope wherewith *Charles* had fed all Chriltendome. The which, if hee would vndertake, all Italy should contribute there-vnto. That the King and they should dispose of all Italy without contradiction: and for their part, they would serue the King with a hundred gallies at their owne charge, and with five thousand horse by land. But this Turkish warre was but a glorious cloake for euery priuate mans couetousnesse. And who can wonder if God did suddenly frustrate our designs, hauing an other ground then wee made shew of? Who will not iudge, but this offer had bene as honorable for France, as the generall losse of the said realme was dishonorable? *Charles* would willingly haue vndertaken it, and the greatest part of his Counsell did allow it. But *Tacitus* obserues of *Vitellius*, That his iudgement was such, as hee found all harsh that was profitable, and tooke nothing in good part but what was pleasing, and that prooued hurtfull. A lesson for Princes, not to trust so confidently to some particular persons, for the gouernment of their affaires, but to impart it some-times to others: neither to aduance any one so high, as all the rest should bee his inferiors, for making himselfe to be feared and respected aboue all (as the Cardinall *Briçonnet*, his Bretheren and kinsfolke did) hee commonly makes his house great at his maisters cost. But it was the humor of this yong King, fearing (saith the historie) to displease them to whom he gaue credit, and especially such as gouerned his treasure; as the aboue named.

Our Conquerors are now arriued at Lions, in the moneth of October, not greatly carefull of those they had left at Naples, without any intelligence or letters from the King, but onely counterfeited, and nothing but promises for assignations of pay, whereof followed the generall losse of the Realme: who for a signe of their conquest, left them nothing but the possession of a stinking and contagious disease, which afterwards spred ouer all France: the which (being till then vnkowne in our parts, and the Phisitians not acquainted with the cure thereof) lodged many in the graue, leauing many deformed and lame of their limmes, and subiect to continuall aches.

The begin-  
ning of the  
Pocks.

*Charles* hauing continued two moneths at Lions, he receiued two very troublesome and vnpleasant aduertisements: One was domesticall, the death of his sonne the Daulphin, deceased at three yeares age: A goodly child (saith the Originall) and bold in speech, who feared not those things which other children are accustomed to feare. The other was forreine, the yeelding of the Castles of Naples. The King passed ouer his mourning lightly: for being little both of body and vnderstanding, he began to feare, least the Daulphin growing in these generous dispositions, which they noted in his infancie, should soone blemish the fathers power and authority. A lamentable thing, that so great a Monarke should feare his owne childe lying in a Cradle. But that was certaine, that *Charles* the seuenth his grandfather had bene iealous of *Lewis* the eleuenth his sonne. *Lewis* had terrified his father, and was in feare of his sonne *Charles* the eight: and now *Charles* apprehends some decay in his estate by his sonne. Iealousie is a disease which doth commonly infect Princes houses. The other accident was of greater consequence, and toucht him more neerely. But were not these crosseles sufficient to afflict him, but hee must receiue a publike shame by means of a priuate mans couetousnesse?

The Florentines prest the performance of their treaty, sworne at Florence, confirmed at Ast, and afterwards at Turin. *Charles* writes to this effect to *Entragues* Captaine of the Citadell at Pisa, and to the bastard of Saint Paul, to restore those places to the Florentines which they commanded. But these Gentlemen are good Marchants, they sell that which they are commanded to giue. *Entragues* interprets the Kings Letters-Patents according to his owne couetousnesse, and exculeth him-selfe with a secret charge hee sayd hee had receiued, not to deliuer it without the Earle of Lignies hand-writing, in whose name hee commanded Pisa. But this was the chiefe cause, hee must haue money. Florence did not offer any, Pisa must pay it, or else fall into their hands whom they hated to death. To drawe them vnto it, hee hath another wicked practise. Hee sends to the Florentine Commissaries, to bring their armie to the Porte of the Suburbes of Saint Mary, that if the Pisans would not receiue them friendly, he would force them to abandon the said gate, being so commanded by the Citadell, as it could not resist without the Captains sufferance. Hee did not beleue the Florentines should so easily haue taken the bulwarke of the sayd suburbes.

The treache-  
rie and coue-  
tousnesse of  
*Entragues*.



1496. suburbs. But when as hee sees the assailants enter pel-mell, kill some, and take others prisoners, he turnes his Artillery vpon the Florentines, kills and hurts them, and forceth the Florentines to abandon the place. In the end, prest by the Kings commanding letters, both to the Earle of Ligni, to him, and to all the garrisons, to leaue the said places, he deliueis them for twenty thousand Ducats, and after sels Pietresanta to the Luquois, and Librefacta to the Venetians. And the aboue-named bastard, as good a marchant as the other, sels Serezane and Serezanelle to the Geneuiois. And all to the Kings dishonour, his subiects shame, and the absolute losse of Naples. *Saillant* who commanded in the port of Liurorne, is commended to haue yeelded the place to the Florentines at the first summons, and *Entraques* banished the Realme of France, by a decree of the priuie counsell. Yet the Duke of Orleans (his maisters credit) caused this sentence to be repealed. The Pisans being maisters of their Cittadell, razed it to the ground. And rather then they will submit their necks to the Florentines yoke, they implore aide from the Pope, Emperour, Venetians, Geneuiois, Siennois and Luquois. But whilest that *Lodowike* consults whether he should receiue them into his protection, the Venetians preuent him. So many dogges fighting for one bone, pull one another by the throte, whilest the most politick carries it away.

The King dishonored by twyn of his subiects,

*Virgilius Vrsinus* in the Kings pry.

The Viceroy in the meane time gathers together the remnant of his shipwrack. And as the reuolt of the Colonnois had greatly weakned the Kings party, so he hoped to repaire it by the meanes of *Virgilius Vrsinus*, who seeing the Colonnois his enemies newly aduanced to great authoritie with *Ferdinand*, he accepted of the Kings entertainment, being agreed that he with the hoste of *Vrsinus*, should make a leauy of fixe hundred men at armes, and with the *Vitelli* crosse *Ferdinands* attempts, who by diuers euents laboured vehemently to recouer that which the King held yet. And let vs now see the successe of their affaires. The successe of armes is variable, but God holds them in ballance, and giues the aduantage to whom hee pleateth. Our men had some times the better, and some-times the worse. But this is but a languishing fit. Our French being incamped at Nocera had by an intelligence giuen, taken and slaine seuen hundred Arragonois, going to surpris Gifone, neere to Saint Seuerin: but seeing *Ferdinand* fortified with the Popes troupees, they leaue Nocera, to take Saint Seuerin, and Gofenze which was lately rebelled against them.

Abruzzo continued firme through the valour of *Gratian de Guerres*, against the attempts of the Earle of Popoli: and the coming of the *Vrsins* and the *Vitelli*, did greatly molest the lands of Moncastin, and the neighbour country of Labour. Calabria (although the long sicknesse of the Lord of Aubigni, had stayed the course of his prosperity) remained yet at the Kings deuotion. The Viceroy had mounted and armed such as came with him from Naples. All these considerations gaue courage to our men, and made the way to a battaile, which the Viceroy and *Vrsins* greatly pressed. But the want and necessity of money to pay their strangers, doth cast an Apple of discord in the army: eight hundred Lansquenets, for want of pay, go to the Arragonois, who fortifying the enemy, makes our French so much the weaker. Behold a fore blait for a house that threatned ruine. And now comes the blow, which in few moneths shall strike vs dead.

*Ferdinand* admitted into the league.

He capitulates with the Venetians.

At the first, the Venetians would not receiue *Ferdinand* into the league of the Pontenates of Italy, to the end that vrgent necessity might force him to yeeld them some-thing, watching so long for an oportunitie, as in the end they finde it. *Ferdinand* had a great action in hand: hee must hazard all, to become (as they say) a rich Marchant, or a poore pedler. He accords with the Venetians, and in regard of a succour of seuen hundred men at armes, fixe hundred light horse, and three thousand foote, led by the Marquis of Mantoua, and their nauie intertained, which lay then vpon that coast, with a loane of fiftene thousand ducats, he deliuered vnto them, Otrante, Brundusium, and Thrane, and consents they should retaine Monopoli, and Pulignano, which they then held, vpon condition to deliuer them, vpon payment of such money as should bee employed in the gard thereof, so as it amounted not about two hundred thousand ducats. Moreouer, the Pope, They, & the Milanois, sent other companies of men at armes leauied in common. And *Lodowike*, who would not directly breake the treaty of Verceill, agreed secretly to pay ten thousand ducats monethly towards the warres of Naples. If the Earle of Montpensier were in want. *Ferdinand* was as needy, and the Venetian succours could not be so soone ready. So the weaknesse of both parties

A parties, being sicke of one disease, kept them from attempting much, yet idlenesse makes the souldiers slothfull. To keepe them in exercise, the Viceroy practiseth an intelligence vpon *Beneuent*: but he was preuented by *Ferdinand*, who had notice thereof: he leaues it to take Ferezane, Apice and many other neighbour townes, wanting victualls, and the season approaching to collect one of the most important reuenues of the Realme, which was the custome for cattaille in Apulia, he marcheth to frustrate the enemy: it mounted yeerely to fourefcore thousand ducats. *Ferdinand* follows, to stay the vice-roys courfe, attending his succours.

1496.

At that time there arriues a French nauy at Caiete, of fifteene great shippes, and seuen lesse, wherein they had shipped eight hundred Lansquenets at Saouana, and the troupees appointed for the great ships that should haue beene armed at Genoa. This army takes Itri at their landing, with other neighbor places. *Don Baptista Caracciolo* had promised to giue him entrance into Sessa, but *Don Frederike*, *Ferdinands* vncler, preuented him, committing the bishop and others guilty of this practise to prison. The fury of the warre was in Apulia, and the successe was variable, for both parties lodged in diuers townes, who rather by their ordinary roads, then by any valour, made warre against the poore cattaille. *Virgilius Vrsinus* and *Marian Sauelli* had gathered together an infinite number of cattaille, being the custome betwixt Saint Seuerer and Porcine, and *Ferdinand* with fixe hundred men at armes, eight hundred light horse, and fifteene hundred foote, comes by night to driue them away: who by the breake of day being planted before Saint Seuerer with his men at armes, to make head against *Virgilius*, if he issued forth, he caused his light horse to driue away about three-score thousand head of cattaille. *Sauelli* issueth forth of Porcine, to the rescue, but being too weake, he was forced to retire with the losse of thirty men at armes.

A new French fleet in the Kingdom of Naples.

This check drew the Vice-roy against *Ferdinand* being at Fogge, to recouer both the honour and prey that was lost. Vpon the way he encounters eight hundred Lansquenets, betwixt Nocere and Troy, which went to ioyne with *Ferdinand*: he charged them, and being obstinate in fight, defeats them, and killes them all, with some losse of his men: and so presents himselfe in battaile before Fogge, but none issuing forth iaued the light horse, he lay in ambush in the wood of the *Incoronate*, and recovered the greatest part of the cattaille. Then presenting himselfe before Fogge, hee retires to Saint Seuerer: when as the light horse falling vpon those that did driue away the bootie, deprived either party of the greatest profit, for the cattaille beeing disperfed heere and there, were abandoned to the first that could take them. Herevpon the army at sea ioynes with the Vice-roy, and the Marquis of Mantoua with the Arragonois. So the chiefe forces of both armies approach. The French were stronger in foote, and the Italians in horse; which held the estate of affaires in suspence.

*Ferdinands* Lansquenets defeated by the french.

The King began now againe to affect the affaires of Italy, and hauing made a progresse to Tours and Paris, to performe (saith the history) some vowes which he had made at Four-noue, he returnes to Lions. His owne inclynation drew him naturally to this warre: glorious, for that hee was the first of the Kings of France, after many ages, that had renewed the French armies in Italy. Moreouer, the Florentins, the Cardinall of Saint Pierre, *John Iaques* of Triuulce, the *Vrsins*, the Earle of Montoire (sent to that end by the Barons of the Realme of Naples, who yet did carry the flower de Lice, but with more efficacy then all the rest, the Cardinall of Saint Malo, and that Mignon the Seneshall of Beaucaire, gaue him a certaine hope of victory, by meanes of a great and speedy succour: and contrarywise of an apparent losse, if matters were more neglected. Euen those which before had dissuaded this enterprise of Italy, greued now exceedingly to see their conquest so cowardly lost, and the French Nobility to perish, who (vnfurnished of aide) were ready to suffer shipwracke. The Admirall of Grauille alone could not fauor this warre.

*Charles* returned to Lions.

These resolutions were somewhat hindred by the warre which the King supported in the county of Rouffillon, from whence the Spaniards made ordinary roades and robberies in Languedocke. *Charles* of Albon, grandfather to the deceased Marshall of Saint Andrew, defended the frontier, as Lieutenant to the Duke of Bourbon, gouernor of that Prouince, the which was greatly indamaged by the garrison of Saulses, a little towne in the said county, strong of men and situation, and defended by some gentlemen of the King of Castilles house.

Xx

1496.

A truce be-  
twix the  
Kings of  
France and  
Castile.

house, who were seconded by an army in field, bigger then the French. *Albon* undertakes to A besiege *Saulles*, batters it, makes a breach, and gives an assault, and within tenne houres carries it by forces, where hee slew some forty Spanishe gentlemen of marke, and about foure hundred men of defence. A worthy reward for the wrong which the Castilian had done to *Charles*, who had so willingly restored him the possession of this country; hoping to bind him by this good turne, not to crosse him in his designs, vpon the Realme of Naples, as by the contract of reddition hee had promised. This exploit kept the *Snailes* within their shells, who vnder pretense and colour to continue their Conquests vpon the *Moore*s, whom they lately ouercame and chased out of *Granado*, in the end they motioned a truce, the which (being concluded from March to October, for themselves, and such of their faction as would accept of it) diuided the Castilian from the other confederats, attending that a mutuall assembly at *Montpellier* should end all their controuersies by a firme and durable peace.

Charles greatly  
affect the en-  
terprise of  
Italy.The Cardinal  
of Saint Malo  
hinders the  
Kings voyage.

Thus *Charles* freed from this incombrance, returnes more vehemently to his first designs, and to draw his counsell thereunto, hee said, that he felt a diuine inspiration in his soule, which called him into Italy. It was according to the predictions of *Sauonarola*. In the end it was concluded, that *Triulce* should returne to Ast, with the title of the Kings Lieutenant, with eight hundred Lances and foure thousand French and *Suisses*: that the Duke of *Orleans* should soone follow, and then the King: that thirty shippes should passe the straights into the ports of *Prouence*, and should bee armed for the passage of Naples, with men, victuals money, and all other munition. A braue designe and a goodly order, if it had taken effect. But it is a great error in Kings, to giue the chiefe places of authority, rather to Church-men, then to their princes, or to Noblemen of merit: seeing that these men haue but one oth, which is to their King, and the other hauing two, they commonly preferre that which they owe vnto the Pope. The Cardinal of Saint Malo, gouerning the Treasure, and in a manner the whole State, did not directly contradict the Kings will (hauing so greatly affected the first voyage) but so slackt the expeditions, delaying the necessary payments, that no prouision was effected. And who would not beleue, but the Pope giuing to this man a Cardinals hat, would likewise drawe him to his faction.

But let vs heare another disturbance, when as euery man supposed that the King would speedily passe the mountaines, he makes a posting voyage to Paris, and to Tours, for three reasons. The first, vnder colour of deuotion: to take leaue (said he) of Saint *Denis* and Saint *Martin*, according to the ancient ceremonies of the Kings of France: The second, to bid the Queene farewell, who was resident at Tours: the third, to draw all the cities of the Realme to aide him with money, after the example of Paris, to auoide the necessities of the yeere before. But he did not set downe the fourth, and it may bee more vrgent, the loue of one of the Queenes maides, an importune passion, which doth so restrain all the spirits of man, as he neglects all other cares. *Charles* departs, and returnes not in foure moneths: hee sends *Triulce* to Ast, with a small troupe, more to confirme the friendship of *Philip*, the new duke of *Sauoy*, by the death of the little duke his Nephew, then for any preparation of warre: and for the prouision of Naples, fixe ships were provided laden with victuals, and laden with hope to bee soone followed by a great army, and to receiue forty thousand ducats due at Florence. This was physick after death: for if they had arriued in time, they had preferred, or at the least staid for a season the losse of the Realme. It *Brissonnet* were so dull in these Commissions in the Kings presence, Iudge if hee made any hast in his Maiesties absence.

Yet the body of the Neapolitane state was so shaken, as for want of speedy remedy it was ready to fall. The two armies approach, both so tired, as the warre must sodenly end by the ruine of the one. The French were camped before *Circelle*, ten miles from *Beneuent*: and *Ferdinand*, to diuert this siege, was before *Franget* of *Montfort*. For the succoring wherof, our men leaue *Circelle*: but the *Lansquenets* apprehending a second assault, left the place at random. This was a losse, which did greatly import our men.

They had meanes in shewe to defeat this army, so busie at the sacke of *Frangette*, as the Captaines aduertised, that there was but a valley betwixt the French and their lodging,

1496.

A lodging, they could not in time call backe the souldiars from the spoile to armes. The Earle of *Montpensier* would haue embraced this occasion. *Virgilius Virsinus* did vrge it. *Perfid' Alegre* (by an enuious, or malicious shew of hazard, which they should incur in passing the valley at the mercy of the enemy, loathing the *Suisses* and *Lansquenets*, which he commanded, discontented moreouer with the small entertainment they had giuen him when he presented himselfe to succour the castles of Naples) hindred the execution: and moreouer vnder colour of pay (as they say) hee caused the strangers to mutine. Thus the Viceroy forced to found a retreat, went to follow the siege of *Cercille*, where *Camille Vitelli*, performing the office of an excellent captaine and souldiar, during the assault, was wounded in the head with a stone, whereof hee died. An accident which causeth the French to abandon both the assault and siege, to retire towards *Arriane*, and to seeke some meanes to draw the *Arragonois* to battaile. But they had to deal with cunning temporisers, who knowing our men to bee pressed with the want of meat and money, and foreseeing that the slacknesse of their succors would breed greater discommodities and defaisters, they suffered them to keepe the field, and lodged in their forts, where their commodities could not be cut off.

Camille Vitelli  
dies.

Not only the army, but also the other parts of the Realme were greatly distressed: *Annibal* the bastard sonne of the Lord of *Camerin*, had of late defeated the Marquis of *Bitonte* of the French faction, in *Abruzzo*: for a reuenge, *Gratian de Guerres*, being in field, ouer-threw the Earles of *Selane* and *Popoli*, leading three hundred horse and three thousand foote for *Ferdinand*. Notwithstanding the losse of an occasion of a victory of *Franget*, the extreame necessity of all things, the discord of the captaines, and continuall contradiction of *Perfi*, refusing to obey the Earle of *Montpensier*, for that (saith hee) he had against reason abandoned the castles of Naples, the disobedience of the soldiars, the discontent of the Neapolitane troupes following the King, not paid, and iniuriously intreated in the diuisions of booties or victuals, the departure of many from the campe, the mutinies of the *Suisses* and *Lansquenets*, who cried out tumultuously for their pay, the neighbourhood of many townes, supported by the enemies army, and many defaisters concurring, daunted the courage of our soldiars, ingendred a contempt and hatred in the people, and forced our men to flie from place to place, without any hope of meanes to fight with the enemy, who to spare the blood of his people would not hazard any thing.

Diuers varia-  
ble exploits.

All these difficulties carried our French into *Apulia*, and as they were busied in the taking and sacking of *Arelle*, and then to possesse *Venouise*, a strong towne, and abounding with victuals, *Ferdinand* takes *Gesualde* in one day (the which in former time had indured a siege of fouretee moneths) and taking from them all hope of *Venouise*, hee forceth them to retire to *Attelle*, and presently campeg before it, desirous to winne a victory without peril and losse of men: and cutting off all the passages, he takes from them all meanes of releefe. But this accident made his designs more easie. The remainder of the *Lansquenets*, who since their departure from their houses, had receiued but two moneths pay, seeing the time of their entertainment past, they went to the *Arragon* party. And that which hastened the totall ruine of our men, was the euent in *Calabria*. By reason of the Lord of *Aubignies* sicknesse, many of his company were gone to the Viceroyes army. The Earle of *Melete*, and *Albert* of Saint *Suerin*, with many other Barons of the country (servants to the King) lodged at *Laine* vpon the riuer of *Sapri*, couered with the castle on the other side of the riuer, against any one that should assaile them vpon the high way, and from some other places belonging to the prince of *Bisignan*. It is very dangerous to bee too confident, especially in matters of warre. These Noblemen assembled all the forces they could, to charge *Gonsalue*, who made warre in that prouince, and after the taking of some places was camped before *Castrouillare*. *Gonsalue* preuents them, and comming neere the riuer, he causeth his foote to march towards the bridge, which lieth betwixt the castle of *Laine* and the village. Which bridge was negligently garded, relying vpon the aboue-named places, whilst that he passeth with his horse at a foard two miles aboue, and both should charge our men at one instant. The effect succeeded; he arriues before day, finds them without sentinell, and without gard, chargeth, and breakes them instantly, takes eleuen Barrons prisoners, and almost all the souldiars, who flying towards the castle, fell

The last of  
this tragedy.

1496. among the foote, who had already seized vpon the bridge. This victory laied the way open for *Gonsalue* to ioyne with *Ferdinand* with fixe thousand men, and this reliefe was the ruine of our troupes, pressed with three armies, the Arragonois, Venetian and Spanish. So as being no more able to be releued with victuals, nor goe to forrage, neither to haue any passage to the riuier, to water their horses, beeing themselves in great extremity for water, vanquished with so many difficulties and abandoned of all hope, after two and thirty daies siege, they obtained of *Ferdinand* a truce for thirty daies, and necessary victuals for that time: during the which, none of the besieged should goe forth: Licence for the duke *Montpensier* to signifie this accord vnto the King, the soldiars, their liues and goods saued, with the which they might retire into France by land or sea, and the *Vrsins* with other Italian soldiars, whether they would, out of the Realme: Impunity to the Barons and all others that had followed the French faction, and restitution of their goods and offices, so as within fiftene daies they returned to *Ferdinand*. All this is good, but there follows a very dishonorable promise: That if the Earle of Montpensier be not releued within thirty daies, he shall deliuer *Acelle* and al that he holds within the Realme of Naples into *Ferdinand's* hands, with all the artillery. Thus reason yeelds, where force commands.

A dishonorable composition made by the French.

The Earle of Montpensier dies with most of his troupes.

The time expired, all were conducted to the castle of Stabbia vpon the sea, and the Viceroy was summoned to yeeld vp all the other places, which the King possessed. But pretending that his authority did not extend to the captaines which commanded in Calabria, Abruzzo, Caiete and other places, which the King himselfe (and not hee) had giuen them in guard. The Arragonois making shew to dismisse them, caused them to be conducted (but more properly confined them) vpon this controuersie to Blay, and Puzzol, where (vnder colour that shipping was not yet ready) part of them by the wants they had endured, and part by the indisposition of the ayre, beeing hot and vnholosome, and part feeding intemperately vpon grapes and other fruit halfe ripe: but with more likelihood, hauing (as some write) seasoned their meates, and mixt their wines with drugs insupportable for the stomacke the Earle of Montpensier died: and of fixe thousand men, scarce fiftene hundred returned safe to their country. There is but one hazard to loose al. A battaile (although very disperat) had bene far more honorable and lesse fatall. But let vs rather note the examples and errors of other, then reprove them.

*Virgilius* and *Paul Vrsin*, by the Popes commandement (who had sworne the ruine of that house) were shut vp in the castle de l'Ouo: their men (led by *John Jordan* the sonne of *Vrsin*, and *Bartholmew* of Aluian) were stript in Abruzzo by the Duke of Vrbino; and these two commanders called by *Ferdinand* to Naples, were likewise imprisoned. *Aluian* escaped soone after; the rest died in prison. Now all things smile vpon the Conquerour, but hee pursues the victory otherwise then wee can doe: and in these garboiles, euery one flies to the stronger, and makes his peace as hee may. *Ferdinand* sends *Don Frederike* his vnckle and *Prosper Colonne* before Caiete, and *Fabrizio Colonne* into Abruzzo, who receiued *Aquille* for the Arragonois, tooke the rocke of Saint Seuerin by force, and caused the captaine and his sonne to be beheaded, to terrifie the rest: then hee went and incamped before Salerne, where the Prince of Bisignan made his peace, for himselfe, for the prince of Salerne, for the Earle of Cappacie, and some other Barons, *Gretian des Guerres* (forced to giue way to this violent streame) leaues Abruzzo, and retires himselfe with eight hundred horse into Caiete, where *Don Frederike* doth presently inuest him. *Gonsalue* returned into Calabria, where the Lord of Aubigni (after such resistance as his forces could make) beeing gotten into Groppoli, in the end promiseth to leaue all the Prouince, hauing liberty to returne into France by land. The other captaines (either for that they had filled their bagges with the prouisions of their places, or had by disorder consumed that in few daies, which in time of necessity might haue serued long, or through feare, or impatiency of the discomforts which follow a siege) were forced to yeeld them at the first common.

But shall *Ferdinand* long enioy the happy successe of his armes? Behold, hauing not yet tasted the sweetnesse of his Conquests, remayning nothing for the recovery of the Realme but Tarentum, Caiete, and few other places, held by *Charles* of Sanguin, and *Mont S. Angelo*, where *Don Julian* of Lorraine commanded, who caused the neighbor counties to feele

A feeble both the greatnesse of his courage, and the weight of his armes, death comes and cuts off both the course of his victories, and the thred of his life, and transports his crowne to three yeeres. *Ferdinand*, *Alphonso*, King *Charles* the eight. *Ferdinand* the incestuous, hauing married his aunt, sister to *Alphonso* his father, and *Frederike*.

1497.

King *Ferdinand* dies.

*Frederike* leauing the siege of Caiete, comes to enioy his Nephews succession, and those which had before followed the French party, as the princes of Salerne and Bisignan, the Earle of Cappacio and others, were the first to proclaime his name in Naples, and to helpe him to finish the remainder of the warre against our men. Tarentum (besieged by the Venetians) was forced to yeeld through famine, who hauing held it some daies (not without suspect that they would appropriate it to themselves) in the end they consigned it, vnto *Frederike*, at the Popes intreaty, and the King of Spaine. Caiete might haue held out some monethes, but iudging the King would haue as little care to succour them, as many other places negligently lost, to the preiudice, both of a great number of the Nobility, and also of the crowne, they compounded with *Frederike* by the means of the Lord of Aubigni, giuing them leaue to returne by sea into France, with bagge and baggage. And consequently, all other places did quite reiect the French command in the state of Naples. And *Frederike* (hauing obtained the inuestiture of the Realme, from the Pope) was solemnly crowned.

C Thus King *Charles* was freed from the care he had for the recouery thereof, but the losse and infamy thrusts him on to reuenge vpon the next neighbour. Many Potentates of Italy perswade him therunto: the duke of Ferrara knew well that the Venetians (hauing taken Polesan from him) sought his ruine, and amidst these diuisions he was like vnto a sheepe, betwixt two wolues, that is to say, the Venetians and the duke of Milan his sonne in law, who (preferring his safety and his childrens, before the loue of the duke of Milan) offered the King fixe hundred men at armes, and two thousand foote. The Marquis of Mantoua (being discontented with the Venetians) sell from them with three hundred men at armes. *John Bentiuole* offered a hundred and fifty men at armes, and the companies which his two sonnes led, with a good number of foot. The Florentines (not to loose Pisa and other places, and to warrant themselves from the wrongs, which the Venetians practised against them) promised eight hundred men at armes, and fixe thousand foote at their owne charge. The *Vrsins* and the Gouvernor of Rome, a thousand men at armes. Moreouer there was in All eight hundred men at armes, and fixe thousand foote. If all these forces with the French, had ioyntly charged the duke of Milan, either his estate had bene in danger, or hee must haue followed the Kings party, the which obtained, the Kingdome of Naples had bene easily recouered. The duke of Orleans was appointed to this effect; for the King would not directly breake the treaty of Verceil, desiring the Duke should make this warre in his owne proper name. The Duke refuseth to march with other title then the Kings Lieutenant, either iudging his prouisions not well grounded, or seeing the King ill disposed of his person, whose next heire he was, if he miscaried. Thus both the enterprise, and the intelligences which *Triunlice*, had against the Milanois, were made frustrate.

The Princes of Italy incense the king against the Venetians & Duke of Milan.

The Duke of Orleans refuseth to march against the duke of Milan in his owne name.

There are other actions which succeed as unhappily. The Fregoses being expelled Genoa, by the faction of the Adornes, could not returne without some notable support, who comming to the gates, they hoped with great facility to raise their partisans, to chase away their aduersaries, and to reduce the towne to the Kings obedience. The King vpon this hope, commands *Triunlice* to assist *Baptista Fregose* with those forces which hee had in All; and the Florentines with *Ottauin Fregose* to assaile Lunigiane at the same time, and the riuier to the East, whilest that *Baptista* should molest the West. This enterprise did much trouble the Duke of Milan: and if it had bene continued, it had produced greater effects in the estate of Milan then at Genoua. For *Lewis* of Fiesque and the Adornes had brought many men into Genoua, and armed a flecte to sea, at the common charges of the Venetians, of *Lodowike*, and of *Frederike* King of Naples. And *Lodowike* had not yet receiued his Venetians: But in stead of Genoua they went to take Noui, a towne able to containe many men, and the Fregoses held the castle, fit to make warre in the country, and to stoppe

1497. stoppe the passage from Milan to Genoua. The taking of Noui made the neighbour places yeeld to *Baptista*, and at the same instant, the Cardinall of Saint *Pierre*, with two hundred Launces, and three thousand foote of *Triuulces* troupes seized on Vintemille, and presented himselfe before Sauonne, hoping that in disdaigne of the Geneuois, (whose yoake they bare) hee should finde both the Cittizens hearts, and the Cittie gates open. But no signe, no shew of any alteration.

The Venetians  
succour the  
Duke of Milan

*John Adorne* followed the Cardinall, and forced him to retire into Altaré, a place belonging to the Marquis of Montferrat. *Triuulce* had another desseigne: and although hee had an expresse commandement from the King, to surcease from making warre against the Duke of Milan, and to second *Baptista* and the Cardinall, yet did hee seeke by all meanes to kindle troubles in the said Duchie: and if he had bene suffered to proceed, without doubt there had followed some notable effect, vnder colour, to assure the companies that were there had followed some notable effect, vnder colour, to assure the companies that were passed into the riuier vpon the East: that hee thought it necessarie to shut vpp the passage betwixt Alexandria and Genoua, whereas *Lodowicke* assembled his forces, by the taking of Bourg, and other places of importance in the Countrie. But to obey the Kings will, hee lost a goodly oportunitie to doe great seruice vnto the Crowne. For now the whole Countrie stood at a gaze, some for feare, others being desirous of innouation: and *Lodowicke* (as tooone as *Charles* should begin the warre. And to this end they demanded the Lord of Aubigni for their generall, with a hundred and fifty Lances, whereof they should pay a third part. The Marquis of Mantoua, was discharged from the Venetians pay, and should bring to the King, with the *Vrsins*, the *Vitelli*, and the Captaine of Rome, brother to the Cardinall of Saint *Pierre*, fiftene hundred men at armes Italians. He had the friendship of the Duke of Sauoye, and the Marqueses of Saluces and Monferrat. *John Bentinole* promised to ioyne with his troupes as soone as hee should passe the mountaines. But hee is diuerred by diuers meanes. Some of his fauorits thrust him forward to this enterprise, but with so huge a preparation both by sea and land, and so great prouision of money, as it required a long time. Others entertained him in his delights, and loathed him with all difficulties, and the Cardinall of Saint *Malo* (according to his vsuall manner) lackt the prouisions of monney. Thus the time was lost, and matters made fruitlesse, being almost brought to their perfection. There were no dispatches for the Lord of Aubigni, no money for the *Vrsins*, *Vitellies*, *Fregoses*: no man passeth into Italy. So all mens mindes growing colde, the *Fregoses* make their peace with the Duke of Milan. The *Vitelli* had passed to the Venetians pay, if the Florentines had not entertained them for a yeare. The Florentines them selues (counselled by *Lodowicke Sforce*, in the beginning of the yeare 1498.) sent an Ambassage to Rome, signifying (although in doubtfull termes) that if Pisa might bee yeilded vnto them, they would ioyne them-selues with the rest, for the defence of Italy against the French. A Florentine policy, but made frustrate by a Venetian shift.

Truce continued with the  
Spaniard.

About the end of this yeare, the Kings of France and Spaine, beganne their assembly, D promised at the last truce, the which they had transported from Montpellier to Narbone, and afterwards broken off by the Castilians excessiue demands. There they found the same difficulties: The King would referue to himselfe full power to continue his enterprise in Italy, refusing to yeeld to any agreement, wherein it should be comprised. The King of Spaine desired to haue no warre with him beyond the mountaines, which might draw after it many inconueniences, and yeeld him small profite: finally, they continued their truce, not comprehending any of the Potentates of Italy. The Spaniard seeing the King to meditate of a second voyage beyond the mountaines, hoped to perswade him to the conquest of Naples with their common forces, and to take from the Venetians many ports, and other places which they possessed. The vsurpation whereof was very suspicious vnto him. But neither of them had made his account with him, who doth prolong and shorten the dayes of man at his pleasure, and who doth sound the secret thoughts of men. But not able to obtaine this condition of *Charles*, with all his policie, hee procured it of his successeur, to the great preiudice of his Crowne.

Then expired the two yeares, during the which, the castell of Genoua had bene left in guard with the Duke of Ferrara. The King (pretending the forfeiture and disobedience of the Duke of Milan) demands the possession thereof, offering to lay downe in a third mans hand halfe the charge spent for the guard of the places, according to the treatie of *Verceil*, and in the meane time, the law should determine, to which of them it should be restored. But the great pursuite of *Lodowicke*, and the imminent daunger hee feared, if hee should breake with the Venetians, made him to yeeld it vp vnto *Lodowicke*, vpon restitution made of all his charges for the guard thereof. And the Venetians, to shew that they held them-selues more bound, for that hee had deliuered it to *Lodowicke* rather then to our *Charles*, they entertained *Ferdinand* the Duke of Ferrares sonne, paying him for a companie of an hundred men at armes.

The

A The Kings desire to returne into Italy increased dayly, and it seemed hee had greater occasions then euer. Experience had made him wise: He remembered the errors he had committed in his first iourney, and obserued them well, hoping (if hee might recouer his losses) to prouide better for the garde of the Realme. His intelligences from all parts called him: hee had a truce with the Castilian: hee had a new league with the Suisses. The Emperour was discontented with the Venetians, and sought his friendship, being desirous to ioyne with him, to seaze vpon the states of Italy with their common forces and charge, imitating the Castilian. Pope *Alexander* laboured to reconcile himselfe. The Venetians deuised how to estrange them-selues from *Lodowick*. The Florentines had resolved to free them-selues as tooone as *Charles* should begin the warre. And to this end they demanded the Lord of Aubigni for their generall, with a hundred and fifty Lances, whereof they should pay a third part. The Marquis of Mantoua, was discharged from the Venetians pay, and should bring to the King, with the *Vrsins*, the *Vitelli*, and the Captaine of Rome, brother to the Cardinall of Saint *Pierre*, fiftene hundred men at armes Italians. He had the friendship of the Duke of Sauoye, and the Marqueses of Saluces and Monferrat. *John Bentinole* promised to ioyne with his troupes as soone as hee should passe the mountaines. But hee is diuerred by diuers meanes. Some of his fauorits thrust him forward to this enterprise, but with so huge a preparation both by sea and land, and so great prouision of money, as it required a long time. Others entertained him in his delights, and loathed him with all difficulties, and the Cardinall of Saint *Malo* (according to his vsuall manner) lackt the prouisions of monney. Thus the time was lost, and matters made fruitlesse, being almost brought to their perfection. There were no dispatches for the Lord of Aubigni, no money for the *Vrsins*, *Vitellies*, *Fregoses*: no man passeth into Italy. So all mens mindes growing colde, the *Fregoses* make their peace with the Duke of Milan. The *Vitelli* had passed to the Venetians pay, if the Florentines had not entertained them for a yeare. The Florentines them selues (counselled by *Lodowicke Sforce*, in the beginning of the yeare 1498.) sent an Ambassage to Rome, signifying (although in doubtfull termes) that if Pisa might bee yeilded vnto them, they would ioyne them-selues with the rest, for the defence of Italy against the French. A Florentine policy, but made frustrate by a Venetian shift.

Reasons to  
draw the  
King into  
Italy.

1497.

D The Venetians, being laboured to yeeld to the restitution of Pisa, seeing there was no other meanes to seperate the Florentines from the French, they couer their couetousnesse with many colours: they claime that this counsell proceeds not of any care they haue to the common good, but from the bad affection which some one carries to their estate. For say they (by their Ambassadour at Rome) the Florentines hoping to enioy the greatest part of *Thuscany* by the returne of the French into Italy, the reelding of Pisa were not able to diuert them from their naturall inclination to the house of France: but contrariwise, the more mighty they are, the more meanes they shall haue to disturbe the quiet of Italy. Why then haue the Confederates by a common consent promised the Pisans to defend their liberty, and now to violate both their honour and faith? Is this the reward for the exceeding charge wee haue so willingly maintained, when as all the other confederats were so unwilling to disburse any thing for the common good? By what meanes was Italy preserved? with what forces did they fight at *Taro*? with what armes haue they recouered the realme of Naples? where-with haue they forced *Nouarre* to acknowledge her first Lord? Can any one denie, but these actions did proceed from a sincere affection to the good estate of Italy? seeing wee were not the neereft vnto dangers, neither are the disorders growne by vs, whereof wee suffer the paine.

The Venetians  
oppose  
against the  
Florentines.

Whilest these things were treated of at Rome, among the Confederates, not without apparent signes of future diuision: a new humor carries away our *Charles* to his Castle, which he caused to be built at Amboise: a building of admirable worke and charge, hauing (to that end) brought the rarest worke-men that could bee found, from Naples, and all other parts: and for the beautifying thereof, hee had gathered together the goodliest plots that could bee found in France, Italy, Flanders, and else-where: not able to foresee, that in steed of a proud and stately Palace, hee should end his life in a base and filthy gallery.

Hauiing his minde inclined (besides his building) not only to a second voyage beyond the Alpes, but to reforme his life, honoring the Queene his wiues bed with a chaste respect, whereas many loose allurements had transported his youth. To restraine the pompe

and

The Castle  
of Amboise  
built by  
Charles.

1498. and ambition of the Clergie: to order Iustice, giuing audience twise in the weeke to all A complaints, and free access to any that would desire iustice. Doubtlesse, *The King sitting in his throne of iustice* (saith the Wiseman) *disperseth all ill with his looke*: to reforme his house, to dispose of his treasure, to ease his subiects, restraining all taxes (which had bene made vpon his subiects) to twelue hundred thousand Frankes, besides his reuenues: a sum which his estates had granted at his comming to the Crowne, for the defence of the realme. It chanced the seauenth of Aprill, going after dinner with the Queene into the Castle ditches, hee strooke his fore-head against the doore of a gallery, whereas hee meant to see a set at Tennis: this blow being a certaine aduertisement, to driue him to the premeditation of his approaching end, the last pangs of death moued him presently, with a godly and holy resolution, (but wisely conditioned, according to mans weaknesse) the which hee testified by these words, talking with *John of Beauuois Bishop of Angers*, his Confessor, E touching the faults he had committed in his yonger age: *I hope* (saith hee) *never to commit mortall nor veniall sinne, if I can auoide it*. Presently vpon this protestation, hee fell backward, falling into an Apoplexie, where-with hee had bene a little before troubled, which closed his eyes with the sleepe of death, about eleuen of the clock at night.

A notable example, wherein wee read the pittifull estate of Princes, when as death knocketh with an euen hand, both at Kings Palaces, and at poore mens cottages, giuing them an end like to all other men, and the inconstant loue of Courtiers. Behold a King, who commanded ouer so many Prouinces, whom so many great Citties obeyed, who had such numbers of sumptuous Castels at his pleasure, and now building a magnificent house, giuing C vp the ghost, in a chamber neere to a gallery stinking with the Urine which euery one made, as he passed through it, laid vpon a mattresse, such as they could finde out by chance. And before his eyes were shut vp with this last sleepe, euery one forgets the course which this declining sunne had runne, to follow the hope of the Easterne starre, which came to lighten this realme.

King Charles dyed.

His disposition.

Thus *Charles* the eight liued, and thus hee dyed: an humble Prince, liberall, religious, courteous, familiar, and of easie access; of a good and tractable disposition, small of stature, but of an inuincible courage, louing Iustice and his people, capable of counsell, commended for his great attempts, hauing in his youth purchased so much glory, and giuen so great hope, both within and without Christendome, that if God had granted him a longer life, without doubt he had equalled the fame of the most excellent and rarest Princes. In him failed the direct line of the Kings of France, descended from *Philip* of Valois, and the Crowne fell to the collaterall line, of the which the neerest and most capable of the succession, was *Lewis* Duke of Orleans and Valois.

LEWIS

Lewis the twelfth, the 57.  
French King.



D NOW behold our France, (hauing, vnder *Charles* the eight happily breathed after the troubles and confusions which had so long afflicted the State, during the raignes of his Predecessors) takes her rest vnder the protection of a Prince, excellent in bountie of nature, in sweetnesse of manners, in temperance and moderation of mind and affection: finally, in the happinesse and felicitie of his raigne. Who hauing extended his Empire beyond the limits of Gaule, subdued vnder his obedience two of the noblest and mightiest cities of the world, Milan with Lombardie, and Genoua with her two riuers, East and West, together with the Islands of Corsica and Chio: reconquered and diuided the Realme of Naples with the Castilian: but in the end, lost it by his trecherie and disloyaltie: vanquished E the Venetians in that memorable battaile, the fifteenth of May 1509. suppressed the Popes insolence: defeated the Venetians again before Brescia: made a peace with the Spaniard and Venetian, and consequently allied himselfe with the King of England. He shall haue this honour and content, to see his subiects in so great prosperitie, that by the conference of things passed before his time, the Realme was neuer so mightie in armes and men; neuer so plentifull in all kinds of commodities, neuer so fortified with such strong places: and which imports more, neuer so blessed in concord, neuer so void of diuisions, neuer so able to endure a great charge, and to produce noble attempts.

The happines of his raigne.

A godly King, chaste, vpriight, courteous, good to his seruants, gracious to his enemies, mercifull to all men, a friend to Iustice and sinceritie, and enemy to flatterie, liberall, but without oppression of any, loyall, respected in all parts of the world: who in regard of learning, shall open a way which his thrice-worthie successour shall bring to a most happie perfection. But to crowne him with titles of honor, he was called *The Father of his people*. A King commanding a nation most willing to obey: a people multiplying by millions, in Nobility, Merchants, Trades-men, and the common sort: a people replenishing the towns before half desolate. To conclude, a people testifying the excellencie and greatnes of their Soueraigne.

For



1498. *For the greatnesse of a King (saith Salomon) is in the multitude of people, but when his subiects decrease, it is the fall of his Soueraigntie.* But let vs see, by the relation of the Historie, the course of this admirable prosperitie: and first of all his rights of Succession, as well to this Crowne, and that of Naples, being King of France, as also to the estate of Milan, by reason of *Valentine* his Grand-mother.

The genealogie of Lewis the 12.

King *Charles* the 5. had two sonnes. The eldest *Charles* the 6. his successor, who was father to *Charles* the seventh, of whom was borne *Lewis* the 11. father to *Charles* the eight, who died without children. The youngest, *Lewis* Duke of Orleans, married *Valentine* daughter to *John Galeas* Earle of Vertus, and first Duke of Milan, by whom he had three sonnes, *Charles* his successor Duke of Orleans, *John* Earle of Angoulesme, and *Philip* Earle of Vertus. The said *Charles* freed from his long imprisonment in England, had by *Mary* of Cleues his wife, our *Lewis* the 12. heire, (for want of heires male in the direct line) of this Realme, and of the dependencies thereof, and so was annointed at Rheims, the 27. of May, 1498. assisted at this solemnitie, by *John* Duke of Alanson, serving as a Peere in the place of the Duke of Bourgongne, *Peter* Duke of Bourbon, for the Duke of Normandie, *Anthony* Duke of Lorraine, for the Duke of Guienne, *Philip* Earle of Ravastein, in place of the Earle of Flanders, *Gilbert* of Cleues, for the Earle of Champagne, and *Gaston* of Foix, for the Earle of Thoulousa: and for the Peeres of the Cleargie, the Bishops that were then resident. Afterwards he received the royall Crowne, in the Abbey of Saint *Denis* in France, the first of Iuly, and the day following made his triumphant entrie into Paris.

We judge of the inward beautie of a Pallace, by the entrie thereof. Who would not then by these happie first fruites of this raigne, conceiue a constant hope of a heavenly blessing? *Lewis*, after he had worthily performed the funeralls of his Predecessor, hee first purchased the loue of the Noblemen of his Court, maintaining euery man in his dignitie and state, and the Magistrates in their offices. He applied his mind, to order and to cut off the tediousnesse of suites: freed his subiects of the third part of the Subsidies which oppressed them: yea euen the rights which they are accustomed to pay to their new King, for the charges of his funerall that is deceased, and for his coronation: and for a second benefit to the country, he put the men at armes into their garrisons, reducing them to the ancient discipline of war, which the disordered libertie of troubles past, had much corrupted. This done, by the aid of his best States-men, he made many goodly lawes vpon the abusive charges in the pursute of Iustice: neither did he euer publish an Edict, before it was confirmed by the iudgement of Soueraigne Courts. His decrees contained some limitation of the priuiledges granted in old time to Vniuersities, the which they abused to the oppression of the people. The Vniuersitie of Paris opposeth against the publication thereof, and were readie to make a sedition, many publishing infamous libels, both against the King, and against the Chancellor of Rochfort. The Scholers troupe together, and resolute to abandon both studie and the exercise of learning. *John Caue* being Rector, forbids the Regents to reade any more, and the Preachers to preach, vntill the Vniuersitie had recovered her ancient priuiledges. The King aduertised of these mutinies, drawes many men at armes into Paris, and sitting in Parliament E confirms the aboue-named ordinances by an Edict. The Rector fearing a checke, keeps all the Scholers within their lodgings, and reuokes the commandement he had giuen. *John Standon*, a Doctor of Diuinitie, a Brabançon, and one of the chiefe authors of this counsell, was banished the Realme. *Thomas Warnet* of Cambray, (who preaching, had barkt out some thing against the Kings authoritie) prevented this decree, and banished himselfe. Being thus content in mind, and quiet within his Realme, his thoughts soared beyond the Alpes, and now he takes vpon him the title of Duke of Milan. He was grounded vpon the right of succession. *Valentine* besides her dowrie (which was the citie and countrie of Ast, with a great summe of money) had obtained this clause expressly in her contract of marriage. *That, for want of heires male of Galeas, Valentine should succeed to the Duchie, or she being dead, her next descendants.*

The Vniuersitie of Paris mutinies.

Lewis his title to the Duchie of Milan.

This conuention was of no force, but the Imperiall seate was then vacant: and the Pope confirmed it. The Popes pretending (the Empire being without an Emperour) that the administration belongs to them. And seeing, that by the death of *Philip Maria Visconte*, the masculine line of *John Galeas* failed, who then should succeed in this goodly estate? many contended

A contended for it, the Emperour *Frederik* maintained, that it should be vnto the Empire, considering the lines specified in the institution made to *John Galias* by *Hence/ius* king of Romans was extinct. *Alphonso* King of Arragon and Naples, armed him selfe with the testament of *Phillip*, by the which he was made his heire. But in worldly affaires, the strongest most often carries it. *Francis Sforce* one of *Phillips* Captaines, sonne to *Sforce Attendule*, an Adventurer, a braue and active spirit, had married *Blanche*, bastard daughter to the said *Phillip*: and hauing no man at that instant that might resist his violence, hee did so cunningly winne all the greatest families of Milan, as by their support and succour hee soone seized on the state: the which he might easily effect, hauing all the forces at his command, and no competitor. For neither *Lewis* Duke of Orleans, nor his Children had any meanes to recover this Duchy from *Francis*, by reason of the great warres which followed in France, by the murder of the said *Lewis*, and of the Duke of Bourgongne slain likewise at Montereau, vnder *Charles* the sixt and seauenth, *Charles* sonne to the sayde *Lewis* (taken at the battaile of Azincourt, languishing twenty five yeares a prisoner in England, and deliuered by *Phillip* Duke of Bourgundy,) could neuer obtaine any aide from *Lewis* the eleuenth, being crossed by home-bred warres from the beginning of his raigne. Moreouer *Lewis* did alwaies make account to settle his authority, by the suppression of his neere blood. And for this cause our *Lewis*, his sonne in law, sonne to the said *Charles*, had no whit the more credit with his father in law, for the recovery of his inheritance. And the sword which he did vntheath against *Charles* the eight his brother in law, (of whome hee pretended the Regency) and after in the warres of Brittain, tooke from him all meanes to attempt this enterprife, vntill such time as (the King hauing left him in Ast, to crosse the attempts of *Lodowick Sforce*) he seized vpon Nouarre, but with a fruitlesse euent.

1499.

Now is he seated vpon the royall throne of his Ancestors, peaceable within himselfe, and peaceable with his neighbors. Triumpe doth not cease to lay open vnto him the facility to expell *Lodowike*. To make the way easie, Pope *Alexanders* friendship, the Venetians, Florentines, and other Potentats of Italy was very requisite. He seekes it by his Ambassadors, and findes that the death of *Charles* the eight, had bred an alteration in their dispositions. The Pope conceyuing, that the peace of Italy was the decay of his priuate estate, did easily allowe of new troubles. The Venetians (being freed by the Kings decease, from the feare they had of him, for the indignities he had receiued,) did not beleue that a new King would so uehemently embrace the quarrell of his Predecessor: and foreseeing also, that if *Sforce* were once quiet, he would oppose him selfe against them, for the affaires of Pisa, whereof he did sollicite (but coldly) the restitution vnto the Florentines by the Popes meanes. The Florentines had not yet so much estranged their affection from the French, but there was good

The Popes affection.

meanes to recouer it. Being thus affected, they all send their Ambassadors to the King. The Pope (who aspired to nothing more then the temporall aduancement of *Cesar Borgia* his son, being then Cardinal) did willingly embrace this occasion, to plant him in the Kings good fauour, and by some especiall bond to purchase his masters loue. He knew well that *Lewis* would willingly put away *Joane* his wife, to marry with *Anne* the widow of *Charles*: and euen then hee resolved to exchange spirituall graces for temporall commodities.

He then agrees with the King for thirty thousand ducats, and drawes a promise from him, to aide him presently after the conquest of Milan, to reduce to the obedience of the Apostolike sea, the townes possessed by the Gouernours of Romagna. And for his sonne *Cesar*, a company of a hundred Lances, twenty thousand Frankes pension, a wife in France to his liking, and Valence in Dauphine, with the title of a Duchy. Then he committed the matter of diuorce, to *Ferdinand* Bishop of Septa, his Nuncio in France, to *Philip* cardinal of Luxembourg, and to *Lewis* Bishop of Alby (some name *George* of Amboise, Archbishop of Rouan) who vpon report of the protestation made by *Lewis* to a Notary, the day of his marriage, that his meaning was not to contract any marriage, & that the solemnity which he did celebrate, was only to please the king, whom he knew to be cruel against those, by whom he thought him selfe to be wronged. And moreover: if by chance *Lewis*, either by the expresse commandement of his father in law, or after, of his brother in law, did lie with his wife, hee did interpose secret witnessse, that should depose of his abstineny. And besides, the Physitians hauing iudged

He Capitulates with the king.

1499. iudged her incapable of issue, they declared the sayd marriage voyde, and gaue him liberty A to marry with *Anne*: who contracting her-selfe to any other should haue diuided the Duchy of Britanny from the crowne of France. The Venetians sent to congratulate his coming to the Crowne, and by way of excuse, gaue him to vnderstand, that the controuersies they had with King *Charles*, proceeded onely of distrust and ielousie, whereof he had giuen them cause, seeing, that not content with the realme of Naples, he had cast his desseignes vpon all Italy.

Borgia comes to Court.

He commits a treacherous murder.

Peace with the Castilian.

Troubles in Bourgongne.

The Kings association with the Venetians.

The Florentins did not forget their ancient customes in like cases to the crowne of France, but especially, to put him in minde of their deseruings to the deceased King, solicited therevnto by *Lodowicke Sforce*, to the end that when the two common-weales of Venice and Florence, should come to treat of the affaires of Pisa, the Venetians practises (whose greatnesse B *Lodowicke* did much feare in Italy) might be crossed by the Florentines: and they purchasing fauour and credit with the King, he might imploy them, to mediate some accord betwixt the King and him, the which he desired with all his heart. *Lodowicke* did fore-see the storme, and laboured to auoyde it, but in vaine: for the time of his shipwracke was at hand. Then *Cesar Borgia*, the new Duke of Valentinois, came vnto the King with the Bull of dispensation: where he was no sooner arriued, but as the sonne of his father, he plaied the first act of a bloody Tragedy, vpon the alliance which the King did contract with the Pope his father. *Cesar* following the instructions of *Alexander*, dissembled the bringing of this Bull: iudging C the Kings disposition to be like vnto those, who desire that most, which is refused, to make him the more pliable to his desseignes. But the Bishoppe of Septa, hauing sent intelligence vnto his Maiesty of the truth, the King thinking it sufficient to haue the Bull dispatched, concluded the marriage with *Anne*, giuing for a portion to his wife diuorced, the Duchy of Berry. *Cesar* hauing discouered the author of this aduise, caused the Bishop to be soone after poysoned. The peace with other Princes, which might some-what disturbe the projects of *Lewis*, was no lesse expedient: he therefore concluded with *Ferdinand* King of Castile, and therby did associate him in the conquest of the realme of Naples: he confirmed that which his Predecessor had with the English, and renewed the alliance with the Suisses, granting them the pensions which *Lewis* and *Charles* were accustomed to giue.

*Maximilian* alone, working vpon the old leuaine of his Ancestors, shewed some bitternesse amidst these contents, casting the coales of diuision in Bourgongne and Champagne, D by the Lord of Vergi Comtois, when as they least doubted it, seeing that *Lewis* being taken prisoner at the battaile of Saint *Aubin*, and hauing, about all others, imploied *Maximilian* for an intercessor to *Charles* the eight, they thought that *Maximilian* should reioyce at this new succession, more then any other Prince, and that the discontent he had against *Charles* (hauing forsaken his daughter, and married with *Anne* of Brittaines his spouse) had bene mortified by the death of the said Prince. The Emperour was thrust on by the duke of Milan who being perfwaded, that the King busied at home, should haue no leisure to attempt any thing in Italy, or any accord being made betwixt them, he should be comprehended therein. This warre put the realme in alarme: but *Lewis* opposed so great a power, vnder the command of *John* of Foix Vicount of Narbonne, his brother in law, as it was quenched as soone E as kindled, by a truce of many moneths, without any mention of *Lodowicke Sforce*. And to the end that *Philip* Arch-Duke of Austria, and Earle of Flanders, sonne to *Maximilian*, might reape the fruites of their reconciliation, he did homage to the King, for the places he held of the crowne: and those of Artois were restored vnto him. In the meane time, they consult at Venice, vpon the tearmes of confederation with the king. The difference was, the holding of Pisa. The Venetians offering all other conditions, would not haue this string toucht; and the King being resolute to haue it restored vnto him in fauour of the Florentines, refused to treat, vnlesse this article might be granted. But the Duke of Valentinois and other Agents for the Pope, the cardinall of Saint *Pierre*, *Triunlee*, and all the Italians (who for, their owne priuat intrest perfwaded him to warre) hauing layed before him the losse he should receiue, F by the want of the Venetians ayde, considering their power and meanes to annoy the Duke of Milan, he yeelded without any more speech: that at the same time, as he should innade the Duchy of Milan, they should doe the like vpon their frontiers. That hauing wonne the rest of the Duchy, *Cremona* and *Guairadade* should be taken by their common forces for the Venetians, except

A except the breadth of fortse faddome along the riuier of *Addé*. That after the conquest of Milan, the Venetians should be bound to defend that for a time, with a certaine number of horse and foote: and the King should doe the like for *Cremona*, and other places which they possessed in *Lombardie*, euen vnto the marshes of *Venice*. This conuention tooke all hope from *Lodowicke*, both of peace with the King, and reconciliation with the Venetians. Beeing thus abandoned, he resolues to defend himselfe, and beginnes by the fortification of *Anon*, *Nouarre*, and *Alexandria*, Townes lying neere to the French, meaning to oppose against their violence *Galeas* of Saint *Seuerin*, with the greatest part of his forces, and the rest against the Venetians, vnder the command of the Earle of *Caizzo*. Hee commaunds *Galeas* to passe the *Pau*, with sixteene hundred men at armes, fiftene hundred light horse, tenne B thousand Italian foote, and fise hundred *Lansquenets*: but rather to defend his places, then to keepe the field, hoping that the prolonging of the warre would breede him some aduantage, for that hee expected an issue of the accord, which hee did mediate betwixt *Maximilian* and the Suisses: the which effected, hee had promise of notable ayde. On the other side, the King caused *Lewis* of Luxembourg, Earle of *Ligni*, to march with *Emerard* Steward Lord of *Aubigni*, and *John Isques* of *Triunlee*, leading fixe thousand horse, and fise and twentie thousand foote. The Castle of *Arazze* vpon *Tanare*, was the first object of their armes, a place kept by fise hundred foote, assailed the tenth of August, and taken within few dayes. Seuen hundred men being lodged in *Anon*, did likewise suffer it to bee C lost in two dayes, and all those put to the sword that were retired in armes into the Castle. *Donat Raffagnin*, a Milanois, Captaine of the Castle of *Valence*, well furnished with men and artilerie, corrupted by the promises of *Triunlee*, gaue entrance to the French, the same day as hee had by the like treacherie twentie yeares before, deliuered one of the gates of *Tortone* to *Lodowicke Sforce*, to the preiudice of *Bonne* of Sauoy, and of the little Duke *John Galeas*. All the souldiers were slaine or taken, amongst others, *Ottavian* brother to *S. Seuerin*, was prisoner.

The first exploits of this voyage.

The same deluge overflowed (euen vpon the very brute) *Basignagne*, *Yoguere*, *Chasteauneuf*, and *Pont Coronée*. *Anthony Maria Palauoisin* yeelded vp *Tortone*, not attending any assault. *Alexandria* makes head against the armie, and whilest they presse it *Lodowicke* D shuts himselfe into *Milan*, and seeing his estate lost by peece-meales, he flies to those remedies which are vsuall in greatest despaire. Hee inroules all that could carrie armes, assembles the people, dischargeth them of a part of their ordinarie impositions: shewes them with most vehemēt words, "That if happily he had ouer-charged them, not any desire to gather treasure, nor his owne disposition (beeing an enemy to oppression of his subjects) but rather the time and the common dangers of Italy had prest him thereunto: first, to counterchecke the Venetians greatnesse: then, to oppose against the entrie of King Charles. That the fruites which they had reaped thereby, were peace and publike quiet, where in he had happily maintained them many yeares, with a generall increase of riches, beautie of buildings and inhabitants, with mildnesse and moderation of spirit, carefull to administer good and breefe iustice to euery man indifferently. That the merits, and gratious gouernement of his father layed before their eyes, how insupportable would the insolent and proud command of the French be vnto them. That abhorring the rough and vnciuill manners of strangers, they should resolute for the common defence of their liues and cuntry. That the French are but a brunt, which beeing withstood, it should then be easie to resist them. That the Emperour made haft to succour them in person. That *Prosper Colonne* marched with the troupes of *Fredericke* King of Naples. That the Marquis of *Mantoua*, was already in the Countrie of *Cremona*, hauing pacified all controuersies. That to all these aydes, if they did but ioyne their loyalties and good will, he should find himselfe strong enough to counter all the power of France vnited together. But these admonitions came too late: it was very apparant, that necessitie, and not any good meaning, had forced him to this humility, whereof he had neuer giuen them any testimonie. Thus his ruine approached. The Venetians for their part made warre in *Guairadade*, and had taken *Caravage* and other townes vpon the riuier of *Addé*. The Earle of *Caizzo*, discontented that his brother beeing younger of yeares and of lesse experience, should be preferred before him in the command of the armie, had secretly passed his word to the King. In the meane time they thunder against

1499. the walles of *Alexandria*, and *Galeas* of Saint Seuerin hauing with him twelue hundred light horse, and threethousand foote (not discovering his intent to any Captaine, but onely to *Luke Malvezzo*) flies secretly out of the towne in the night, after the third daies sege, with a part of his light horse, shewing by the effect, that he had a brauer arme, and was more experienced in iusts, and tournies (in which exercisies all other Italians gaue him place) then in the gouernment of an army. This flight daunted the courage of the beseged, and made the passage easie. The army enters in at the breake of the day, spoiles the garrison, and sacks the towne. The losse of *Alexandria*, and the following sege of Mortare, opened the gates of Paui.

*Alexandria* taken.

Milan remains against Lodowike Sforce.

Milan riseth, the Citizens arme, and respect *Lodowicke* so little, as they giue good testimony of their affection, by the murder of *Anthony* of Landriano his treasurer generall, committing at noone day from the Castle. *Lodowike* foreseeing his owne by anothers ruine: being well informed that his gouernment was exceeding hatefull vnto the Milanois, and morouer amazed at the report which *Galeas* made of the valour of the French men at armes, he sent away his children, accompanied with the Cardinals *Ascanius* his brother, and of Saint Seuerin, with about two hundred thousand ducats which he had in treasor, (well shortned of a million and a halfe which he made shew of few yeares before) he left the gard of the Castle to *Bernardin* of Corte borne at Paui, whome he had bred vp young, and three thousand foote, furnished with victuals, munition, and mony, for many monethes: he restored to the *Borghomes*, gentlemen of Milan, the lands he had taken from them. But was this any bounty, seeing he could not keepe them? and the second day of September he departed for Germany, followed by the Cardinall of Este, and *Galeas* of Saint Seuerin, with a good number of horse, and foote, vnder collour to hasten the imagined troupes, which *Maximilian* prepared for him. The towne thus abandoned being loath to be a prey vnto the enemy, who approached towards the walls, prevented their coming, and willingly consented to bring them in, reseruing the capitulation to the Kings arriuall, from whome they hoped, (considering their voluntary submission) to receiue goodly exemptions; and great priuileges. All other places of the Duchy conformed them-selues to the patterne of their cheife Citie.

Milan yeelds.

Cremona affected to the French.

*Cremona* abhorring the Venetian yoake, stretched out; both armes and heartes to the French: but the King vnwilling to infringe the treaty made with the Senate, they were forced to yeeld to the yoake after some daies sege. *Genoua* followes this example. The *Adornes* (to whome *Lodowike* had giuen the gouernment) *John Lewis* of Fiesque and the people contend who shall haue most honor in yeelding it to the King, who giues them for Gouernour, *Philip* Lord of Rauastin, and *Baptiste Fregose* for his Lieutenant. But force could not take the Castell, by the aduice of *Triumlee*, gold makes a breach. *Bernardin* without any other approach, by the consent of the other Captaines, namely of *Philippin* of Fiesque, bred likewise and brought vp by *Lodowike*, sells it twelue daies after *Lodowike's* departure, and receiues for paiement a hundred thousand crowns: some report but ten thousand (yet I should terme this sale the capitulation of a foole, considering the place which he commanded) halfe the moueables in the castell, a company of an hundred Lances, an annuall pension, with many other graces and priuileges. But this infamous marchant, hatefull to all the world, fled from by every man, as vnworthy to hold any ranke amongst men of honor, cast off from all companies, with words full of reproch, confounded with shame, and tormented in his owne Conscience, accusing his villany and base ingratitude, he died of griefe within few dayes after.

Thus all things fore-tell the ruine of *Lodowike*: his owne indiscretion, the peoples hatred, the cowardlinesse of his Captaines and soldiers, and the treachery of his household seruants, so as in twenty dayes hee is dispossessed of this Noble and mighty Estate which hee had before vsurped. The King receiuing intelligence at Lyons, of a speedier victory then hee expected, departs presently in post, and makes his entry into Milan, granting to the people exemptions of many customes, impunity to all such as had followed *Sforce*; restitution to the Gentlemen, who through the tyranny of former times had lost their goods: if they were not extant, or not to discontent them that were in lawfull possession; he gaue mony to many to buy them againe; or other lands if any were to be sold: Hee

repealed

A repealed by Edict the Regents and professors of learning, giuing to some lands, to others increase of their intertainment, honoured the gentlemen of the countrie with his table, and their houses with his presence. And to make this gouernement more popular, he made *John Iagues* of Triumlee, a Milanois Gouernour of Milan; giuing vnto him *Vigueune* and many other things, in regard of his merits and loyall seruice. As the French forces prospered thus in the Duchie of Milan, and the Venetians busied in the countrie of Cremona, the Florentines gaped after the restitution of Pisa: and to obtaine it, they giue vnto *Paul Vitelli* their Generall, an armie of ten thousand foote, with a great number of horse, with the which (having taken Cascine and other places that supported Pisa) he incamped before the citie the last day of Iuly. An enterprise of difficulty, as well for the strength of the towne, as for the valour and resolution of the Citizens, who willingly would haue suffered any miserie, rather then to haue fallen vnder the Florentines commaund. Hee batters the fort of Stampace, and the wall of either side with twentie peeces of artillerie. *Vitelli* giues an assault and forceth it, with so great a terror to the Pisans, as abandoning the rampars, euery man seeks to saue himselfe by flight. And if the Generall had pursued it vigorously that morning had crowned him with honour, whereas it prooued the beginning of his downfall: for seeing his souldiers vpon hope of spoile runne together by heapes, hee stayed their heate, causing most of his troupes to retire, and gaue the beseged leysure, (seeing this first brunt past) to resume new courage, and returne to the guard of their rampars. So as whilest he laboured to winne C a victorie, with the least preiudice to the armie that might be, beeing lodged in a countrie, full of pooles and marishes, which lie betwixt the sea and the towne, and the season beeing subiect vnto pestilent winds, a generall contagion infects so many of his men in few daies, as the healthie were not sufficient for a Generall assault, so as he raised the sege against the Florentines will, who promised to renew his troupes with fresh supplies. So as the bad opinion which the Florentine people had conceived of him, increased now in such sort, as being called into Cascine, by the Commissaries of the armie, vnder color of lodging the Companies, they tooke him prisoner, and from thence he was led by the Magistrates commaundement to Florence, and there publicly beheaded. An ordinarie reward for generous minds that subiect themselves to the seruice of a multitude.

Pisa beseged by Vitelli.

Vitelli beheaded.

D During *Lewis* his aboade at Milan, all the Potentates of Italy, except *Fredericke* King of Naples, either came, or sent vnto him, some to congratulate, some to purge themselves from suspition to haue bene more affected to *Lodowicke* then to him, as also to assure their priuate estates. The King receiuing them all graciously, compounded with them according to the qualities of their persons, and the benefite he might reape by them. The Marquis of Mantoua, and the Duke of Ferrara, came in person. The King gaue the Marquis a company of an hundred Lances, and the Order of S. Michel, with an honorable pension. The Ferrarois (beeing in disgrace in Court, since the time that he deliuered the Castle of Genoua vnto *Lodowicke*) was glad to buy the Kings loue with readie money. *John Bentiuole* sent his sonne *Hannibal*: the Florentines had some trouble to make their peace. They had offended all the E Court, for that fearing to incense *Lodowicke Sforce*, touching the affaires of Pisa, they had held themselves newtters betwixt the King and *Lodowicke*. Moreover, the death of *Paul Vitelli* (to whome the Crowne of France was beholding) made the King strange vnto them: and the credit of *Triumlee* did them harme: who aspiring to the Seigneurie of Pisa, was as much desired of the Pisans, to warrant them from the Florentines oppressions: finally, the King had need of money, and the Florentines paying a fine as the rest did, were receiued into grace, vpon condition: To ayde one another for their common defence, to saue armes in Italy for the King, and the King for them for the reuenerie of Pisa, and some places held by the Siennois and Luquois: that beeing repoesessed of Pisa, they should furnish the King with five hundred men at armes, and fiftie thousand Ducats: paying also vnto the King fixe and thirtie thousand Ducats, which *Sforce* had lent them, abating that which they had disbursed for him.

The Pope also did not forget himselfe, but vrging the performance of the treatie made with the King, obtaines for the Duke of Valentinois (who hauing married the Daughter of the Lord of Albrer, had repassed the Alpes with his Maiestie) three hundred Launces in the Kings pay, and foure thousand Suisses to be payed by the Pope, to ayde him to make warre in Romagna. The King (hauing settled such order as he thought fit for his conquest:

1500. and prolonged the truce he had with the Emperour, vntill May following) tooke the way to A  
Lions, leading with him the Grand-child of *John Galeas*, whom the mother had vnadvisedly  
deliuered; him he made a Monke. Then he receiued newes of a faire daughter that was born  
vnto him, the which shall hereafter be wife to *Francis* the first of that name, and Queene of  
France. An other accident, but farall, made that season famous. The fall of our Ladies bridge  
at Paris, drawing after it the ruine of threescore houses, and a great number of persons swal-  
lowed vp in the riuer.

Our Ladies  
bridge at Pa-  
ris falls.

The estate of  
the East.

The Duke of  
Valentinois  
exploits.

This yeare Italy (beside forraigne and home-bred decisions) felt also the Turkes forces. *Ba-  
sazes Ottoman* (beeing expressely drawne by the perswasions of *Lodowicke Sforce*, hauing no  
other meanes to be reuenged of the Venetians) assailing with a mightie armie by Sea, such B  
places as the Venetians held in Greece, he sent sixe thousand horses by land to spoile Friuli,  
who finding the countrie without defence, expecting no such guests, did spoile, sacke, and  
burne all euen vnto Liurence: they chained together an infinite number of prisoners, and  
beeing come to the riuer of Tagliamente, they refused such as they thought fit to carrie  
with them, and murdered all the rest. In the meane time, the Duke of Valentinois (hauing  
ioyned the forces of the Church, with those troupes he receiued from the King) tooke Imo-  
la (with ease) in the end of the yeare. And in the beginning of the next, (famous for the cele-  
bration of the great *Iubile* at Rome) Furl. But as he marched to other townes, the course  
of his conquests is stayed by vnexpected accidents, bred by diuers motiues. The most part  
of the Lombards could not fit with the French humour, and all were discontented, for that C  
they had not tasted this great bountie of the King, whereby they were promised a generall  
exemption of all imposts and tributes.

Moreover, the Ghibelin faction (very mightie in Milan) was wonderfully grieved to see  
*Triunlice* (chiefe of the Guelfe) preferred to the gouernement: and he by nature factious,  
proud, and stirring, did much increase this bad disposition, fauouring them of his partie be-  
yond the bounds of reason. This did greatly estrange the peoples hearts from him. He shue  
with his owne hand some butchers, who according to their common rashnes, refused to pay  
the ordinarie customes, and withstood the receiuers with armes. Doubtlesse, if such as haue  
the guard of a mightie estate newly conquered, displease both Nobilitie and People, what  
may be expected but a generall alteration? Adde thereunto the lightnesse of an inconstant D  
multitude, alwaies desirous of innouations: now they lament him whom before they hated.  
*Lodowicke* aduertised of these broyles, strikes while the iron is hot, and without any longer  
feeding himselfe with the Emperours vaine and frustratorie hopes, he makes a sodaine leue  
of eight thousand Suisses, and five hundred men at armes, Bourguignons, by the helpe (but  
not entertained) of the said *Maximilian*, and flies to Coma with all speede, the which being  
abandoned by the French Garrison, finding the humour of the inhabitants inclined to  
change, gaue him an easie entrie.

Milan revolts.

*Triunlice* felt this storme comming, and to auoide it, he demands speedie succours from  
the Venetians, according to the assocation which they had made with the King, and makes  
knowne to the Lord of Alegre (who commaunded the French troupes, and the Suisses in E  
the Duke of Valentinois armie) the necessitie which calls him speedily to Milan. The Vene-  
tians send *Nicholas* Earle of Petilliano, to ioine with *Triunlice* or *Aubigni*, and if he were de-  
barred, to spoile the Milanois countrie. The Earle not able to ioine with *Aubigni*, spoiles  
the countrie, and then returnes towards the townes vpon the riuer of Adda, to preuent any  
new alteration. *Aubigni* departs sodainly with the Suisses, and all the horse, obtaining free  
passage through the Countries of Parma and Placentia, vpon condition to abstaine from all  
acts of hostilitie. And comming neere to Tortone, at the perswasion of the *Guelfes* of that  
Towne, (who had beene expelled by the rest that were at *Lodowickes* deuotion) he enters and  
sackes the whole towne, *Guelfs* and *Gibelins*, without any distinction: then he went towards F  
Alexandria, whereas the Suisses for want of pay, went to *Sforces* armie.

Suisses revolts.

The losse of Como hauing stirred vp the people of Milan, and the chiefe of the *Gibelin*  
Faction, *Triunlice* leaues within the Castle such forces as the present necessitie could furnish:  
he fortified Nouarre with foure hundred Launces, and puts himselfe with the rest into  
Mortare, thinking that *Lodowicke* would force it before hee passed, and in the meane time,  
giuing the King aduertisement of this sodaine alteration, he should haue meanes to stay the  
enemies

A enemies proceedings. But it chanced otherwise. *Sforces* armie neglecting both Mortare and  
Nouarre, flies to the most important, and recouers Milan as easily as they had lost it. *Paula*  
and *Parina* presently set vp *Sforces* armes. Loda and Placentia had done the like, if the Vene-  
tian troupes had not suddenly entred. Alexandria and other places neerer to Ast then to  
Milan, would not declare themselves, before they had seene the last act of this Tragedie.  
The Geneuois refused to returne vnder *Lodowickes* command; and the Florentines reiect  
his request, touching the restitution of money which he had lent them, for the which, they  
had pait their promise vnto the King.

*Sforce* reco-  
uers Milan.

The Marquis of Mantoua sent him his brother, with some men at armes. The Lords of  
B Mirandole, Carpi, Corregge, the *Rosses*, those of Verme, and Bobie, with other such wether-  
cockes, follow the wind that blowes: finally, this new Conquerour finds more affection, and  
ioy at his returne, then he had left at his departure. Milan being recouered, *Lodowicke* leaues  
the Cardinall *Africanus* his brother before the castle, and (reinforced with fiftene hundred  
men at armes, besides the Bourguignons, and great troupes of foote) he takes Viguen by  
composition: and the Kings succours, not able to come in time, for the defence of No-  
uarre, they compound to yeeld the towne, and to depart with all their baggage. But the ca-  
stle (which holds yet for vs) shall shortly be the meanes of *Lodowickes* ruine. At *Triunlices*  
first summon, the King had dispatched the Earle of Ligni, with a good number of foote, and  
horse. But he found the two commanders, *Triunlice* and *Aubigni* so diuided, as if the King  
C had not speedily and wisely preuented this pestilent contagion, it had doubtlesse ended with  
a pittifull and bloudie Catastrophe. *Aubigni* and *Triunlice* held themselves equall in power  
and vertue. The first would haue them presently to force Milan; the other would attend a-  
bout Nouarre the new armie which the King leauied in Suifferland. If *Aubigni* set at liber-  
tie any prisoners taken in warre, *Triunlice* ransomed them. Finally, what the one built, the o-  
ther pulled downe: and they tormented one another with continuall riots.

The King aduertised of this dangerous faction, he sends vnto them *Lewis* of Bourbon,  
yonger brother to *Gilbert*, late Vice-roy of Naples, and *John* of Foix Vicount of Narbonne:  
but by reason of their young yeares, they were guided by *Lewis* of Tremouille, Lord of  
Thouars, beeing accompanied by the Lords of Grauille Admirall of France, *Lautrec*, and  
D many others, followed with fiftene hundred Lances, ten thousand Suisses, sixe thousand  
French, and the Cardinall of Amboise, who was Lieutenant for his Maiestie on that side  
of the Alpes. *Tremouille* beeing arriued, treating with these two Commanders, easily drew  
them (in regard of his Maiesties seruice) to lay aside all rancor, and to become good friends,  
handling them so wisely, as there appeared no change in their gouernment: but in stead of  
two, they afterward seemed to be three heads in one hood. Thus vnitied, they resolute to send  
some companies of light horse vpon the way to Milan, to cut off the passage to foure hun-  
dred horse, and a great number of foote that came from Milan: and to preuent *Lodowicke*  
of all meanes to get vnto Milan if he were prest, and then they turne the force of their army  
agains *Lodowicke* beeing at Nouarre. There were among the Suisses, that were entertained  
E by *Sforce*, many Captaines which had serued in the voyage of Naples, and at Nouarre, who  
complained of their entertainment, not payed at the appointed time. *Tremouille* deales  
with them vnder-hand, and vpon promise of a great somme of money, withdrawes them  
from *Lodowicke*.

The Suisses, by the perswasion of their Colonels, beginne tumultuously to demand  
their pay. *Lodowicke* giues them all his plate, and intreats them earnestly to attend the men  
and money that came from Milan. But fearing, least by the comming of these Milanois, they  
should be forced to winke at *Lodowicke*, and to faile *Tremouille*, they caused the French army  
to approach neere to Nouarre, to draw *Lodowicke* to field, who was loth to ingage himselfe  
among men whom he fees ill affected to him. They are not deceiued in their hopes. He goes  
F forth with his army, and puts his light horse to begin the charge. *Tremouille* makes it good,  
vntill the Admirall *Grauille*, and *Edmund* of Prie arriuing, the Italian troupes giue way, and  
are put to rout. The Suisses being prest to fight, answer: *That they wil not fight against their*  
*brethren, kinsmen, & others of their nation, without leaue from their superiors.* And approaching  
neere their countrie-men, making as it were but one army, they protest, that they meane to  
returne, and so obtaine free passage through the French army. *Lodowicke* compassed in by  
this

Disloyaltie of  
the Suisses.



1500.

Lodowicke taken.

this nation, could neither by prayers, nor promises, diuert them from their disloyall intent: A only he got a promise, *To set him in a place of safetie*. So they agreed, that disguised and armed like a Suisse on foot, he should march in their rankes. But going betwixt two great troupes of men at armes, this poore Suisse disguised, is discouered, in one of their battalions, with *Galeas of S. Semersin, Eracasse*, and *Anthony Maria* his brethren, and stayed: the Italians were stript, but the Lanquenets and Bourguignons were sent away without touch, and *Lodowicke* was led prisoner to Lions, where the King remained: and within two daies after was sent to the great Tower at Loches, where he continued captiue about ten yeares, vntill his death. Behold the ambition and aspiring conceits of him, whom all Italie could not containe, now restrained in a straight prison. And to auoide a greater corasie, he intreates *Tremouille* that he might not see *Triuulce* his enemy: who being aduertised, and hasting thither, *Sforce* (said he with a brauing speech) *thou seest the wrongs thou hast done me, are now repayed in the same* B *measure*.

Lodowicke's disposition.

This happened the Thursday before Palme-Sunday. Doubtlesse the circumstances of *Lodowicke Sforces* miseries are remarkable: wherein we may learne, that the diuine Iustice doth alwaies punish offenders, and takes from them at need, both iudgement, courage, wit, and all other faculties. Let vs obserue in this Tragedie, that *Lodowicke* beeing fearefull, promising, praying, fighting, and flying disguised is mockt, taken, and finally, dies in a most pittifull estate. A Prince excellent in many perfections of nature, industrious, eloquent, of an high and busie spirit, but infamous for the death of his nephew, couetous, vaine, ambitious, C turbulent, proud, trecherous, impious, cruell, paying a Crowne for euery French-mans head that his host should murder going to the *suble*. So as it is not strange, if he hath felt the rigour of Gods iustice in his owne person.

And to fill vp the measure of affliction in his family, the Cardinall *Ascanius*, vpon the bruite of this defeate, flying from Milan to recouer some place of safetie with many Gentlemen of the Gibelin faction, (who hauing affected *Lodowicke*, dispaired of pardon) refreshing themselves at Riualte, in the territorie of Placentia, *Conrad of Lande*, Lord of the same place, (his kinsman and ancient friend) sends presently for *Charles Vrsin* and *Sonzin Benzon* (Captains vnder the Venetians pay) and trecherously deliueirs vnto them the said Cardinall, with *Hermes Sforce*, brother to the deceased Duke *Iohn Galeas*, with most of the Gentlemen D in their companie, who presently conueyed them to Venice: but the Senate, at the Kings instant request (who considered how necessarie it was for the safetie of the state of Milan to haue these men in his power) deliuered both the Cardinall *Baptista Picomit*, and *Hermes*, with all other Milanois that were retyred for the same cause into the Townes of Guiradade.

The Cardinall was sent to the great tower of Bourges, vntill that hauing the whole Realme for his prison, he obtained leaue, by the intercession of the Cardinall of Amboise, to go to the election of a new Pope, promising vpon his oath neuer to attempt any thing to preiudice the crowne: and to be a meanes to aduance one of the French Cardinals to Saint Peters chaire. But oh the ingratitude and trecherie of this Milanois! the Colledge of Cardinals inclining to choose the Cardinall of Amboise, he alone by his faction, wrestles the Popedom from the French, to giue it vnto *Iulius* the second, a Geneuois, in the yeare 1503. Milan beeing restrained from all meanes of rebelling, sues presently for pardon, the which they obtaine of the Cardinall of Amboise in the Kings name, vpon condition to repaire their rebellion, by the payment of three hundred thousand Ducats, whereof his maiestie did afterwards remit the greatest part.

Milan pardoned by the King.

The rest of the rebelling Citties were euery one taxed, according to their abilitie. Thus all the Duchie of Milan was quiet: the Swisses were dismissed, who returning to their houses, seaze vpon Belinzone, lying in that mountaine, the which (not drawne out of their hands, as the King might haue done for a little money, shall hereafter greue the author of this errour, beeing a most conuenient passage to stoppe the Swisses entrie into the Duchie of Milan) and shall giue occasion to liberrall tongues, to scoffe both in publicke and priuate, at the greedinesse of *Lewis*, whereof these braue Commanders returning into Fraunce, had had more cause to complaine, if the Queene had not supplied this defect with that bountie which the King did owe vnto their merits. Doubtlesse shee did bountifullly

1500.

A bountifullly repaire those errors, which the King did often commit in that respect. And the King restraining his liberty, within the bonds of frugality, would not seeme bountifull with the oppression of his people.

Now let vs see how the remainder of the yeare was employed. The exceeding prosperity of a Prince is suspected vnto other great personages, who feare som diminution in their estates. *Maximilian* considering how the alienation of so goodly a fee, was preiudiciall to the Empire, and the blame he did incur by suffering *Lodowicke* to be thus spoyled, who had cast himselfe into his protection, hee dismissed the Ambassadors of France, and Venice, being ready to proclaime warres against them, as vsurping the lands of the Empire. With this

B dessein hee acquaints the Princes Electors with the iniury done to him, to them, and to all the Germane nation, the apparent danger, least their too still patience should make the French King seeke to ioine the Imperiall Crowne vnto his owne, like vnto some of his predecessors. That partly through necessity, and partly through the ambitious desire which the Pope had to aduance his sonne *Borgia*, Duke of Valentinois, he would willingly winke at these proceedings. This consideration made the King to put off the warre of Naples vnto the next yeare. But as the forces of Germany moue but heauily, so had hee leasure to assist the Florentines, (who had shewed themselves ready in the recovery of Milan for the King: and discharge the oath made by his predecessor, and his owne) with 600. Lances maintained by his maiesty, and seauen thousand Swisses (but payed by their common-weale) and

The King succors the Florentines.

C diuers companies of French, with artillery and munition necessary for the recovery of Pisa, Pietresancte, Montpulcian, Murron, and other places, vnder the command of the Lord of Beaumont, whome they demanded, but ill chosen for them.

To auoide this storme, the Pisans, Geneuois, Siennis and Luquois, (enuying the Florentines greatnesse) offered the King a hundred thousand Crownes in ready mony, to the end the Florentines should not benefite any thing by the recovery of those places so important for their states, promising to pay him fifty thousand crownes yearely for euer, vpon condition that the Pisans should recouer their liberty by his meanes, and the fortresses of *Linorne*, with all the territory of Pisa. *Triuulce* and *Fiesque*, pleaded for the Pisans, shewing how expedient it was for the King to weaken the Florentines, and some other Potentats of Italy: but

D offering a great summe of mony to the king, they discouered their inward greedinesse, to make themselves Lords thereof. Finally the matter was concluded in fauor of the Florentines. And whilest this army remaynes in Lombardy expecting their pay, the King causeth the Lords of Mirandole, *Carpi* and *Correge* to pay their fines, who for twenty thousand Ducats obtayned remission of their rash rebellion. The *Marquis* of Mantoua, (to auoide the like censure,) humbly craued pardon. *Iohn Bentiuole* (hauing fauored *Lodowicke* as the rest,) payed forty thousand Ducats: and the King by this meanes, tooke both him and the city of Bologna into his protection, whilest that the army (to loose no time) tooke Mont Chiarucole in the territory of Parma, belonging to the *Torelli* fauorers of *Sforce*: then returning backe, to passe the Appenin, by the way of Pontreme, at *Fregoses* request they spoiled Aubri Malepine

The Potentats of Italy reconciled to the King.

E Lord of Maffia, with small credit, and other places, although he were in the Florentines protection. In the end the Cardinall of Amboise (performing his promises but badly with the Florentines) receiued (for a summe of mony) the Luquois into the Kings protection, agreeing, that his maiesty should hold *Pietresancte* in gard, vntill it were decided to whome it did appertaine. The Pisans (being resolved to make a defensie warre) repaire their fortifications: men women and children worke with great affection: and to coole the heate of the French comming to their seege, they made known the affection they bare to the crowne of France, by an autentike instrument sent to the Lords of Beaumont and Rauastein Gouernors for the King at Genoua, who receiued them in the Kings name: and *Beaumont* summoning the towne of Pisa, had for answer *That they desired nothing more then to liue* F *under the obedience of his Maiesty, and therefore they yielded vnto the King, vpon promise not to deliuer them into the Florentines power*. Doubtlesse hee was ill practised in politique and military affaires, to seeke that by force which he might haue without toile or shame.

And was it not a hard thing, to ruine a people which made such shew of tender loue and voluntary obedience to this Crowne. *Beaumont* campeg before Pisa the 29. of Iune: batters it all night, and some part of the day following, beats downe about three score sadome of

Pisa besieged.



1500.

The French  
armie sauiours  
the Pisans.

of the wall: and mounts to the assaults both with foote and horse. But he discovered not a deepe and large trench, which the Pisans had made betwixt the wall and the rampar within, so as the breadth and depth amazing our men, they remained vpon the breach, rather as spectators of the worke, then hauing any desire to enter. Strangers speake truly, that wee are but a brunt, and that beeing withstood at the first, wee are easily broken. The quality of the rampiers, the obstinacie of the Citizens, their ancient inclination to the French, ingehders such a familiarity, betwixt the beseegers and beseegeed, as conferring familiarly together, going into the towne of Pisa, and comming out safely as from a friend towne, the soldiars now fall to accusing their Commander of rashnesse, and support the Pisans against their Captaines, so as in stead of assailing them, they them-selues encouraged them to defend and suffer *Tarlatin* (borne at Castello) to enter the towne with some old soldiars, to receive the command for matters of warre, as hee did euer after, with much honor. This sufferance both of horse and foote, breeds other disorders. They desiring to haue the siege raised, spoiled the victuals that came to the campe: and *Beaumonts* authority being vnable to stay this insolencie, the Gascons first leaue the armie, in tumultuous manner, and giue example to all the rest of the foote: The Swisses likewise found a retreat, and the horse returne into Lombardy, leauing the Florentines affaires in great confusion and disorder.

The Pisans imbrace the opportunitie, and with one breath take *Libresacta*, freeing them-selues towards Lucques. And the King complaining, that the Florentines had preferred *Beaumont* before the Lord of *Alegre*, would haue sent back his men at armes, to winter about Pisa, that roading vp and downe the Country, they should keepe it, as it were blockt vp, giuing them hope, and promise of a new siege in the Spring. But the Florentines refusing this offer, despairing of any better successe by the French forces, exposed them-selues to the common iniuries of their ill willers the Genouois, Siennois, Luquois, and all others, who desired their ruine. On the other side, the King considering that the Popes vnion with the Emperour would be wonderfull preiudiciall vnto his desseigne for the reuenge of the reuolt at Naples, although he had some reason of discontent against *Alexander*, who had nothing assisted him during the warres of Milan: yet his Maiesty shewed him-selue alwaies most tractable to second the Popes continuall desseignes, in fauour of the Duke of Valentinois, sending vnto him, (vnder the command of the Lord of *Alegre*) three hundred Landes, and two thousand foote, accompanied with threatens, *To bee reuenged of those that should oppose them-selues against the Popes desseignes, as an iniury done to his owne person.* And the Pope likewise promised him both his sonnes person, and his men, when-so-euer hee should recouer Naples. So *Borgia* (ioyning sixe hundred men at armes, and sixe thousand foote, to the French troupes,) enters Romagna, takes *Pefera*, *Rimini*, *Brisquelle*, and runnes without any resistance throughout all the valley, vntill that *Faenza* stayed for a time the violence of this streame. He camps before the towne in Nouember, batters it, makes a reasonable breach, and the fift day of the siege, giues a fierce assault, so valiantly defended, as the death of *Honore Sauelli*, and a great number of his men, slaine at the first charge, forced him to found a retreat, and the snow, falling with an exceeding cold, to raise the siege. The former threats had terrified the Potentates of Italy: and the Kings request vnto them in private, made them abandon Romagna. The Venetians renounced the protection of *Peter Astor*, Lord of *Faenza*. *John Bentiuole*, his vnckle, conteinnes him-selue fearing to incense the King, and the Popes forces; and the Duke of Valentinois, could not endure, that an vn-wailelike people, (hauing no other head but a yong man, of eightene yeares of age) should obscure the fame of his first exploits: he returnes in the beginning of the new yeare, laden with ladders, and seekes to surpris it, but in vaine. Pollicie not succeeding, hee returnes to force, and by the taking of *Ruffy*, and other places of the country, hee makes the enterprise eatie. A new breach is made, and new assaults giuen: the first without effect, the second gaue hope of victory: but the violence of the Canon which batted in flanke, the incounting of a deepe and large trench, the death of *Ferdinand Farneze*, with many other men of worth, and the number of the wounded, makes them to leaue the assault. But at length hee carries it. The losse the *Florentines* had receiued in this assault, and the dispaire of succors, cooled this first heate, and feare making them apprehend hard conditions, if force reduced them into the victors power, they treated to yeeld, their liues and goods saued, vpon condition

The exploits  
of Cesar Borgia.Faenza yeeld-  
ed.

1501.

The pittifull  
death of the  
lord of Faerf.  
murdered by  
Borgia.

A condition that *Astor* their Lord, should with his liberty choole what retreat he pleased, enioying the reuencues of his patrimony. But poore *Astor* (oh *Borgia* who fouer shall read the detestable life and horrible death of thy father, will alwayes iudge thee, a right and worthy sonne of such a father!) being yong and very beautifull, was with goodly shewes and honorable demonstrations of loue retained in the Valentinois Court, and soone after conducted to Rome, where some one (saith the Originall, naming no man, but noting the villaine with his finger) *hauing taken his pleasure of him, and glutted his lust*, caused him to bee secretly murdered with his bastard brother: and the Pope with the approbation of the Colledge, giues to his sonne *Borgia*, the inuestiture and title of Duke of Romagna: This estate seemed to him imperfect, with-out the adiunction of the territory of *Bolonia*. But the Kings expresse commandement, not to attempt any thing against the estate of *John Bentiuole* (whom he had taken into his protection) caused the Valentinois to content him-selue for that time, with a transaction from *Bentiuole*, to haue passage and victuals through his country, a tribute of nine thousand Ducats yeerely, a certaine number of horse and foote, and *Castel-bologne*, (a place vnder the iurisdiction of *Bolonia*) and so hee transported his forces into Tuscane. Marke here a notable example of a childe to his father. One of the sonnes of *Gilbert* Earle of Montpensier going to *Pozzuolo*, to visit the sepulcher of his father, suffred him-selue to bee so much ouer-ruled with passion, as after hee had washed all parts of the monument with his lamentable teares, hee fainted, and fell downe dead vpon the Sepulcher, who had as little sence of those his latest sorrowes, as hee had feeling of so great an error, to giue such liberty to the rage of nature.

Affection of  
a sonne to his  
father.

The Florentines are mightily perplexed, they had greatly moued the King by their bad order in the recovery of Pisa, as wee haue heard before, but there springs vp new motives of discontent. The exceeding charge they had beene at, and were still forced to beare for the warres of Pisa; the icalousie of the Popes forces and of his *Borgia*, made them slack in paying the King the money, which the Duke of Milan had lent them: and the debt which he pretended to bee due vnto him by reason of the pay, made by his maiesty to the Swisses which he had sent against Pisa, whom hee had maintained with his owne money, vpon refusall which the Florentins had made them, vnder colour that they would retire into their Country before their time prefixed: and the King (who sought to empty their cofers, to the end hee might gouerne them more absolutely) demanded it very earnestly. Moreouer they grew more weak by their owne ciuill discords, which troubled them in the popular government, wherein many of the Citizens beeing suspected, either as friends to the *Medicis*, or desiring an other kinde of gouernment, matters were managed with more confusion then counsell: and to increase their crosses, the King did presse them for the aydes and summes of money promised for the voyage of Naples: pretending; That hee had performed the conuentions they had made together, where-vnto they were bound, seeing that by their owne fault they had hindred the recovery: therefore hee was no more bound to protect them. And in truth *Julian de Medicis*, beseeching him in person, and at the Popes perswasion, to restore him and his bretheren into their estates, vpon promises of a great summe of money, hee most willingly opened both cares and heart to these offers.

The Floren-  
tins in great  
perplexity.The Floren-  
tins freed by  
a fauored  
transaction  
with Borgia.

All these considerations drewe the Valentinois into Tuscane, with seauen hundred men at armes, sixe thousand choise foote which *Bentiuole* gaue him, (the French companies lodging apart, to attend the Kings army which began to march): But hee knew that the King would not bee pleased with this entry in Hostile manner into the Florentines Country, and that otherwise his Army was both weak of men and munition, to force any Towne.

The Florentines also knowing them-selues naked, both of horse and foote, others then of the Country, oppressed with icalousie, feare and diuisions, hee makes this accorde with them: *That there should bee a confederacie, betwixt the Common-weale of Florence, and the Duke of Valentinois, with a prohibition not to ayde the rebells on eyther side: and that the Florentines should entertaine him for three yeares at their charge, with three hundred men at armes, and sixe and thirty thousand Ducats yeerely, which men at armes hee should send to them whensoever they had neede, eyther for them-selues, or any other, and should not oppose them.*

1501. *themselves against him, for the defence of the Lord of Plombin, who was in their protection.* A  
 But this composition was onely to disarme the Valentinois, and to send him packing. And he well informed of the policie, staying in the same county; spoiled it in reuenge, both by fire, and spoile, most like to an open enemy, tying them with demands, which partly they refused, partly deferred, hoping that the Kings authority should free them from these bonds, which necessity of the time and *Borgias* force had extorted from them. The King indeed held the rodde, but staied his arme: hee was pleased the Valentinois should terrifie them, but not tyrannize ouer them. For although he would willingly haue seene some other forme of gouernment at Florence, yet an alteration then, would haue bene very preiudiciall vnto him: the King being loth to see the Valentinois aduanced to any other authority, B or by any other forces, then his Maiesties. So, by the commandement of *Lewis*, hee leaues Florence, and enters the territorie of Plombin, taking Surgeret, Scarline, and the Islands of Elbe and Pianosa, where leauing a sufficient garrison, as well to guard the places, as to molest them of Plombin, he returned towards Rome, to ioyn with the army, that was marching to the conquest of Naples.

The warres of Naples continued.

*Lewis* confirms a truce with the Emperour.

Nothing crossed the course thereof, but the alarums which the Emperour had formerly caused. But when one treats with a Prince that is flexible for money, the accord is soone made. The gold of France must now stay the iron of Germany. *Philip* the Arch-duke might doe much, he was a Prince inclined to peace (and it may be, hee died too soone for the good of France, leauing an heire, whose birth and all the course of his life, hath beepe most fatall to the crowne) and the traffick of his subiects made them loth to heare speake of warre with the French. But that which did most import, the King offered to giue *Claude* his onely daughter in marriage to *Charles*, sonne to the sayd Arch-duke, and for a dowry, when they should be both of age, to consummate the marriage (for neither the one, nor the other was yet three yeeres old) to giue the Duchy of Milan. So by the meanes of *Philip*, and for money, *Lewis* obtained a prolongation of the truce, in the which the King of Naples was not comprehended, who notwithstanding, by the meanes of forty thousand ducats, and a bond of fiftene thousand more monethly, purchased a promise from *Maximilian*: Not to make any accord, but to comprehend him in it, and to make warre in the Duchie of Milan, when as need should require, to diuert the Kings forces. There yet remained one scruple, *Ferdinand* King of Arragon, and of Castile by *Isabell* his wife, might stirre vp the Venetians, and happily the Pope (both prompt enough to oppose ioyntly against the greatnesse of this crowne.) He was concurrent with our *Lewis*, in the right of the succession of Naples, for although *Alphonso* King of Arragon had disposed thereof to *Ferdinand* his bastard, as his owne proper good, gotten without the rights of the crowne of Arragon: yet *Iohn* his brother (successor to the Realme of Arragon) and since *Ferdinand* sonne to *Iohn*, had alwaies protested of their lawful pretensions to the estate of Naples, as a good, purchased by *Alphonso*, with the forces, and treasure of Arragon.

And thus *Ferdinand* King of Arragon temporised like a Spaniard, watching his opportunity, to attempt some great matter for his owne benefit, he did not onely make demonstration of all the duties of a good kinsman to *Ferdinand* King of Naples, and his other successors, but the better to lull him a sleepe, hee allied himselfe to the said Neapolitain, giuing him his sister *Jane* in marriage, and consenting that *Jane* her daughter should marry with young *Ferdinand*.

The Realme of Naples diuided betwixt the Kings of France and Arragon.

This concurrence of two Kings in like desire, caused the one to free himselfe from lets, and crosses, and the other to get a part of that which hee could not compass wholly, and so then to share betwixt them, the conquests of the said Realme, vpon condition: That the King of France should haue the city of Naples, with all belonging to the land of Labour, and the Prouince of *Abruzzo*: *Ferdinand* should for his part haue all the lands, and territories belonging to *Apulia*, and likewise to *Calabria*, agreeing that euery one should conquer his owne part, without any bond to aide one another, but onely not to hurt one another, and that they should doe homage vnto the Pope, *Lewis* with the title, no more of King of Sicile, but King of Ierusalem and Naples, imitating the example of *Frederick* the second, Emperour of Rome, and King of Naples, by his wife the daughter of *Iohn*, King of Ierusalem (in name but without effect) and of Naples, and *Ferdinand* in quality of duke of *Apulia* and *Calabria*. The

A The capitulation was no sooner concluded, but the King prepared his armie vnder the command of *Lewis* of Armagnac, Duke of Nemours, sonne to *James* beheaded at Paris, vnder *Lewis* the eleuenth, and the Lord of Aubigni, an ancient, wife, and well experienced Captaine.

1501.

In the which were *Francis* of Bourbon, Earle of Saint Pol; brother to *Charles* Earle of Vendosme, sonnes to *Francis* of Vendosme, who died at Verceil, *Lewis* of Bourbon, Prince of Bourbon, afterwards Duke of Bourbon, and Constable of France, *Lewis* of Bourbon Earle of Montpensier his brother, *Gaston* of Foix Vicount of Narbonne, the Kings Nephew, sonne to *Iohn* Vicount of Narbonne, but by reason of their young yeares, obeying B the aboue-named Commanders. The troupes were a thousand Launces, foure men to a Lance, sixe thousand French foote, foure thousand Suiſſes, and the Duke of Valentinois with his forces. The armie at sea, commanded by the Earle of Rauestein, Gouernour of Genoua, consisted of three Caragues of Genoua, and sixteene ships, with many other small vessels, laden with many footmen, so as they esteemed their footmen to be twentie thousand: who by the Popes fauour, and *Borgias* his sons, passed through all Italy without any resistance.

*Fredericke* King of Naples, had not yet discovered the secret conuention of the two kings who proceeding plainly, did sollicit *Gonsalue* (who lay at Anchor in Sicile, vnder colour to succor him) to come to Caiete: and very simply put some places in Calabria into his hands, C as he demanded: but this was but to make the conquest of *Ferassands* portion the more easie. So hoping (that *Gonsalue* hauing ioyned with his armie) he should haue sufficient forces to withstand the French, he went and camped at *S. Germaine*, with 700. men at armes, sixe hundred light horse, and sixe thousand foot, with the troupes which the Colonis brought vnto him, hauing likewise sent his eldest sonne *Ferdinand* to Tarentum, to commit the Prince of Bisignan, and the Earle of Melete to prison, accused to haue intelligence with the Earle of Caiazzo, who was in the French armie: the which beeing come neere vnto Rome, the Ambassadors of France and Spaine, giue notice vnto the Pope of this diuision made betwixt their masters, with an intent *Afterwards* (say they) to make warre against the enemies of D *Christian religion*: and according to the renour of this agreement, they demand a leagar, the which was presently granted. Doubtlesse the more we tecke to shadow and colour an iniustice with goodly shewes, the greater it appeares.

*Frederickes* implique.

Behold the desseignes of two Kings, discovered and laid open to all the world, and both ioyntly blamed. *Ours*, for that he had rather draw a corruall into Italy, to whom his enemies and il-willers might see, then to leaue the full possession vnto *Fredericke*, offering (as we haue said) to bold the Realme of him, and to pay him a yearly tribute. The other, for that, desire to haue a part of the realme, had made him so conspire against a King of his owne blood, whom (the more easily to ruine) he had alwaies entertained with lying promises of succours, blemishing the glorie of that noble title of Catholike King, which hee and his wife *Izabell* had lately obtained. This league amazed *Fredericke*, but more the generall mutinie, whereby Saint *Germaine* and the E neighbour places had rebelled at the brute of the French forces, euen before that *Aubigni* parted from Rome: so as in stead of keeping the field, as he had pretended, he shutes himselfe vp, meaning to defend his townes. Capoua was the first place of defence that he made choice of, and did fortifie it with three hundred men at armes, some light horse, and three thousand foote, vnder the command of *Fabricio Colonne* and *Rainuccio* of Martiane: and leauing *Prosper Colonne* for the guard of Naples, he lodged in Auerſe. *Fabricio* had caused the messengers of some Neapolitane Barons of the French faction, to be murdered at Rome, being sent to treat vpon him touching an accord for their masters: and see now, these murderers are reuenged, if not vpon the person, at the least vpon the authours goods. *Aubigni* in passing, burnes Marine, Caui, and certaine other places belonging to their house: then drawing towards Montfortin, he finds that *Iulius Colonne* had shamefully abandoned it, leauing by the same meanes, all the other Townes about Capoua, euen vnto *Vulturnus*, at the Victors discretion.

Rebellion in the state of Naples.

*Fredericke* aduertised that *Aubigni* had passed Vulturno, leauing Auerſe, hee retired into Naples. Auerſe, Nola, and other places, yeelding vnto the French, prepared them the way to Capoua.

1501.

The lamentable taking of Capua.

The capitulation of Frederike, who of King of Naples is made duke of Aniou.

Gonsalues exploits.

Plombin delivered to the Duke of Valentinois.

Capoua, the which inuested on either side the riuer, and battered fiercely on all parts, endures a hot assault, and repels them with great losse. The canon-shot shakes the strongest walles, and the rough assaults amaze the most resolute, they renew the battery, and all prepares to a second assault. The people mutined, the captaines and souldiers fainted, and *Fabrizio* Colonne parled from a bastion with the Earle of Caiazzo, when as our men greeted with the first affront, force the breach, ouerthrow the defences, enter it, kill all they meet in the fury, ran some such as they finde after their furie past, and sack the towne. A happy victory, if the horrible insolencie and licentiousnesse of the victors, had not defamed it. Many women, maidens and Nunnes, to auoide this first furie, were retired into a Tower. *Borgia* would see them, and chose out forty of the fairest, the rest serued as a prey for the souldiers lust, who after sold a part of them at Rome. *Fabrizio* seeing the towne taken, fled away speedily, but some galloping after, brought him backe prisoner to the campe. *Des Hugues* of Cardonne, and all the other captaines and men of qualitie, faued their liues by ranfome. *Raimacio* of Marciane being hurt at the assault, died in the Duke of Valentinois mens hands.

Capoua being lost, it made them loofe all hope euer to defend any place: Caiete yeelds presently, Auerle opens her gates. Naples compounds solenly for three score thousand crownes, payable to the victors. And *Frederike* beeing shut vp into Castle-Nouo, compounds with *Aubigny*: To deliuer into his hands within fixe daies, all the townes and forts which were of the Kings portion, only reseruing the Isle of Ischia for six moneths, during the which, it should bee lawfull for him to goe whether hee pleased, but not into the Realme of Naples: To draw what hee would out of the castles of Naples, except the artillery of King *Charles*, which remained there: that all offences should be pardoned which had bene committed since the first conquest of the Realme by *Charles*: and that the Cardinals, Collonae, and of Arragon, should enioy the spirituall liuings they possessed within the realme.

Thus *Frederike* detesting the treachery of the Arragonois, and desiring rather to flieto the Kings protection, he came into France, to accept what his Maiesty should giue him, which was the Duchy of Aniou, with thirty thousand crownes of yeerely pension. An ill aduised resolution, for keeping himselfe in some place of safety, happily hee might during the partialities which shall soone grow betwixt *Lewis* and *Ferdinand* haue found meanes to recouer his realme, yet was he happy in his misery, changing a crowne of thornes, a State full of troubles, to a quiet life, and yet honorable: for euen after the French were expelled Naples, hee was still maintained and kept in the same honour, and in the same estate, by the Kings great loue and bounty.

*Gonsalues* at the same time conquered the portion for his Maister; and although all the country did more affect the French command, yet hauing no man to receiue them in his name, nor to defend them, all the townes did willingly submit themselues vnto him, except Manfredonia and Tarentum, the which after some shew of resistance, did in the end vndergoe the Castillian yoke. *Ferdinand*, eldest sonne to *Frederike*, was at Tarentum, with secret commandement from his father, not to come into France, though he should be forced to strike faile. But seeing that both were wholly spoiled of their estates, and that our *Lewis* did nourish the father, the Castillian might well entertaine the sonne. *Gonsalues* sends him vnto him, against his sollempne oth taken at the receiuing of the sacrament, *To leaue him at his liberty*: but some nation preferres the interest of state, before the feare of God and the respect of his owne reputation.

The conquest of Naples, had made the Valentinois returne to his enterprife of Plombin, and *James Appian* Lord of the towne, hauing manned it with a sufficient garnison, came vnto the King, who long before had taken him into his protection. But whilest hee did sollicite in Court for the preseruatiou of his estate (though without any hope of fauour, by reason of the Kings promises made vnto the Pope, *Not to hinder him in his designs*) *Pandolfo Petruscio* deliuered vp the towne to the Valentinois, who by the authority of the Apostolike sea, and the support he had from the King, made it well knowne in Italie, that his excellent couetousnesse had no restraint nor bounds. In the meane time, the King treats a peace with the Emperour very effectually. Many reasons moued him therevnto: the desire to obtaine the possession of Milan: to offend the Venetians, who (the prosperity of this realme being

1501.

A being very offensive vnto them) did vnder-hand hinder the conclusion of this peace, and to recouer Cremona with *Guaradadda*, at the great instance of the Milanois, with Brescia, Bergamo and Crema, the antient appurtenances of the Duchy of Milan, and vlturbed by the Venetians, in the time of *Philip Maria Visconti*.

For this treaty the Cardinall of Amboise, Lieutenant generall for his Maiesty at Milan, went to the Emperour to Trent, where first they treated of the marriage of *Charles* the eldest sonne to the Arch-duke *Philip*, with *Claude*, the onely daughter of *Lewis*, the Emperour granting to either of them, the inuestiture of Milan, but not to the Kings heires males, in case he had any: to recouer whatsoeuer either of them pretended to haue bene vsurped by the Venetians: to call a generall Councell to reforme the church, not onely (say they) in the members, but euen in the head. Doubtlesse there is small assurance in the loue of princes, who gape after nothing but their owne greatnesse. Moreouer did wee euer see any thing succeed well with them; who haue coloured their passions with the name of the Church, and the reformation thereof? This is directly, *to take the name of God in vaine*: And likewise all the malicious practises and schoole-tricks of a Cardinall (whose ambitious spirit gaped after a Popedome) what could they bring forth but smoke for France, and combustion for Italy? Truly the reading of Histories doth teach vs, *That the politike gouernment of Priests, is unfortunate and fatal*.

This Treaty, hauing onely in shew made way for a peace, was ended with a prolongation of a truce, giuing hope that these things treated on, should soone take effect. And this opinion was confirmed by the comming of the Arch-duke *Philip*, with his wife (daughter to *Ferdinand* King of Arragon, and *Isabell* Queene of Castile) who as appointed to the succession, meaning to goe and receiue the oth of fidelity of their subiects, they passed through Paris the five and twentieth day of Nouember, and from thence to Blois, where the King and Queene remained: and there they concluded the marriage of their children, but man purposeth, and God disposeth.

For with the new yeere, the Emperour brought forth new designs, refusing flatly the inuestiture of the Duchy of Milan to the king, & treating with the Potentats of Italy touching his passage to Rome, to receiue the Imperial crowne, he found the Florentins tractable to the articles which he propounded, considering the hard conditions the King demanded, seeming to be wholly estranged from them, saying, that hee was acquit of the articles accorded at Milan; and they remained still bound. Thus *Hermes Sforce* Ambassador for *Maximilian* at Florence, had obtained a promise of the common-weale, to aide him in his voyage with a hundred men at armes, and thirty thousand ducats, when as he should be entred into Italy. But the King fearing least the Florentins dispairing of his loue, should make some accord with *Maximilian*, in the end he made a new agreement with them, vpon mille conditions: *That the King (receiuing them againe into his protection) should defende them against all men, with his owne force and charge for three yeeres following, during the which they should pay vnto his Maiesty forty thousand Ducats yeerely, and it should bee lawfull for the Florentins, to proceed by force against the Pisans, or against any other that with-held their places.* The Pisans are againe abandoned to the spoile, and the Florentines resolu'd to vanquish by a generall waste (the fore-runner of famine) that place which they had in vaine tried to subdue by the sword. This passed in Tuscane, when as no man perceiued what followed these garboiles.

But two Nations of such contrary humours, could they liue so neere neighbours, but some seedes of dislike should bring forth fruites of diuision? There sodainly growes great controuersies betwixt our French and the Castillians for their confines. And why doe wee not vse a graue deliberation in our contracts, to make them so strong as nothing may infringe them? *Alphonso* of Arragon King of Naples, the first of that name, had (to make collection of his reuenues the more easie) diuided the Realme of Naples into fixe principall Prouinces, the Land of Labour, the Principality, Basilicate, Calabria, Apulia, and Abruzzo, whereof Apulia was sub-diuided into three parts: the land of Otrante, Bari, and the Capitanate ioyning to Abruzzo, and separated from the rest of Apulia by the riuer of Lofante, (otherwise called Laufade.) Seeing then that in the diuision, Abruzzo was fallen to the French, had they not reason to dispute the possession, the said Capitanate being

A treaty betwixt the Emperour &amp; King Lewis.

Philip of Austria passeth through France.

The King makes a new accord with the Florentins.

The beginning of diuision betwixt Lewis and Ferdinand.

1502. being rather a portion of Abruzzo, then of Apulia? and the matter of greatest importance A was, that not inioying Capitanate they lost the reuenew growing of the custome of cattale, being one of the cleereft reuenews of the realme.

Moreover Capitanate is a corne country, and might easily in a time of dearth famish the land of Labour and Abruzzo, whensoever the Spaniards should forbid the trafficke of grain from Apulia and Sicilia. Hereupon either part drew what hee could out of the reuenews of this custome, feeding still their contentions with new motiues. The Spaniards maintained, that the Principality and Basilicate were comprehended in Calabria, which is diuided into two, the hether & the farther, one high and the other low, & that the vally of Beneuent possessed by the French, was a portion of Apulia. And therefore *Gonsalue* chafeth the French Magistrats out of Tripald, & sent others to administer Iustice vnder the command, & authority of *Ferdinand*. All things tended to open diuision. But let vs not flatter our selues. Was it not reason, that they which had deuoured others, should afterwards consume themselves? The chiefe Barons of the country, desiring to quench these first fire-brands of discord, did mediate an interview betwixt the viceroy *Nemours*, and *Gonsalue*, who agreed to enioy those places in common, that were in controuersie, and in the meane time set vp the banners of the two Kings, expecting what they should determine.

The vertues  
of *Gonsalue*.

The viceroy was hot and vehement, and could not endure a brauadoe. *Gonsalue* (of whom the Spanish and Italian Authors make no lesse account, then of a *Furius Camillus*, a *P. Scipio*, or a *C. Caesar*) had doubtlesse goodly parts of a capitaine. Braue in armes, vigilant, industrious, patient in trauell, stately, prodigally, liberall, not voluptuous, a man of a strong and vigorous complexion. He sometimes by liberality, sometimes by sufferance, gaue liberty to his souldiers, then againe would restraine their insolency imperiously, within the bounds of duty, he loued and honoured men of valour, and very ingeniously did fit himselfe to occurrents, iudging of things to come, with a good naturall discourse, by the comparison of the present, and what was passed, neuer grounding his designs vpon any vncertainty. But all these goodly vertues were blemished with a perpetual dissimulation and treachery, no feare of God, no loyaltie where he felt any profit, being accustomed to say, *That a braue souldier must grossly weaue the web of his honor.*

His vices.

As *Gonsalue* then (following the instructions and letters of *Ferdinand*, who already in D imagination had deuoured the whole Realme of Naples) had sowed the seeds of warre on all sides, the viceroy protests by a publike declaration, that hee will make warre against *Gonsalue*, if hee speedily depart not out of the Capitanate. And seeing the King of Spaine resolved not to leaue the possession, hee enters Tripalde by force, the nineteenth of Iune, and consequently the other townes which *Gonsalue* held in that country. They are now imbarked in warre, and the King is at Lions, to prouide necessary things more commodiously to crosse the vniust practises of his aduersary. Vpon this designe hee sends two thousand Suisses by sea to supply his men, and entertaines the Princes of Salerne and Bisignan, with an intent to passe into Italy, if need required.

New broiles  
in Italy.

Lewis succours  
the Florentins.

The new tumults which *Vitelloze* (impatient of the death of his brother *Paul Vitelli*, be- E headed at Florence as we haue said) did raise in Tuscane, drew him thither. They begun by the reuolt of Aretzo, against the Florentins, at the perswasion of the said *Vitelloze*, of the *Vrsins*, *John Paul Baillon*, *Pandolfe Petrucci* and others which desired the returne of *Peter of Medicis*, into the state of Florence. The Florentins protecting themselves with their new league with the King, flie to him, accuse the Pope and the Duke of Valentinois, to bee the Authors of these stirres: sound forth the imminent danger of the Duchy of Milan, if the a- boue-named (vnited and coniuired to ruine their estate) reduce it into their power.

The King had beene long tyred with the insolency, and ambition of the Pope and his sonne. He did fore-see, that the treaties of accord being broken with *Maximilian*, the Venetians would soone crosse him, and that hauing open warre with the Spaniard, the inuading of Tuscane, done by the secret practises of others, would proue very preiudiciall vnto him. And therefore he sent foure hundred lances to succor the Florentins, with commandment to *Vitelloze* and his adherents: Not to molest those any more whom hee had receiued into his protection, the which he declared to all those that should feare to incurre his indignation. In the meane time the Duke of Valentinois vpon the confusions of Aretzo, went

A went out of Rome with his army, and vnder a false pretext to take Camerin, hauing before (to weaken *Gualdobald* duke of Vrbin, drawne men and artillery from him) leapes into that Duchy, and takes all his estate without any opposition, except the Rock of Saint Leon, and Maiuole, to the great discontent and amazement of *Vitelloze*, the *Vrsins* & *Petruccio*, who by an others ruine began plainly to discouer their owne. This conquest had made the Valentinois to assaile the Florentins, if the commandment made him from the King, or rather the comming of his maiesty, had not diuerted him. Camerin was the object of his armes. He tooke it, and with a barbarous inhumanity caused *Iulio* of Varane Lord of the said place to be strangled with his two sonnes. The King arriues at Ast, & *Lewis* of Tremouille comes into Tuscane with two hundred Lances, three thousand Suisses, and great store of artillery,

The Duke of  
Valentinois  
his cruelty.

B for the recovery of Aretzo in fauor of the Florentins. The Pope with his Borgia, foreseeing that the King (beeing incensed against them, as the chiefe motiues of this warre) would spoile Borgia of Romagna, and other places which hee possessed, and that they were too weak to withstand this storme, they returne to their accustomed practises, imputing the rebellion of Aretzo to *Vitelloze* and his associats, whom they could not (say they) neither by priuers nor authority diuert from this enterprife. And to pacifie the King, the Valentinois sent word to *Vitelloze*, that if he did not giue vp Aretzo and other places belonging to the Florentins, hee would cast him out by force. *Vitelloze* was ready to beare the whole burthen, but by what means? considering the weakenesse of his forces, and that the strongest were ready to reconcile themselves, and to leaue him in the mier: he therefore makes no delay, but consignes Aretzo and the other Florentin townes, which the violence of his forces had put into his power, Mont Saint Souin, Chastillon d'Aratz, Cortone and the rest of Valdichiane: all which were presently by the Kings command restored to the Florentins. The affaires of this world require euery man to shroude himselfe vnder the strongest: The King hath no sooner set footing into Italy, but all the Princes and common-weales (according to their accustomed maner) flie vnto him, some to get pardon, some to maintaine their estates, and all in generall to draw his Maiesties forces against the Pope and his sonne. But doth it not commonly fall out, that what many desire, succeeds but seldom? Their priuate interest and respects, are most commonly contrary to their outward shewes, and desires: So the King, not so much moued by the Popes exact diligence (who by all means and mettages, sought to pacifie him, and to returne againe into fauour) as by the Cardinall of Amboisers perswasion (who to entertaine the Pope in vnion with the King, presumed to scale himselfe a ladder, to mount vnto the popedom, and to aduance some one of his house, to be Cardinall) hee happily followed of two waies the worst, fauouring the Pope, and his followers. The wise reader may iudge thereof by the euent of the history.

An otheralliance betwixt  
the King and  
Pope.

True it is, the Emperour was a chiefe motiue to draw our *Lewis* to this accord. His fingers itched, he could not be quiet: and vnder colour of his passage (which hee did so much affect) to receiue his Imperiall crowne of the pope, he might happily trouble the state of Italy, to the Kings great preiudice, and indeed hee had already ient many horse and foot to Trente, making great offers to the pope in fauour of this passage. Moreover, the King was not ignorant, how vnwillingly the Venetians did see the state of Milan, and the realme of Naples in his hands. Adding thereunto, the Imperious threats which foure Cantons of the Suisses made. That if the King did not yeeld them the rights hee had to *Belinzone*, and giue them *Volterre*, *Schafouze*, with other outrageous demands, they would compound with *Maximilian*. But to ad more crosses, hee must dispute the conquest of Naples by the sword. All these considerations made our *Lewis* desirous to entertaine the Popes friendship, whereby *Maximilians* designs were sodainely disappointed. So the King (hauing more liberty to prouide for the estate of Naples) sent a fresh supply by sea, of two thousand Suisses, and ten thousand French, the which ioyned to the Viceroy, who had already taken all the Capitanate, except Manfredonia & Saint Angelo. They camped before Canose, the which *Peter* of Nauarre yeelded by composition, to depart with bagge and baggage. The taking of this place, did shut *Gonsalue* into Barlet, without money, with little victuals, and lesse munition. And the French captaines alledging (against the aduice of the Lord of Aubigni) that the army could not all campe about Barlette, for want of water, and many other reasons, they resolved, a part of the army should remaine thereabouts, to maintaine a kinde

The Suisses  
braue the  
King.

The exploits  
of the French  
in the King-  
dome of N.



1503. offiege, and the other should seeke to recouer the rest of the realme. After this counsell, the A Viceroy seized vpon all Apulia, except Tarentum, Otranto, and Gallipoli; and then hee returned to Barlet. The Lord of Aubigni entring Calabria with the other part of the army, tooke and sackt the town of Cosenza, with some other places.

But our prosperity lasts not long, we commonly sleepe in the midst of our course. This happy beginning, made our Lewis more carelesse then the cause required, the which if hee had continued, hee might easily haue expelled the enemy (before hee had bene supplied) out of all the State of Naples: but hee tooke his way for France, after hee had treated a new with the Pope, and received the Valentinois into fauour againe, vpon condition, To aide him in the warres of Naples, when neede should require: and a promise from the King, to give the Valentinois three hundred Lances, to helpe him to conquer Bologna for the Church, B and to suppress the Vrsins, Baillon and Vitellozze, against whom the King was wonderfully incensed for the outrages they had done to the Florentines, and for that they had shewed themselves too slacke in the execution of his Maiesties commandments, especially Vitellozze; who had refused to yeeld the Florentines the artillery which hee had taken from Aretzo.

The Valentinois fearefull to the contentments of Italy.

This reconciliation made the Valentinois fearefull to all Italy. And doubtlesse whosoever is neighbour to a cruell and inexorable man, hath need to stand vpon his gard. Moreover a wicked man hauing so firme and strong supports in the Kings counsell, where the Cardinall of Amboise ruled all, how could hee but daily presume to commit new insolencies? The Venetians were wonderfull ielous of Borgia's greatnesse, increasing daily, shewing the King by their Ambassador, how much it did derogate from the honour of the house of France, and the glorious surname of most Christian King, to fauour a Tyrant borne for the ruine of people, and the desolation of Prouinces, disloyall, cruell, thirsting for humane blood, by whom so many gentlemen, and Noblemen had bene so treacherously slaine: who sometimes by the sword, sometimes by poyson, glutted his crueltie vpon his allies, his kinsmen, his brethren, and vpon them, whose age, euen the barbarous Turkes would haue respected.

But the King did not build so much vpon the Popes friendship, as hee doubted his hatred. Moreover, hee thought (being firmly vnited to him) no man should dare to attempt any thing against the authority of his crowne, in the estates of Milan and Naples. The Kings answer was. That he neither would, nor ought to hinder the Pope, from disposing at his pleasure, of places belonging to the Church. The Venetians therefore, forbearing to C cross the prosperity of the Valentinois, for his Maiesties respect, behold, many small brookes ioyned together, make a streame. The Vrsins, the Duke of Grauine, Vitellozzi, John Paul Basilion, Luierot of Fermo, Hermes, for John Bentiuole his father, Anthony Venefre for the Siennois, with many other heads, make an offensive, and defensive league; by meanes whereof, and by the surprize of the castle of Saint Leon, Guidobald recouered all his Duchie of Vrsin. They goe to field with seuen hundred men at armes, and nine thousand foote, but they displease the King, arming themselves with his authoritie, hoping (it may bee) that hee would not bee discontented to haue the Valentinois molested by another.

A league against the Valentinois.

The Valentinois flies to the King, and speedily provides for conuenient remedies: first hee pacifieth Cardinall Vrsin, by the meanes of Iulius his brother, and by diuers policies did so cunningly practise, first one, then another of the confederates (confused, & troubled with the Kings succours, which the King gaue commandement to the Lord of Chaumont to send to Borgia, with expresse charge, to countenance his affaires by all meanes) that the first which was taken in the snare, was Paul Vrsin, whom hee held to bee a fit instrument to dispose of his companions, and to draw them innocently into danger. But what did these poore Commanders, capitulating with a wicked wretch, whose sweet words were snares for their death, and who must shortly serue as an instrument of Gods wrath against them. Truly whilest they employ the forces (which they had leuiued to suppress him) in his fauour, for the taking of some places, and that they suffer themselves to be lulled more a sleepe with his goodly shewes, and sweet speeches, he prepares for their ruine. After they had by his commandement taken the towne, and castle of Sinigalle: hee comes

1503. A comes thither the next day, with all his companies in order: he causeth them to be taken prisoners, strips their troupes: and to make the last day of this yeere famous, hee strangles Vitellozze and Luierot of Fermo. The first must follow the miserable course of his house, all his other brethren (and according to the order of their ages) being dead of violent deaths. John was slaine with a cannon before Ofime, vnder Pope Innocent, Camillo with a stone before Circelle. Paul was beheaded at Florence. And Luierot felt in his person, the treason whereby he had in a banket treacherously murdered John Frangiane his vnckle, with many citizens of Fermo, to vsurpe the Seigney thereof.

The violent death of Vitellozze and Luierot.

Now we shall see a yeere full of memorable, and famous accidents, begun with the Popes impiety, and treachery, but hee was ignorant what should presently befall his owne person B and state. Being aduertised of his sonnes exploits at Sinigalle, hee calls the Cardinall of Vrsin to the Vatican: who (trusting in his faith, whom all the world knew to bee faithlesse) was lately come to Rome. Being arriued, he is taken prisoner, and with him Rainold Vrsin Archbishop of Florence, the Protonotarie Vrsin, and the Abbot of Aluiano, brother to Bartholomew, and James of Saint Croix a Romain gentleman, whom some few daies after hee caused to be deliuered vpon a good caution: but the Cardinall ended his daies there by poyson: and the Valentinois hearing that the Cardinall was prisoner, hee caused the duke of Grauine, and Paul Vrsin to be strangled. Then hee approached to Siena, meaning to seize thereon vnder colour to expel Pandolfo Petruccio, as an enemy, and disturber of the quiet of Tuscane, C promising, that when he had chased him, hee would presently returne with all his troupes to Rome, without indomaging their territories.

The notable cruelties of the Valentinois.

The Cardinall poysoned. The Duke of Grauine and Paul Vrsin strangled.

The Sienois thinking it no reason, that the whole city should incur so great danger to maintaine the power of one priuate citizen, and Pandolfo desyring rather to accept that with euery mans good liking, which in the end the peoples hatred and the peril of his person would force him vnto; parted out of Siena, leauing the same gard and the authority with his friends, so as his departure bred no alteration in the gouernment. This enterprize displeased the King, for although hee were not sorry, to see Vitellozze and his adherents punished, yet desired hee not their totall ruine, the which with the conquest of so great estates made the Pope, and his Borgia too mighty. Hee desired therefore from this attempt, not so much to obey the King, as finding the taking of Sienna difficult, being a great D towne and strong: conuerting all his forces to the totall destruction of the house of Vrsins, John, Iulius, Francis, Fabian and Organtin, who hauing ioyned with the Sauelli were in Certuette, had taken the bridge of Lamentane, and scoured all the country.

The King discontented with the Pope and his sonne.

When he had restrained their courses, hee inuaded the possessions of John Jordan, who was then in the Kings protection and pay, bearing armes for his seruice at Naples. The King was greatly moued herewith, and to controule the presumption, & insolency of the Valentinois, hee commands him to forbear to molest the estate of Jordan, and to restrain his excessive couetousnesse, hee procures an vnion betwixt the Florentines, Sienois & Bolognois for their common defence; to take from the Pope & his son, all means to extend themselves any farther into Tuscane. The Spaniard fortifies himself in the meane time, in the realm of Naples, & our affaires decline. The Earle of Melet, the princes of Salerne & Bisiguan, were incamped at Villanoua, & Don Hugues of Cardone (passing from Messina into Calabria with 1600. foot, Spaniards, Calabrians and Sicilians, and a hundred men at armes) marched to succour it, going through a narrow plaine betwixt a mountaine and a little riuer, ioyning to the way with a causey, desyring rather to enter into Villanoua, then to fight. The Earle incounters them beneath the riuer, and not able to draw them into the plaine, hee passeth the water to cut of their way to Villanoua, and to charge them. But very indiscreetly, for being troubled with the causey, they were easily defeated & the towne releued. And behold Manuel of Beauuaide (hauing Anthony de Lenz with him, who of a simple soldiary became a braue captain, and shall win many victories) leading two hundred men at armes, two hundred Genetaires, and two thousand foote, takes Losarne at the second assault, where the Lord of Ambricourt was lately entred with thirty lances, and the Earle of Melete with 1000. foote. Ambricourt was taken, but the Lord of Aubigni, approaching with three hundred lances and five thousand foote, forced the victors to retire to Villanoua, and gaue the Earle means to saue himselfe and to keepe the castle. Aubigni following them in the tayle to the foote of a high

The French defeated.



1503.

The Spaniards defeated.

mountaine, cut off three score men at armes and some thousand foote, with 13. hundred prisoners, taking 15. Ensignes. But this was with the death of *Grigni*, a braue captaine, who led the company of the Earle of Caiazzo, being dead of sicknesse a litle after the taking of Capoua. At the same time *Porta Carrea* brought two hundred men at armes, two hundred light horse, and two thousand foote, who dying at Rhegium, left the command of his troupes to *Ferdinand Andrada* his Lieutenant.

Few daies after, *Gonsalue* departing from Barlette, set vpon the Lord of Palisse who lodged in Rubos, with a hundred Lances, and three hundred foote, as securely as in an assured peace, and hauing surprisid him sodenly, battred it furiously and made a breach: hee forced him to yeeld the place, and to remaine prisoner with his troupe, and then hee retired safely to Barlette, notwithstanding the duke of Nemours companies lodged for their ease in diuers places about Barlette, whilest *Gonsalue* endured (with an admirable patience) both hunger and pestilence, within the same city. Moreouer fifty French Lances sent to surprisid some money, which was brought from Trani to Barlette, were defeated by such as *Gonsalue* had sent for the conduct thereof. All these petty losses were without doubt fore-tellings of a change of our good fortune. But what need was there in the beginning of this so visible a Catastrophe, to hazard a fruitlesse combate, for falling to our disadvantage, it must needs greatly diminish our reputation, and make the whole nation to bee scorned although the honor and valour of a whole country consists not in the combate of a few priuate persons? A trumpet returning from Barlette (where hee had treated of the ranfome of some prisoners) reports some speeches which hee had heard to the preiudice of the French: who ofended therewith, they desie the Spaniards and Italians. Thirteene French, make offer to fight with thirteene of theirs. The field was chosen betwixt Barlette, Andrie and Quadrate. It chanced that hauing broken their lances, with no aduantage to either party; falling to their other armes, a Frenchman ouerthrew an Italian, and aduancing to kill him, hee himselfe was slaine by an other Italian that came to rescue his companion. In the end, after a rough and bloody fight of some houres, the Italians (hauing slaine many of the Frenchmens horses) remained maisters of the field and bodies, leading their enemies prisoners to Barlette.

The French defeated in combate.

Troubles by the Suisses.

Whilest a State stands firme, euery one feares to attempt against it, but vpon the first disfauour euery one seekes to pull a plume. Some Cantons of the Suisses seeke to fish in a troubled water, and to obtaine by force, what they could not get by fauour: which was the case of Bellinzzone, the which they had surprisid in Lombardy. To this end they come before Locame, camping towards the wall, vpon that great Lake which stops the descent from the mountaines into the plaine: and the other Cantons seeing the enterprise succeed well in fauour of the first assailants, runne to aide their companions, to the number of fiftene thousand. These were too many mouthes in a straight and barren country, whose fury must soone faint, for want of artillery, victuals, money and horse. The Lord of Chaumont did wisely fore-see all this, who furnishing his castles vpon the mountaines, and keeping his troupes in the plaine, kept this great swarme from comming into open places, whilest that hee assembled all the forces of Lombardie, and the allies of Bologna, Ferrara and Mantoua. The Venetians (being required to send the succors which they were bound vnto for the defence of the State of Milan) sent some companies, but so late as they were vnprofitable. Thus the Suisses wanting victuals, the French hauing sonke many barkes which brought them prouision vpon the Lake, and the Suisses themselues beginning to bee diuided, for that the whole gaine of their armes redounded to them alone that possessed Bellinzzone, they retyned in the end, vpon condition to deliuer what they had taken of the Kings, except Musocque, as not belonging to the Duchy of Milan, and Bellinzzone at a certaine time.

A counterfeit peace with the Spaniard.

Thus ended this great shew, and *Philip* Arch-duke of Austria, returning from his voyage, armed with authority from his father in Law, and mother in lawe, to make a peace with the King, it was concluded at Blois: *That the Realme of Naples should bee inroyed according to the first diuision; but Philip should keepe those Prouinces, for the which they had taken armes. That from that day, Charls his son, & Claude the Kings daughter, should inrite themselues Kings of Naples, and dukes of Apulia and Calabria: and both the Kings portions should be gouerned*

1503.

*A* gouerned in the name of the two children, untill the consummation of the marriage: when as the King should giue his part for his daughters dowrie. This peace was of a happie consequence. Armes were laid aside betwixt two mightie Kings. It bred loue betwixt the Emperour and our *Lewis*, and new disignes against the Venetians, whom the King desired to annoy: and it may be, the Pope (beeing hated of all the world) had beene forced to vndergo a Councell, a matter which he feared exceedingly. Doubtlesse there is alwaies an Antipathy betwixt bad Popes and good Councells. But this peace was but counterfeit by the Spaniards: yet it seemes not that *Philip* proceeded therein like a Foxe, considering his quiet spirit, and the alliance he made with this crowne. *Lewis* and *Philip* sent presently to proclaime it at Naples, and to command the Captaines: *That attending the King of Spaines ratification, and holding what they did possesse, they should abstaine from all acts of hostilitie.* The Vice-roy surcealeth: but *Gonsalue* had his watch-word, how else durst he disobey *Philip*? *Gonsalue* answereth, *That until he had received commandement from his King and Queene, he might not lay downe armes.* He grew the prouder, for that the King trusting in this peace, had neglected things necessary for warres, and kept backe three thousand foote which should haue beene imbarked at Genoua, and three hundred Lances leauied to that end, vnder the Lord of Persi: contrariwise, *Gonsalue* was newly re-enforced by two thousand Lansquenets, which the Venetians (against the articles of their accord made with the King) had suffered safely to passe by their gulph. The Vice-roy (fore-seeing that he must stand vpon his guard) sends for all the French companies which he had disperfed into diuers parts, and the forces of the countrie, except those which made warre in Calabria vnder *Aubigni*, but in the assembling thereof, he gaue the first blow to the ruine of the French in the Realme of Naples. The Duke of Attri and *Lewis* of Ars a French Captaine were ioyned together to go vnto the Vice-roy, knowing well that *Peter* of Nauarre was so lodged, as he might indammage them beeing diuided. *Lewis* of Ars finding his oportunitie, passed without attending his companion, and the Duke aduertised that the Nauarrois had taken the way of Matera, to ioine with *Gonsalue*: followed the tracke of *Lewis* of Ars. But it chanced at the same time that *Rutiliane*, (a towne in the Countrie of Bari) beeing reuolted, had called backe the Nauarrois, who beeing vpon this occasion turned from Matera to *Rutiliane*, incountred the Duke of Attri, charged him, and defeated him, *John Anthonie* his vnle beeing slaine, and himselfe prisoner.

The Duke of Attri defeated by the Spaniards.

And to increase these mischiefs, *Pretian Prouencal* a Knight of Rhodes, was come into the haue of Otranto with foure French Gallies, with promise from the Venetian Magistrate, not to suffer them to be molested by the Spanish fleet, which houered neere-about: who entring soone after into the same port, *Pretian* (to the end his losse should not benefite the enemies) freed his Galley-slaues, sinkes his Gallies, and saues himselfe by land with his people: another iniurie which shall greatly incense our *Lewis* against the Venetians. Hereafter all things fall out opposite for our men: but see, their violent heate makes them runne headlong to their totall ruine: Calabria is the meanes. They had commandement from the King to temporize, and onely to keepe themselues from surprize, expecting either a confirmation of the peace, or some greater succours. But what meanes is there to temper the furious courage of the French, the enemies lying so neere them? *Manuel* of Benaude hauing repaired his armie, and fortified it with five thousand men which *Ferdinand* had sent him, was ioyned vnto *John* of Cardone, and the two armies approched within a League and a halfe. *Aubigni* within Gioie, the Spaniards at Seminare. *Aubigni* was fortified with foure peeces of Cannon, vpon the riuier side, whereas Gioie is seated to hinder the enemies passage: the Spaniards beeing resolute to passe, they caused their fore-ward (led by *Manuel Benaude*) to march on directly to the riuier to intertaine *Aubigni*, who was planted on the other side, vnder colour of some parle, whilest the batteile and the reere-ward passed a mile and a halfe aboute Gioie. *Aubigni* discouering this cunning stratageme, flies thither in great hast without any artillerie, to charge them before they were all passed, but it was too late. All marched in order of batteile, to withstand our French running thither without order, and almost out of breath. The charge was furious, and the issue doubtfull, fighting with great obstinacie, and no man seemed desirous to turne his backe. Doubtlesse the full decision of controuerfies approched to the confusion of our men: who beeing the smaller number, and hauing lost many in this obstinate incounter, they were in the end forced to giue

The French defeated.

1503. giue way to the Spanish horſe, and euery man to ſeeke for his ſafety, as he could. *Ambrico* A was againe taken priſoner, and ſome other French Captaines, with the Duke of Somme and many Barons of the realme. *Arbigni* ſaued himſelfe in the fort of *Angirole*, but being preſently inueſted and vnſupplied of ſuccors, and defence, he was forced to yeeld himſelfe priſoner. Such is the alteration of the affaires of this world. This Noble and valiant Captaine, had but few yeares before, defeated *Ferdinand Gonſalue*, in the ſame place: and now by a ſtrange alteration, he is charged, defeated, and a priſoner. Moreouer, that the ende of a miſfortune in Calabria, might be the beginning of another in Apulia, *Gonſalue* being forced by famine, and peſtilence, to abandon *Barlette*, and to retire to *Cirignole*, a towne betwixt Conoſe (where the Viceroy remained) and *Barlette*: the Viceroy (foreſeeing that *Gonſalue* B puſt vp with this firſt ſucceſſe, would attempt ſome higher enterpriſes) hee calls vnto the Lords of *Ars*, *Alegre*, *Paliffe*, *Chandion*, *Traian* Carraciale, and other Commanders. And as he propounded vnto them on the one ſide the enemies forces, growne glorious by many notable victories, and now preſenting themſelues to make triall of a new battaile, on the other ſide, their owne weake troupes diminished and daunted by reaſon of the former diſgraces, aſking their aduiſe, whether they ſhould accept, or fly the hazard of a battaile: many were of opinion to referre it vntill the next day, ſeeing there remained ſcarſe an houre: when *Alegre* (in a manner alone among many) blamed the feare and cowardice of ſuch as ſought delaies. Then the Viceroy ſaid. *For my part, I am ready to fight, but I feare this brave counſellor will reſoſe more truſt in his courſers legges, then in the valour of his arme, when it ſhall be needfull to fight*: foretelling the iſſue of the fight, and the flight of *Alegre*. He therefore puts his men in battaile, and leades the foreward, with Captaine *Ars*, the battaile he giues to *Chandion*, and the reerward to *Alegre*.

It is a friuolous ceremony to call a counſell, and conteme good aduiſe, preferring opinions that doe but reſemble the truth. And what reaſon had our men ſo farre from ſuccors, hauing ſo many enemies in front, to hazard all vpon a ſhew of valour? Seeing the diſcomodity of the way, being barren of water, and the exceeding heate beyond the ordinary of the moneth of May, required reſt. But man cannot auoyd his fortune, when it approacheth hee runnes after it. The Duke of Nemours takes the way to *Cirignole*, ſending ſome troupes before to ſeaze vpon the place: but the Spaniards being arriued firſt, lodged in certaine vineyards, and intrenched their lodging with a large ditch. The French arriuing, (not able to iudge, whether thoſe they did ſee before them, were all, or a part of the Spaniſh army, for that the light horſe led by *Fabrizio Colonne*, the Lances of the men at armes, and the ſenell ſtalkes, which were very high in the country, tooke from them all knowledge:) did aſſaile the enemy with great fury. But the ſmoke, and duſt which the Spaniſh Canon raiſed in the aire, blinded our men, who could not come to handy-blowes, by reaſon of the enemies trench. The Viceroy ſeeing to force them by another way, is ſlaine with a harguebus, extinguishing in him the name and family of the Earles of Armagnac, and daunting the courage of the whole army: the which by the death of their Commaunder preſently fled, (being fauoured by the approaching night, whoſe darknes couered their retreat) preferring ſome from death, E and others from priſon.

*Chandion* (otherwiſe called *Chandenier*, a Gentleman of Poiſtou, neere vnto Niort) was likewiſe ſlaine, fighting at the ſame ditch: a' *Ars* ſeeing the moſt part of his men ſlaine, and that *Alegre* had fulfilled the Viceroy's prediction, curſing the wilfulneſſe of the man, who by his contumacy, at an vnſeaſonable time, had made a ſhamefull breach in the honour of the French nation, and diuerted the Viceroy from the true meanes to make warre: in the end he ſaues himſelfe in Venouſe. *Alegre* running vp and downe, gathers vp the peeces of this ſhip-wrake, with the Prince of Salerne, and many Barons of the country, whileſt that *Gonſalue*, following his good fortune, tooke his way to Naples: at whoſe approach the French ſhut themſelues vp into the new Caſtle: and the Neapolitaines the fourteenth of May, F receiued *Gonſalue*, vpon condition to maintaine them in their rights, and priuileges. Auerſe and Capoua were as light in their change.

But what vrgent neceſſity thruſt our men to this hazard? They had ſtrong places inough to maintaine themſelues ſoure or five moneths, during the which either ſome notable ſuccours, or the approaching winter, might breed ſome alteration. Out of doubt the impaciency of

A of the French, (who cannot temporize) was the cauſe of this laſt loſſe of the realme of Naples, rather than any neceſſity that forced them: yet *Lewis* of Armagnac had equalled the reputation of the braueſt Captaines that had beene long before him. When as good commanders haue managed an vnfortunate warre, we muſt iudge modeſtly of the iſſue of humane forces, and confeſſe that they haue done their duties: that others might haue incurred the like difficulties: and raiſe our conſiderations higher, to him that placeth, and displaceth Kings from their thrones, as it beſt pleaſeth his diuine providence. The King reſolued to ſend two mighty armies, one by ſea and another by land, to ſaue the caſtles of Naples, Caiete and ſome other places, which yet held good: and to inuade Spaine with two other armies: the one in the county of Rouſſillon, which ioynes to the Mediterranean ſea, the B other towards Fontarabie, and other places lying vpon the Ocean: and at the ſame inſtant with an army at ſea to inuade the coaſts of Catalognia and Valencia. But whileſt theſe were preparing, *Gonſalue* battered the Cittadell, and *Peter* of Nauarre made a mine, where hauing giuen fire, the violence of the powder made a breach, by the which the Spaniards (attending in battaile the iſſue of this ſtratagem) enter ſome by the breach of the wall, ſome by ſcalado. On the other ſide the French iſſuing out of the new Caſtle, to expell them the Cittadell, the Spaniards turne head, and repulſing our men towards the raelin, they enter pell-mell with them: and aduancing with the ſame fury to the gate, they force the French to yeeld them the Caſtell. Very happily for the enemy, for the next day there arriued from C Genoua, to ſuccour them, ſixe great ſhips and many other barks, laden with victuall, armes, munition, and two thouſand foote. But this was phyſicke after death, and the worke being ended, this army retyres towards Caiete. The Caſtle de l'Ouo was taken by the like myne.

The French enioyed Caiete yet, with other places thereabouts, and in Abruzzo, Aquila, the rocke of Euander, Roſſane, Matalone, with many other places belonging to the Barons of the Angeuin faction: and *Lewis* of *Ars*, being with the Prince of Melſi (worthy doubtleſſe of our hiſtory, ſeeing that *Gonſalue* hauing offered to leaue him his ſtate abſolute, if he would ioine with the Spaniſh faction, he choſe rather to depart with his wife and children) being fortified in Venouſe, hauing ſurpriſed and vanquiſhed *Valentine Benauide* with ſome Spaniſh troupes, he annoied the whole country. The conſclusion of this warre conſiſted in the D keeping, or loſſe of Caiete: hauing a very conuenient haven for ſhips that came from Genoua or Prouence. *Gonſalue* therefore bends his forces thither. But *Alegre* hauing drawne forth ſoure hundred Lances and ſoure thouſand foote, preferred at the battell, the which he had lodged in *Fondi*, *Iſtri*, *Tracette*, the fort *Guillaume* and elſe where, enters into Caiete; abandoning the other places to the victors diſcretion, to ſaue that which did moſt import: who hauing battered the wall, made a breach, and receiued great loſſe at two aſſaults, hauing intelligence of the arriual of the Marquis of Saluce (made Viceroy by the King in the Duke of Nemours place) with ſixe great Genoa Carackes, ſixe other ſhips and ſeaſen Gallies, followed by others, carrying a thouſand foote of the Ile of Croſica, and three thouſand Gallions, he retires his men to Naples, well diminished with ſkirmiſhes, aſſaults, and with his retreat, amongſt others of *Sancho Armentel*, *Alphonſo Lopes*, *Iohn Liſteſtan* a Germaine: E but about all *Gonſalue* grieved for *Dom Hugues* of Cardone and *Rodericke Maurique* ſlaine with a cannon ſhot. Theſe ſmall good haps were crowned by taking of the fort of Euander, Aquila and all other palces of Abruzzo, the which drew all Calabria to the Spaniſh obedience. The King in the meane time ſent ſeaſen thouſand foote, and eight hundred men at armes, commanded with the title of generall, by the Lord of Tremouille (who then by common conſent was held one of the chiefe for martiall affaires: but ſurpriſed by ſickenſſe at Parma, he gaue the charge thereof to *Francis* of Gonzague Marquis of Mantoua) and eight thouſand Swiſſes, to the which the Florentines did ad. hundred Lances: the Duke of Ferrara, the Bolognois and Gonzagua a hundred men at armes, and the Siennes a hundred more: the which being ioyned with thoſe troupes that were in Caiete, made about the number of a thouſand eight hundred lances, French and Italian, and a bowe eightene thouſand foote, beſides the army at ſea, wherein were great forces. For the paſſage of this army by land, the King deſired to bee ſatiſfied of the Popes intention, and of the Valentinois; for the Pope (who made an ordinary trafficke of other mens loſſe and calamity) ſignified, that as a common father (ſayd he) to both parties, hee would remaine a newter, ſuffering either

*Arbigni* taken priſoner.

A general overthrow of the French. The Duke of Nemours ſlaine.

The Caſtles of Naples taken.

The Kings new army for Naples.

1503.

The estate of  
the Church.The death of  
Pope Alexan-  
der.  
His disposition

either of them to leaue troupes indifferently in the territories of the Church, hee granted A  
a free passage to the said armie. And the Valentinois offered the King to ioyne vnto his armie  
fue hundred men at armes, and two thousand foote, but some letters intercepted from the  
Valentinois to *Gonsalve*, discovered the very bottome of his thoughts, capitulating, that  
*Gonsalve* hauing taken Caiete, and consequently all the realme of Naples, the Valentinois  
should seaze vpon Pisa, and then ioyning their forces they should inuade Tuscanie. But as  
the Pope and his *Borgia* would serue two masters, and the King pressing them vehemently  
to declare their minds plainly, behold a strange Catastrophe of the Popes Tragedie. The  
Pope and *Borgia* had before-time poysoned the Cardinals of Saint Angelo, of Capoua, of  
Modena, Vrlin, and many other rich men, whom commonly by their death they disrobed  
of their goods. They had likewise sworne the death of *Adrian* Cardinall of Cornete. They B  
were to suppe coolely in an arbour in a garden belonging vnto *Adrian*: and for the effecting  
of their desaigne, the Valentinois had sent before some flagons of poysoned wine, whereof  
he gaue the charge to a groomme that was ignorant of the businesse, with expresse com-  
mandement, that no man should touch them. It chanced that the Pope comming before the  
cloth was layed, distempered with heate and thirst, called for wine.

The taster, thinking this flagon had beene especially recommended for the Popes *owne*  
mouth and his sonnes, filled of this wine to the Pope; And as he was drinking, the Duke of  
Valentinois comes, to whom (becing desirous to drinke) they gaue of the same flagon. Thus  
Pope *Alexander* the sixt, died the next day, the 18. of August: whose immoderate ambition, C  
vn-restrained arrogancie, detestable trecherie, horrible crueltie, vn-measurable couetousnes,  
selling both holy and profane things, had infected all the world, verifying in his person  
*That the wicked man labours to bring forth out-rage, but he shall bring forth that which shall de-  
cease him: he hath made a pit, and is fallen into it. And, The eternall God searcheth out mur-  
ders and remembers them.* The Valentinois, through the vigour of his youth, and speedie  
counter-poysons, (becing put into the belly of a moyle newly killed) prolonged his daies,  
to seele many deaths in his soule not dying so soone.

Hee had often fore-seene all accidents that might happe vnto him by the death of his fa-  
ther, and provided remedies for them all: but he reckened without his host, not supposing  
to see his father dead, and himselfe at the same instant in extreame danger of death. And D  
whereas he did alwaies presume after his fathers decease, partly by the feare of his forces,  
partly with the fauour of the Spanish Cardinals, which were eleuen, to cause a Pope to be  
chosen at his pleasure, he is now forced to apply his Councils, to the present necessitie. And  
imagining, that he should hardly at one instant withstand the hatred of the *Colonna*is and  
*Vrsins*, if they were ioyntly banded against him: he resolved to trust them rather whome hee  
had onely wronged in their estates. So restoring to them their lands and possessions, he pre-  
sently reconciles himselfe with the *Colonna*is, and others of their faction, who by the com-  
ming of *Prosper Colonne* to Rome, had already filled al the cittie with ieaiousies and tumults:  
some fearing lest this reconciliation should draw the Valentinois to the Spanish partie: o-  
thers apprehending the comming of the French armie. Moreouer, the *Vrsins* assembled all E  
their partisans, and thirsting after the Valentinois blood, sought to reuenge the outrages  
which all their family had sustained. So as in hatred of the deceased Pope and his sonne, they  
burne the shoppes, and houses of some Spanish Merchants and Couriers at *Mont-Jordan*.  
All the other Barons in the dominions of the Church, by their meanes, returne to their  
lands and goods.

The *Fiscell* returne to Citta de Castello. *Iohn Paul Baillon* chased from before Perugia at  
the first seege, returns, and by a furious assault takes it. The towne of Plombin receiues her  
first Lord. The Duke of Vrbino, the Lord of Pelere, Camerin, and Sinigalle are re-establish-  
ed in their possessions. The Venetians assemble many men at Rauenna, and giue cause of  
suspect to inuade Romagna, which onely remained vnder the Valentinois command, desir-  
ing rather to serue one onely and a mightie Lord, then to haue a particular Lord in every F  
Towne. Notwithstanding all these disgraces, yet both the French and the Spaniard made  
great instance, to intertaine him, or to winne him to their partie: the French, for that hee  
might (becing armed) crosse their passage into Italy, if he discovered himselfe in fauour of  
the Spaniard, and molest them in the estate of Naples: the Spaniard, for they desired to make  
vfc

1503.

A vic of his forces, and to get (by his meanes) the suffrages of the Spanish Cardinals for the  
election of a future Pope. But the French armie approached Rome, and the King might hurt  
or helpe him more then the Spaniard, both within Rome, and his other Estates. He there-  
fore passed this accord the first of September, the Cardinall of Saint *Senerin* and the Lord of  
Trans, Ambassador, vndertaking for the King, *To aide the King with his forces in the warre of  
Naples, and in any other enterprise against all men, except the Church.* And the said Agents  
bound his maiestie, as well to protect the person of the Valentinois, as all the Estates which hee  
possessed, and to aide him to recouer those which he had lost.

The Cardinall of *Amboise* vpon the first newes of *Alexanders* death, postes thither, to la-  
bour for the Popedom, building chiefly vpon Cardinall *Ascanus* promises: whome two  
B years before he had drawne out of the Tower of Bourges. But so many ambitious braines,  
fraught rather with diuisions and partialities, euery one for his owne priuate interest, then  
assisted with the holy spirit, to whome notwithstanding they giue the first voice of their ele-  
ction, did in the end frustrate both the French and Spaniard, to install *Francis Piccolomini*,  
Cardinall of Sienna, beeing old, worne, and sickly: to the which the whole Colledge agreed  
both for that this neutrall election might disperse the diuers pourtuits of the pretending na-  
tions: as also, for that the new Popes infirmitie gaue them hope to proceed shortly to the  
subrogation of another. To reuiue the memorie of *Pius* the second his vncke, who had made  
him Cardinall, he was called *Pius* the third.

Pius the third  
chosen Pope.

C Yet this election did not pacifie the troubles within Rome. The Valentinois and the *Vr-*  
*sins* beeing within the walles, fortific in themselves daily with new companies, resolved  
to obtaine by force, the Iustice which their reasonable demands could not get of the Colledge  
of Cardinals, when as their partisans should be arriued. This contention did greatly trouble  
both the Court and the people of Rome, and did mightily preiudice the French affaires: for  
this vehement affection, wherewith they see the Valentinois supported by France, drew the  
*Vrsins* to the Spaniards pay, whose forces were of no small consequence for an absolute vi-  
ctorie. But the desire the Venetians had to see the King dis-appointed of the Realme of Na-  
ples, and the libertie they gaue the *Vrsins* to leaue their pay, made the world to iudge, that  
either they had perswaded this family to the Spanish partie, or at the least they had consen-  
D ted thereunto. And this was another cause of discontent, to be reuenged of them in time.

The *Vrsins* beeing intertaind by the Spaniard, and reconciled with the *Colonna*is, by the  
mediation of the Ambassadors of Spaine and Venice, and ioyntly resolved for a common  
revenge vpon the Valentinois, they fall vpon his troupes in the suburbs: the which (becing  
vnable to withstand so furious a charge) were forced to giue way vnto their violence, and  
the Commander to saue himselfe in the castle *S. Angelo*, hauing likewise with the Popes  
consent taken the Captaines oath, to depart when he pleased. The tumult beeing thus paci-  
fied, it gaue them free libertie to attend a new election: for *Pius* nothing deceiuing their  
conceiued hope, of his short Popedom, died the 26. day after his creation. But alas! *Alex-*  
*ander* had serued but as a scourge for that great Iudge; but now he takes his rodde in hand, to  
E breake Italy in peeces. The Cardinall Saint *Pietro*, mightie in friends, in reputation and  
in wealth, was chosen, the last of October, and named *Iulius* the second: by nature factious,  
and terrible, vnquiet and turbulent: but stately, a great defender of the liberties of the  
Church, and a most franke receiuer of the loue and fauour of all those that might aduance  
him to this dignitie.

The *Vrsins* &  
*Colonna*is re-  
conciled, han-  
dle against the  
Valentinois.Iulius the 2.  
chosen Pope.

The Valentinois flight to the castell of Saint *Angelo*, and the dispersing of all the troupes  
he had with him, made the Townes of Romagna (which had till then continued constant  
and firme in his obedience) to call home their ancient Lords, or to imbrace sundry parties.  
And the Venetians, good fishermen in a troubled water, aspiring to the command of al Ro-  
magna, had seized vpon the castles of the vally of Lamone, of the towne of Forlimpoppe,  
F of Rimini, Faenza, Montefiore, *S. Archangelo*, Verruque, Gattere, Sauvignagne, Meldole,  
and in the territorie of Imola, Tossignagne, Solaruolo, Montbataille, and had easily seized  
vpon Imola and Furl, if by the new Popes complaints, (whom they had strangely discon-  
tented) they had not put their men into garrison. The Venetian vsurpations did wonderfully  
displease *Iulius*: but what could he doe, beeing newly aduanced to the chaire, vnprovided  
of forces, of money, or of any hope of succours from the Kings of France and Spaine,  
becing

1503.

being not yet resolved whose Ensignes to follow? To retaine (in fauour of the Church) A some places which the Valentinois yet held, and to oppose him in some sort against the Venetians (although he loued the Valentinois heeles better then his face) he agrees with him, that he should go to Ferrara and Imola, to receiue such forces as he could leaue. But hee is no sooner parted, but a new desire of command suggests, that it should be good the Valentinois should deliuer vnto him such Castles and places as he commanded, to the end the Venetians should not inuade them in his absence. And to this end, he sends vnto him the Cardinals of Volterre and Surente. Vpon the Valentinois refusall, the Pope being offended, sends to arrest the Gallies, wherein he had embarked at Ostia, and caused him to be brought from Magliana to Vatican, honoured and much made of, but safely guarded. Thus B you see the Valentinois power reduced to nothing, spoiled in a manner of all he had usurped, his troupes stript by the Florentines, and himselfe at this instant so well watched, as he could not go the length of himselfe. But let vs see what becometh of so many great and goodly desaignes of our *Lewis*. He intends not onely to recouer his losses in the realme of Naples, but also with one breath, to crosse the affaires of *Ferdinand* in Spaine.

The Valentinois a prisoner

The Lord of Albret, and Marshall of Gié, marched towards Fontaraby, with foure hundred Launces, among the which *Peter* of Foix Lord of Lautrec, and the Lord of Lescun, so famous in our Historie, made first shew of their vertues, and fūe thousand foote, Gascons and Suisses. And to make warre in the Countie of Roussillon, was sent the Marshall of Rieux, C accompanied with *Gaston* of Foix, Duke of Nemours, by the death of *Lewis* of Armagnac, the Vicounts of Paulin and Bruniquer, the Earle of Carmain, the Lords of Montaut, Terrede and Negrepelisse, leading eight hundred men at armes, and eight thousand foote, French, Gascons, and Suisses. And at the same instant an armie was readie at sea to inuade the coast of Catalonia, and the Realme of Valentia: but hee that ouer-gripes himselfe holds little: these were but shewes without effect. For the Lord of Albret being entred into the Province of Guiposcoa, whether that the enemies forces were greater then his, or fearing least the Castillian should be reuenged of the King of Nauarre his sonne, he retired, and went into Languedock to the Marshall of Rieux, to beseege Saules with their ioynt forces.

A truce betwixt Spaine and France.

But the King of Spaine, hauing assembled a great armie at Pargignan from all his realms, and marching in person, with a resolution to raise the siege by some notable stratageme: D our men finding themselves too weake, retired to Narbonne, with a successe contrarie to the Lord of Albons, in the yeare 1496. And the Spaniards after some roades and spoils, on this side the mountaines, content to haue repelled the enemy, concluded a truce for five moneths, mediated by *Fredericke*, (whom *Ferdinand* King of Arragon and Castile, sed with hope to restore him to his throne) and Queene *Anne* moued our *Lewis* thereunto, onely in regard of that which concerned the affaires of France.

By this truce, the thoughts and forces of these two Kings, are conuerted to the warres of Naples. The French armie hauing passed the territories of Valmontone, and of the Colonnois, marched through the possessions of the Church, with an intent to take in the castle of E Secque. Here our men receiued their first affront. Secque well assailed, was well defended, causing our men to retire: who despairing to winne *S. Germaine*, take their way by the Sea-coast. But the question was, how to passe Garillan, which was not to be waded through at that season. *Gonsalue* was incamped on the other side: our French by reason of their Canon, winne the passage of the riuer, make a bridge thereon, and aduenture to passe. The Spaniards repulse them, euen to the midst of the bridge, and by the furie of their shotte, force them to goe to land, hauing lost fūe hundred men French and Suisses, and some hundred drowned: the enemy two hundred, and *Fabius* the sonne of *Paul Vrsin*, a young man and of great hope.

It is a matter of dangerous consequence, to attempt to passe a riuer in the face of a mightie armie, and commaunded by a discreet Captaine, if they be not well fortified with trenches. This second disgrace encouraged the Spaniard, terrified our French, and made them loose all future hope. Doubtlesse the most important part of an armie, is a good Commander, and commonly few do willingly vndergo the command of a stranger, if he be not especially fauored by the heauens, and hath won great credit, and giuen great testimonies of his valor. Herein the Spaniards did exceed them: and this defect in the French armie, had bred

A bred great contempt of their generall: and more confusion then concord among the Captaines. So as the Marquis of Mantoua Lieutenant for the King, either thinking himselfe vnfit to gouerne so great an armie, or (as *Sandricourt* charged him) carrying away with him the Italian forces, that the French might be so much the weaker, or for that hauing receiued this double repulse, he would no farther ingage his honour, parted from the armie, laying all the fault vpon the contumacie of the French.

1503. The Marquis of Mantoua generall of the French, gave ouer the charge of the armie.

All difficulties conspired their ruine, the hard season of the winter, the situation of the moorish country, the continuall raine and snow, want of pay, the impatiencie of the toiles of warre, and moreouer the great suffrance of the enemy, who fortified with a deepe ditch, and two bastions in the front of the enemies armie, continually garded the passage, B whilest that our men wasted them-selues with fruitlesse attempts, and by their vnseasonable stay, the which quailed as much the heate of their courage, as the couterousnesse of the victuals, the ordinary theft of the Treasurers, the dissention of Captaines, and the disobedience of souldiers, vsuall in troopes wanting a vigilant commander, and of authority, and the increase of ordinary diseases did hurt them. Being inuironed with these difficulties, the enemy hath a new supply by *Bartholmew* of Aluiano with the rest of the Vrsins. And *Gonsalue* finding him selfe to haue nine hundred men at armes, a thousand light horse, and nine thousand Spanish foote, aduertised moreouer of the disorders and continuall decay of our army, the which being stronger in caualery then in footmen, those being cut in peeces C which they had lately left at Castle Guillaume, were so disperfed, as their lodging contained ten miles in circuit: a grosse error of the Marquis of Saluce, hauing an enemy in front, who could well imbrace all aduantages: he secretly casts a bridge ouer the Garillon, foure miles about that which our men had made at the passage of Suie, where the French kept no gard: he passeth the 27. of December in the night, and possesseth Suie. The Marquis vnderstanding that the Spaniard did passe, riseth sodenly, breakes his bridge, and causeth the army to march towards Caiete. *Gonsalue* hinders his passage by *Prosper Colonne*, and the light horse-men, that being molested by them, they should be inforced to march the more slowly: he ouer-takes them right against Scandi, and stayes them with continuall skirmishes, vntill that *Gonsalue* comes vpon the rere-ward of them. An army that retires with feare, receiues the first stroke of death, when they are skirmished with. Our French were driuen to the passage of the bridge which is before the Moie of Caiete, and whilest the Viceroy staid there to giue the Canon time to passe, the battaile and rere-ward of the Spaniards arriue. *Bernardine Adorne*, the Lords of Cramont and *S. Colombe*, with some Cornets of French and Italians, make it good a long time, and fauour the retreat of the foot, vntill that by the death of *Adorne* and many others, with the wounding of *S. Colombe*, the rest of these horse-men seeing the troupes to haue gotten some ground, doe likewise take their way to Caiete, alwaies beaten behind, euen vnto the head of two wayes, whereof the one leads to Itri, and the other to Caiete. Here all disband, those which are best mounted save them-selues: the slowest, the wounded, the sick, the Canon, & the munition, remaine at the victors deuotion. D The French defeated quite.

E At the same time *Fabrizio Colonne*, (hauing passed the riuer with fūe hundred horse and a thousand foote) spoiled the companies of *Lodowike* of Mirandola, *Alexander* of Triuulce, *Peter* of Medicis (who followed the French army) retiring by sea to Caiete with many Gentlemen, and foure peeces of artillery, their barke ouer-taken with a sterme in the mouth of the riuer was swallowed vp in the waues, and all in it drowned. *Gonsalue* knew well, that so great a multitude of men being retired into Caiete, would breed a sodaine famine, and soone yeeld him the Towne; Hee besiegeth it, and our men not able to dispose them-selues, to endure the tediousnesse of a doubtfull expectation of succours, made the first day of the yeare 1504. famous by this accord with him: To depart with liues and goods out of the realme of Naples, eyther by land or by sea, and that the Lord of Aubigni, and all other F prisoners, should bee deliuered on eyther side.

The realme of Naples wholly lost by the French.

So our French are againe dispossest of the estate of Naples, and exposed to cold, hunger, and to a long and painfull retreat, that although of so great an army, few were slaine by the enemies sword, yet the most part of them which departed after this capitulation, found their graues in hospitalls, market-places and streetes: and of such as tooke their way by sea, few suruiued long the extreame discommodities which they had endured: amongst



1505. amongst others, the Marquis of Saluce, *Sandricourt* and many Gentlemen of marke. It was better to fore-see all these difficulties, before we part from our houses, then to goe so farre to seeke our graues. Capitaine *Bayard* returned, admired greatly euen by *Gonsalue* himselfe, hauing purchased great glory and reputation amongst the French.

The chiefe causes of this overthrow.

The King much perplexed with these losses.

Doubtlesse, besides the discord and bad gouernment of Capitaines, the sharpnesse of the time, and impatience of our men in military labours: two things principally had wrested this victory from the King. The one was the long stay of his army in the territories of Rome for the Popes death, io as winter came, and *Gonsalue* had leisure to practise with the *Vrsins* before this army entred the realme. The other was the treacherous couetousnesse and theft of the Commisaries and Treasurers, who commonly empty the Kings coffers to fill their owne bagges, to the preiudice of the souldiers pay, and the order they should take for victuals. *John Heronot* Treasurer, condemned of theft, was publicly executed: *Alegre*, *Sandricourt* and others, were for a time in disgrace with the King. The losse of Naples, the death of so braue a Nobility, the infinite numbers of men slaine in these attempts, had filled the realme and Court with great heauinesse and mourning, euery man cursing the day wherein that miserable desire to purchase new estates in Italy, had first entred into the hearts of our Kings of France. The King seeing well how much his reputation would bee blemished with strangers, and how much the losse of so flourishing an army, would weaken his forces, was not without feare: either that *Maximilian* would alter some thing in the state of Milan, or that *Gonsalue* (following his course) would imploy his victorious army to the subuersion of the said Duchie: and those which followed the French party in Italy, feared, least in his way he should alter the estate of Tuscane. Without doubt it was likely, that the King, wanting money, weake of men, & the French daunted in courage, and without any desire to repasse the Alpes, would without any great resistance, haue giuen place to the victors violence. But *Gonsalue* content with the surname of Great Capitaine, which the Spanissh boasting had giuen him, restrained his desires within the limits of this happy victory. True it is, that many extremities kept him back. He did owe much vnto his army, who made great instance to be paid, and put into garrisons. Moreouer, it was a matter of dangerous consequence, to lead his army out of the realme, from whence the enemy was not yet fully expelled. But that which stayed the course of his prosperities, was a dangerous sickness, so D as he could not execute any enterprise in person: hee sent *Bartholmew* of *Alutane*, against *Lewis* of *Ars*, who during the stay of the army vpon the bankes of *Garillan*, had seized vpon *Troy* and *S. Seuer*, and had put all *Apulia* into armes.

This stay of *Gonsalue*, held the rest of Italy rather in icalousie, then any way troubled it. And the Pope (forbearing yet to discouer his desseignes,) laboured to get the possession of such Castles as the Valentinois held at *Furli*, *Cesene* and *Bertinoire*. The Valentinois was content for *Cesene*: but the Pope hauing sent *Don Pedro d'Oniedo* a Spaniard, to receiue it in his name, the Capitaine of the place holding the composition of no force, for that the Valentinois was a prisoner, caused him to be hanged. So as the Pope despairing to get it without his liberty, agrees with him. That hee should bee put into the castle of *Oltia*, with commandement to the Cardinall of *S. Croix* to enlarge him, when hee had consigned the said castles. This consignment made, the Valentinois escapes with the Cardinals permission, and retires to Naples, from whence *Gonsalue* sent him afterwards to *Ferdinand* his King, who confined him prisoner to the castle of *Medina del Campo*. An act in truth vnworthy the sincerity of a great Prince, but most worthy of this Duke, who not satisfied with the wickednesse hee had formerly done, deuised a new, to trouble other mens estates, and to sowe dissensions throughout all Italy. A prison which did greatly comfort all *Romagnia*, being freed from the euill spirit, which so tormented it.

The Duke of Valentinois prisoner in Spaine.

A truce with the Spaniard.

A common necessity is usually the mother of a peace, or truce betwixt Princes, that haue long tormented one another. Behold the Kings of France and Spaine, both weary of warre, conclude a truce. *Lewis* sought it, and *Ferdinand* accepts it willingly, thinking by this meanes to confirme his new conquests, with more safety, vpon condition: That it should be lawfull for the subjects of either party, to trafficke throughout all their realmes and dominions, except at Naples. The Kings of Spaine haue alwaies treated vpon aduantage with our Kings. *Gonsalue* doth cunningly make his profit of this clause, placing vpon the frontiers of those

A those places, which the French did yet possesse, (as *Rosene* in Calabria, *Oire* in the land of *Otranto*, *Venouise*, *Conuersan*, and the Castle of *Mont* in *Apulia*) guards to watch, that no man liuing should conuerse in any place that was held by the Spaniard. The which brought the inhabitants to so great a streight, as resolving to yeeld to the enemy, *Lewis* of *Ars*, was forced to retire into France.

But what auails it to auoid one danger, and fall into another? We haue not yet breathed from our trauels past, and see, we now studie on new iarres and confusions. In truth the estate of this world is like a chesse-board, where Princes with a variable change, play most couetous games, sometimes with losse, sometimes with gaine: and oft-times (treating with men in whome there is no trust) they fall out of one mischiefe into a greater inconuenience. At the same time, Ambassadors beeing come from *Maximilian* and *Philip*, to confirme that which had bene propounded, by the comming of the bishop of *Cisteron*, and the Marquis of *Final*, sent expressly by the Pope for that business: this peace was in the end concluded: "That the mariage of *Claude* the Kings daughter, with *Charles* the Arch-Dukes eldest sonne, should take effect: that all the former inuestitures of the Duchie of Milan being disanulled, *Maximilian* should grant the inuestiture vnto the King, for himself and his heires males: and for want of males, should giue it in fauour of the mariage of *Claude* and *Charles*: and if *Charles* should die before the consummation of the said mariage, to *Claude* and the Arch-Dukes youngest sonne, in case he married with her: for which possession the King should pay vnto *Maximilian*, vpon dispatch of the letters patents, threecore thousand florins of the Rhin, and threecore thousand more within sixe moneths after, and euery yeare, on the birth day of our Lord God, a paire of spurs of gold."

All these Princes were wonderfully incensed against the Venetians, by reason of the usurpations made by them in their estates. They make a League for their common defence, and to offend the Venetians, meaning to pull from them what they had vsurped. And for that the promises which *Maximilian* had vainly giuen to *Lodowicke Sforce*, were the cause to hasten his ruine: he was a meanes the King should set him at libertie, and giue him some good pension to liue withall in France. But this was a short comfort for *Lodowicke*, whose turbulent spirit would haue practised some alteration. This capitulation beeing so profitable to all these Princes, the Pope beeing comprehended therein, it was likely it should hold. But there must be stronger bands to tie it: that is, a reciprocall loue, without the which all treaties are fruitlesse. The end of this yeare is famous by the death of *Fredericke*, sometimes King of Naples, who was deprivied of all his vaine hopes, to recouer his Realme of Naples, by the accord of these two Kings, and by that of *Isabel* Queene of Castile, a vertuous Princess, noble, wise, and beloued of her subiects.

A league against the Venetians.

The yeare following disposed the two Kings and the Potentates of Italy, to lay aside arms: *Ferdinand* of *Aragon* hauing new desseignes, and foreseeing that by the death of his wife, *Philip* his sonne in law would challenge the Crowne of Castile, (as hauing married the inheretrix of the said Realme) desired onely to preserue the realme of Naples, by means of the capitulation lately made. Our *Lewis* was not altogether freed from doubt, for that *Maximilian* delayed (according to his vsuall tediousnesse) to ratifie the peace. The Pope desired innouation, but his forces were too weak without the support of some mighty Prince. The last League had put the Venetians in alarme, hauing thereby three mightie enemies against them. To pacifie the nearest, they offer vnto the Pope to restore all they had vsurped, except *Faenza*, *Rimini*, and their appurtenances. And the Pope knowing, that the Emperors warre against the Elector *Palatin*, would hinder his passage into Italy, ioyntly with the King, for that yeare, accepted the obedience the Venetians offered him, in regard of the said places, without making them any shew of a more mild and tractable disposition. The King (for the accomplishment of that which had bene treated of,) sent the Cardinall of *Anboise* to *Hagenau* a towne of *Alsacia* (newly taken from the Count *Palatin*) where the Emperour did solemnely sweare, and proclaime the articles agreed vpon, according to the which, the Cardinall payed halfe the money, promised for the inuestiture of Milan.

During this ratification, there growes new seeds of dissention in Italy. The Cardinall *Afcamin*, brother to *Lodowicke Sforce*, treated with the Ambassador of Venice at Rome, and had also (according to the common opinion) some secret intelligence with *Gonsalue*: he

The Venetians reconciled to the Pope.



1505. was in shew to intuate the Duchy of Milan, the which they knew to be vnfurnished of French A  
souldiards: the people inclining againe to the name of *Sforce*: and (that which made them  
the more bold,) the King being surprised with so dangerous a sicknesse as the Physicians dis-  
paynting of his health, the Queene prepared to send all her iewels into Britany, if the Marshall  
of Gie had not placed men vpon the way to stay them: for the which, the king after-wards  
was as well pleased, as the Queene, by her dislike, sought to bring him in disgrace. Doubles  
the people should oft times suffer much, if their counsels were not stayed by the prouidence  
of God. The King recouers his health, and the Cardinal *Afcantius* dies suddenly of the  
plague, at Rome, interring with him the desseins of Milan.

The King is freed of one danger. And as God by meanes vnknowne to men, doth change B  
great stormes into calme sun-shines: our *Lewis*, who till then had the greatnesse of the  
Arch-duke *Philip* in ialousie, fearing to make him his enemy, he finds now that the death  
of *Isabel* of Castile doth free him of his feare: for that the Arch-duke (reiecting the testa-  
ment of his mother in law) deuised to take the gouernment of the Realme of Castill from  
*Ferdinand* his father in law, the which could not be done but by their common quarels, and  
the weakning of their forces, the King (remaining betwixt both, free from troubles,) should  
thereby fortifie himselfe, with men, mony, and munition, for the aduancing of his desseins.  
And the Aragonois, on the other side (forced to seeke a support against his sonne in law,)  
desiring a peace with the King, he obtaines it, by the marriage of him and *Germaine*, sister to C  
*Gaston* of Foix daughter to his Maiesties sister, vpon condition, that the king should giue her  
in dowry that part of the Realme of Naples which belonged vnto him: the King of Arragon  
binding himselfe to pay him within tenne yeares feauen hundred thousand ducats for the  
charges past: and to indowe his new spouse, with 300000 ducats. Which dowry (*Germaine*  
dying in mariage without children) should returne to *Ferdinand*: but if he died first, it should  
goe to the crowne of France. A happy conclusion both of a peace, and of the yeare, if it  
could haue intertayned loue betwixt these two Princes. But it shalbe soone broken, and al-  
waies our peace with the Spaniards hath bene full of discord.

A peace be-  
twixt the king  
& Alexander.

Motives of  
new troubles.

Let vs now open the springs of new warres. The Pope had without the Kings priuity gi-  
uen all the benefices that were fallen voyde in the Duchy of Milan by the death of cardinall  
*Afcantius* and other Clergy men. Moreouer in the creation of many Cardinalls, he had re-  
fused to admit into the society the Bishop of Auchx, Nephew to the Cardinall of Amboise,  
and the Bishop of Baieux Nephew to the Lord of Tremouille. And moreouer he had ar-  
med some gallies, to be in a readynesse (as some gaue out) to free Genoua from the gouern-  
ment of the French, in case the King died, as some feared, and others did hope. All these  
considerations, together with the Kings discontent, seemed to breed some diuision with  
the Pope: yet his friendship was profitable for the king in the warre he pretended against the  
Venetians against whom he knew the Pope to be ill affected, for the desire he had to recouer  
the townes of Romagna. He therefore sent the Bishop of Cisteron his Nuntio into France,  
to propound vnto him many offers, and desseins, for the execution of this common enter-  
prise. Moreouer the Pope seeing him-selfe as it were forced at the Kings instance, to pro-  
long the Cardinall of Amboise his legation in France, and for ialousie he had that this Car-  
dinall aspired by all meanes to the Popedom, he could not resolute to ioyne in all points  
with the King. But hee knew moreouer that beeing diuided from his maiesty, his coun-  
cells could not succede happily: in the ende they treat a new amity and league together,  
and to make the King the better affected, hee giues a Cardinall hatte to eyther of the  
fore-named Bishoppes, and power vnto the King to dispose of all benefices within the  
Duchy of Milan.

The more the King confirmed himselfe in the Popes alliance, the more he loathed that of  
*Maximilian* and of *Philip* his sonne: the passage which he pretended into Italy with a mighty  
army to receiue his imperiall crowne, and to cause his sonne to bee chosen King of F  
Romans, beeing greatly suspected vnto the King: and the greatnesse of *Phillip* (who by  
capitulation had sent his Father in Law *Ferdinand* backe into Arragon hauing already so  
apparently estranged the Kings loue from him, as hee gaue *Claude* his daughter in mar-  
riage to *Francis* Earle of Angoulesme (the next heire to this crowne, after the Kings decesse  
without heires mals) at the sute & supplication of al the parlaments of his realme. The which  
serued

Claude of  
France mar-  
ried to the  
Earle of An-  
goulesme,

A serued for an excuse to *Philip*. And the more to diuert *Maximilians* passage into Italy, the  
King sent men to succour the duke of Gueldres (a great enemy to *Philips* prosperity) and to  
molest his Prouinces of the Low countries in his absence. As these things passed, the Pope  
(burning with desire to restore vnto the obedience of the church, all such places as had bin  
taken away) intreated the King (according to their agreement) to aide him in the recovery  
of Perugia and Bologna. This request was very pleasing vnto the King: it was a meanes to  
tie the Pope, whom they had in some ialousie in Court, to haue bene priuy to some prac-  
tise, which *Ossanian Fregosa* had made to dispossesse the King of the Seigneury of Genoua.  
Moreouer *Bentiuole* Lord of Bologna, seemed more affected to *Maximilian* then to him:  
and *John Paul Baillon*, the vturper of Perugia, was in disgrace with the King, hauing refused  
B to ioyne with his army, when it was vpon the Garillan.

1506.  
The King  
seekes by all  
meanes to  
crosse Maxi-  
milian, and his  
sonne Phil p.

Notwithstanding the protestation which the Venetians made vnto the King, to take The Popes  
armes for the defence of Bologna, if the Pope did not first make them grant of the rights exploits,  
of Faenza belonging to the church, did some-what diuert him, referring the execution to  
another time. Yet the Pope (being vehement and peremptory by nature) goes out of Rome  
with five hundred men at armes, and giues notice of his comming to the Bolognois, com-  
manding them to prepare to receiue him, and to lodge 500. French lances in their country,  
wherof he had yet no assurance. Then *Baillon* fearing his comming, goes to meet the pope,  
and deliuers him the forts of Perugia and Peroufin. In the end by the perswasion of the  
Cardinal of Amboise, the King commanded *Charles* of Amboise Lord of Chaumont, to as-  
C sist the pope in person with five hundred Lances, and three thousand foote, amongst the  
which were *Gaston* of Foix the Kings Nephew, and duke *Nemours*: *Peter* of Foix Lord of  
Lautrec his cousin, the Lord of Palisse and others. *Bentiuole* and his children amazed at this  
sodaine arriuall, beseech *Chaumont* to bee a mediator, and to procure them some tollerable  
conditions, who dealing with the pope, obtained leaue to depart safely out of Bologna, to  
remaiue in what part hee pleased of the Duchy of Milan, to sell and carry away all their mo-  
uables, and to enioy the reuenues they possessed by any iust title, without any molestation.  
Thus Bologna returned to the obedience of the church, and the pope hauing giuen the  
Duke of *Nemours* a sword enriched with precious stones, amongst the which there was one  
D Diamond of inestimable value, eight thousand ducats to *Chaumont*, and ten thousand for  
his men: he conuerted all his thoughts to annoy the Venetians. At this time died *Philip*  
the Archduke, of a feuer, within few daies, in the city of Bruges, yong of yeeres, strong and  
healthfull of body, leauing an heire (the fatall scourge of the French Monarchy) who within  
few yeeres shall mount vpon the Theater of our History, to act many and diuers tragicall  
parts. And the duke of Valentinois, to finish the last act of his Tragedy, hauing slipped downe  
with a cord from the fort of Medina de l' Campo, and sought for refuge with *John* of *Albret*  
King of Nauarre, brother to his wife, was in the end slaine before Viane, fighting for his  
brother in law: too honorable a death for such a tyrant.

The death of  
Philip Arch-  
duke of Au-  
stria.

The Duke of  
Valentinois,  
slaine.

*Chaumont* was no sooner returned, but there sprung vp a new occasion to imploy his  
forces: the Genouois taking occasion, not of any desire they had to rebell, but onely of ci-  
uill discords betwixt the people and the Nobles (the which doe often transport men beyond  
their first resolutions) did sacke the Noblemens houses, and did tumultuously create a new  
Magistracy of eight popular men, whom, to authorise them the more, they named *Tri-  
bunes of the people*: they seized by force vpon Spetie and some other townes lying vpon the  
Easterne riuier. The Lord of Rauastein beeing absent, flies speedily to Genoua, with a hun-  
dred and fifty horse, and feuen hundred foote. The King had sent vnto them *Michel Riccio*, a  
Doctor, banished from Naples, to perswade them to seeke rather the mildnesse of his mer-  
cy, then to trie the rigour of his forces. But a mutinous people is like vnto a wilde horse,  
which runnes furiously, vntill some downefall stay him: for in steed of giuing eare to his  
counsell, they goe to besiege Monaco, lying vpon the sea, in a commodious place, and of  
F great importance for the city of Genoua, they create *Paul de Nose*, a diier of silke, Duke of  
Genoua, beate downe the Kings armes, and set vp *Maximilians*: they take Castellar, a castle  
built about Genoua on the mountaine: and against their faith, cut the French mens  
throates that were in Garrison.

So the King imputing that to the Genouois as a rebellion, which they had done by ciuill  
discord,

1507.

The King  
goes with his  
armie aginst  
the rebels at  
Genoua.Genoua reco-  
uered.An interview  
of the Kings  
of France and  
Aragon.The King  
seekes to hin-  
der the Empe-  
rours pas-  
sage.

discord, marched himselfe in person, followed by eight hundred Lances, eightene hundred A light horse, twelue thousand foote: and an armie at sea, consisting of eight Gallies, eight Galleons, and many Foists and Brigantines: he raiseth the siege at Monaco, takes the Bastion which they had built on the top of the mountaine, forceth the Geneuois to yeeld to his mercie, disarms them: and the 29. of Aprill, enters into Genoua, in complete armour, with his sword in his hand, vnder a Canopie, accompanied with all his companies of men at armes, and Archers of his Guard: who (at the pittifull crie of the people, demanding mercie of his Maiestie) he grants them pardon, paying an hundred thousand Ducats in ready money, and two hundred thousand more to be payed at certaine dayes, for the charges of this expedition, and to build a Cittadell. And in token of his absolute authoritie, hee commaunded that the money of Genoua should from that time be coyned with the stampe of France: and then he ended all this Tragedie with the death of *Demetrius Iustinian*, one of the chiefe Tribunes, who by his examination laid open all the practises and hopes the Pope had giuen them: and soone after by the death of *Paul de Nove* the new Duke of Genoua, with three-score others, which he put into the hands of the Magistrate.

In the meane time the Pope (who found himselfe farre engaged in the rebellion of Genoua) seemed discontent: he accuseth the King, that he had periwaded *Bentsuole* to surpris *Bolonia*, meaning to declare himselfe afterwards an enemy to the Church, and by violence to install the Cardinall of Amboise in *Saint Peters* chaire, pressing the Emperour and the Venetians to make warre ioyntly against the King. *Maximilian* had (in a Diet held at Constance) got the consent of the Princes of the Empire thereunto: and the King, to preuent this storme, which threatened him from Germany, and to free both the Pope and the Venetians from ialousie, soone after the taking of Genoua, he dismissed his armie, and himselfe had presently returned, if the desire of a parle with the King of Arragon his nephew had not stayed him. *Sauone* was appointed to that end, where hauing promised respectiue a mutual preferuation of loue and good intelligence, they treat of the reformation of the church, by meanes of a holy and free Councell, and to reconcile our *Lewis* with *Maximilian*, and they two to assaile the Venetians with their common forces.

Moreouer, the Pope had sent the Cardinall of *Sainte Croix*, for Legat to *Maximilian*: & the Venetians, Florentins (whom the King would not receiue into his protection, against the passage of *Maximilian*, but with this clause, *Excepting the right of the Empire*) and all others that depended of themselves (except the Marquis of Mantoua, had sent their Agents to this Imperiall diet of Constance, some for desire of innouation, some for hope, others for feare. Which things troubled the King: especially the Ambassage of the Cardinall of *S. Croix*, whom he knew to be alwaies desirous of *Maximilians* prosperity. In the end, the conclusion of this diet (the which the Pope attended wauering betwixt hope and feare, sometimes desiring *Maximilians* comming into Italy, and sometimes apprehending the memorie of ancient quarrels betwixt the Emperours and Popes) was, *That they should giue vnto Maximilian to attend him into Italy, eight thousand horse, and two and twentie thousand foote, entertained for sixe moneths, and that the companies should be in field weere vnto Constance, by the midst of October*. Upon this conclusion *Maximilian* demands passage of the Venetians, through those countries which they held in Italy. They graunt it, so as he come without an armie, else not. But they excuse themselves vpon the necessitie of the league they haue with the King, and vpon the conditions of the present time: yet notwithstanding, except that which they should be forced vnto by vertue of the said alliance, for the defence of the state of Milan, in fauour of the King, they would not oppose themselves to any of his aduancement. And in truth, being loath to offend *Maximilian*, or to giue to the King occasion to presume too much, they did not seeke vnto him for any new league, hoping it may be, that *Maximilian* leauing their frontiers in peace, would turne his forces either against *Bourgongne*, or against the Duchies of Milan and Genoua.

To preuent all inconueniences, the King had sent great troupes of horse and foote towards Milan, and did leuie (with the permission of the Catholike King his nephew) two thousand five hundred Spaniards, five hundred Launces in *Bourgogne* vnder *Tremouilles* command, foure hundred French Lances, and foure thousand foote, ioyntly with the Venetians, to preuent any alteration that might happen towards Trente: and to distract the Emperours forces

1508.

The vaine  
attempts of  
*Maximilian*.8000. *Suisses*  
fortake the  
Emperour.*Maximilians*  
forces defea-  
ted.A truce be-  
twixt the Em-  
perour and  
Venetians.

A forces into diuers parts, he fauored the Duke of Gueldres, who molested the Country of *Charles*, grand-child to *Maximilian*. And to begin his voyage, *Maximilian* being come to Trente, caused a proclamation to be publicly made, the third of February: That hee was resolu'd to passe in hostile manner into Italy. And from that time leauing the name of King of *Romans*, tooke vpon him that of chosen Emperour. But this was to brag of mountaines, and to bring forth mol-hilles. He goes from Trente with fiftene hundred horse, and foure thousand foote, not of that number which had beene promised him at Constance, but of the ordinary traine of his Court, and leuied in his owne territories, and the Marquis of Brandebourg with five hundred horse and two thousand foote. But there was no reason the seruant should bee more happy then the maister. The Marquis returnes, hauing onely presented him-selfe before Rouere, and demanded in vaine to bee lodged within the towne. And *Maximilian* hindered by many trenches which the Mountainers of *Siague* had made, retired back foure dayes after his departure. If he had gone back to take a greater leape, (as the Proverbe saith) it had beene a good signe, but to turne his back, it was a disgrace.

Behold an open warre, and the Venetians are netted with these weake beginnings: But conquests of Villages, are like bonfires of Straw. *Maximilian* taking the way of Friul, for the commodity of the passage, and the country being more open, with fixe thousand men leuied in those marches, he did runne about forty miles into the Venetian territories: hauing taken certaine villages of small moment (performing the office of a simple Captaine, rather then of an Emperour) he returned towards *Iusbruch*, to engage some Jewels, and to make prouision of money by some other meanes, which failing, had caused eight thousand *Suisses* to leaue his pay, whereof five thousand went to the King, and three thousand to the Venetians. And to increase the mischief, *Maximilian* had left nine thousand foote and horse at Trente. *Bartlemew* of *Aluiane* (sent by the Venetians to succour Friul) seized vpon the passages of the Valley of *Cadore*, by the which the *Germaines* might saue themselves: he charged them, slew about a thousand, and tooke all the rest (in a manner) prisoners. So the carefull valour of *Aluiane* made vaine the former exploits of *Maximilian*.

It is all one to be well or ill beaten. The Venetians put in practise this common saying, not without some offence to the King, who did not willingly behold the prosperous course of their victories, in regard of his owne desseignes. They were forced to take armes, and before they lay them downe, they take from the Empire *Trieste*, *Portonon*, and *Fiume*: then passing the *Alpes*, *Possionia*. On the other side, the *Germaine* armie towards Trente, had put to sword three thousand Venetian foote, set to garde mount *Bretonic*. The Bishop of Trente encouraged by this small stratagem, with two thousand foote, and some troupes of horse, went to besiege *Riue Trente*, a great bourgh vpon the Lake of *Garde*; but as hee did batter it, two thousand *Grifons*, which were in the *Germaine Campe*, fell into a mutinie by reason of their pay, and spoile the victuals of the whole Campe. So all being in disorder without respect of command, and without obedience, the *Grifons* being gone, all the rest of the armie (being about seven thousand men) were forced to retire. Thus ended all these great shewes, and *Maximilian* hauing rashly giuen credit to the Popes suggestions, reaped nothing for his indiscretion, but shame, losse, and contempt. Being thus perplexed, he seekes to with-draw himselfe out of the country, and finding the Venetians well disposed to make an end of this warre, and to preferue (by meanes of a truce) the places which they had conquered in these garboiles: he easily obtaines a truce for three moneths, whereby they laide downe armes, to resume them soone after, but with more dangerous effects. This was the xx. day of April. In corrupted bodies, the remedies we apply to diuert one inconuenience, do commonly ingender another, more dangerous. So the truce (made betwixt *Maximilian* and the Venetians, wherein they had exceedingly neglected the King) in steed of quiet and rest which they expected, bred more horrible calamities then the former warres. The Venetians sought it by their insolent manner of proceeding. The Emperour studied by what meanes hee might repaire the infamy and losse hee had lately receiued: and now they incense him more, receiuing *Aluiane* into Venice, in a triumphant manner. And the King found him-selfe much wronged, for that presuming to name him in this truce, and to comprehend him as an adherent, they had notwithstanding provided for their owne safety, and left him charged with the cares and troubles of the warre: seeing that in their fauour he had opposed

1508. opposed himselfe against *Maximilian*, as we haue seene. The Emperour being then so weak. A  
 ly assisted by the forces of the Empire, and finding his owne too feeble, deuised to vnite  
 himselfe with the King against the Venetians, as the onely remedy to recover both his  
 estates and his honour lost. Moreouer, this new disdaine reuiued in the King the ancient re-  
 membrance of the wrongs he had receiued by them in the warres of Naples, and since in  
 diuerse other accidents: thrust forward with an exceeding desire to wrest out of their hands  
 Verona, Cremona, and many other townes possessed of long time by the Dukes of Milan.  
 And the Pope crossing them, possessed with that first desire to recover those places which  
 they vsurped of the Church, taxing them that the banished men of Furl had of late dayes,  
 by meanes of their Senate, sought to enter into the said towne, discontented moreouer,  
 by the Venetians had, (in contempt of the authority of the Sea of Rome) giuen the Bi-  
 shoprick of Vincenza, to a Venetian Gentleman, contrary to the collation which the Pope  
 had made to his Nephew *Sixtus*, he perswaded the King against them, desiring rather to re-  
 maine a newter in the midst of these contendants, and be a spectator, then to invade. In  
 the end (vnder a colour to treat a peace, betwixt the Archduke *Charles*, sonne to *Philip*, and  
 the Duke of Gueldres:) they must meete at Cambray. For the King, came the Cardinall of  
 Amboise: and for the Emperour, *Marguerit* his daughter Gouvernессe of Flanders, assisted  
 in this treaty by *Matthew Lange*, a trusty Secretary to the Emperour: and for the King of  
 Arragon, an Ambassador of his. The ninth of December they conclude a peace betwixt  
 their Maisters, and a perpetuall league against all men, euery one to recover from the Ve-  
 netians the places which they had taken from them, and to spoile them of the territories of  
 the Church vsurped by them: whatsoeuer we treat, the Church must be one, but more with  
 a colour, then any deuotion. The Emperour did solemnely confirme this new league. The  
 Arragonois feared the increase of the King his Vncles greatnesse, and preferred the safety  
 of the realme of Naples before any thing which the Venetians enioyed: yet dissembling  
 his conceits, hee performed all solemnities required. The Pope was more scrupulous: hee  
 had sent his commission, but had not yet consented. Many considerations moued him  
 therevnto: a desire to recover the Townes of Romagna, and a disdaine against the Vene-  
 tians. Moreouer he feared to incense the King, reiecting this association: yet hee held it a  
 very dangerous thing for him, that the Emperour should extend himselfe in Italy. Thus  
 troubled in minde, he resolues, for the mildest course, to obtaine a part of his desires by an  
 accord, rather then all by warre. Hee lets the Venetians vnderstand, that the storme which  
 threatened them by the vnion of these Princes, would prooue farre more tempestuous, if  
 they forced him to giue his consent. That yeelding willingly the places they had taken  
 from the Church, it should make him refuse to ratifie the treaty of Cambray, made in his  
 name, but without his approbation: without the which their alliances would easily turne  
 to smoake; if they refused, hee would pursue them with spirituall and temporall armes.  
 Oft times, those which haue the name, the age and countenance of wise men, conclude to  
 the ruine of their country. The Venetians at this time follow the worst aduise. And the  
 Pope ratifies the treaty the which hee had deferred vntill the last day assigned for the rati-  
 fication. The King armes and passeth the Alpes in person, followed by the Princes of his  
 blood, *Charles* of Bourbon Earle of Vendosme; *Charles* of Bourbon afterwards Constable  
 of France, sonne to the Earle of Montpensier, *Lewis* of Bourbon, Prince of Roche sur-Yon.  
 René Duke of Alençon, and his sonne *Charles* the Duke of Longueuille, *Gaston* of Foix  
 Duke of Nemours, *Peter* of Foix Vicount of Lautrec, *Lewis* of Tremouille Vicount of  
 Thouars, the Earle of Montmorencie grand-father to the Constable that now liues, the  
 Lords of Palisse, Andouins, Grandmont, Curton, Boissi, Coligni, Estouteuille, and almost  
 all the Nobility of France, which followed (as to a certaine victory) with ioy and courage,  
 amounting to forty thousand fighting men, besides three thousand horse, and six thousand  
 foote, which *Chaumont* brought out of the Duchie of Milan, and the troupes of *Anthony*  
 Duke of Lorraine, who accompanied his Maiesy in this voyage. The King hauing passed  
 the Alpes, sends *Monior* his Herald presently to proclaime warre against the Senate of Ve-  
 nice. And for that the Pope complained that the time specified in the capitulation expired  
 without any effects of warre, the King commands the Lord of Chaumont to begin.  
 He therevpon passeth the riuer of Adde, the fifteene of Aprill, and camps before Treui,  
 batters

A league be-  
 twixt the  
 French King  
 the Emperour  
 and *Ferdinand*  
 against the  
 Venetians.

The Pope en-  
 ters into the  
 league.  
 The King  
 goes into  
 Italy.

A batters and forceth it to yeeld at discretion, taking prisoners *Iustinian Morosin*, Comisary of  
 the Venetian Stradiots or light horse, *Vitelli de Citade Castello*, *Vincenz* of Nalce, and other  
 Senators, and with them a hundred light horse, and a thousand foote: then hee repasseth  
 Adde, to attend the Kings coming at Milan. The Emperour was gone into Flanders, to  
 require a leauing of money, from the subiects of *Charles* his grand-child, a testimony that  
 he could not begin the warres within forty daies after the King, as his promise was.  
 The Venetians prepared, and seeing a great part of Christendome armed against them,  
 they seeke to dissolue this vnion by reasonable offers. But the Pope could no more accept  
 that which hee had before desired. The Catholike King had not credit enough to diuert the  
 rest. The Emperour full of disdaine, would not so much as see *Iohn de l'Esioille* their Secre-  
 tary. As for our *Lewis*, they hoped for nothing from him, but by the sword. They therefore  
 entertaine two thousand men at armes barded, foure fighting men for euery Lance: 3000.  
 light horse and Stradiots, fifteene thousand foote, of the flower of Italy, and 15. thousand o-  
 thers chosen out of their territories, they arme many vessels to garde the banks of Romag-  
 na, the townes of Apulia, the approaches of the Lake of Garde, Po, and other neighbour  
 places, fearing to bee molested by the Duke of Ferrara, and the Marquis of Mantoua their  
 enemies. But behold bad signes, and prodigious fore-runners of losses, wherevnto (besides  
 the threats of men) the Venetians shall be shortly subiect. A Barke carrying ten thousand  
 ducats to *Rauenna*, was drowned. The castle of Brescia was fiered with lightning, the  
 place where the charters of the common-weale did lie, was sodainely ruined. And that  
 which did most terrifie them, their great counsell beeing assembled, fire tooke their Arce-  
 nall, whereas the salt-peter did lie, and burnt twelue gallies, with a great quantitie of  
 munition.  
 Moreouer hauing entertained *Iulius* and *Rance Vrsins*, and *Troile Sauelli*, with fiue hund-  
 red men at armes, and three thousand foote, the Pope commanded them vpon greuous  
 censures (as dependants of the church) not to depart out of Rome. And presently hee did  
 publish in forme of a monitory, a horrible Bull, containing, The vsurpations the Vene-  
 tians had made in the sea of Rome, the authority they did arrogate to the preiudice of the Ec-  
 clesiasticall liberty, and the popes iurisdiction. To giue Bishoprikes and other spirituall li-  
 uings being vacant: to decide spiritual causes in secular Courts, and other things belonging  
 to the censure of the church: specifying moreouer, all their disobediences past, and admo-  
 nishing them: To yeeld vp within foure and twenty daies next ensuing, the townes of the  
 church which they possessed, with the fruites receiued since they enioyed them, vpon paine  
 to incurre, not onely the censures and curse of the citie of Venice, but a lo of all the terri-  
 tories vnder their obedience, and of all others that should receiue any Venetian, declaring  
 them guilty of high Treason, and detested as perpetuall enemies to all Christians, to whom  
 he gaue power to take their goods in al places, and to make their persons slaues. Against this  
 Bull, they cast forth a writing about Rome, containing (after a long protestation against  
 the Pope and our *Lewis*) An appellation from the monitory, to the next Councell, and for  
 want of humane Iustice, to the seete of Iesus Christ, a most iust iudge, and the soueraigne  
 Prince of all.  
 The Venetian army beeing assembled, made their beginning famous by the recovery of  
 Treui, after the retreat of *Chaumont*. But it was dismall to the conquerour: for during the  
 heate of the spoile, the King (who came to releue it) passed the riuer of Adde with his  
 whole army, without any let, the ninth day of May. And *Triualsee* seeing the army past:  
 This day (said hee) O most Christian King, haue wee wonne the victory. The King lodged within  
 halfe a league of the Venetian campe, and (holding it more glory, if of himselfe, without the  
 assistance of any other, he ended this warre) hee drew the enemy by all meanes to a battaile.  
 The enemies desiegn, was to keepe themselves close in places of strength, to flie the ne-  
 cessity of fighting, and to keepe the French from attempting any matter of importance. So  
 both armies continued a whole day, one in view of an other. The next day, the King stood  
 foure houres before the enemies lodging, with his troupes in battaile, and tooke Riualte,  
 in their view, without making any other shew, then to want courage to come to fight. Ne-  
 cessity must then force them to it, hunger driues the Wolfe out off the wood. The King  
 (to cut off the victuals that came to them from Cremona and Crema, raiseth his campe, to  
 lodge

1508.

The Vene-  
 tians army.

Farall prog-  
 nifications  
 for the Vene-  
 tians.

The Vene-  
 tians cen-  
 sured by the  
 Pope.

1509.

The bataille  
of Agnadel.

lodge at Vaile or at Pandin: and the Venetians (to ingage their enemies in the like difficulties) resolute to follow them at the heels, and alwayes to lodge in places of advantage. There were two wayes to the said places. The one was longer and lower, which going bias against the river of Adde, was in forme like a bow: the other shorter & higher, but straight as a line. The King takes the lower, the enemy the higher, *Chaumont* led the foreward of the French, *Aluiane* the Venetian. They approach neere vnto Agnadel, when as *Aluiane* being forced of necessity to fight, plants sixe peeces of artillery vpon the causse of a brooke which was then almost dry, which parted the two armies, and his foote in the vineyards adioyning to it, and comes resolutely to charge our foreward. The combat was long and doubtfull; for that by reason of the stocks and branches the French horse could not fight commodiously. And now the Suisses begin to wauer, when as the King sending *Charles* of Bourbon to encourage them, and aduancing him-selfe with his bataille into a more large and open place, hee redoubled the shock, fauoured by his artillery: the which the enemy could not discouer by means of certaine small trees and bushes. So as after an obstinate fight of either side, about three houres, the Kings presence not suffering any one to faint, and the Suisses returning to their first heate, the Venetians wonderfully spoiled by the horse, and Cannon, and hindred by the raine and haile which beate in their faces, began to yeeld both in courage and force: and finally resolute to sell this victory to the French very deare, failing rather in force then courage, they desired rather to loose their liues, then their honours, by turning of their backs.

The exploits  
of the Popes  
army.

The Earle of Petiliano (with whom was the greatest part of their forces, incouraged with a squadron of their owne men flying, grieved that *Aluiane* had contrary to his aduice, presumed to fight, and thinking that his indeauours would preuaile little to obtaine the victory) desired rather to saue the rest of the armie, then to see all, lost by the rashnesse of an other. The Earle *Bernardin du Mont*, was slaine, and some men at armes, and about ten thousand foote. *Bartholomew* of Aluiane was prisoner, and hurt in the eye, and twenty peeces of great artillery lost. Of the French, no men of marke, but some five hundred foot were slaine. The King caused the dead to be buried, and for a trophie he built a Chappel in the place of bataille, the which hee named *Saint Mary* of Victory. So ended the battell of Agnadel, or Guiradadde, or (as others call it) of Vaile the 15. of May. This happy victory purchased the King the next day Carriage, and then Bergamo, Brescia, Crema, Cremona, Pisqueton, Pesquiere, and other places, whereof the King would not accept one, but vpon condition, that the Venetian Gentlemen, that were within any of them, should yeeld themselves prisoners vpon ransome. On the other side, the Pope with foure hundred men at armes, foure hundred light horses, eight thousand foote, and the artillery of the Duke of Ferrara, tooke Ceruia, Solarole, Bresquille, all Valdelamone, Granarole, all the Townes of the territory of Faenza, Rauenna, Imola, & all the townes of Romagna, but more through fauour of the Kings victory, then by his owne forces. The Marquis of Mantoua recovered Asole and Lunate, which the Venetians had vsurped from *John Francis* of Gonzagua his great grand-father. And the Duke of Ferrara, Polesine of Rouigne. In Istria, *Christopher Frangipan* inuaded Pisfine and Diuinie. The Duke of Brunswike entring into Friul, for the Emperour, tooke Feltri, Bellone, Trieste, and then Verona and Padoua returned to the obedience of the Empire. The Earles of Lodron seized vpon some Castles and Villages in their iurisdiccions, and the Bishop of Trent got for his share, Riue de Trente, and Agreste. The King of Arragon making his profit of an other mans paines and charge, recovered Brindes and Tarentum. So euery one pulling his plumes, the Crowe (according to the Prouerbe) remained almost bare. Such are the fruites of a battell wonne in a Country not fortified. This check had abated the naturall pride and haughtinesse of the Venetians, but their ruine toucht the hearts of the Italians diuersly. Some were well pleased, for that with-out any obseruation of faith or equitie, (thrust on with an insatiable ambition and couetousnesse,) they made profession to seaze vpon all, that opportunity offered them. Others began to sigh, lamenting the generall calamitie of Italy, ready to yeeld to the seruitude of a stranger. The Pope was one of the first that grieved at this great fall, and fearing the Emperours power and the Kings, hee deuised how to crosse their affaires, and to take from them all meanes to ruine this common-weale, the ancient seate of liberty.

Hee

1509.

A seate of liberty. Hee accepted of the Venetians Ambassage and submission, and reuoked the sentence by the which they were excommunicate. The which gaue them a beginning of hope, but more when they see the King content to haue recovered his owne, and not to exceed the limits of the capitulation of Cambray. And that which reuiued their spirits, certaine banished men, newly restored at Treuifo by the Venetians, to make the memory of this benefit famous, troupe together, plant the banner of *Saint Mark* in the Market place, and expell *Leonard* of Dreifine, who without any armes or force, had received the city in the Emperors name, they bring in seuen hundred Venetian foote, and consequently, all the forces they had assembled in Sclauonia, and Romagna.

B Without doubt *Treuifo* alone repaired the Venetians honor, and the chiefe cause of this accident, as also to put the Venetians in more hope, was the negligence and ill government of the Emperour, who during the course of so many victories, had made shew but of his name onely, and these importune delaies had caused the King to take his way towards Milan, to returne speedily into France. The Kings dislodging of his army, gaue courage to the Venetians to recouer Padoua, which they knew to be vnfurnished of men for the defence thereof. *Andrew Gritti* one of their Commisaries, had assembled two thousand men of the country, with three hundred souldiers, and some horse, and finding by chance the port of Codalungue halfe open, by reason of some carts laden with haye, that were lately entred, hee seized thereon without noyse, and kept it, vntill the companies lead by *Chualier* C *Voipe*, *Zitole* of Perugia, and *Lassance* of Bergamo were ariued, who held it almost an houre before that any alarme was giuen in the Towne. This reprimall made the way to recouer Legnague, a very commodious towne, to annoy Vincenza and Verona.

The Veneti-  
ans begin to  
recouer their  
looses.

One of the ancients sayd, that we must reuerence fortune, else she will shew her selfe terrible. Hereafter she leaues the Emperour, and returnes to the Venetians. The Marquis of Mantoua lodgeth in the Isle of Etscale, in the country of Verona, attending the preparatiues which the bishop of Trente, gouernor of Verona made, to besiege Legnague. *Luke Malnezze* with two hundred light horse, & *Zitole* of Perugia, with eight hundred foote, and fiftene hundred of the country, besides the garrison of Legnague, entring one morning into the said Isle, surprized the Marquis his troupes sleeping, spoile them, leading the Marquis with his Lieutenant *Boisi* (Nephew to the Cardinal of Amboise) prisoners, leauing a lesson to commanders in the warre, to bee vigilant, to weigh their owne forces, and not to contemne their enemies. On the other side, the Venetians in Friul recouered Valdesere by force, Bel-lone by composition, and fortified themselves in the Vincentin, by the taking of many other places, as of Sersaule, a passage of great importance, the which *Maximilian* recouered soone after, with the like cruelty vpon the Italians, as the Italians had vsed vpon the Germans at the taking thereof; for hauing not yet assembled sufficient forces to goe to field, they make small attempts, besieging now one bourgh, then another, with small honor and reputation, for the quality of an Emperour: solliciting notwithstanding all his confederates, to vnite their forces for the taking of Venice. But who should haue reaped the profit? The pope would neither haue the Emperour nor King possesse it: and the Catholike King detested this enterprize as vniust and dishonest, moued therevnto, not with the loue of vertue, but with enuy, the which he bare to the greatnesse of our *Lewis* his vnckle, who hee thought should haue the greatest benefit by this conquest.

The Marquis  
of Mantoua  
surprized by  
the Venetians.

Whilest that the Emperour filled all Italy, with a vaine feare of his force, he sent the prince of Anhalt with ten thousand men into Friul, who at his entry tooke Cadore with a great butchery of those that defended it, and the duke of Brunswike (whom the Emperour had likewise sent) did put to route eight hundred horse and five hundred foote, which *John Paul Gradenigo* Commisary of Friul, brought to the succor of Ciuitall of Austria, which the Germans besieged. *Christopher Frangipan* did also defeate the Venetian officers followed by the forces of the country, he wasted the country, and seized vpon Chasteauneuf, Fiume and Raspruche. And the Venetians sending *Angelo Trevisan* generall of their army at sea thither, recouered Fiume and Raspruche. To conclude, by sundry prises, and reprises, mens goods and liues were continually in prey.

The Emperour hauing now assembled all his forces, prepares for the siege of Padoua. Besides the forces of the Empire, hee had seuen hundred French Lances, commanded, by

The siege of  
Padoua.



1509.

The Emper-  
ors army.

by the Lord of Palisse: two hundred men at armes, which the Pope had sent him. Two hundred more from the duke of Ferrara, vnder the command of the Cardinall of Este: fixe hundred men at armes vnder diuers Italian captaines, eightene thousand Lansquenets: fixe thousand Spaniards, fixe thousand aduenturers of diuers Nations, and two thousand foote, which the sayd Cardinall brought vnto him for the Duke: with so wonderfull a preparation for peeces of batttery and munition, as the issue of this siege held at Italie in suspense. The Emperour had already taken Limini, neere vnto Padoua, by force, when as there chanceth a signe of happy successe for the Padouans and Venetians. *Philip Rosse*, and *Frederike Gonzagua* of Boffole, went with two hundred light horse, to gard the artillery that came out of Germany: fixe hundred horse issuing out of Padoua, hauing intelligence thereof, charge them in the night, defeate them fixe miles from Vincenza, and take *Philip Rosse*.

And in exchange, *Maximilian* hauing extended his companies about twelue miles off from Padoua, to bee assured of the commodity of victuals and pasture, takes by assault and sackes the bourg of Este, *Monfelic* and *Montagnane*, ouerthrowes three thousand peasants at the bridge of Bouolente, and carries away a great prey of cattaille, which they had gathered together. At length after many delaies (which gaue the Padouans leysure to fortifie and furnish themselues with victuals) hee is planted before the towne-walles, the fifteenth day of September. As for the defence of Padoua, the Venetians had furnished it with fixe hundred men at armes, fifteene hundred light horse, and fifteene hundred Stradiots or Albanois, commanded by captaines of great experience, the Earle of Petillane, *Bernardin* of Montone, *Anthony Pie*, *Luc Maluette*, *Iohn the Gree*, and twelue thousand choise foote, vnder the charge of *Denis de Nalde*, *Zitole* of Perugia, *Lafance* of Bergamo, *Saccocio* of Spoleto, and many other of meaner quality, and ten thousand foote, Sclauones, Greekes and Albanois. And why should not two and twenty thousand foote, and three thousand fixe hundred horse defend Padoua, with that multitude of Venetian youth, who (to make prooffe of their valour and piety to their country) had willingly thrust themselues into the towne, seeing they could not haue forced them in field, within any small trench? Padoua was furnished with great store of all kinde of artillery, victuals and a great number of peasants, who continually labored in the fortifications.

The fortifica-  
tions of Pa-  
doua.

The ports and other fit places were furnished with bastions without, and euery vault vnderneath full of barrells of poulder, to blow vp such as did assaile them. And within round about the city a palissadoe, or fortification of piles, trees and peeces of timber, fortified with a deepe ditch fixeene sadome broad: flanked with Casemats and small Towers full of artillery: and behinde the ditch a rampar of the same bredth, round about the towne, except some places where they could not plant any artillery, and before the rampar, a parapet of feuen cubits high, to couer them that should defend the rampars.

Behold all the Imperiall army is now planted before Padoua, but this was not to attempt a towne besieged, but rather an army camped in a towne which made head against an army, holding the field. The artillery thunders eight daies together, and preuailes so much, as it seemes they need not to shoot any more. They giue an assault to the bastion, at the point of the port of Codalungue.

The Spaniards and Lansquenets (seconded by some men at armes on foote) winne the bastion, and plant two Ensignes: but both the fortresse vpon the ditch, the valour of the defendants, the abundance of instruments for defence, artillery, stones, wild-fire, and all other kinde of offensue armes, force them to abandon it in hast, many remaying dead or wounded, so as the army being ready to assaile the wall (the bastion beeing wonne) he retired and disarmed without any farther attempt. *Maximilian* despairing of victory by these preiudicial beginnings, after seuentene daies siege rayseth his campe, and passing (in his retreat) by Vincenza and Verona, receiues their oath of fidelity, hee then dismisseth almost all his army, and tooke the way to Trente, determyning to make a truce with the Venetians for some monethes. But growne proud with this prosperity, seeing his associats to aide him so coldly, and supposing that a surceasing of armes would bee preiudiciall vnto them, they prepared to recouer Vincenza, Ciuitelle, Bassan, *Monfelic*, *Montagnane*, *Este*, *Polesine* and in the end to make warre against the Duke of Ferrara.

But

A But hee that vndertakes too much, repents sometimes. Desire of reuenge is a dangerous Counsellor, and the resolution not to endure a wrong either done, or pretended to be done, grounded rather vpon passion then reason, is commonly the cause of the Authors ruine. *Alphonso* duke of Ferrara recouering of *Polesine*, had (in hatred of the Venetian name) wonderfully spoiled the gentlemen houses of the country, hee receiued the towne of Este from *Maximilian* in fee, and *Montagnane* in mortgage. The Venetians (building the motiues of their disdaine thereon) send their Generall *Angelo Trevisan* with seuentene galleies, and a great number of other smaller vessells, towards Ferrara, and a good number of horse by land, to second their army at sea, the which beeing entred into the riuier of Po, and hauing burnt *Corbole*, and some other villages neere adioyning, they spoiled all the country, euen vnto the Lake of Scure, and without difficulty recovered all the territory of *Polesine*. To withstand these violent courses, the Ferrarois plants his artillery vpon the banks of Po, to stop the passage of this army, and forceth *Trevisan* to cast anchor in the midst of the riuier, behind a small Island right against *Pulicelle*, a commodious place to molest the Ferrarois, and there he fortifies himselfe with two bastions vpon the banks, the one on the side of Ferrara, and the other opposite, whilest that other vessells assailing the duke of Ferrares country in an other part, take *Comache*.

1510.

The Venetians make warre against the Duke of Ferrara.

The duke strengthened with a hundred and fifty Lances, which the Lord of Chastillon brought him, and two hundred men at armes, which the Pope sent him (discontented that the Venetians had invaded this Duchy, without respect of the superiority which the church hath ouer it) fauored with the knowledge of the country, and the nature and opportunity of the riuier, hauing brought his cannon to the banke opposite to the enemy, beeing couered with a strong caufey, after an assault giuen to the bastion, where his men had the worst, hee saluted the Venetian ships so furiously, as some not able to resist, yeelded: others fiered with the shot, were miserably burnt with the men that were in them, others sinking, escaped the enemies hand, and the Generall sauéd himselfe by flight in a cock-boate, is galley-flying, shooting and defending it selfe, was in the end lunked.

The Venetians army in "

To conclude, the riuier being full of bloud, fire and dead men, fifteene galleies came into the dukes power, some great ships, many foistes, and other small vessells in great number: threescore ensignes taken, and two thousand men slaine. This army defeated, *Alphonso* sent presently *Hippolito* Cardinall of Este his brother, against that army which had taken *Comache*: but the losse of the other hauing forced them already to retire, the Cardinall imploied his forces to recouer *Loreto*, which the Venetians had fortified.

This done, the Pope desirous to tye the duke of Ferrara vnto him, to the end that acknowledging the good he should receiue by his intercession, he should depend more vpon him, then on the King, against whom hee laied the foundation of great hatred, was a meanes the Venetians should yeeld *Comache* to the Ferrarois, and should no more molest his estate. And to reconcile them with *Maximilian*, he sends *Achilles de Grassi*, bishop of Pefera, his Nuncio vnto him. But through the Emperours excessiue demands, and the Kings Ambassadors crossing it, *Achilles* returned without effecting any thing. The season made them proceed coldly in matters of warre, vntill the end of this yeere. *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand* had contended before the King for the gouernment of the realme of Castille: the first for *Charles* his grand-child, the second building vpon his wifes testament, as wee haue seene before. In the end, the Cardinall of Amboise (not considering how much this accord did preiudice the Kings affaires) drew *Maximilian* to consent, that the Catholike King, in case he had no heires male, should be gouernor of the realmes of Castile and Naples, vntill that *Charles* his grand-child should come to the age of fixe and twenty yeers, and should pay vnto the said *Charles* forty thousand ducats yeerely, fifty thousand to *Maximilian* at one payment, and should aide him according to the treaty of *Cambray*, to recouer that which belonged vnto him. A conuention which gaue courage to *Ferdinand* to encounter the Kings greatnesse: the which, in regard of the realme of Naples he alwaies feared. Doubtlesse ambition did so blind the eyes of this good Cardinall, as hee could no more discouer this grosse policy, then fore-see that death prepared him a biere in stead of a pontificall chaire. In the end of this yeere died the Earle of *Petillane*, Generall for the Venetians, old and of great experience in martiall affaires.

B b b

Al-

The Emperour raised the siege.



1510.

Although they proceed slowly in matters of warre, yet princes mindes were distracted A with many distemperatures, especially the Emperours, who despairing to get the victory of the Venetians by his owne proper forces, perswaded the King to attempt the recovery of Padoua, Vincenza and Treviso, receiving a sufficient recompence. The King knew well, that whilst the Venetians possessed a foote of land, hee should still bee subiect to continuall charge, and dangers. But hee was diuerted from repassing of the mountaines, by the sickness of the Cardinall of Amboise, to whom only hee committed all his affaires: fearing likewise, least a new army should wholly withdraw the popes affection, who long before deuised, by what meanes he should dislodge the French out off the Estates of Italy, and fearing (as wee haue said elsewhere) least the King (being armed) should dispossesse him of his chaire, to place the Cardinall of Amboise in it, he labored to draw the English from the Kings friendship, hee practised to ioyne with the Suisses, by meanes of the bishop of Sion, to the preiudice of this crowne, and protected the Venetians.

In truth, wee may behold three princes act three diuers personages vpon this Theater. The King of a faithfull alie: the Emperour of a weak, and the Pope of a disloyall. In the end, the King (the better to supply the affaires of Italie) goes to Lions, with an intent to pacifie the Pope, or at the least, to keepe him from being his enemy. To this end hee sends *Albert Pie* Earle of Carpi, with commission to offer the Pope both the Kings forces and authoritie in all occurrents, to impart vnto him the affaires that were now handled: The requests which the Emperour made vnto him, and to leaue it to his discretion, to passe or not, into Italy: were not these sufficient submissions, to pacifie any discontented minde?

Contrariwise, *Iulius* receiued the Venetians into fauour, and the foure and twentieth day of Februarie gaue them full and absolute remission. Hee still sollicit the English to take vpon him the title of protector of the sea of Rome, against the French King, against whom (said he) if he made warre, many others (to whom his power was odious) would take armes. But hee drew the Suisses with more efficacie to the protection of the church, paying a thousand florines yeerely to euery canton. The boldnesse and presumption wherewith they refused to renew their alliance with our *Lewis* (but vpon condition to augment their pensions) had iustly displeased the King: but this vnreasonable repulse shall prooue very preiudiciall to this crowne. The King in exchange allies himselfe with the Valaisans and Grisons, who binde themselves to giue passage to his people, and to deny it to his enemies, and to serue him for pay, with such forces as they could make. The Pope fortified with this new alliance, bends all his thoughts to support and raise the Venetians, to reconcile them to the Emperour, and by their rising to pull downe our *Lewis*.

But the Popes alienation serued only to kindle new fires in Italy. The Emperour and the King discontent with the shewes, which the pope made in fauour of the Venetians, vnited themselves more strictly together: and the duke of Ferrara gaue the King occasion to aduance his forces, for the protection of his estate: for the duke hauing set an impost vpon all the marchandise that passed by the Po to Venice, the pope commanded him to free it, as not being in the disposition of the vassall to impose a tribute without the liberty of the Lord of the fee. And in case hee disobeyes, he denounceth warre against him. The duke thus threatened, flies to the King, who had before taken him into his protection, giuing thirtie thousand ducats; his estate also importing the King much for his affaires of Lombardie: yet loth to contend with the Pope, for the duke of Ferrara hee propounded conditions, whereby the Pope might rest satisfied of the interest, which the church, and hee, pretended against the duke.

In the end, as the Pope (the more hee sees himselfe sought vnto) shewed greater signes of bitterness, the Lord of Chaumont enters into Italie with fiftene hundred Lances, and tenne thousand foote: to whom the duke of Ferrara sent two hundred men at armes, five hundred light horse, and two thousand foote. At their first entrie, they take *Polesine*, *Montagnagne*, and *Esté*. Then the prince of Anhalt, Lieutenant to the Emperour, passing from Verona with three hundred French Lances, two hundred men at armes, and three thousand Lanquenets, ioyned with *Chaumont*, and ioynedly together, they march against Vincenza.

The

1510.

A The Vincentins abandoned by the Venetians army, which retired towards Padoua, fled to *Chaumont* to obtaine some reasonable conditions of the prince, who wonderfully moued with their rebellion, would not receiue them with any other condition, but to haue their goods at pleasure, and their liues saued. These victories were fruitlesse, without the taking of Legnague, the which the riuier of Adice diuides into two parts, wherof the lesse is called Porto. This riuier is diuided into many branches about Legnague, passing the last branch, they incounter some footmen, set to gard Porto. Out men charge them, repulse them, kill a great number, chase the rest, and enter pel-mel with them into Porto. The taking of Porto made the meanes easie, to batter the towne on either side the riuier, for the effecting wherof *Chaumont* sent capitaine *Molare* with foure thousand men, and sixe peeces of artillery, who hauing in a manner battered downe the bastion, which was vpon the cause, at the point of the towne, the Venetian Commissary retired himselfe into the castle, and the capitaine which commanded the bastion, yeelded to depart with bagge and baggage. The bastion taken, the towne was sackt by *Molare*, and the castle battered, yeelded the next day, vpon condition, that the Venetian gentlemen remayning *Chaumonts* prisoners, the soldiers should depart with white wands in their hands. At this time died the Cardinall of Amboise, vnle to the Lord of Chaumont, a man of a great spirit, and long experience in affaires, but with the seruice of his master hee did not forget the content of his owne private ambition.

The death of the Cardinall of Amboise.

C Ciuitelle, Marostique, Basciane, Feltre, l'Escale, and other places thereabouts (abandoned by the Venetians) opened their gates vpon view of the cannon. To conclude, all places whereas the armies passed, were exposed to takings, and retakings, sacking and burning; and all persons were at the victors mercie. *Manslice* remained yet. The towne is seated in a plaine, and the castle on the mountaine compassed in with three wals, wherof the lower required two thousand men, for the defence thereof. By reason then of a new conuention betwixt the King and the Emperour, that his army should continue yet a moneth longer in Italy, and that the extraordinary charge, about the payment of the companies, which the King had till then defraied, should afterwards be payed by the Emperour, and the footmen also for that moneth, and in consideration of fiftie thousand crownes, which the King should adde to fiftie thousand others, that he had formerly lent the Emperour, Verona with the territories thereof should remaine in pawne to his Maiesty, vntill it were satisfied: *Chaumont* besieged it; Seuen hundred foote, and some companies of horse hauing vpon their approach abandoned the towne, kept the first wall. Hee batters it, and makes a breach in diuers places. The French (followed with fiftene hundred Spanish Lances, newly arrived, vnder the command of the Duke of Termini) mount to the assault, chase the garrison, and skirmishing with them, they enter pel-mel, within the other two walles, and so into the castle, the most part being slaine. Such as were retired into the dungeon, yeelded: when as the Germanes setting it on fire, burnt both the place and the men, so as, of this number few escaped, either the fury of their armes, or of the fire. The towne was likewise consumed to ashes. This done, a new commandement from the King, calles backe *Chaumont*, with his army, into the Duchy of Milan: which the Pope beganne to disturbe. Moreouer two armies of diuers nations ioyned together, to make private conquests: hardly can the commanders remaine long vnited in one will. And the Germanes (who can doe little alone) lodged in Lonigoe.

Wee haue hether to scene, that Pope *Iulius* designs tended, not onely to restore the church to her pretended Estates, but also to expell the French out of Italie. His first proiect was effected; And now many considerations draw him to the second: The Venetians are partly restored, and all at his deuotion, hauing reuoked their censures. Hee is strictly allied with the Suisses. He knowes well, the Arragonois will bee alwaies glad to see the Kings greatnesse diminished, to haue the better meanes to settle himselfe at Naples: He findes the Emperours forces, and authority to bee feeble. He is not out of hope to draw the King of England into armes. And that which feeds this couetous passion, hee is well informed, that the King hath no will to make war against the church, and that at all euents, it shall bee in his power to make peace with him, and this is the last helpe the Popes haue alwaies relied on. But with what colour may *Iulius* arme against our *Lewis*? The King wil not

The Pope seeks to expell the French out of Italy.

Bbb 2

giue

The Suisses forsake the alliance of France, and ioyne to the Pope.

A French army enters Italy.

1510. give ouer the protection of the Duke of Ferrara, and *Iulius* desires exceedingly the possession of his Duchie, grounded (although the Seigncurie of Comache, from whence *Alphonso* drew the salt, belonged directly to the Emperour) vpon the discord for the salt pannes, and customes which *Alphonso* leuied vnlawfully, and without the leaue (said he) of the Lord of the Fee. This was a crosse deuice to cloake his couetousnesse. To colour this, hee vrgeth the King againe to renounce the protection of the Ferrarois: vpon his refusall, hee protests to flie from the treatie of *Cambray*: that hee will not ioyne with him, neither yet bee opposite vnto him, and that without tying himselfe to any person, he will hereafter seeke to maintaine peace in the Church. But on Saint *Peters* day, hee discouers in effect the motions of his mind: that day the rents due to the Apostolicke Sea are payed: hee refuseth to accept those of the Duke of Ferrara, alledging for his reasons, that *Alexander* the sixth marrying his daughter *Lucrece*, could not (to preiudice the Sea) reduce foure thousand Ducats to an hundred. And the same day (having before refused to giue the French Cardinals leaue to returne into France) aduertised that the Cardinall of Auchx was gone to field with his dogges and nettes, hee sent to pursue him, as after a fugitiue, and held him prisoner in the Castell of Saint *Angelo*. And to winne vnto him the Catholike King, against the most Christian, hee graunts him the inuestiture of the Realme of Naples, vpon condition, to pay the same rent which the auncient Kings of Arragon had payed, and entertainment for three hundred men at armes, for the defence of the Church, when it should be demanded.

At league betwixt Ferdinand and the Pope against the King.

But behold a strange turbulent spirit, who attempting at one instant to assaile Ferrara, Genoua, and Milan, toyles himselfe infinitely to bring forth paine and confusion. The Ferrarois offered to giue him the salt made at Comache, and to bind himselfe, there should be no more made: yet proceeding against him, as against a notorious offender, hee sends his troupes led by the Duke of *Vrbino*, into the territorie of Ferrara: who at his first arriual, and at the onely summons of a trumpet, takes *Cente*, *Pieue*, *Bagnacaul*, and *Lugo*. But as hee camped before the Castell of *Lugo*, *Alphonso* comming with his people and some French companies, the Duke of *Vrbino* raised the seege, leauing three peeces of Cannon behind him (it is a dishonour for a Commander to loose his Artillerie) and retired into *Imola*, giuing *Alphonso* means to recouer that which they had taken from him in *Romagnia*. But the army of the church was no sooner refreshed, but they take the same places, and likewise *Modena*.

He sent eleuen Venetian gallies against Genoua, whereof *Grille Contarin* was Generall, and one of the Popes, in the which were *Ottavian* and *John Eregose*, *Ierome Dacie* and many other banished men. And by land *Mark Antonie Colonne* with an hundred men at armes, and seauen hundred foote. About the same time fixe thousand Suiſſes (in the beginning of September) passing by *Bellinzone*, camped at *Vareſe*, where foure thousand more ioyne with them: but this prooues but a fire of straw. *Iulius* hoped that Genoua beeing assailed both by sea and land, it would breed some infallible alteration; that the greatest part hating the French command, would easily maintaine the name of *Fregose*, and that the French amazed with this alteration at Genoua (beeing likewise prest by the Suiſſes) would recall into the Duchie of Milan, all such companies as they had both with the Emperour and the Duke of Ferrara: that by consequence the Venetians would recouer Verona, and he enioy Ferrara, and then with their vnited forces inuade the estate of Milan. But he reckoned without his host: let vs now see the proceedings of these armes. They shut those gates against him which he expected to find open. *Chaumont* at the first brunt of the enemies approach, had manned Genoua with some companies. *Preian Pronoucal* was entred the port with fixe great Gallies, the sonne of *John Lewis* of Fiesque, with eight hundred men of the countrey, and a Nephew to the Cardinall of Finall, with no lesse number, was come into the Towne, for the King, and these together preuented all insurrections. So the Pope and the banished men, frustrate of their chiefe hope, retire to *Rapalle*. And *Colonne* foreseeing that he should hardly recouer any place of safetie by land, for that the commons were risen, hee shipped himselfe in the Gallies with three-score of his best horse, and sent the rest by land to *Spetie*, who for the most part were spoiled vpon the Marches of the Genouois, *Liquois* and *Florentins*. On the other side, the Suiſſes which camped at *Vareſe*, vnder color (as they said) to go to serue the church, found in the end, to their losse, that they did but serue the ambir

1510. A ambition of one priuat man. *Chaumont* hauing manned all the passages with sufficient forces, sends *Triumke* to *Mont Brianſe*, that with his troupes and the helpe of the country men he might keepe the Suiſſes from seizing on the passage and hee him-selſe coasting along by them, and still skirmishing with them, with his horse and foote, and many field peeces, cuts of their victualles, and performing the duty of a good Captaine, without hazarding of anything, he annoyed them at the passages of *Riuers*. To defeat a poore, but a warlike nation, there is nothing but blowes to be gotten: and in loosing they hazard an estate. In the end, besides the continuall charges of the French army, oppressed with want of victuals and mony, they free our men (who are not accustomed to spend much in spies) of the doubt which troubled them, that is, whether they would passe to Ferrara by the Duchy of Milan, or turne by the hilles vnder *Como*, *Lecque*, *Bergamo* and *Brescia*, or else by the *Guiradade*, through the territory of *Mantoua*: for taking their way by the high places of *Como*, they went to luge at the bridge of *Trese*, where (brought to extremities for want of bread and mony) they retired by troupes to their houses. Whilest the French were elsewhere busied, the Venetians (making profit of their absence, and of the Germans retreat) recouer (without toile) *Eſte*, *Monſelice*, *Montagnagne*, *Marostique*, *Basciane* and *Vincenza*. *Legnague* staid their victories, but *Verona* ouerthrew them. They beseege it with eight hundred men at armes, 3000. light horse and tenne thousand foote, besides an infinit number of peasants, and batter it from a mountaine opposite, beeing counter-battered and wonderfully spoiled by the artillery from the town. But the Venetians desire was great, to conquer this city, and the valour of the beseege was no lesse to defend both their honors and liues.

They had foure hundred French Lances, three hundred Spaniards, a hundred Germans and Italians, siue hundred French foot, and foure thousand Germanes, which the Prince of *Anhault* (dead some few daies before) had left there: a thousand foote, with some cornets of French issue forth in the night, put them to the sword that kept the artillery, cloyed two peeces, and carried them away, when as *Zitole* of *Perugia* flying to the rescue, and being slaine with almost all that followed him, *Denis* of *Nalde* arriued: who recouering the prey, repulſed and beate them within their walls. But the Venetians daunted with this checke, seeing no rising of the people, as they expected, aduertised of the Suiſſes retreat, and that *Chaumont* came to succour them, they retired to *Saint Boniface*. The warres continued in *Friul* and *Istria*, with the accustomed insolencies and cruelties on either side, but more to the ruine of the country, and buildings, then of the people. At the same time, the Marquis of *Mantoua* came out of prison, at the Mantouans sute to *Baiaxe* Prince of the Turks, in whole loue the Marquis had many yeares held himselfe.

The Venetians repulſed retire from Verona.

The Pope was not growne wise, neither by his owne, nor other mens losses: his vnfortunate attempts had nothing daunted his hopes: and they found the prouerbe true, to their cost: *Hee that hath a companion hath a Maister*. A witte blinded with presumption: who (seeing his practises now discovered; the port of Genoua furnished with a strong army, the town provided of all things necessary for defence) hopes to obtaine that now which he could not get when the port was disarmed: he perſwades the Venetians to a second attempt. They come to Genoua with fifteene light gallies, three great, one galleasse, and three *Biscaine* shippes. The French fleet going out off the hauen, with two and twenty light gallies, after they had giuen order, that the contrary faction should not rise, met with them at *Porto Venere*: where by the thunder of their cannons, and by the tower of *Codisa*, they forced them to retire to *Ciuira-uecchia*, whence the Venetian fleet parting to recouer the gulfe, a tempest cast siue gallies vpon the coast of *Messina*: the others beaten and brused, were driuen vpon the coast of *Barbary*, and in the end recouered the port of *Venice*, halſe lost. The army which came by land, led by the Arch-Bishoppe of *Salerne*, brother to *Ottavian Eregose*, by *John* of *Safatelle*, and *Remiar* of *Safate* the Popes captaines, seeing the fruitlesse attempts of the fleet at sea, in stead of Genoua, went to take *Fanane* in the mountaine of *Modena*. A small recompence for so many vaine attempts.

The Venetians make attempt against Genoa.

This disgrace did rather increase the Popes obstinacy, then make him faint. He might easily obtaine a peace of the King, and with such conditions, as might well content a conquerour. The King was content to referre the Duke of Ferrares cause to iustice, and gaue power to the Pope, to name such Iudges as he pleased. But *Iulius* (following the

1510. holy Oracles, *loud cursing and cursing followed him: and for that he tooke no pleasure in blaspheming, it forsooke him.*) Seeing the King yeeld to so reasonable conditions, he impudently demands, that Genoua be set at liberty, and with such bitterness, as the Duke of Sauoies Ambassador (offering his Princes intercession for their place,) he puts him in prison, and tortures him as a spy. He comerts all his thoughts against Ferrara. The Venetians thrust him forward, fearing (least in the end, loosing the hope of his desseins) he should be reconciled to the King. And the King (sufficiently informed of the Popes bad affection, resolves to defend the Ferrarois, and both by spirituall, and temporall armes, to crosse the Popes insolencies.

In the end of September the Pope comes to Bologna, with an intent to assaile Ferrara, both by water, and land; the Venetians on the one side, and he on the other, perswading himselfe, that at the same of his forces, the people would rebell against *Alphonso*. But the Venetian companies hauing brought many barks by the riuier of Po, into the territory of Mantoua, to make a bridge, the Duke of Ferrara with the French forces, set vpon them vnawares, tooke them, and many vessels in certaine chanel of Polesine, with the Venetian Comissary. Then was there discovered a practise which the Venetians had in Brescia, for the which the Earle *John Maria* of Martinengue was beheaded there. This stay of the flecte did nothing discourage the Pope, but perswading him selfe that his owne forces were sufficient to conquer Ferrara, he assembled them all at Modena, vnder the Duke of Vrbino being Generall, the Cardinall of Paury, *John Paul Bailon*, *Marc Anthony Colonne*, and *John Vitelli*, Captaines of authority, whilest that *Chaumont* incamped right against them at Rubiere and Marfaille, trying them with daily skirmishes: he gaue the Ferrarois meanes, with the Lord of Chastillon, to recover Polesine, Final, and Cente. Hauing sackt and burnt it to ashes, he went to ioyne with *Chaumont*, euen as three hundred men at armes, many light horse, and foure thousand Venetian foote, came to winne the passage of Po, and to ioyne with the Popes forces, hauing already taken *Ficqueroles* and *Stellate* on the other side, and forced *Alphonso* to goe to the succour of his country. Thus the two Venetian flectes, hauing free passage vpon Po, did greatly annoy the Ferrarois territory, by daily inroades and spoiles: when as the Duke issuing out of Ferrara, put to route that flecte, which was entred the riuier of Po, by Primare, and came vnto Adria: the other which consisted of foists and small vessels, being entred by Fornaces, and come to Puliselle, seeking to passe into the riuier of Adice, by a riuier adioyning they found the water so low, as they could not enter, but were so battered with the Ferrarois attillery, as they abandoned their shippes, seeking to saue themselves and their Cannons.

The Pope resumes the war against the Ferrarois.

Conclusion is made by the French Church against the Pope.

The Pope seeing hee could preuaile nothing by his temporall forces, he flies to the spirituall: excommunicating *Alphonso* of Este, and all those that were, or should come to his succour, namely *Charles* of Amboise, with all the chiefe of the French army. This furious course made the King to assemble all the Prelats of his realme at Tours, with the most famous Doctores of all his Vniuersities, as well in diuinity, as in the ciuill and cannon lawes, who resolve vpon eight notable conclusions against the Pope: That it was not lawfull for the Pope to assaile any temporall Princes, by force, in their territories not belonging to the Church. That it was lawfull for any such Prince, for the defence of his subiects and country, not onely to repell this iniury by force, but also to inuade the territories of the Church possessed by any such Pope, not with an intent to hold the, but to the end (the Pope being dispossessed thereof) should haue no more meanes to molest his estate: seeing the Pope had, through the aide of the said Prince, recovered the same lands, vsurped before by certaine tyrants. That for so manifest a wrong and uniuert attempt, any such Prince might withdraw him selfe from the Popes obedience, for the defence of his temporall Estate, seeing hee had stirred vp many other Princes and common-weales, to inuade the dominions of the sayd Prince, who deserued reward and loue of the Apostolicke see. That this subtraction being made, they should obserue in France the common and ancient law, and the Pragmatique sanction, enacted at the councell of Basill. That any such Prince might by force defend another Prince his confederate, and of whome he had lawfully taken the protection, for those Seigneuries which he had long enjoyed, & with a iust title, seeing this confederacy had bin made with the consent of the said Pope, who as the chiefe was comprehended therein: & that this Prince allied, according to the forme of the league, had giuen aide for

1510. the recouery of the patrimonie of S. Peter: that the Pope pretending any thing due for any rights belonging to the church of Rome, & the Prince on the other side challenging to hold of the Empire, and should referre this controuersie to the censure of indifferent Iudges, as equitie required, that in this case it was not lawfull for the Pope, without further knowledge of the cause, to make warre against any such Prince: the which if he did, the said Prince might oppose his forces with other Princes his confederates, so as that right had not bene possessed by the Romane Church within an hundred yeares. That if the Pope would not accept this honest and lawfull offer, but contrarie to order and right, should giue sentence against any such Prince, maintaining his right not to depend vpon the Church: neither he nor any other by opposing, should incurr the censure of that sentence, seeing that Prince had no free access, neither to go, nor send to Rome to defend his rights. That if the Pope vniuertly (the due course of law not obserued, should by maine force, pronounce any censures against any such Princes, their allies and subiects resisting in such a case, the sentence were of no force, neither could it by any meanes bind.

These conclusions taken, the King (according to the resolution of the Councell) sent Ambassadors to *Iulius*, in the name of the French Church, to admonish him by brotherly and spirituall correction, that leauing his desseignes, he should attend to peace, concord, loue, and charitie, and reconcile himselfe with the fore-said Princes: vpon refusal, they should summon him to call a generall Councell, according to the decrees of the holy Councell of Basill. That his answer heard, things should be ordered according vnto reason. In the meane time, fortie light horse, and fife hundred foote (hauing at the first summons of a Trumpet, yeelded Carpio to *Albert Pie*), were incourted by foure thousand foote, ledde by *Pulisse*, defeated, and in a manner all slaine. And *Chaumont* desirous to charge the Church forces, before they should ioyne with the Venetian companies, and three hundred Spanish Launces, which *Ferdinand* had sent him, in consideration of the inuestiture of Naples: but not able to draw them, but to some light skirmishes, by the perswasion of the *Bentiuoles*, hee turned his forces against Bologna, where the Pope remained sicke, both doubtfull of the peoples faith, being beleeged, and so discontented with the long stay of the Venetians, as hee protested publicly to *Ierome Donat* their Ambassadour, that if their succours entred not the next day into Bologna, hee would agree with the French. And at that instant sent hee *John Francis Pic*, Earle of Mirandole, to treat with the Lord of *Chaumont*. *Chaumont* not to alter this good disposition, vnderstanding the Kings pleasure, keeps his troups within their lodgings, and sent backe the Earle with these propositions: That, *Alphonso* of Este, and all those the Pope had comprehended in his censure should be absolved: That in regard of the Venetians, nothing should be done contrarie to the treatie of *Cambray*: That the controuersies betwixt *Alphonso* and the Pope should be decided within fixe moneths by Iudges chosen by their common consent: That Modena should bee restored to the Emperour, Cotignole to the King, and the Cardinall of Auchx set at libertie: and that the giuft of all Benefices within the Kings dominions should bee according to his nomination.

The siege of Bolonia.

But *Chiappin Vitelli* entring into Bologna with 600. Venetian light horse, and a squadron of Turkes, which they had in pay, made the Pope to sing another note, That there was no meanes of accord, if the King did not absolutely abandon the defence of the Ferrarois. And *Chaumont* seeing that, neither by the treaties of peace, nor by force, he preuailed any thing, the people of Bologna holding themselves quiet, and at the Popes deuotion, being also afflicted with the winter, and want of victuals, he returned to Chasteaufranc and Spiliberre, the which he had lately taken. *Chaumont* is no sooner gone, but the Pope strangely incensed, exclaims against the King to all Christian Princes, as thirsting after his blood & the territories of the church, hauing caused him to be beleeged with all his Cardinals and Prelats in Bologna: & returning to his former course with more vehemency, he sends his troups to field, augmented by fife hundred men at armes, sixteene hundred light horse, fife thousand foote, and three hundred Spanish Launces. But whilest this armie sojournes about Modena, some squadrons running towards Rhegium, being defeated by the French, they lost an hundred horse, & the Earle of Marelisque was taken prisoner. Moreover, the Duke of Ferrara with the Lord of Chastillon incamped vpon the Po; betwixt Hospitalet & Bondin, opposit to some other Venetian

1511. Venetian companies, that were on the other side of the river: they sunke nine of their vessels, A and forced the rest to returne to Venice. These small victories were crost by taking of Saffuole and Forminge, whilest that *Chaumont* refreshed himselfe within *Paugia*, and *Aubigne* at *Rhegium*. These conquered townes incensed *Julius* more violently against *Ferrara*, the which he knew was well furnished with men, and things necessary for defence: and the French through the continuall toyle of the warre, were tired both in bodies and mindes. And presuming to make the enterprise more easie, he went himselfe in person, the 2. of Ianuary, before *Mirandola*, aduertised that *Chaumont* had made an escape to *Milan*, drawne thither (as they said) with the loue of a young Gentlewoman. A journey which did greatly quail the courage, and hope of them that defended *Mirandola*, who see themselves abandoned, not so much by the negligence, as by the dissention betwixt *Chaumont* and *John Iaques* of *Triuulce*, (who then was gone into France:) whereby it may be, he was not much displeased to see the Earles of *Mirandola* (grand-children to *Triuulce*, by reason of *Francis* their mother, his bastard daughter) deprived of that place. In the end, after all the duties that might be performed by men besieged, despairing of succours, seeing a breach made, and the water of their ditches so frozen, as it bare the souldiers, they obtained in the end (by the intercession of the Cardinalls which assisted the Pope) to depart with bagge and baggage: vpon condition that *Alexander Triuulce* Gouvernour of the towne, and all the Captaines, should remaine prisoners: and to redeeme the towne from sacke, which he had promised to his souldiers, they should pay a certaine summe of money.

*Mirandola taken.*

After the taking of *Mirandola*, two things were propounded in Councell by the French: whether they should assaile the enemye, or beseege *Modena* or *Bolonia*, to draw the Popes forces out of the Estate of *Ferrara*, and by that meanes to draw them into a conuenient place for a battaile. Great Captaines hold it for a firme maxime, and experience hath alwaies taught it, That we ought neuer to vndergo the hazard of a battle, but for some great advantage, or when as vrgent necessitie doth constraîne. This was the aduice of *Triuulce*, newly returned to the campe, and accordingly resolution was taken to go to *Modena*. But let vs obserue a Spanishe trick. The policie and secret aduertisements of *Ferdinand* did more harme to the King his vnkle, then the Popes open force. He thinks this to be a meanes to pacifie the Emperours spleene, and to sow some diuision betwixt the King and him. *Modena* was held time out of mind, to be a fee of the Empire, and the house of *Este* had not enioyed it but by the Emperours inuestiture. *Ferdinand* then aduiseeth the Pope, to the end the French should not haue it, to restore it to the Emperour, as a towne of his Iurisdiction. So *Vitfruch Maximilians* Ambassador, hauing receiued it in that forme, gaue notice vnto *Chaumont*, that *Modena* did no more belong vnto the Pope, but to her ancient and lawfull Lord. And to enioy this restitution quietly, *Vitfruch* and *Chaumont* agreed together, that the French forces should not offend *Modena*, nor the territorie thereof: and during these gauboles betwixt the King and the Pope, it should fauour neither partie.

Then died *Charles* of Amboise, a Captaine, whom the name of the Cardinal of Amboise his vnkle, and the gouernement of the estates of *Milan* and of the Kings armies held in great reputation in Italy: a faithfull seruant to his King, but (to beare so great a burthen) he wanted a longer experience in the art of warre: seeing that after the death of his vnkle, through that defect he was become contemptible to his souldiers: to whom (to keepe them the better at his deuotion) he gaue too much libertie, *John Iaques* of *Triuulce*, as Marshal of France tooke vpon him the command of the armie, attending the Kings pleasure, and inflamed with an honest ambition to performe something worthie of his vertue, hauing in the moneth of May gathered together twelue hundred Lances, and seuen thousand foote, he besieged, tooke, and sacked in one day the towne of *Concordia*, and won *Chasteaufranc* by composition. Then approaching *Bolonia*, he so amazed the Pope, as hauing founded the *Bolonois* minds, and drawne from them an oath of fidelitie, he left the Cardinal of *Paugia* there, and retired to *Rauenna*. He is no sooner gone, but the people looking to the preservation of their priuate and present estates, and seeing themselves surcharged with two armies, they take armes and hinder the Cardinal of *Paugia* from bringing in of any forces. The Cardinal fainting, and fearing the armed multitude should seeke reuenge for their honourable citizens, whose heads he had lately cut off, as fautors to the *Bentiuoles*, flies in the night disguised

*Bolonia taken.*

A guised into the Cittadell, and from thence towards *Imola* with an hundred horse.

1511.

The Legates flight being knowne, the people began to sound out the name of *Popolo*, with great mutinie and tumult. *Laurence Ariosto*, *Francis Rimuchio*, and other Captaines of the towne, affected to the *Bentiuoles*, runne to the gates of *S. Felix* and *Lamas*: breake them downe, call the *Bentiuoles*, and receiue them into the towne. The Duke of *Vrbino* aduertised of the Legats flight, and of the peoples rising, dislodged in the night, (leaving most part of his tents and pavilions standing) with all his armie, except such as for the guard of the camp were on the other side of the river towards the French, to whom he gaue no intelligence of his departure. The people vnderstanding of his retraite, and the peasants comming downe from all parts, with great cries and shoutes, pursue them, take fifteene peeces of great artillery, and many lesse, the Duke of *Vrbino*s standard, their munition and baggage. The soldiars had time to saue themselves, whilest that *Raphael* of *Passi*, one of the captaines of the Church made a stand at the bridge of *Rene*, vntill that by the taking thereof, and route of all his people, the whole army had a free passage to *Bolonia*. A victory extraordinarily happy, hauing in one night conquered a great city, and without perill or fight broken a whole army. The Bishoppe *Vitelle* held the Cittadell, and *Vitfruch*, posting thither in the night, perswades him to deliuer it into the Emperours hands: but three thousand Ducats which the *Bolonois* gaue him, made him to open the gates, the people hauing recovered it, to free themselves both from subiection, and the iealousie of nations, and also from the feare they had, least the King should retaine it, they ruined it to the ground. The Duke of *Ferrara* making his profit of this victory, recovered *Cente*, *Pieue*, *Cotignole*, *Lugo* and other townes of *Romagnia*.

*Bolonia taken.*

At the same time, the Emperours and the Kings Deputies, assisted by the Cardinalls of *S. Croix*, *S. Malo*, *Baioux*, *Cosense*, *Albret*, and many others, publish a counsell at *Pisa*, for the first of September, the which was lately returned to the obedience of the Florentines. To crosse this counsell, the Pope (following the aduice of *Anthony de Mont* of *Saint Samson* one of the 8. Cardinalls newly created at *Rauenna* (appointed a generall counsell the first of May, at *Saint John de Lateran* in *Rome*. And to keepe the Kings forces quiet, he collourably gaue eare to a peace, which the Bishoppe of *Tiuli*, his Nuncio, and the King of Scots Ambassador treated for him with the King, and the Cardinalls of *Nantes* and *Srignon* with the Pope. But these practises of peace are broken by the Popes infirmity, the which hauing brought him euen to the pits brink, gaue him yet respite to stirre vp long calamities. *Julius* is no sooner freed from the danger of death, but hee makes a new league with the Senate of *Venice*, and the King of *Arragon* against the French: to maintaine (said hee) the vniou of the Church, to defend it from apparent Schisme, and to recouer all such places, as mediately or immediately depended on the Church.

A new league against the French.

The first of September was come, when as the Cardinalls Attournies, in their names, do celebrate the acts appertaining to the opening of the counsell of *Pisa*. And the Pope much incensed, that the florentines had yielded to the celebration of this petty counsell (as he termed it) in their estate, declared *Florence* and *Pisa* subiect to the Ecclesiasticall censure, by vertue of the Bull of the Councell which he had caused to be published, and he pronounced the aboue named Cardinalls fallen from the dignity of Cardinal, and subiect to the punishments of heretikes and Scismatikes. The Florentines and *Pisans* appeale from this curse to the holy councell, (not of *Pisa*, but to erre least in their termes) of the vniuersall Church: and by the magistrates commandement, the Priests continue the publike celebration of diuine seruice in their Churches. The pretext to reforme the Church was goodly and of great profit. But oh pleasant reformers! the Authors of this Councell, thrust on by their owne priuate ambitious desseignes, vnder collour of a generall good, contended of their own priuate interest, so as euery one might plainly see, that whosoever should be chosen Pope, would haue no lesse neede of reformation, then those they now undertooke to reforme. So as euen at their first entry the Cardinalls tried both the contempt and hatred of the commons. They call the clergy to assist in the Cathedrall Church at the first session. No one appeares, the Priests deny their ornaments to the Cardinals offering to celebrate the masse, and shut the Church doores, so as the Cardinalls fearing they should not remaine safe at *Pisa*, vnlesse they were backt with forreign forces, and the Florentins vnwilling to admit any, remaine

A Councell begins at Pisa.



1511.

The Council  
transported to  
Milan

remembering the Pisans rebellion vnder *Charles* the eight they decreed to haue the Council A transported to Milan. They found the like difficulties at Milan. The Clergy abstaine from saying seruice, as before accused persons: the commons curse them, and laugh at them in open streets, namely at the cardinall of Saint *Croix* chosen President of the council, whom euery one noted to be the Author of this assembly, hoping by fauor thereof to make him-selfe a foot-stoole to climbe to the Popedome. This refusal of the Milanois made them againe to transport the Council to Lions. Where *Iulius* being suspended from his Popedome, and prohibitions made throughout all France, not to send any mony to Rome, nor to bring any Bulls from thence, he did not onely excommunicate all the French, but also graunted Bulls of pardon and remission, to any one that should kill a French-man: giuing the realme B of France (and that of Nauarre, in hatred of *John* of Albret allied to the King, and at the perswasion of *Ferdinand* King of Arragon, who had long gaped after some occasion to lay hold of it,) in prey to the first conqueror. So this council did nothing but increase their spleenes and kinde new troubles. But as the King had an intent to assaile Romagna, or to maintaine the warre in anothers country, attending his owne comming in person the next spring with all the forces of his realme, behold sixteene thousand Swisses, with seauen field peeces (new raised by the cardinall of Sion, vnder the authority of *Iulio*) enter by Varese and Galere, and from thence they send a trumpet to desie *Gaston* of Foix, Duke of Nemours, who with the Council of *Triuulce* commanded the French armies, as Lieutenant Generall C to the King his Vncle. *Gaston* (hauing speedily assembled seauen hundred horse, and such foote as the vrgent necessity would suffer him, the companies beeing diuided into sundry garrisons) presents himselfe before Galere, with much artillery.

The Swisses goe forth in bataille: yet vnwilling to fight in so open a place, they retire to Busti. In the meane time the compaines of men at armes, and foote, come from all parts to Milan. Capitaine *Molare* with his *Gascons* came from Verona, and the Lanquenets from Carpi, who reuiued the spirit of the Milanois, being somewhat daunted by this sodaine descent. And the more, for that certaine letters were surprisid which the Swisses had written to their Lords, that they had no newes, neither of the Pope, nor of the Venetian army. So as hauing found some difficulty to passe the riuer of Adde, they tooke (as in their first journey) the way of Como, and so euery one to his home. Shewing, that for want of conduct, assistance and paiement, they do commonly terrefie more then hurt.

Warre in Romagna.

After the Swisses retreat, behold all the townes the Ferrarois held in Romagna were exposed in prey to the Spaniards, being ioyned to the forces of the Church, who assembling at Imola, a thousand men at armes, eight hundred Generaires, and eight thousand Spanish foote, with many Barons of the Realme of Naples, vnder the command of *Fabrizio Colonne*, their Generall; and for the Pope eight hundred men at armes, eight hundred light horse, and eight thousand Italians, vnder *Marke Anthony Colonne*, *John Viselli*, *Malateste* sonne to *John Paul Baillon*, *Raphael* of Passy, and others, all subiect to the command of the Cardinall of Medicis, Legat in the army, resoluing to beseege Bologna. The Duke of Nemours had put into it, (besides the inhabitants and some horse and foote entertained by the *Bentiuoles*) two thousand Lanquenets, and two hundred Lances vnder *Odet*, sonne to *Peter* of Foix Viconte of Lautrec, *Tues* of Alegre, *Anthony* of Fayet, *Peter Terrail*, surnamed Capitaine Bayard, and in the meane time assembled all the forces of Italy together at Final, to preserue Bologna from the enemy. Already a hundred fadome of the wall neere to Saint *Stephens* gate were layed euen with the ground, the Tower at the gate was already abandoned, and the Spaniards had planted an enseigne vpon the wall, when as the beseegeed placing their Cannon in counterbattery, and hauing slaine some of them that were mounted, they forced them to retire in disorder.

A wonderfull  
chance.

These first attempts had troubled the people, if *Gaston* had not sodenly re-enforced the Towne with a thousand foote and a hundred and fourescore Lances. The beseegeed thus fortified, a strange successe doubles their courage. *Peter* of Nauarre hauing set fire to a mine which he had made at the port of Chastillon, where there was a chappell, both the wall and the Chapell leaped so into the aire, as the army without defcoured the towne plainly, and the soldiars prepared to defend the assault, but both the wall and Chapell falling down, settled in the same place from whence the violence of the fire had forced them. Doublelesse

1512.

A Doublelesse the Bolonois had reason to make a miracle of this accident, and to beleue, that this fall vpon the same foundation, was a manifest testimony of Gods assistance. This happy successe brought *Gaston* to Brescia, whether the Venetian army marched, to effect some intelligences: but perswaded by the Captaines of Bologna, that his absence would double the enemies courage, hee parts from Final, and marching all night (notwithstanding the snow, and violent windes) entred the citty in the morning, with thirteene hundred launces, six thousand Lanquenets, and eight thousand French and Italians, before the enemy had any notice thereof: who being assured of the truth, retired their artillery secretly, and tooke the way to Imola. In the meane time *Andrew Gritti*, generall of the Venetians (perswaded by Count *Lewis Auogare*, and the most part of the Country men) had taken the Towne of B

Brescia taken  
by the Venetians.

Brescia by assault, where *James* of Aillon Lord of Lude kept the castile still. People newly conquered do commonly the like in all occasions. Bergamo (the two castles excepted) Or-ciueche, Orcinoue, Pontuique, and many places there-abours, obey the victors. The Duke of Nemours leauing three hundred Launces, and foure thousand foote in Bologna, posted with all speed to Brescia, and hauing intelligence that *John Paul Baillon* lodged in the Isle of Elcale, with three hundred men at armes, foure hundred light horse, and twelue hundred foote, he goes to charge them with three hundred Lances, and seuen hundred Archers; hauing ouer-taken them (as they were ready to passe the riuer of Adice) at the tower of Magnanin, he chargeth them, defeats them, and kills almost a hundred horse, takes many prisoners (amongst others *Gui* of Rangon, and *Balthazar Signorel* of Perugia) disperfed all his foote, (whereof the most part were drowned in passing) and takes two Fauconeux which he had. The next day, in an encounter, hee defeated *Melager* of Furl, Capitaine of the Venetian light horse, the commander remaining prisoner: so continuing his dessein, hee arriued at Brescia nine dayes after his departure, besieged it, takes it by force, and sacks it. Doublelesse this braue Prince did hazard his owne ruine, if hee had not, with great iudgement and order, commanded, that no man should looke to any spoile; before the towne were fully at his command. And he did so well put it in practise, as the first that made shew to abandon his ranke was slaine by his companions. But who doth vie such discipline at this day, when as being greedy of booty, they loose so goodly occasions? Our French lost

Recovered by  
the French.

C some men at armes, & many foot: but the enemy lost about eight thousand: some being inhabitants armed, some Venetians, who were five hundred men at armes, eight hundred light horse, two hundred Stradiots, and eight thousand foot. *Frederick Contarini* Comissary of the Stradiots was slaine. *Andrew Gritti*, *Anthony Iustinian*, *John Paul Munfron* and his sonne, the Cheualier *Volpe*, *Balthazar* of Scipion, one of the sonnes of *Anthony* of Pie, Count *Lewis Auogare* his two sonnes, and *Dominique Busche* Capitaine of the Stradiots were prisoners. Count *Lewis* and his children (the chiefe authors of this rebellion) were afterwards beheaded. A reuolt deerely bought by this citty, which yeelded not to any other in Lombardy, in Nobility and dignity, and in wealth (next vnto Milan) it exceeded all the rest.

This chastisement made Bergamo and the other reuolted Townes, to call back the French whom they had lately expelled. These prizes and reprises; conquests and happy successe, prolonged the stay of the French in Italy, and yet they did nothing settle their affaires, seeing what they enioyed, was rather a charge and expence to them, then any profit. But behold strange crosses both by land and sea, do here-after bandy against the happinesse of our men. They giue the King intelligence from Rome, that *Henry* the eight King of England (notwithstanding his promise) was ioyned in league with the Pope, and it was confirmed by writing, that a Galeaffe laden with wines, corne, and other prouision, arriuing in England from the Pope, had exceedingly altered *Henry*, with the Nobility, Clergie, and commons of England. That he should with his army at sea inuade the coasts of Normandy and Britanny, and send 8000. foote into Spaine, to begin warre in Guienne ioyntly with the Arragonois. And they made already great preparations of men and shipping in England, and likewise of ships in Spaine, to passe into England.

A new league  
against the  
King.

F Moreover the Emperour was altered and changed in his affection, complaining that the King (contrary to the capitulation of Cambray) did hinder the advancement of the Empire in Italy. Hee required that *Renée* the Kings youngest daughter should be promised to *Charles* his grand-child, giuing him Bourgongne in dowry: and that the Lady should then



1512. then be presently deliuered into his hands and custodie. That the controuerfies for Ferrara, A  
Bologna, and the Councell should be referred to him. And moreover, hauing made a truce  
with the Venetians for eight moneths, he protested, not to suffer the King to increase his e-  
state in Italie: But these were but bare shifts to couer his bad intent. Besides, the Cantons  
of the Suisses were so incensed against this Crowne, that although the King sought to winne  
their loues with store of gold, yet the perswasions of the Cardinall of Sion (whereby wee  
may see that Cardinals haue beene alwaies dealers in matters of State) had newly made  
them graunt to the confederates a leauie of fixe thousand men. And the Pope, to straine all  
his strings against our *Lewis*, fearing lest his extreame rigour should induce the Florentins  
to follow the Kings fortune, to the prejudice of his desseignes, he reuokes, without any suit,  
the censures whereunto he had bound them.

To quench this fire before it flamed farther, the King commanded his Nephew to march B  
with speede against the confederates armie, of whom he promised himselfe the victorie, be-  
ing amazed and yet the weaker, and then to assaile Rome and the Pope with all violence, de-  
sirous that this warre (to seeme the lesse odious) should be made in the name of the Coun-  
cell called first at Pisa, and that a Legat deputed by the Councell, should receiue the con-  
quered Townes, in the name thereof. The Cardinall of Saint *Seuerin* was appointed Legate  
of Bologna in the armie. So the Duke of Nemours furnishing all places with men necessary  
for defence, gathers together all the forces the King had in Italy, he makes a troupe of fixe-  
teene hundred Lances, fixe thousand Lansquenets, fixe thousand Gascons, and eight thou- C  
sand French and Italians, to whom the Duke of Ferrara added an hundred men at armes, two  
hundred light horse, and a great quantitie of good artillerie: *Gaston* hauing left his at Final  
by reason of the bad way. The enemies armie was 1400. men at armes, a thousand light  
horse, seauen thousand Spaniards, and three thousand Italians newly leuiued.

The French  
army in Italy.

*Gaston* thrust forward aswell by the Kings commaund, as by his owne valour and desire of  
Glory, was desirous to see if the enemy would willingly trie the hazard of a battaile: They  
on the other side temporized, attending their Suisses, and that the English and Spaniards  
beginning warre in France, should force the King to call backe all, or the greatest part of his  
troupes: and yet coasted alongst the French army, least the townes of Romagna should bee  
left in prey, and the way layed open to go to Rome, lodging alwaies in strong places, neere D  
to some strong towne, which might serue them for a retreat at neede. So the Duke of  
Nemours (not able to cut off their victuals through the commoditie they had of the townes  
of Romagna; nor force them to fight, without great disadvantage) goes and incampes be-  
fore Rauenna, hoping they would not be so base minded, as to suffer such a cittie to bee lost  
before their eyes: and by this meanes an occasion should be offered to fight with them in an  
equall place.

The enemy discovering this purpose, sends *Mark Anthonie Colonne* to Rauenna, with  
three score men at armes of his companie, *Peter* of Castre with an hundred light horse, *Sala-*  
*zar* and *Parades* with fixe hundred Spaniards. The towne is seated betwixt two riuers, Ron-  
que and Montone, which descending from the Appenine hilles, straighten themselves neere E  
vnto Rauenna, with so small a distance, that on either side they passe close to the walles, then  
ioyning together they runne into the sea three miles from thence. *Gaston* incampes himselfe  
betwixt the two riuers, and plants his artillerie, some against the tower of Ronconne be-  
twixt Port Adrian and Ronque, and some on the other side of the riuer of Montone, whe-  
ther almost halfe his troupes were passed to batter in diuers places, and to hold the riuer at  
his will. He batters the wall, makes a breach of thirtie fadome, chooseth tenne out of euery  
companie of men at armes to couer the foote: diuides his armie into three squadrons, and  
giues a furious assault, although they could not mount but with ladders, the wall remaining  
yet about three yards high. Those within maintaine it valiantly, and fighting the space of  
three houres, in the end they repulse our men with the losse of three hundred foot and some F  
men at armes, with a great number hurt: amongst others the Lord of Chastillon, the master  
of the Ordinance, and *Spimensc*, who beeing hurt with the Artillerie from the Towne, died  
within few dayes after. In the meane time the cittizens amazed, and fearing a more dange-  
rous charge, treated of their yeelding without the consent of *Mark Anthonie Colonne*, when  
as behold, the enemy comes, marching to their succour, who campes at Moulinache three  
miles

A miles from Rauenna, fortifying themselves with a trench, such as the shortnesse of time 1512.  
would permit, leauing an entrie of about twentie fadomes.

*Gaston* raiseth the siege, turns the mouth of the Canon towards the enemies, an on Ea-  
ster day the eleuenth of Aprill, passeth Ronque, leauing his rereward led by *Tues d'Aligre* vpon  
the riuers side towards Rauenna, to succour the armie at neede, to make head against  
those that should issue out of the towne, and to keepe the bridge which they had made vpon  
the riuer of Montone: then disposing of his troupes, he giues the auant-guard to the Duke  
of Ferrara, the battaile to the Lord of Palisse, and the Cardinall of Saint *Seuerin*, who great  
both in mind and bodie, couered from the head to the foote with most glittering armes, per-  
formed the office of a Captaine rather then of a Prelate. *Gaston* reserued to himselfe no pri-  
uate charge, but would be free, to see and succour in all places, the beautie of his armes; his  
cassocke, his cheerefull countenance, his eyes full of vigour, and sparkling for ioy, made him  
very apparent. The enemies seeing our French passe the riuer, were ranged in battaile. *Fa-*  
*brice Colonne* led the fore-ward, the Cardinall of Medicis, Legat of the Councell of Late-  
ran, the battaile: but (a fatall signe) in a peacefull habit: *Carnagial* a Spanish Captaine, the  
reere-ward. So the two armies approaching one to the other, stood immouable about two  
houres, the enemies beeing loth to abandon the circuit of their palissado. The Spaniards  
artillerie thunders, and at the first volley ouerthrow many French.

The French answers, but with a greater losse to their horse. *Peter* of Nauarre hauing cau-  
sed the foote to couch flat vpon their bellies, *Fabrizio* cries, presseeth and importunes, to go  
to the battaile, and not to suffer them to be consumed by the Cannon. The Nauarrois con-  
tradicts, presuming that the more the danger increased, the more famous would the victo-  
rie be which he expected. But the Canon had so scoured their men at armes and light horse,  
as they could no longer keepe their ranks. There might you see men and horse fall dead to  
the ground, heades, armes and legges flie into the aire, when as *Fabrizio* cries out: *Shall we*  
*die shamefully here, by the obstinate and malice of a villaine? Shall this army be consumed, with-*  
*out the death of any one enemy? must the honour of Spaine and Italy be lost for the pleasure of a*  
*Nauarrois?* Speaking thus, he presseeth out of the trench with his companie, all the horse-men  
follow him, the foote rise, and with furie charge the Lansquenets. All the squadrons ioyne,  
D danger, glorie, hope and hatred of nation against nation flesh them in the combate. *Fabri-*  
*cio Colonne* is already taken by the Duke of Ferraras companie, *Aligre* chargeth in flanke  
with his rereward. The Viceroy of Naples and *Carnagial* are put to flight, leading with  
them almost a whole squadron. The light horse are dis-ranked, and the Marquis of Pescara  
their Captaine, prisoner, beeing couered with wounds and blood. The Marquis of Padillia  
is likewise defeated with his squadron, and taken prisoner. The Italian foote shrunke and be-  
gan to turne their backs, if the Spaniards had not speedily come to second them against the  
Lansquenets. But all the horsemen fled, and the Spanish Battalion retired in order, when as  
*Gaston* turning to charge them with a great troupe of horse, not holding the victorie abso-  
lute, if those retired whole, he went courageously to assaile them. But alas, as they charge  
the hindermost, they are inuironed by this battalion, cut in peeces for the most part, and he  
E (throwne vnder his horse) was slaine, beeing thrust into the flanke with a pike. Doubtlesse  
a happy death for him, hauing this content in his soule, to die in so young an age, honored  
with so much glorie, the which he had purchased in few moneths by so many and so notable  
victories: but a fatall victorie, polluted with the death of so braue a Commander, who but  
euen now began to make his name and his valour knowne, and by his fall carried with him  
the happinesse of the French, and the strength of this armie.

The battaile  
of Rauenna  
wonne by the  
French.

*Gaston* of Foix  
slaine.

The Vicount of Lautrec his cousin, remained almost dead by him, maymed with twenty  
wounds: but led afterwards to Ferrara, and beeing carefully looked vnto, he escaped, to do  
the King notable seruice. *Gaston* beeing dead, the Spaniards retire without trouble or let:  
the rest of the armie is broken and dispersed. The baggage taken, ensignes and artillerie: pri-  
soners of marke, *Fabrizio Colonne*, the Marqueses of Pescara and Padillia, Estelle and Biton-  
to, the Earle of Monteleon, *Iohn* of Cardone, *Peter* of Nauarre, many Barons and Noble-  
men Spaniards, Neapolitans and Italians, and the Legat of the Councell of Lateran. There  
were slaine according to the common estimation, tenne thousand, and a third of the  
French, amongst which were *Aligre* and *Vicarrois* his sonne, *Raimonet* of S. Maur, *Molare*  
Ccc and

1512. and some other Gascoine captaines, *Jacob* Colonell of the Lanquenets, a braue man, and commended to haue assisted much with his troupe for the winning of this victory. Two thirds of the enemies, but almost all their chiefe captaines and the brauest of their army, a great number hurt, and most of them that fled, were stript and beaten downe by the countrymen, which lay in troupes by the way. And (for the last act of this Papal tragedy) *Ra- uenna* is taken by assault and cruelly sackt, and spoiled. *Imola*, *Furly*, *Cesena*, *Rimini* and all the forts of *Romagnia* followed the victors fortune, and the Legate of the Councell of *Pisa*, receiues them all in the name of the said Councell. The body of *Gaston* was carried to *Milan*, with an honorable conuoy, in a litter followed by the aboue-named prisoners, and interred with a wonderfull mournfull poimpe, namely of the soldiars, whose hearts he had so wonne, as they protested that nothing was impossible vnto them, vnder the leading of such a Commander. And the King his vnle receiuing these heavy tidings. *I would to God (sayd he) I were drinen out of Italy, for as my Nephew de Foix and the other Noblemen lined. I wish such victories to mine enemies. If wee vanquish once more after this sort, wee shall be vanquished.* Without doubt he had reason, for from that time this army (not able to finde a Commander of that credit) on the one side rich with spoile, on the other weake both of force and courage, by this so bloody a victory, seemed rather vanquished then victorious. This battaile had filled the Court of Rome with terror and tumult, and the Cardinals running to the Pope, prest him with instant praiers to accept a peace, with such conditions as the King offered by the Cardinals of *Nantes* and *Strigonia*, wherewith the King was yet content, notwithstanding the happy successe of his affaires: *That Bologna, Lugo and all other townes, which Alphonso held in Romagnia, should be restored, and the Councell of Pisa disannulled.* *Julius* seeing these conditions very honorable for him, and that vnder colour of these parles he should stay the Kings army, vntill he heard the resolution of those, on whom he grounded the rest of his hopes, subscribed these articles nine daies after the battaile, promising on his faith to the Cardinals, to accept them. But our *Lewis* must try once more, how dangerous it is to moue a warlike nation. The *Suisses* wonderfully discontented with the Kings refusall, to increase their pensions, by whose valour (said they) hee had conquered so great Estates without his realme, and for that he had entertained *Lanquenets*, as if hee had means to make warre without their forces, they haue no sooner receiued a florine of the Rhine for euery man from the Pope (whereas before the King was inforced to giue much gold, and great presents to their colonells, to haue them fight) but descending into Lombardy with seuen or eight thousand men, they force *Palisse* Lieutenant generall of the Kings army, to retire to defend the Estate of *Milan*, *Robert Vrsin*, *Pompey Colonne*, *Anthony Sannelle*, *Peter Margane* and *Rance Mancin* had (since the battaile) accepted the Kings pay, & now the descent of the *Suisses*, and the dislodging of *Palisse*, makes some to lead such men as they had leuiued with the Kings money vnto the Pope, others retaine the money to themselves, onely *Margane* (more modest then the rest) restores it againe. All this freed the Pope from feare, and confirmed him in his obstinacy. He begins the Councell of Lateran the third of May, pronounceth a monitory vnto the King. *That hee deliuer (vpon the peines set downe by the holy Canons) the Cardinal of Medis, taken prisoner in the warre, being at Milan, and after some sessions he surceaseth, to attend the warre.*

The treachery of Julius.

A new descent of Suisses.

Disorders in the French army.

*John Paul Baillon*, general of the Venetian army, attended the *Suisses* in the territories of *Verona* with foure hundred men at armes, eight hundred light horse, and six thousand foot, being ioyned, they surprise a letter which *Palisse* did write to the general of *Normandy*, who remained at *Milan*: *That it would be very hard to resist the enemies, if they turned towards the Duchy of Milan: A sufficient instruction to direct them in their course, which makes them to march towards Milan.* *Palisse* had not with him aboue a thousand Lances and six or seuen thousand foot, all his other troupes being diuided into places for defence, and this generall of *Normandy*, as bad a warrior as a treasurer (I would not forget to name him, if I had learned his name) hauing after the battaile of *Rauenna*, vnder colour of sparing for the King, contrary to the disposition of present affaires, indiscreetly discharged the Italian foote and some French. And besides the small number of men, the dissention and disobedience of captaines, and the souldiars contempt of their Commander, ioyned with the discomodities of a tired army: a Generall little regarded, ill accompanied, in a country

A farre from succours, enuironed with mighty and many enemies, must needs produce some great and sodaine disorder.

The best meanes our captaines could find, was to abandon the field, and disperse their troupes into the most important places. In *Brescia* two thousand foote, a hundred and fifty Lances, and a hundred men at armes of the Florentins, in *Crema* fifty Lances and a thousand foote, in *Bergamo*, a thousand foote, and a hundred men at armes of the Florentines. The remainder of the army consisting of six hundred Lances, two thousand French foote, and foure thousand *Lanquenets* retired to *Pontique*, a strong place of situation, and fit to succor *Milan*, *Cremona*, *Brescia*, *Bergamo*, and to withstand the enemy: But it is a great inconvenience to rely most vpon forreigne forces, so subiect to change. The Emperour giues the first stroke, hee calls home his *Lanquenets*, and their departure making *Palisse* loose all hope of possibility to defend the Duchy of *Milan*, he retires to *Pisqueton*. So the *Cremonois* abandoned, yeelds (except the castle) at the first approach of the confederats, and pay forty thousand ducats to the *Suisses*. Certaine banished men returning into *Bergamo*, cause a reuolt, and *Palisse* being too weake to stop the enemies passage over the riuier of *Adde*, puts himselfe into *Paui*. But he sought to preuent the ruine of a great building with a rush. Then *John Iaques* of *Triuulce*, the generall of *Normandy*, *Anthony Maria Palmosin*, *Galeas Visconte*, and many other gentlemen and seruants to the King, sauing themselves in *Piedmont*, leaue *Milan* in prey, which bound it self at the first summons to pay a great some of money. *Paui* battered and abandoned by the French, is saued by the same meanes from spoile. All townes except *Brescia* and *Crema*, make hast to doe the like.

1512. Disorders in the French army.

The estate of Milan lost by the French.

All the country calls vpon the name of the Empire. All is taken and gouerned in the name of the holy League (for so they called it) the Cardinall of *Sion* gouernes all at his pleasure, and causeth all the taxes of the conquered townes to bee giuen to the *Suisses*, so as vpon the brute of this money, an infinite number of other tunne and ioyned with the first. *Rimini*, *Cesenne* and *Rauenna* returne to the Popes obedience; *Placentia* and *Parma* yeeld willingly vnto him, as members of the gouernment of *Rauenna*. The *Suisses* seize vpon *Lucarne*, the *Grifons* (who also in this crosse left the French alliance) vpon *Voltoline* and *Chianenne*. *Genoua* rebels, expels the French, and *John Frégose*, a captaine in the Venetians army, returning, causeth himselfe to be created Duke, as his father had beene. At the same instant the Pope recouers all *Romagnia*, the *Bentinioles* abandon *Bologna*, and the Duke of *Vibin* seileth thereon in *Julius* name. So euery one pulls his peece from the whole, and all these estates conquered with so great toyle, so much money, and such losse of blood, are lost at the first attempt, after this great victory of *Rauenna*, with little labor and lesse bloodshed. Truly, the best wits are confounded in the iudgement of these things, and we must confesse, that the issue of humane affaires depends of a higher Councell then that of Man. Notwithstanding, according vnto man, to whom shall we impute the cause of these accidents, but to the death of the Duke of *Nemours*? for if he had liued, it is likely, that gouerning well his victory, he had (with his helpe that giues & takes) reaped the fruits worthy thereof. But greatness comes neither from the East, nor from the West, nor from the desert, for it is God which gouerns, he pulls downe one, and raiseth another.

The Pope still gaped with his old ambition to haue *Ferrara* in his power. But by the intercession of the Marquis of *Mantoua*, the Ambassador of the King of *Arragon* (for that *Alphonso* was borne of a daughter of old *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*) and the *Colones*, *Alphonso* hauing demanded and obtained pardon of the Pope, vpon promise hereafter to doe the deeds and duties of a faithfull feudatary & vassal of the church, *Julius* turnes his reuenge vpon the companies, wherewith the Florentins had aided the King, whom he caused to bee spoiled by the Venetian soldiars, with the consent of the Cardinall of *Sion*, who notwithstanding had giuen them a passport to passe safely into *Tuscane*. And by the practises of the said *Julius*, who (according to the ancient desire of all Popes) sought to haue authority in this common-weale, the *Medicis*, with the helpe of the confederats, returned to *Florence*, & seiled themselves by force in the dignity which their father was wont to enioy. Italy being for this time freed from the feare of the French forces, the King holding nothing but *Brescia*, *Crema*, *Legnague*, the Chastlet & the Lantern at *Genoua*, the castles of *Milan*, of *Cremona* & some other forts, all these confederats gaped after the duchy of *Milan*: & the *Suisses*

1512. (on whom the Pope then partly depended) opposing themselves, not to suffer this estate to fall into the hands of any other Prince, but of such a one as could not maintaine himselfe without their aide and succour: *Maximilian* grand-child to *Lodowike Sforze* was named Duke of Milan, who made his entry in the end of December, receiuing the keyes from the hands of the Cardinall of Sion, as confirming the said *Maximilian*. That he held the possession of Milan in the Suisses name. An honorable act and worthy of their generosity, not to yeeld the honor which belonged vnto them to the other confederats, the which notwithstanding they should much esteeme, and (it may be) might haue obtained it for money. Nauarre returnes soone after to the obedience of *Sforze*.

*Sforze* restored to Milan.

Then the Genouois recovered the Chastelet of Genoua, for ten thousand ducats giuen to the captaine, and the Venetians besieging Brescia, *Anbigni* who defended it, resolues to deliuer it to the Spaniards, to breed a ialousie betwixt them, euen as a few daies before *Palisse* had giuen Legnague, to the Emperour, to nourish a discord bred betwixt the Emperour and the Venetians, who besieged it. *Ottavian Sforze* bishop of Lode, and gouernor of Milan, sent foure thousand Suisses to conquer Crema, for *Maximilian Sforze*: but *Benedict Crubario*, corrupted by gifts, deliuered it to the Venetians, with the consent of the Lord of Duras, who kept the castle. This was of purpose to breed a diuision betwixt the Suisses and the Venetians. A counsell generally concluded by the French, which remayned of this ship-wreck, the which in the end wrought some effects: but the losse fell vpon the French, for with this first disdain of the Venetians against the Emperour by reason of Legnague, behold a new leuaine of discontent is laied by the bishop of Gurce, *Maximilians* ambassador at Rome. Hee made great instance, that the Venetians should deliuer Vincenza to the Emperour, wherevnto, neither solicitings, intreatings, nor the Popes threats could induce the Venetians. The Pope (desiring to gratifie *Maximilian*: that in his fauor hee should approue the Councell of Lateran against that of Pisa) protested to the Ambassadors of Venice: That he should be forced to pursue their common-weale both with spirituall and temporall armes. So as nothing inouued with this protestation, the Pope, the Emperour and the Arragonois renue the league of Cambray, declaring the Venetians to be excluded. So the Emperour (by the bishop of Gurce, in the next session of this Councell of Lateran) disauowed all them that had vsed his name in the Councell of Pisa, and allowed that of Lateran.

A new league where the Venetians are excluded.

In the meane time, the six thousand English (promised by *Henry* King of England) were arriued at Fontaraby, a towne seated vpon the Ocean, and frontier of the realme of Spaine towards France, to assaile ioynly (according to the conuentions of the two Kings of Arragon and England, father in law and sonne) the Duchy of Guienne, vpon this pretext the Arragonois had intreated *John*, sonne to *Alain* of *Albret* King of Nauarre, (but by reason of *Catherin* of Foix his wife, heire of the said realme) to remaine a newter betwixt the King of France and him, and that for the assurance thereof, he should deliuer certaine places into his hands, promising to re-deliuer them when the warre should be ended. But the Nauarrois knowing well the demanders intent, obtains a promise of succors from King *Lewis*, who, to deliuer the Arragonois forces, treated with the duke of Alua Lieutenant generall for *Ferdinand* in this army. But when the one party is vigilant and politike, and the other slothfull, there soone appeeres great effects. The industry and vigilancy of *Ferdinand*, the slacknesse and too great facility of *Lewis*, who (abused with the policy and deuises of his nephew) did equally hurt the Nauarrois, who suffred himselfe likewise to be deceived with the fraudulent hopes wherewith the Arragonois entertained him, who (seeing the succors of France farre off, the realme vnfurnished of forces, and the places not yet fortified) enters into Nauarre, takes Pampelune, and the other townes of the realme, abandoned by *John* (being vnable to defend it) who fled into Bearne.

And hauing no lawful title to possesse it, publisheth, that he is lawfully seized thereon, by the authority of the Apostolike see, whereby the sayd Realme was giuen to the first that should conquer it, by reason of the alliance which *John* had with the French King, a sworn enemy to the church, and by the Popes bull, both being subiect to the censure, as heretikes and scismatikes. Without doubt the Pope holds not this prerogative of *Iesus Christ*, to giue Kingdomes, and to expose them in prey: for he exhorted to yeeld, and not to take from *Cesar*: and the Apostles did not busie themselves, to diuide earthly possessions. Moreover,

A is it lawfull for the Pope to vsurpe another mans right, giue away that which is not his own, and consequently vse the spirituall sword against those hee cannot iudge, hauing declared tege of Bayonne, who without this place made no reckoning of the rest of Guienne. But he held that which he long wished for, as a commodious cuntry and very necessarie for as the English, seeing that *Ferdinand* did vse them onely to satisfie his priuat couetousnesse tooke shipping and sailed into England.

To recouer this vsurped Realme, the King sent *Francis* Duke of Longueuille, gouernour of Guienne, *Charles* Duke of Bourbon, sonne to *Gilbert* late Vice-roy of Naples, *Odet* of Foix Vicont of Lautrec, *John* of Chabannes Lord of Palisse Marshall of France, *Peter* of Terrail, the Lords of Maugiron, Lude, Barbezieux, Turene, Escars, Ventadour, Pompadour, and other valiant Captaines, with the old bands and Gasccons, which hee assembled as Gouernour of Guienne, pretended the commaund to belong vnto him: and the Duke of Bourbon vnwilling to yeeld vnto him, by reason of his qualitie, prooued fruitlesse for the King of Nauarre. Thus the realme of Nauarre was inuaded by the Spaniard, who remained master thereof. The departure of the English, and the enterprise of Nauarre being made frustrate, the King affects the affaires of Milan, with greater vehemencie, whilest the Castell, and that of Cremona held good: but the opposition of so many enemies bred many letts. There were many hopes to draw some one of these from this common alliance. The Bishop of Gurce had courteously giuen eare to a friend of the Cardinall of Saint *Seuerus*, Court to make a motion, that the King should bind himselfe to aide the Emperour against the Venetians: that *Charles* grand-child to *Maximilian*, should marrie with the Kings youngest daughter, to whome he should giue the Duchie of Milan in dowrie: that the King should yeeld vnto them the rights he pretended to the Realme of Naples, and that the said Duchie being recouered, Cremona and Guiradadde, should be held by the Emperour. Moreouer the Venetians were wonderfully grieued at the Popes new treatie with the Emperour: which put the King in hope to draw the Venetians vnto him. The Arragonois came betwene by a politicke stratageme: to assure his new conquest of Nauarre, hee had sent two Fryars into France (it is the Spaniards custome to manage affaires by the meanes of religious persons, to make their negotiations the more graue, and to colour their policies with more subtiltie) to treat with the Queene, touching a generall peace, or a priuate, betwixt the two Kings. The amitie of the Suisses did import much. But remembering, that by their forces, *Charles* the 8. had first troubled the peace of Italy, *Lewis* his successour, by meanes thereof had conquered the estate of Milan, recouered Genoua, and ouerthrowne the Venetians: that at this present the Pope and other Potentates of Italy payed them annuall pensions, to be receiued into their confederacie: They grew obstinate in refusing the Kings alliance, which he sought by the Lords of Tremouille and Triuulce. In the end, the King (being reiectd by the Suisses) seekes to the Venetians, who conclude to make a league with the King, according to the capitulations made formerly betwixt them, by the which Cremona and Guiradadde should remaine to them. *Robertet*, Secretarie of State, *Triuulce* and almost all the chiefe of the Councell approued this league. But the perswasions of the Cardinall of S. *Seuerin* opposite to *Triuulce*, and the Queenes authoritie, (who desired much the greatnesse of her daughter by the fore-said marriage, so as she might remaine with her, vntill the consummation thereof) made the King and his Councell incline to the Emperours partie. But discouering, that these were but practises of the Emperour, to make the King proceed more coldly in his courses, he soone gaue it ouer.

Whilest that armes ceased on all sides, the Popes passions increased. Hee reuiued his designs against Ferrara, Sienna, Luques, Florence and Genoua, and as if it had beene in his power to beate all the world at one instant: he thrust the King of England into war, in whose fauor he had dispatcht a Bull in the Councell of Lateran, whereby the title of most Christian was giuen vnto him, and the Realme of France againe abandoned to him that should conquer it. But as he deuised of all these things, and without doubt of many other greater def-

1513. seignes (according to the capacity of his turbulent spirit, death ended the course of his present toyles, the one and twentieth day of February at night.

Pope Julius dies.

A truce betwixt France and Arragon.

Peace betwixt the King of France and the Venetians.

A royall army in the Duchy of Milan.

Genoa taken.

A prince doubtlesse of great courage, of admirable constancie, and most worthy of glory, if he had directed his intentions to aduance the church by peace, as he sought to grow great in temporall things, by policies in warre. *John* Cardinal of *Medici* succeeded him, and was called *Leo* the tenth. The happy memory of his father, his lawfull election free from bribes and Simony, his faire conditions, his liberality and mildnesse of spirit, gaue great hope of the quiet of Christendome. Yet soone after his instalment, he shewed plainly that hee was rather a successor of his predecessors hatred and couetous passions, then of *Saint Peter*. According to the treaty of the aboue named Friars, the Kings of France and Arragon concluded a truce, whereby our *Lewis* hauing more liberty to thinke of the warres of Milan, resolved to send an army, knowing well that the people of that estate, oppressed with excessive taxes, leauied to pay the *Suiffes*, and with the lodging and payment made to the Spaniards, desired earnestly to returne to his obedience. And to make this enterprife the more easie, the accord propounded before with the Venetians was againe renewed: so as the Venetians considering, that a concord with *Maximilian* (keeping Verona from them) was not sufficient to protect them from troubles and dangers, and that hardly they should get such an occasion to recouer their estate, they bind themselves by *Andrew Gritti*: To aide the King with eight hundred men at armes, fifteene hundred light horse, and ten thousand foot: to recouer *Ast*, *Genoua* and the Duchy of *Milan*. And the King, to assist them, until they had recouered all they had possessed in *Lombardy*, and in the *Marquisate of Treuise* before the treaty of *Cambray*.

The King knew well, it was but labour lost to seeke the Pope, who desired to haue no Frenchman in Italy. Yet the deuotion he had to the Romaine sea, made him sue vnto *Leo*, not to hinder him in the recouery of the aboue named places, offering not onely not to passe any further, but also at all times to make such peace with him as he pleased. But *Leo* treading the steps of his Predecessor, perswades the King of England to ioyne with the Arragonois in the inuasion of France, according to the Bull giuen by *Iulius*, hee protested to continue in the league made with the Emperour, with the Catholike King, and with the *Suiffes*. The King thus frustrate of a peace with the Pope, sends the Lord of *Triulce*, with fifteene hundred Lances, eight hundred light horse, and fifteene thousand foot, halfe French and halfe *Lansquenets*. The whole country was already in a mutiny, the Earl of *Mussocque*, son to *John James* of *Triulce*, was entred into *Ast* and *Alexandria*: the French had taken *Cremona*, *Sonzin*, *Lode* and other places neere, and the Milanois had excused themselves to their duke, who was at *Nouarre*: for that hauing no man to defend them, they made their composition with the French, yet giuing him hope to returne to his subiection, when as the *Suiffes* and his confederates should ioyne in field. *Bartholmew* of *Aluiane*, Generall of the Venetian army, had taken *Valege*, *Pesquiere* and *Brescia*, when as the Kings army at sea approaching to *Genoua* and finding *Othobon* and *Siniband*, the sonnes of *Lewis* of *Fiesque*, leading foure thousand foote, and on the other side *Antonel* and *Ierome Adornes*, with a great number of the country men: they tooke *Genoua* from the *Fregoses*, where the victors entring (transported with the fury of reuenge) the two *Fiesques* bretheren, caused *Zacharie* brother to the duke of *Genoua* to bee slaine, and then to bee tied cruelly to a horse tayle, and dragged through the city, being present a little before, at the death of *Ierome* their brother, who coming out of the palace, had bene murdered by *Lodowike* and *Fregosin*, brothers to the duke.

All this succeeded well, but forty thousand ducats, lately sent by the Pope to the *Suiffes*, had drawne an infinite number into the estate of *Milan*, thrusting themselves into *Nouarre*, at the first brute that the French ment to besiege it. It was the same *Nouarre*, wherein *Lodowike Sforze*, father to this present duke, was taken prisoner. In the Kings campe were the same captaines, *Tremouille* and *Triuulce*, some of the same Ensignes and Colonels which had sold the father, accompanied the sonne in this warre. And these presumptions caused *Tremouille* to make this ouer-bold promise to the King: that hee hoped to deliuer him the sonne prisoner in the same place, where before he had giuen him the father. The representation of what had past, comforts this hope: but let vs take heed, least vnder this colour wee grow insolent and carelesse. Now the arogancy of our French, finds a firme resolution in the

A the *Suiffes*, whereof followes a strange catastrophe, and an ouerthrow of the designe. The armie batters *Nouarre* furiously, and layes a great part of the wall ceuen with the ground: but whereas the descent was wonderful hard and dangerous, so as *Tremouille* aduertised, that new *Suiffes* were entred into it, and that *Alafaze*, a very famous Colonell, brought a greater number, which coming by the valley of *Aoust*, approached to *Iuree*, dispairing to take the Towne, he retired his campe, to go fight with the succours that came, making his accompt to breake the enemies, rather by their owne disorders for want of pay, then by the force of his armes.

But by the perswasion of *Matin*, one of their Captaines, ten thousand *Suiffes* issue forth in the night, the sixt of Iune, without horses or artilerie, against a mighty armie, and better provided: they set vpon our French, not allcepe, but in a lodging vnfortified. The men at armes assemble at the first alarme of their Centinels, range themselves in bataille, and the foote vnder their colours. The artilerie layed many *Suiffes* on the ground, when as the Sun beginning to appeare, the bodie of their armie resolving rather to be cut in peeces then retire, seuen thousand of them fall violently vpon the *Lansquenets*, who guarded the artilerie: and 3000. of them plant themselves with their pikes charged against the horse. The *Suiffes* and *Lansquenets*, thrust on with a mutuall hatred, and a desire of victorie, hew one another with a bloudie furie, one while the one shrinkes, is chased and recoyles, and then the other: filling the field with dead bodies, wounded men, and with blood, in view of the men at armes, lodged so as they could not succour the foot, by reason of brookes and ditches, that were betwixt them. So the *Suiffes* after two houres combat remained victors, winne the artilerie, turne the mouth of it against our men, and put both foote and horse to flight, of whome there is nothing remarkable obserued, but that *Roberts of la Marke* Lord of *Sedan*, vnderstanding that *Floranges* and *Jameis* his sonnes, Colonels of the Regiments of *Lansquenets*, lay among the dead carcaies, moued with furie and a fatherly affection, he runs into the midst of the *Suiffes* troupes, and in despite of them, layes the eldest vpon his horse, and the youngest vpon one of his men at armes, bringing them aliuie out of the confict, beeing referred to shew future proofes of their valor. There died about fifteene hundred *Suiffes*, with the author of this glorious Councell: Of ours, the most part of the *Lansquenets* fighting, and of the French flying, vnto the number (as the Italian Authors say) of ten thousand. All the horse in a manner saued themselves: the *Suiffes* not able to pursue them for want of horse, all their baggage was lost, and two and twentie peeces of great Artilerie, with all the horse appointed for the same. Doubtlesse it was one of the most glorious batailles that euer the *Suiffes* wonne: whereby we obserue, that to be surprized and preuented, takes away all iudgement of command from the best commanders, daunts the souldiers courage, and breeds confusion in order. This victorie being gotten, all places which had declared themselves for the French, craue pardon, and purchase their peace for money. *Milan* for two hundred thousand Ducats, and the rest according to their power, to bee distributed to the *Suiffes*, to whome was due the glorie and profite of this victorie gotten by their blood and valour. *Ottavian Fregose* (aided by three thousand Spaniards, commaunded by the Marquis of *Pescara*) enters *Genoua*, and causeth himselfe (to the preiudice of *John* his brother) to be created Duke of *Genoua*. *Aluiane* (fearing least this happie successe of the *Suiffes* and Spaniards should draw them vpon him) retires himselfe, takes *Legnague* from the *Germaines*, beseegeth *Verona*, but in vaine, and then lodgeth his armie within *Padua*. The two chiefe Authors of the Councell of *Pisa*, *Bernardin Caruagial*, and *Fredericke* of *S. Seuerin*, amazed with this route, went and craued pardon of the Pope, and were restored to the ranke of Cardinals. In the end of the yeare, the Castels of *Milan* and *Cremona*, returned to the Duke of *Milans* obedience, so as the King held nothing in Italy, but the Lanterne of *Genoua*, the which we shall see taken and razed by the *Genouois*. Without doubt, hee that seekes profit farre from his owne home, is oft-times forced to returne poore and naked.

F The King thus dispossessed of his estates in Italy, now turnes his thoughts and armes to crosse the attempts of *Henry* King of England, who hauing (at the Popes perswasion) resolved to inuade the realme of France, agrees with the Emperour to giue him sixscore thousand Ducats, to enter into *Bourgogne* at the same instant, with three thousand horse, and eight thousand foot, *Germaines* and *Suiffes*, promising the *Suiffes* a certain sum of mony, to ioyne their

French defeated at *Nouarre*.

The memorable valour of *Roberts de la Marke*.



1513. their forces with *Maximilian*, being content they should retaine a part of Bourgongne, until they were fully satisfied. According to this agreement, the English enters the marches of Ficardy, and camps before Therouenne, with five thousand horse, and above forty thousand foote. But the English forces did not molest France at land onely, the Admirall of England ran along the coasts of Normandy and Britanny. And the King to resist their incursions, caused foure Gallies to passe the straight of Gibraltar, vnder the charge of Capitaine *Pregent*. At the first encounter the Admirall chased *Pregent* into Breff. Here *Pregent* turnes his force, fights with the Admirall, and hurts him, whereof he died within few daies after. After that, foure score English shippes, and twenty Normands and Brittons shippes, fought with equal forces, ours hauing the winde. But in the end *Primauguet* a Britton, Capitaine of the *Ninne*, which Queene *Anne* had caused to be built, beset by ten or twelue English shippes, and resolute to sell his death dearly, grappled with the Regent, the chiefe shippe of the enemies flecte, and fiering it, burnt both the one and the other, with all that was in them.

7 therouenne  
besieged.

*Therouenne* was defended by two hundred and fifty Lances, and two thousand foot, whilest the King prepared two thousand five hundred Lances, ten thousand Lanquenets led by the Duke of Gueldres, sixe thousand others, which the Duke of Norfolk brought (being fled long before out of England) and tenne thousand French, to succour the besieged, who in the meane time molested the enemy, day and night, with their artillery, with the which the great Chamberlaine of England was slaine, and *Albot* Capitaine of Calis lost a legge. The troupes assembled, the King sent them to Aire, vnder the command of *Lewis* of Longueuille, *Marquis* of Rotelin, Capitaine of an hundred Gentlemen of his household. Victuals grew scant in Therouenne, when as the Lord of Pienes, gouernour of Picardy, and the French Capitaines, chose out the most resolute of all their troupes, and gaue them charge to carry victuals to the towne. And for that their enterprife had happily succeeded, retrying too confidently, and reproching the enemy of cowardise, hauing no intelligence of their intent, the English hauing sent their horse, and fiftene thousand foote, to cut off our mens passage, who did ride on their nagges disarmed, they charge them vnwares (being ready to wade through a riuer that passeth at Huchin,) they kill about three hundred, and take many prisoners: amongst others, the *Marquis* of Rotellin, *Bayard*, *la Fayette*, *Clermont* of Aniou, and *Bussy* of Amboise: all the rest casting away their Lances, and trusting to their heeles, and horses, saued themselues by flight. And therefore they call it the bataille of spurres, which caused the yeelding of Therouenne, the which was dismantled, to take away all cause of discord, betwixt the Arch-duke *Charles*, (who by ancient right pretended it,) and the English, who challenged it, as conquered from the enemy by the sword.

Tournay taken

From Therouenne *Henry* went to campe before Tornay, following in this resolution, not so much the actions of a good Commander in the warre (seeing the taking of this place, lying within the low countries brought him small profit) as the perswasions of *Maximilian*, hoping that this towne pulled from the French, might in time returne to the obedience of his grand-child *Charles*, to whome, they pretended it appertained. Tournay vnfurnished of men of warre, and dispayring of succours, for that the King (not being inaisster of the field, nor of sufficient force to incounter the English) could not succour it, saued her selfe from spoilepaying a hundred thousand crownes. To crosse the English, at home, the King had stirred vp *James* King of Scotland (an ancient ally to this crowne) but the successe of armes was nothing fortunate for him, neither at land, nor at sea. After these victories, the end of October approaching, *Henry* left a great garrison in Tournay: dismissed his strangers, and tooke his way towards England, carrying no other recompence for so great, and sumptuous a preparation for warre, but the City of Tournay. But some desseines vpon Scotland (fallen into a pupils hands,) hastned him home. An other storme threatened France. The *Suiffes* armed according to the former conuentions: the King sends *Tremouille* vnto them, to disperse them, vnder whome many of the Collonels, had received the Kings pay. But neither by presents, nor promises, preuailed he any thing: onely he had a secret intelligence giuen him from some Captains, to provide for the defence of his gouernment of Bourgongne, whether the Pope, the Emperour, and *Sforce* did thrust them. And he hold foureteene, or fiftene thousand *Suiffes*, with the troupes of the French County, a thousand horse

A horse, and the artillery which the Emperour gaue them: vnder the conduct of *Vlrike* Duke of Wirtemberg, camped before Dijon: *Tremouille* was returned, with a thousand Lances, and six thousand foote, who by his practises had greatly altered the Colonels, when as the multitude doubting the faith of their Capitaines, takes the artillery, and batters the wall. *Tremouille* not able to resist the force of this nation, which increased daily, flies to the last remedy, and without expecting any authority from his Maiesty, agrees with them: that the King should renounce the rights he had to the Duchy of Milan, and should pay them 400000. crownes within a time prefixed, which they pretended was due for their seruices in the former warres: and for assurance thereof, he gaue for hostages, his nephew of *Mezieres* Balife of Dijon, and foure Bourgeses of the said towne, who sauing themselues a while after in Germany, escaped the threats of this people, to cut off their heads, if the King did not ratifie it. Doubtlesse, these were wise men, to saue their heads from the *Suiffes* choler. A very preiudiciall accord for the King, if he had beene constrained to ratifie it. But was it not better to lull the *Suiffes* a sleepe, then to loose Dijon? Our *Lewis* is now freed of two incombrances, the English, and the *Suiffes*. But the exemption of present dangers freed him not from a relaps, for the English departing, threatened to returne in the spring, and prepared already, being loth to stay any more so long at the warre. The Emperour had the like intent to annoy him. The Catholike King deuised (as it was discouered by a letter, written to his Ambassadour resident with *Maximilian*) the meanes to draw this Duchy of Milan to *Ferdinand* their common grandchild, younger brother to *Charles* the Archduke, shewing that by that meanes, all the other estates of Italy should be forced to take their law from them, that it should be easie for the Emperour, assisted with the armes of Arragon and Naples, to make himselfe Pope (the which he had alwaies desired since the death of his wife,) and being installed in *S. Peters* chaire, he should renounce the Imperiall Crowne, in fauour of the said Arch-duke. Moreover, the bad affection of the irreconcilable *Suiffes* was apparent. The flight of the hostages had newly incensed them, who threatned Bourgongne or Dauphine.

1513.  
The *Suiffes*  
enter into  
Bourgongne.

The Pope desired greatly the whole extirpation of the councill of Pisa, especially for matters decreed, either by the authority of the said Council, or against the Popes authority, the which (not reuoked) must needs breed great confusions. Yet could he not obtaine this abolition before the King did ratifie it. Three Cardinalls were therefore appointed to redresse these disorders. But the greatest difficulty was about the abolition of Censures, which the King (said they) had incurred, thinking it a thing vnworthy of the Apostolike sea to graunt, if the King did not demand it: the which his Maiesty would not yeeld vnto, whereby both his person and his realme had beene taxed of schisme. In the end, the King ouer-ruled by the earnest sute both of the Queene and his subiects, wearied with so many crossees, resolves to yeeld to the Popes will, hoping hereafter, by this meanes, to find him fauorable. And therefore at the 8. session of the council of Lateran, which was in the end of the yeare, the Kings agents, in his name, and by his command, renounced the petty Councill of Pisa, adhering to the Councill of Lateran, and so obtained full remission of all things committed against the Romaine Church.

Amidst so many forraigne crossees which did infinitely trouble the King, there chanceth a home-bred affliction, the death of the Queene his wife: a Princesse indued with most vertues incident to an honorable Lady, and for this caute greatly lamented of the whole realme. This death was the accomplishment of the marriage betwixt *Francis* Duke of Valois, and Earle of Angoulesme; and *Claude* the Kings eldest daughter: the which had bin deferred till then: for that the Queene loued not *Louise* of Sauoy, mother to the said *Francis*, and affected more to haue *Charles* of Austria, afterwards Emperour, for her sonne in law. The realme being reduced to the obedience of the Church of Rome, the Pope (to whom the Kings greatness was commonly fearefull) begins now to feare least his power should be too much suppressed, and that the enemies of France should hereafter ioine their forces to the preiudice of the Romaine Court. To balance things in such sort, as he might subsist in the midst, and that the meanes which aided one of his intentions, should not hurt another: considering that the irreconcilable hatred of the *Suiffes*, might force the King to resigne his rights of the Duchy of Milan to the Emperour and Catholike King; in regarde of the Marriage which they pretended (a very preiudiciall thing to the common liberty of Italy:) and holding

The death of  
Queene Anne.



1514. holding it also dangerous to haue the King to recouer it, he perswaded the Suiffes, that their A extreame hatred might not force the King to take a course no lesse hurtfull to the liberty of their common weale (considering the little loue which *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand* did beare them) then to the Church and all Italy. Moreouer, to make the Kings descent into Italy more difficult at all euents, he labours an accord betwixt the Emperour and the Senate of Venice: who being resolute, either to haue a firme peace concluded, or open warre, would by no means giue care to any truce, for that had bin to settle the Emperours affaires in those townes which hee inioyed.

The Popes perswasions were fruitlesse with the Suiffes: the Emperour and Venetians made him Iudge of their controuersies, but without decifion for either party: hee onely com- B mands them to surcease from armes, vntill the pronounciation of his sentence. The Catho- like King could not more firmly assure the realme of Nauarre, then by a peace. Our *Lewis* and he prolong the truce for a yeare, adding to the former articles, one that was secret. *That during the truce, the King might not molest the estate of Milan.* That which the Pope could not get of the Suiffes, he obtayned of the King of England: *Henry* discontent that his father in law had againe deceiued him, by the prolongation of a truce, without his consent, grew daily more vnwilling to make warre in France. The Pope desiring by some kindnesse, to win the Kings loue, and fearing daily, that *Lewis* oppressed with enemies, would ally himselfe, both by a peace, and consanguinity with *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand*: he sent the Cardinal of C Yorke, to perswade his King: that remembering what correspondency of faith he had found in the Emperour, the Catholike King, and the Suiffes, and contenting himselfe with his happy passage, and returne, he should forbear any more to afflict France with his forces. The cardinall finding *Henry* disposed to peace, whome the Duke of Longueuille (a prisoner, taken in the warre) had already moued, and *Lewis* desiring it, with all his heart, (having sent the Generall of Normandy) but more vnder colour to treat of the deliuey of the Duke of Longueuille, and his companions in prison, they made an agreement betwixt the two Kings, in the beginning of August, for their liues, and a peace after their death, vpon condition, *that the King of England should enioy Tournay, and the French King should pay him sixe hundred thousand crownes. That they should be bound to defend the estates one of another, with tenne thousand foote, if the warre were by land: and sixe thousand, if it were by sea: that the French King should furnish the King of England with twelue hundred Lances at neede, and the King of England with tenne thousand foote: but at his charge that should haue neede.* This peace was confirmed by the marriage of *Lewis* with *Mary* sister to *Henry*. But the Pope was not perswaded, so great a hatred might so sodainely be conuerted into amity, and alliance.

A peace with the English.

Lewis King of France marries Mary of England.

For as hee had made the first motion, so did hee expect to be made acquainted with the conclusion: wherein hee made account to referue this clause, *That the King should not inuade the Duchy of Milan for a time.* The Emperour and Catholike King were exceeding iealous: yet the last assured him selfe to receiue two contents. The one, that the Archduke E his grand-child was out of hope, to giue his sister in Marriage to *Lewis*: the other, that *Lewis* being in possibility to haue heires males, the succession of *Francis* Earle of Angoulesme should remaine doubtfull, whome he hated exceedingly, seeing him greatly inclined to restore the Realme of Nauarre, to the ancient estate. The Suiffes reioyced, not for any affection they beare vnto the king, but fore-seeing that *Lewis* hauing truce with the Arragonois, and peace with the Venetian, and English, would imploy his forces to recouer Milan, and this should be a new whetstone to sharpen their hatred, and make their vertue knowne to the whole world. No man doubted of the Kings resolution herein, and in deed he prepared for it, hauing retayned the Lanquientes, which the Duke of Gueldres had brought against the English.

And the Pope, although it were a very troublesome thing vnto him, to haue the King recouer this estate, yet knowing that his perswasions could not diuert the enterprife, he aduiceth him (but faintly) not to prolong it, giuing him to vnderstand that things were ill prepared to resist. The Emperour had no forces, and as little mony, the Arragonois army was growne weake, and not paid: the people of Milan poore and brought almost to dispaire: no man could furnish mony to make the Suiffes march, and *Fregose* was not out of hope to

A to agree with his Maiestie for the Seigneurie of Genoua. But let vs obserue his policie. All these prouocations came not from a sincere heart. The Pope sees euery one tyred with troubles past, and ill provided. And now the French had taken breath, and fortified themselves with new alliances: he begins to feare the King, and would assure himselfe of his forces, in case he came into Italy. Moreouer, he knew well the King could not this yeare molest the estate of Milan, by reason of a clause mentioned in the truce with the Arragonois: and if it should so fall out, this good inclination and will, should serue him for an excuse with the King, when as he should require either his consent or helpe. During this truce, the Lantern at Genoua (beeing reduced to all extremitie, for want of victuals, and not able to bee succoured) yeelds to the Geneuois, who made it euen with the Causey. Thus the King was B dispossessed of all his conquests in Italy. We must not wonder if the people make heapes of stones of Castles within their townes, when they fall into their powers: for they are but shackles of their libertie.

In the meane time, the new confederacie which the Pope contracted with the Emperour, (betwixt whom and the Venetians, *Leo* laboured an agreement, not giuing the King any notice thereof) lending him fortie thousand Ducats, and receiuing from him Modena in pawn, gaue our *Lewis* new causes of iealousie and distrust. To be resolu'd then of the Popes intent, he sends to intreate him, to declare himselfe in his fauour, adding moreouer, that if he might not be in good termes of friendship with him, hee would accept such conditions of C *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand* as he had refused. On the other side, *Maximilian* and the Arragonois wanted no perswasions full of efficacie, to vniue the Pope vnto them, for the defence of Italy: shewing, that if vnited together, they had beene able to chase the French out of the Duchie of Milan, they were not now more vnable to defend it against him. They did not omit to shew, that if the King preuailed in his desseignes, he would not faile to be reuenged at the same instant of all the iniuries he had receiued, namely, of the money, wherewith *Leo* had lately thrust the Suiffes into Bourgogne. And the authoritie of the Suiffes (who continuing in their first spleene, offered for sixe thousand Florins of the Rhin, to take and defend the passages of Mount Senis, Mount Geneure, and Final: and for fortie thousand Florines a moneth, to inuade Bourgogne with twenty thousand men) did strangely moue the D Popes mind, who restrained by feare of that he most desired, made some scruple to bewray his conceits, giuing them all good hopes vnder generall termes.

In the end, beeing prest by the King, behold his answer: *That he had perswaded him to passe into Italy, when as without danger or effusion of blood, he might haue reaped an assured victory. That now other Princes haue so ordered their affaires, as there is no more hope to vanquish, but with much hazard and blood.* And for that the Turke had lately increased his power much by a notable victorie against the Sophi of Persia, *Leo* therefore forgets not to adde: *That it was neither conformable to his nature, nor agreeable to his office, to fauour Christian Princes armes against themselves. That he could not but exhort him to surcease, attending some more easie and better oportunitie, which beeing offered, he should alwaies find in him the same disposition, to his glorie and greatnesse, that he had some few moneths before made shew of.*

E This answer was sufficient to quaille the Kings hope of *Leo*'s fauour: yea to let him vnderstand, that he would oppose both his Councell and forces against this enterprife, which the King had resolu'd for the Duchie of Milan, according to the charge he had giuen to the Duke of Bourbon. But death, which commonly cuts off the counsels of man with his life, stayed this resolution, to reuiue it soone after in the mind of his next successor. For as *Lewis* pleased himselfe exceedingly in the excellent beautie of his new Spouse, beeing but eigh- teen yeares old, behold a feuer, accompanied with a fluxe of blood, frees him from the troubles and cares of this world, to enioy an eternall and happie rest in heauen, noting the first day of Ianuarie, with the exceeding greefe which his memorie graued in the hearts of all his subiects. He was a godly Prince, iust, chaste, mild, temperate, loyall, louing his Princes, his Nobilitie and his people, and likewise beloued of them, a friend to sinceritie, plainnesse, and truth, an enemy to enuie, lying and flatterie. Let vs obserue, for a testimonie thereof, that royall Apothegme, beeing vrged by the flatterers of the Court, to take reuenge of *Lewis* of Tremouille, who had overcome and taken him at the battaile of S. Aubin. A King of France (saith he) doth not take vpon him the quarrels of a Duke of Orleans: if he hath fast- fully

The death of Lewis.

1515. *fully served the King his Master, against me who was but Duke of Orleans, he will do the like for me, who am now King of France.* But about all; he was good to his subjects, whom he did alwaies study to ease: for how many leuies hath he made both of horse and foote, without the oppression of his people, by any new imposition? How often haue his subjects, willingly granted him an increase of subsidies, to supply his forreine and domesticall affaires, and yet would he not allow of these impositions? desiring rather to cut off the expenses of his owne person, and his house, to saue his people from oppression and spoile.

France was neuer scene so populous, so fruitfull, so rich, so well tilled, nor so well built, as in this raigne. A happy raigne in the obseruation of Iustice, martiall discipline, liberty of trafficke, increase of goods, cheapnesse of victuals, and which is more, euery man to eate his bread quietly at his owne board, free from the outrages and insolencies of Souldiers.

To conclude, neuer King loued his people so much, neuer subjects

loued their King more: neuer subjects gaue with greater ioy

to their Roueraigne, then the French did to

him, that glorious surname of

*Father of his people.*

FRANCIS the first of that name,  
58. French King.



Appy is that Realme (saith the wife man,) which falls not into a child's hands. This was the first comfort which reuiued the hearts of the French, oppressed with mourning, and heauinesse, for the death of their good King Lewis the twelfth; The second was that they cast their eyes vpon a worthy successor, a Prince well borne, iudicious, and of a generous spirit: liberall, courteous, in the prime of his age, and fit for government, affable to the people, fauorable to the Clergy, pleasing to the Nobility, (who doe naturally loue their Princes good countenance,) and (that which all subjects admire in their Soueraigne) of an excellent beauty. Thus capable was he of the royall dignity. Francis being then two and twenty yeares old, before Duke of Valois, and Earle of Angoulesme,

A Angoulesme, tooke vpon him the government of this Monarchy, as sonne to Charles Earle of Angoulesme, sonne to John Earle of Angoulesme, who was the youngest sonne of Lewis Duke of Orleans (murthered by the Bourguignon at Paris, in the time of Charles the sixth) who was also the youngest sonne of King Charles the fifth. He was anointed at Rheims, the five and twentieth day of January, being attended on by the Dukes of Bourbon and Alanson, the Earles of Montpensier, Vendosme, and Saint Paul, and the Prince of Roche-sur-Yon, all of the house of Bourbon. Then hauing made his entry into Paris, and a sollemne Tournie kept in Saint Anthoines street, he confirmed all the ancient officers of the crown, and to supplie those which were vacant, he created Charles Duke of Bourbon Constable of France (being voided by the death of John the second duke of Bourbon) Anthony Prat, Chancellor (for then Stephen Poncher bishop of Paris was keeper of the seale) Charles of Bourbon, Earle of Vendosme, Gouernour of the Ile of France, making the said county a Duchie, and a Peere of France; the Lord of Lautrec, Gouernour of Guien, Palisse Marshall of France, Boissi, his gouernour in his youth, Lord Steward and Superintendent of his house: with whom hee ioyned Fleuremonde Robertet, Secretarie of State. With this title of French King, hee tooke vpon him that of the duke of Milan, not onely as descending of the house of Orleans, the true heire of that Duchie, but also as comprehended in the inuestiture made by the Emperour, according to the treatie of Cambray. And for that he succeeded equally, both to the crowne, and the desire his predecessor had to recover that goodly estate of Milan, he therefore (to worke it with more facility) renewed the peace, made betwixt the deceased King, and the King of England, sending home Mary, the widow of Lewis, with a dowrie of threescore thousand crownes a yeere: who afterwards married with the Duke of Suffolke. Hee also confirmed the alliance this crown had with the Senat of Venice. The Archduke Charles, sent a very honourable Ambassage to the King, whereof the Earle of Nassau was the cheefe, to doe him homage, for the counties of Flanders, Arthois, and other Lands, which held of this crowne, and (the which gaue hope, of a future peace, betwixt these two Princes, both being young, but marked for great desseignes) to treat a marriage betwixt the said Charles, and Renée the Queenes sister, who was afterwards wife to the duke of Ferrara. And for that the said Earle D was greatly fauoured by Prince Charles, the King desirous to gratifie him, caused him to marry with the daughter of the Prince of Orange, bred vp in his Court.

Charles was yet vnder age, but so carefully instructed by that wise Lord of Chicures, of the house of Croy, whom the deceased King Lewis had made choise of, to gouerne him in his youth (for that Philip the father of Charles had by his testament intreated Lewis to accept the charge of his sonne) that euen in his younger yeeres hee made him capable to vnderstand the affaires of state, presenting vnto him all packets that came, causing him to make report thereof vnto his Councell, and to determine all things in his presence. Hee did fore-see, that after the death of Ferdinand his grand-father by the mother, the French might crosse him in his passage from Flanders into Spaine: holding it dangerous, to stand in the midst, betwixt the Kings of France and England vnited together, and not to fortifie himselfe, with this common alliance. Moreouer his subjects of the low countreys, would haue no warres with the Realme of France. The King likewise desired, to take from him all motiues, to gouerne himselfe hereafter, by the councell of his two grand-fathers.

E They therefore agreed. That the marriage proceeding betwixt the Archduke, and Renée, the King should giue him sixe hundred thousand Crownes, and the Duchie of Berry for euer, to her, and to her heires: vpon condition she should renounce all rightes of inheritance, both from father and mother, namely to the Duchies of Milan, and Britannie. That after the death of the Catholike King, the King should aide the Arch-duke with men and shippes, to goe F and receiue his Realmes of Spaine.

The Arragonois demanded a continuance of the truce: but the King meaning to put out that clause. Not to molest the Duchy of Milan during the truce, their parole was fruitlesse. The Emperour (who ioyned his desseignes to the counsels of Ferdinand) opposed against the amitie of the French. The Spaniards were as forward as before. As for the Pope, Francis desired to bee freed from all bond to him, that hee might resolve for the best, according to

1515. to the course of his affaires. To build vpon these foundations, hee now employes his capitaines, men at armes, & the prouisions which his predecessor had first prepared, and makes his army march with speed to Lyons, whether his Maiesty comes in Iuly, hauing left the Regency of the Realme to *Louise* of Sauoy his mother. The duke of Bourbon Constable, led the foreward, accompanied with his brother *Francis*, newly created duke of Castelleraud, the Marshalls of Palisse, and Triuulce, *Charles* of Tremouille Prince of Talmont, sonne to *Lewis* Vicont of Touars, the Earle of Sancerre, the Baron of Beard, the Lords of Bonniuer, Imbercourt and Teligni *Senefball* of Rouergue, *Peter* of Nauarre (whom the King had drawne to his seruice, giuing him his liberty without ransome) commanded sixe thousand Gafcons, and the Lords of Lorgetes (grandfather to the late *Mongomeries*) *Pirault* of Margiron, *Richbourg*, *Jortel*, little *Lainet*, *Onatilleu*, *Hercules* of Daulphiné, and capitaine *Commarque*, euery one commanding fivie hundred foote, making foure thousand, and eight or nine thousand Lanquenets, led by *Charles* Duke of Guelders.

The King led the battaile, followed by the dukes of Vendosme, Lorraine and Albania, the Earle of Saint Paul, *Claude* of Lorraine Earle of Guise, brother to the duke of Lorraine, the Lords of Lautrec and Lescut, brothers to Arual, a yonger brother of the house of Albret, *Tremouille*, *René* bastard of Sauoy (who was afterwards Lord Steward of France, and gouernour of Prouence, whose daughter *Anne* of Montmorency, the Constable married) and capitaine *Bayard*, to whom the King did that honour the day of the battaile, to receiue his Knight-hood at his hands, hoping that the happinesse of so gentle & braue a Knight, would accompany his armes. The reere-ward was committed to the Duke of Alanfon, who had married with *Marguerite* of France, afterwards wife to *Henry* of Albret, King of Nauarre, grand-father by the mothers side to *Henry* the fourth, lately murdered. At the first bruce of this armie, the Emperour, the Arragonois, *Sforza*, and the Suiffes contra a league together, to force the King to renounce his rights to the Duchie of Milan, the Suiffes, receiuing thirtie thousand crownes a moneth of the other confederates, should keepe the passages of the mountaines, and inuade Bourgongne, or Daulphiné, and the Catholike King, France, by *Papignan* or *Fontarabia*. The Pope (although the King made some account of his friendship, for that *Iulian* of Medicis his brother, had lately married with *Philiberte*, sister to *Charles* Duke of Sauoy, and Aunt by the mothers side to his Maiesty) in the end ioyned with them.

The duke of Genoua, swome betwixt two streames and (as they say) held the Wolfe by the care. Both the French forces, and the confederates victory were fearefull vnto him, namely the Popes, who vnder colour to keepe this Duchie from any stranger, desired exceedingly to vnite it to the Church. In the midst of these contrarieties, he yeelds Genoua to the King, vpon condition: That hee should lay aside the title of Duke of Genoua, and take that of Gouernour of Genoua, perpetually for the King, with power to giue the Offices of Genoua: (this was to retaine some markes of Soueraignty) That the King should giue him an hundred men at armes, the order of Saint Michel, and a yeerely pension during his life. That the King should not repaire the fort of *Todisa*, and should restore vnto the Cittie, all the priuileges which King *Lewis* had disannulled. That hee should giue certaine Ecclesiasticall linings, to *Frederike* Archbishop of Salerne, brother to *Octavian*, and to himselfe (if he should be expelled Genoua) some places in Prouence.

The army approached neere the Alpes, which diuide France and Italy, and the Suiffes, according to their capitulation, had stayed vpon the passages of the mountaines and uallees, aswell of Mont-fenis, which is of the iurisdiction of Sauoy, the shortest way, but the most vnease, as of the mount of Geneure, which is of the iurisdiction of Daulphiné, the longer way, but the lesse painfull, being the ordinary passage of the French armies. The King had intelligence, that *Prosper Colonne* was at the foote of the Mountaines within Piedmont, with fiftene hundred horse, which the Pope had sent to succour Milan, not fearing any enemy, for that the Suiffes (as hee thought) had seized vpon all the approches. But (some guides belonging to *Charles* of Soliers, Lord of Morete, hauing shewed them a passage nere to Rocque Espierre) the King sent *Palisse* (whom hereafter we will call the Marshall of Chabannes) *Imbertcourt*, *Aubigni*, *Bayard*, *Bussi* of Amboise, and *Montmorency*, at that time highly fauoured by the King, leading foure cornets of light horse, vnder the charge of the said

Morete

A *Morete* and his guides, who hauing waded through the Po, beneath Villefranche, whereas *Colonne* lodged; they came to the gates not discouered, but by some inhabitants, who run speedily to preuent their entrie, but two hardie men at armes of *Imbertcourt* company, which led the Scouts, whose names were *Beauuais* the braue, a Normand, and *Hallencourt* a Picard, set spurs to their horses (so as *Hallencourt* was carried into the ditch) and amazed the inhabitants: *Beauuais* thrusting forward his lance, kept the gate open, vntill the troups arriving, surprised both *Villefranche* and *Colonne* as hee dined, they made bootie of the baggage, and about twelue hundred Neapolitan horse, and carried away the Commander and his troupe, prisoners to Toffan.

In the meane time the forces passe, some with the Artillery betwixt the Alpes towards the sea, and the Coctiennes, descending towards the Marquisate of Saluce: the toile of men exceeding all difficulties, which the steepe and craggy mountaines, and the rough downfalls, in the deepe ualleis of the riuier of Argentiere, did present vnto them, where the artillery, not able to passe in those straights, the horses being vnprofitable, in fure daies it was forced vp with roapes by maine strength, in those places where as neuer canon nor horseman was fene to passe. Others, with infinite paines and difficulties, recovered the pace of *Dagonniere*: some, the high tops of the rocke of Perrot of Cuni (passages lying towards Prouence) where the Marshall of Chabannes had passed. Thus the Suiffes deceiued of their hope, abandoned the Straight of Suze, where they defended the passages of Mont Senis and Geneure, and that of Coni, returning with shame toward Milan, spoyling and sacking Chinas, Verceil and other places, where they entred, whilst that *Ainard* of Prie, hauing passed with the first, had with the helpe of *Octavian Fregose*, reduced *Alexandria*, *Tortone* (and all that lies beyond the Po) to the Kings obedience, who hauing passed the Po at Montcallier, and presenting himselfe before Nouarre, receiued the towne at his deuotion, and then Pavia. The Milanois sent Ambassadors to the Kings lodging at Bufalore, to beseech him to rest satisfied with victualles, and a promise from the people to remaine affected to his crowne, and so to march on against his enemies, assuring him, that Milan should most willingly giue him entrie, when hee should bee maister of the field. It is an ordinarie stratageme of inconstant Townes, to set vp the Enseignes of the stronger partie. The King hauing a mightie armie in front, granted their demands for that time.

Then the duke of Sauoy did mediate an accord betwixt the Suiffes and the King his Nephew, wherein hee preuailed so much, as they concluded: That the King paying vnto them foure hundred thousand crownes, promised by the treaty of Dijon, and all which they pretended to bee due for their ancient seruices, they should yeeld vnto the King his Duchy of Milan, and the ualleis which the *Grisons* enioyed, and the King should giue vnto Maximilian *Sforza* three score thousand ducats of yeerely pension. But some hope to gaine, who loose all, especially in these cases. A new supply of Suiffes, by reason of their forepassed victories (being dissuaded by the Cardinall of Sion) breake this treaty, and bring matters to the same estate they were before. Thirty fivie thousand take the way of Monfe, to lodge in the suburbs of Milan, vntill the Popes army led by *Laurence* of Medicis, and the Spanish by *Raymond* of Cardone, should ioine with them. Maximilian *Sforza* and the Cardinal pressed them, but distrust one of another staied them. *Raymond* had surprised letters of credit, sent from the Pope to the King, and was well aduertised that *Laurence* had secretly sent (whether vpon his owne motion, or by the Popes command hee knew not) a gentleman to the King, to excuse himselfe for the army which he led against him, being forced by the duty hee did owe vnto his vnkle, promising that without offence to his vnkle, or blemish to his owne honor, he would endeavour to content his maiesty, according to the desire hee had alwaies had, and now especially more then euer. Moreover the Arragonois descigne was to remaine quiet, so as this army did not threaten his new conquest of Nauarre.

F And *Laurence* on the other side, seeing the delaies of *Raymond*, conceiued, that hee had some secret charge from the King his master, to forbear to fight, and giue others leaue to decide the quarrell, and both ioynly feared to ingage themselves betweene the Kings army, and the Venerians, led by *Bartolmew* of *Aluiane*, the which was very available for the King. Without doubt all their priuate intents were to act this tragedy with the bloud and

D d d 2

losse

An army roy-  
all in the Du-  
chy of Milan.

A league a-  
gainst the  
King.

Genoua yeeld-  
ed to the  
King.

1517.

Prosper Co-  
lonne surpris-  
ed.

King Francis  
his first pas-  
sage over the  
Alpes.

Inconstant  
treachery of  
the Suiffes.

1515. losse of the poore Suiffes. Thus these two armies of Arragen and the Popes, did only A labour to keepe the Venetian from ioyning with the French, & the French these two from the Suiffes. A miserable estate of Italy, the which at one instant was oppressed with five fundry armies, French, Venerian, Suiffes, Spaniards and Italians. Vpon hope of this treaty of peace, the King had countermanded *Aluiane*, who was at Laude, and *Lantrec* to carry vnto the Suiffes all the money they could get out of the Kings coffers, or borrow of the Princes and Nobility, but through the perswasions of this mutinous Cardinal, they resolute, both to take the money from *Lantrec* and sodenly to giue the King battaile, when hee least doubted any enemy. This counsell had preuailed with some droulie commander. But *Lantrec* (aduertised by his spies of the treacherous resolution of these Suiffes) left the way, and retired into Galere. And the Suiffes sayling of their purpose, passed on, to wreake their choller vpon the King. The King was come from Marignan, to lodge at Saint Donat, the thirteenth of September: when as behold they come with a resolution, and charge the artillery of the vanguard which the Lansquenets garded, they ouerthrew the first they encountered, recover some peeces of Cannon, and amaze a battaillion of Lansquenets, who (supposing that the treaty of peace with the Suiffes had continued firme) feared least they should deliuer them into the hands of their ancient enemies. But seeing the horse, and the king himself in person come to second them, they resume their courage, enter the combate, stay this violence of the Suiffes, and with a fore fight maintaine the shooke with variable and doubtfull euents, vntill the dust and approaching night made them retire. At this first charge were slaine *Francis* of Bourbon duke of Chastelleraud, the Earle of Sancerre, Imbercourt and many other gallant gentlemen.

The battaile  
of Marignan.

The King seeing the greatnesse of the danger, planted his artillery in conuenient places, ordred his battaillions, gathered his horse together, sent for *Aluiane*, and lay all night armed with all peeces but his helmet, vpon the carriage of a Cannon. The sunne was scarce risen, when as the Suiffes (growne proud with the conceite of some aduantage) charge the Lansquenets, and force them to recoyle aboute a hundred paces, and but for some horsemen (who repelled the violent force of the Suiffes) the issue had bene very dangerous. The Cannon thunders through their squadrons; the French and Gascon shot make a horrible slaughter; the horse charge them in flanke, *Aluiane* comes vpon their backe in the fury of the fight: They had all continued many houres very hot in skirmish, when as the Suiffes (having lost most of their capitaines, being charged in front, in flanke and behinde) grow amazed, despaire of victory, turne their squadrons, and make a goodly retreat, some to Milan, others home to their houses. A great number shut themselves into the Constables lodging, where (refusing to yeeld to the Kings mercy) they were all burnt, and many of our men, that were entred pel-mel with them, amongst others *John* of Mouy Lord of Maileray, who carried the white corner. In this second battaile were slaine the Prince of Talmont, *Bussy* of Amboise, the Lord of Roze and many other valiant Knights: *Gilbert* of Leui Lord of Ventadour was hurt, *Claude* Earle of Guise ouerthrowne and troden vnder the horse feete, but hee was releued by captaine *James* a Scottishman, a Gentleman of the Kings chamber. The King was often in danger of his person, receiuing many a push of the pike vpon his armour.

The number  
of the dead.

Without doubt this was the most furious battaile that euer the Suiffes gaue, the which by the testimony of *Triuncke*, seemed rather to haue bene fought by Giants then by men. For that the eightene battailes wherein hee had bene, were like the encounters of smal children in regard of this. That which happened to *Gaston* of Foix at the battaile of Rauenna, made the King to giue them that fled, free passage: leauing foureteene or fifteene thousand slaine vpon the place. The King lost of French and Lansquenets, about three thousand. The Cardinal of Sion (the chiefe author of this battaile) fled at the first charge, to Milan, and from thence (seeing the Suiffes in a mutiny, as well for their losse as for three moneths pay, that were due vnto them) into Germany, to *Maximilian*. We may iustly say, that the Suiffes had need of this correction, for the remembrance of their forepassed prosperities had made them insolent beyond the bounds of modesty, but they reaped a benefit by their shame, growing more tractable, and friendly to them that corrected them. Moreover this should be a good aduertisement to the King, to consider rightly of the wars of Italy, in

A in the which (for want of iudgement) both he and his Realme were afterwards in a manner ruined. After this happy victory, Milan and al other places of the Duchy, followed the conquerors fortune. *Peter* of Nauarre, had by a mine blowne vp a Casemate at the castle gate. *Maximilian Sforza* and the Suiffes (besieged therein by the duke of Bourbon) yeeld it, vpon condition: That the Suiffes should depart with bagge and baggage, and *Maximilian* should deliuer the castle with that of Cremona, vnto the King, and al other places held by him, and should goe into France, where the King during his life should giue him three (core thousand) crownes a yeere pension. According to this capitulation, *Maulon* brother to *Tremouille*, *Francis* Earle of Pontremie (with many other Gentlemen) conducted him into France. The King entered into Milan armed, accompanied with the aboue named Princes, and the Nobility of his army, whether the Potentates of Italy sent vnto him, some to reconcile themselves, others to congratulate this victory.

The Pope did not forget his ordinary praetises, to stay the course of the Kings victory, and finding the King very obedient to the sea of Rome, they concluded a mutuall league for the defence of the Estates of Italy, of the Pope, the church, of *Julian* and *Laurence de Medicis*, and the Estate of Florence. By this accord the King gaue the Duchy of Nemours to *Julian*, who had married a sister to the Kings mother, which Duchy (after the death of *Julian*) the King did giue to *Philis* of Sauoy, who tooke to wife one of the daughters of *René*, Duke of Alancou: to whom the duke of Nemours, now lyuing is Grand-child. And the Pope deliuered Parma and Placentia to the King. These Articles were confirmed by an interview, betwixt the Pope, and the King at Bologna, in the beginning of December, where they treated of many things touching the Realme of Naples, which the King resolved to inuade, for the recovery whereof the Pope promised him his fauour, after the death of *Ferdinand* (which euery man thought to be nere) or at the least when as the truce were ended. Hee promised also to giue him power to leaue the tenth part of the reuenues of Clergy, within his Realme, and the collation of benefices, the which before belonged vnto the Colleges and Chapters of Churches; and for the Kings sake, he made *Adrian of Gonfieres*, brother to the Lord Steward, Cardinall. And the King, to gratifie the Pope, granted an abolition of the pragmaticall Sanction, making new conuentions in steed thereof, whereunto the D French church and the Vniuersities opposed.

The Venerians sent foure Ambassadors to the King, the chiefe, and most honourable persons of their Senate: *Anthony Grimani*, *Dominic Treuisan*, *George Cornare*, and *Andrew Gritti*, to congratulate his victory, and to beseech him to make them partakers of the fruits thereof, that by his aide they might recouer their townes, according to their agreement. At their request, the King gaue commission to the bastard of Sauoy, and to *Theodore Triualce*, to ioyne with *Aluiane*, with six hundred lances, and six thousand foote led by *Peter* of Nauarre. Then leauing the duke of Bourbon his Lieutenant Generall in the Duchy of Milan, hee returned into France, about Candlemas, whether the designs of *Henry* King of England did call him.

E *Henry* discontent, that the King had taken the yong King of Scotland into his protection, and to that end had sent *John Steward* Duke of Albania, both to gouerne his person and his Realme (which *John* had punished either with death or banishment, all such as hee found to fauour the English, and euer the mother of the yong King, sister to the sayd *Henry*) for reuenge whereof hee thrust the Suiffes to new attempts against the King. But returning to their first sincerity, they ioyne in league with this crowne, binding themselves: To giue vnto the King for euer, in Italy or out of Italy, and against all men (except the Pope and the Emperor) such numbers of men, as he should require vnder his pay. The King did also confirme their ancient pensions, promising to pay, within a certaine time the summe due by the treaty of Dijon, and three hundred thousand crownes more, yeelding vnto him the townes and walls which they held belonging to the Duchy of Milan. But the five Cantons which did enioy them, having refused to ratifie this accord, the King began to pay vnto the other eight, that part and portion of money which was due vnto them, who accepted thereof, but with an expresse condition: That they should not bee bound to march vnder his pay, against the other five Cantons. A meanes to draw the others to the alliance of France.

Man hath alwaies his minde bent to seeke meanes to annoy his neighbour. The Kings prosperity,

A new league  
against the  
King.



1515. prosperity, makes the Emperour, with the Kings of England and Arragon, to deuise how to A  
cross him. The Emperour (alwaies desirous of innouations) could not with his owne for-  
ces hold the townes hee had taken from the Venetians: and the English remembring the  
fruitlesse promises which *Ferdinand* his father in law had made him (the which he respected  
not where he might gaine) stood waivering betwixt the distrust hee had of his father-in-law,  
and the hatred he bare to our *Francis*, but this treaty is sodainely broken by the death of *Fer-*  
*dinand*, who died in the moneth of Ianuary. A prince excelling in counsell and many ver-  
tues, so as if his promises had bene accompanied with their effects, he might well haue bin  
numbred amongst the most perfect.

*Ferdina* ad  
dies.

The Empe-  
rours voyage  
into Lombar-  
dy.

This death seemed to make the Kings enterprife vpon Naples more easie, purposing to B  
send the duke of Bourbon for the execution thereof: Many reasons moued him therevnto.  
There was some reuolt in the Realme, after the decease of *Ferdinand*. The Archduke *Charles*  
was young, and could not come in time to succour it: the Popes fauour might aide him  
much (yet the King trusted to him who deceived him in the view of all the world) but aboue  
all, the priuate interest of this crowne, to whom the greatnesse of *Charles* (heire to so many  
Realmes by the death of the Catholike King and future successor of the Empire) should be  
wonderfully suspect. But the designs of our *Francis* are crossed by the Emperours com-  
ming with ten thousand Germaines and Spaniards, foureteene thousand Suisses, and five  
thousand horse, to succour Brescia, ioynly besegged by the French and Venetians, which  
made them retire to Milan to the duke of Bourbon. So *Maximilian* passing the riuers of C  
Mincie, Ogly and Adde, without any let, had all the country betwixt Ogly, Po and Adde, at  
his command, except Cremona and Crema, the one kept by the French, the other by the  
Venetians. Then hauing taken Laude by composition, hee sends to summon the Milanois  
with threats: that if within three daies, they did not expell the French army, hee would  
intreate them more rigorously, then *Frederske Barbarossa*, one of his predecessors had  
done: who not content to haue burnt Milan vnto ashes, did sow salt there, in memory of  
his wrath, and of their rebellion. The inhabitants beganne to rise, and our men grew a-  
mazed, when as *Albert Peter*, leading thirteene thousand Suisses and Grisons, arriuing, con-  
firmes them, he made them to change their resolution, to burne their suburbs, and to re-  
solue vpon defence.

The Cardinall of Sion, and many others banished from Milan, followed the Emperour,  
feeding him with hope, that at the first brute of his approach, the citizens would set vp his en-  
signes. *Marke Anthony Colonne* likewise followed his army, with two hundred men at armes,  
at the Popes charge (a manifest signe of his Counceils and dissemblings.) But *Maximilian*  
seeing no shew from the towne (the chiefe of the *Gibelin* faction, being expelled by the  
Constable of Bourbon, as adherent to the Emperour) remembring the treachery of the Suis-  
ses, to *Lodowike Sforze*, and fearing least through the ancient hatred of that nation to the  
house of Austria, the Suisses in the French army, and those in his (which refused plainly to  
fight one against another) vniting their forces, should deliuer him to the enemy, for that  
*James Stafflet* Colonell of his Suisses, had with much arrogancie demanded their pay, he se-  
cretly departs from his army in the night, with two hundred horse, so as hee was twenty  
miles off before they were priuy to his departure. His army (wanting both a commander &  
money) tooke the same course. The Earle of *Saint Paul*, with the Lords of Montmorencie  
and Lescu, pursuing them, defeated a great number, whereof three thousand, part Germaines  
and part Spaniards, yeelded to the French and Venetians, being in campe, and our Suisses  
(notwithstanding they had bene paid for three moneths) went home to their houses, ex-  
cept some three hundred which remained with *Peter*.

*Maximilian*  
retires.

During these garboiles, the Pope smothering his conceits, laboured to bee as pleasing as  
he could to either party, yet was hee grieved, the Emperour had brought so great forces, for  
hee could not remaine a victor, but hee must afterwards seeke to oppress all Italy, or put  
*Leo* from the Papall seate, to hold it himselfe, according to the common report. On the  
other side (as wee iudge of causes by the effects) the King had many reasons to suspect the  
Pope. Hee had consented to the Emperours descent. *Colonne* the Popes pensioner,  
did accompany *Maximilian*. He refused to send five hundred men at armes for the defence  
of Milan, and to pay three thousand Suisses, as hee was bound by the treaty of *Boloha*.  
So

A So as the King, to let *Leo* know, that the brightnesse of his Myter, did not so dazle his eyes,  
but he discouered his practises, he made him Brewisse of the same bread: declaring, that see-  
ing the league they had made, was fruitlesse in time of warre, he would contract a new one,  
which should not tye him but in time of peace. The Emperours armie being dissolued, the  
Duke of Bourbon returns into France, and of his owne motion resignes his gouernement  
into the Kings hands, by whose command the Lord of Lautrec taking the charge of the ar-  
mie, to free the King from that bond, ioyning with the Venetians, returned to Brescia, which  
pressed with two batteries, one by the French, the other by the Venetians; yeelded to the  
King, their liues and goods saued, and *Lautrec* deliuered it to the Venetians. Verona had a  
harder issue, for being battered by the French towards Mantoua, and by the Venetians to-  
wards Vincenza, giuing two assaults: afflicted with want of victuals and munition, and tro-  
bled by the hurting of *Mark Anthony Colonne*, Gouernour of the cittie, yet being assured  
of eight thousand men, led by Count *Roquendolfe*, that came to their succour, they held out  
vntill Christmas, at what time famine forced the Spaniards to yeeld the towne, the which  
was in like sort deliuered to the Venetians. The Pope, to make profit of the Kings victorie  
and forces, solicits *Lautrec* to aide him, to dispossesse *Francis Maria* of Rouere of the duchy  
of Vrbini. The motives of this warre which *Leo* pretended against him, were, for that *Francis*  
had denied the Pope those men, for the which he had receiued pay of the Church, and  
had treated secretly with the enemy: That he had slaine the Cardinall of Pavia, and com-  
mitted many other inurthers.

Brescia yeel-  
ded.

Verona yeel-  
ded.

That in the hottest of the warre against Pope *Iulius* his Vncle, hee had sent *Balthasar* of  
Chastillon to the King, to receiue his pay; and at the same instant he denied passage to  
some companies that went to ioyne with the armie of the Church: and pursued (in the e-  
state which he held as feudatarie of the Church) the souldiers which saued themselves at  
the defeat of Rauenna. *Lautrec* desiring to please *Leo*, sent *Lescun* his brother, the Lord of  
Chiste, the Knight of Ambrun, the Lords of Auffun and S. *Blimond*, and many other Cap-  
taines with good numbers of horse and French foote: who in few dayes reduced the said Du-  
chie to the Popes obedience, who did inuest *Laurence* of Medicis his Nephew in the said  
Duchie. Moreouer, the Kings friendship was very necessarie for the Catholike King. *Charles*  
the Arch-duke tooke vpon him that title (after the death of *Ferdinand* his Grand-father by  
the mothers side) to make his passage more easie from Flanders into Spaine, and to assure  
himselfe of the obedience of those realmes.

*Francis Maria*  
chased from  
Vrbini,  
and  
*Laurence* of  
Medicis inue-  
sted in the  
Duchie.

Fitting therefore his resolutions according to the time and necessitie, by the aduice of  
the Lord of Chieures his Gouernour, hee sent *Philip* of Cleues, Lord of Raustein to the  
King, to make choise of a place where their deputies might meete, to decide all controuer-  
sies betwixt them. *Noyon* was named: and for the King there came *Arthur* of Gouffiers, Lord  
of Boissy, Lord high Steward of France: for the King of Spaine, *Anthony* of Croye Lord  
of Chieures, both gouernours of their masters manage, and both assisted with notable per-  
sonages. Who concluded: "That vrbini fixe moneths the Catholike King should yeeld the  
realme of Nauarre to *Henry* of Albret, sonne to *John* of Albret, and *Catherine* of Foix, deca-  
fed the same yeare: or else should recompence the said *Henry* within the said yeare, to his  
content: else it should be lawfull for the King to aide him to recouer it. That the King should  
giue his daughter *Louise* (who was but a yeare old) in marriage to the Catholike King, and  
for her dowrie, the rights he pretended to the realme of Naples, according to the diuision  
made by their predecessors: vpon condition, that vntill shee came to yeares of marriage,  
*Charles* should pay vnto the King a hundred and fiftie thousand Ducats yearely, towards  
the maintenance of his daughter. That shee dying, if the King had any other daughter, hee  
should giue her to the Catholike King, vpon the same conditions. If hee had none, then  
*Charles* should marrie with *Renée*, daughter to the deceased King. To propound and con-  
clude marriages so disproportionable of age, is it not properly to mocke one another? Seeing  
that only two yeares time bring forth occasions which makes Princes to alter their desseins,  
whose willes are often inconstant. This treatie was respectiuely sworne by both Kings, who  
appointed an interview at Cambray, attending the which they sent their orders of Knight-  
hood one to another: and since the Emperour ratified these conuentions, but wee shall see  
small fruites thereof.



1517.

France reaped another benefit of this peace. The Suisses (seeing a surcease of armes between the Emperour and the King) compounded, as the former had done: *That the king should pay unto their Cantons, within three moneths, three hundred and fiftie thousand ducats, and after that a perpetuall and annuall pension: That the Suisses should furnish him, whensoever he demanded, a certaine number of men at his charge.* But diuersly, for the eight Cantons bound themselves to furnish against all men indifferently, and the fise, no otherwise, but for the defence of his owne estates. As for the Castles of Lugan and Lugarne, strong passages and of great importance for the suretie of the Duchie of Milan, they desired rather to raze them, then to take three hundred thousand Ducats for the restitution thereof.

Let vs now lay all armes aside for a certaine space, and giue our warriours time to take breath, and returne againe shortly to warre, by the ambitious factions of two most great and mightie Princes. This yeare in Februarie, was borne *Francis, Daulphin* and successeur to this Crowne, if his end had not bene violently forced: *Laurence of Medicis* did present him at the Font, for the Pope his Vncle. A Christening celebrated with iousts, skirmishes, incounters, beseeing and taking of places, and other such statelie shewes, as the memorie of man hath not observed greater. And the King, to make a more strict league with the Pope, he caused the said *Laurence* to marrie with *Magdaleine*, daughter to *John Earle of Auergne* and *Auraguez*, and of *Joane* sister to *Francis of Bourbon*, Earle of *Vendosme*, who died at *Vercell*, when as King *Charles* the eight returned from *Naples*. Of this mariage came *Katherine* of *Medicis*, whom we shall see Queene of France, and Mother to the three last Kings of the name of *Valois*.

At the same time, the King sent *Gaston of Breze*, Prince of *Fonquarmont*, brother to the great Seneschall of *Normandie*, with two thousand French foote, to succour *Christiurne* King of *Denmarke*, against the rebels of *Sueden*, who (after they had wonne a battaile for the King) being abandoned in the end by the *Danes*, in a combate vpon the Ice, (where those Northerne Nations are more expert then ours) were ouerthrowne, and the most part slaine: such as could escape the sword, returned without pay, without armes, and without clothes.

1518.

The yeare following, the last of March, *Henry* the Kings second sonne was borne, who by the death of the Daulphin his brother, shall succeed his father. *Henry* King of *England* D was his God-father, and gaue him his name: During this surcease of armes among Christian Princes, the Pope motioned (but faith the Originall) rather in shew, then with any good intent, a generall warre of all Christendome, against *Selim* Prince of the *Turkes*. *Bruzzet* (as we haue said) in his latter age, studied to install *Acomath* his eldest sonne, in the throne of the *Turkish* Empire: *Selim* the younger brother, through fauour of the *Ianisaries* and souldiers of his fathers guard, forced him to yeeld the gouernement vnto him. *Selim* was no sooner in possession, but (as they say) he poisoned his father, and murdered his brethren, *Acomath* and *Corcut*, and in the end, all that descended from the line of the *Ottomans*. Then passing from one warre to another, he vanquished the *Aduliens*, ouerthrew the *Sophi* of *Persia* in battaile, tooke from him *Tauris*, the chiefe seate of his Empire, and the greatest part of *Persia*, rooted out the *Sultans* of *Egypt*, and the *Mammelukes*: tooke *Caire*, and seized vpon all *Egypt* and *Syria*. So as hauing in few yeares almost doubled his Empire, and taken away the hinderance of so mightie Princes, who were ialous of his Monarchie: Christian Princes did not without cause, feare the happie course of his victories. *Hongarie* was weake of men, and in the hands of a pupill King, gouerned by Prelates and Barons of the Realme, diuided amongst themselves: *Italy* dismembered by former warres, feared least the partialities of these Princes should cause *Selim* to turne his eyes towards it. The Pope and all the Court of *Rome* (making shew to prevent this imminent danger) thought it expedient to make a great prouision of money, by a voluntarie contribution of Princes, and a generall taxe ouer all Christendome: That the Emperour, accompanied with the horse of *Polonia* and *Hongarie*, and an armie of *Reitres* and *Lanquenets*, fit for so great an enterprise, should assaile *Constantinople*: and the French King with the forces of his Realme, the *Venetians*, *Suisses*, and *Potentates* of *Italy*, should invade *Greece*, being full of Christians, and ready to rebell vpon the first approach of forraime forces. The Kings of *Spaine*, *Portugall*, and *England*, should passe the streight of *Gallipoli* with two hundred sayle: and

Estate of the East.

hauing

1517.

A hauing taken the Castell at the entrie thereof, they should approach neere to *Constantinople*: That the Pope should follow the same course, with an hundred great Gallies. These were goodly plottes in conceit. This counterfeit shew to send an armie into *Turkie*, was but a device to fill the Popes coffers, which were made emptie by the former warres, especially by that of *Vrbain*.

To treat of these propositions, *Leo* published in the Consistorie a generall Truce for five yeares amongst all Christian Princes, and vpon rigorous censures to them that should breake it. Appointing for Legats, the Cardinal of *Saint Sixte* to the Emperour; the Cardinal of *Saint Marie* in *Portico*, to the King; the Cardinal *Giles*, to the King of *Spaine*: and the Cardinal *Lawrence Campege*, to the King of *England*: he proclaimed his Bulls of pardon, B to all such as should contribute a certaine summe for so worthie an expedition. All Princes accept this truce, and shew themselves very willing to so honourable an action. But the meanes wanted, how in so short a time to make a firme Vnion among so many Potentates, who had bene long at deadly warre? Euery one studies of his priuat interest, and finding the danger to concerne one more then another, they care for themselves, and manage these affaires carelessly, more with shew then deuotion.

This negligence of the publike state, and greedinesse of priuate men, was the more confirmed by the death of *Selim*, who leauing his Empire to his sonne *Soliman*, young of age, but of a milder spirit, and not so inclined to war: then all things seemed to incline to peace and loue betwixt so many great warriours. The Kings of France and *England* renewed their friendship by a defensiu League betwixt them, vpon promise of a marriage betwixt the Daulphin, King *Francis* eldest sonne, and the onely daughter of *Henry* King of *England*, both very young: which contract, many accidents might hinder before they came to sufficiency. And *Henry* yeelded Tournay for foure hundred thousand crownes, the one halfe for the charge in building the Cittadell, and for the artillerie, powder, and munition which the King of *England* should leaue in the place: the other halfe, for the expences in conquering thereof, and for other pensions that were due vnto him. Thus oftentimes the looser payes the shot. On the other side, the kings eldest daughter: being dead: whom they had appointed to be wife to the King of *Spaine*: a peace betwixt these two Kings was reconfirmed, according to the first Capitulation, with promise of the younger. An alliance which either Prince did confirme, with great outward shewes of friendship, King *Francis* wearing the order of the Golden fleece on *Saint Andrewes* day: and the King of *Spaine* that of *S. Michell*, on the said *Saints* day. The *Venetians* also, by the Kings meanes had prolonged their truce for five yeares with the Emperour.

A peace concluded with the English.

And with the Spaniards.

But the Soueraigne Iudge of the world (hauing decreed to punish the disorders of Christendome with sundrie afflictions) tooke *Maximilian* out of this world: in whose life we may observe a strange alteration of affaires: for if prosperitie did often present vnto him goodly occasions, aduersitie did as often crosse him in the execution. A good Prince, mercifull, courteous, very liberall, a great spender (the which did many times hinder his good success) painefull, secret, well scene in the Art of warre: but his happie beginnings did commonly prouoe fruitlesse, through his owne delays and inconstancie. This death bred an equall desire in the minds of two great Princes, *Francis* King of France, and *Charles* King of *Spaine*. *Francis* sent the Lord of *Boissy* Lord Steward of France, to purchase the fauour of the *Germane* Electors for the Empire. Some promised all fauour for the King his matter: yet the cause was not so fauourable for the French, hauing no correspondencie with the *Germanes*, neither in tongue, manners, nor life. Moreouer, the Commons of *Germany*, were sutors that the Imperiall dignitie might not go out of the nation. The Pope fauoured the King, but in shew onely, hoping that by these demonstrations of loue, hee would hereafter giue more credit to his Councils: whereby discovering, that in his inward thoughts the election both of *Francis* and *Charles* were alike suspect vnto him, hee laboured to persuade the King (that seeing there was small hope for him to carrie it by voyces) hee should seeke by his authoritie to aduance some other *Germane* Prince to this crowne, rather then *Charles*. But whilest that *Francis* feedes himselfe, with vaine hopes giuen him by the Elector of *Brandebourg*, and the Archbishop of *Treues*, who (to draw money from the King) gaue him great assurances. *Charles* in stead of gold, brings armes to the field. An army approachi

The death of Maximilian.

1519. cheth neere to Francford, for the King of Spaine, vnder collour there should be no force in the election : the which increased their courage that fauoured his cause, made them yeeld that waivered, and troubled the French faction. So *Charles* of Austria King of Spaine, the fift of that name, was chosen Emperour of Germany the twenty eight of Iune. The election of a new Emperour consists in the voyce of fixe Germane Princes. Three are of the clergy, the Archbishopbes of Maience, Cologne, and Treues: Three seculars, the Count Palatine, the Duke of Saxony and the Marquis of Brandebourge. The King of Bohemia is Vmpier, when as the voyces are equall. The Emperour is chosen at Francford, and crowned at Aix la Chapelle.

The election  
of Charles.

Who could doubt, but these two young Princes, hauing so many occasions of Ielousie and quarrell, would soone breake forth into fierce and cruell warres, the which had taken deepe roote in both their hearts. The King desired infinitely to recouer the Realme of Naples, and did greatly affect the restitution of *Henry* of Albret, to his kingdome of Nauarre, whereof he sees him-selfe now frustrate by the sodaine aduancement of *Charles* to so high a dignity, and all that which the French held in Italy was in great danger. The Emperour on the other side was discontented, that the King contemning the accord first made at Paris, and knowing the necessity of his passage into Castille, for the which his fauour did much import, had in a manner forced him to agree to new Articles. Moreouer the King had taken the Duke of Gueldres into his protection, (an enemy to the Flemings, who were subiects to *Charles*), a sufficient cause to draw both *Francis* and *Charles* into armes. But about all, the recovery of the Duchy of Bourgongne, caused strange alterations in the minde of this new Emperour. The Duchy of Milan was a sufficient motiue of quarrell: the King since the death of *Lewis* the twelfth had neither demanded nor obtained inuestiture, and therefore they pretended the possession to bee of no validity, and his interest to be void: yet all these were not sufficient motiues to stirre vp those horrible confusions, which so afflicted the Estates of these two Princes for the space of thirty yeares. Ambitious hatred is alwaies grounded vpon light beginnings. In the meane time the Preachers of this voyage against the Turke, dispersed throughout all Christendome, grew vehement, promising (according to the Popes Bulls) pardon for all finnes, and the Kingdome of Heauen, to such as payd a certaine summe of money. Without doubt *Leo* vsed the authority of the Apostolike seat boldly, dispersing throughout the world, without distinction of time or place, most large pardons: not onely for the liuing, but also to redeeme the soules of the dead from purgatory for money. And for that euery one did plainly see, that these pardons were onely granted to get money, which the commissioners (appointed for such exactions) demaunded after an impudent and shamelesse manner; beeing also well knowne that the greatest part of them had purchased their authority from the Popes officers. *Leo* incurred great dislike: many were discontented with this insolent proceeding, especially in Germany, where the ministers of this collection, appointed (according to the common opinion) for the deliery of poore Christians, fighting vnder the burthen of the Turkish yoke, sold for a small price, yea played away in their Ale-houses their authority to redeeme dead mens soules from Purgatory.

And that which did more increase the peoples spleene, it was generally reported: that *Laurence* of Medicis, had carried a breefe, from his Vncle to King *Francis*, whereby he allowed him to imploy the money gathered throughout his Realme for this warre, to what vses he pleased: vpon condition, to yeeld it, when it should be demaunded for the voyage beyond the seas, and to imploy fifty thousand crownes, to the benefit of the said *Laurence* his Nephew. A worthy cause to make the French repine, seeing the money they gaue to a good intent, was conuerted to contrary vses. But that which made the Germanes wonderfully impatient, *Leo* had giuen to his sister *Magdalen* the profit of the exaction of Indulgences in many parts of Germany, who appointed the Bishoppe *Arembauld* a Commissioner in that part: worthy (saith the history) of such a charge, the which he executed with great couetousnesse and extortion. Being the more odious for that this holy money went to satifie the greedinesse of a woman. So as not onely this exaction, and the Agents thereof, but also his name and authority that granted it, became odious in many prouinces.

The begin-  
ning of Lu-  
thers doctrine

*Martin Luther*, a religious man of the order of *S. Austin*, learned and vehement, began to preach against these indulgences in his publike sermons; hee taxeth the Popes authority, complains

A complains of *Albert* of Brandebourge, Arch-bishop of Mayence: and of the doctrine which these gatherers did teach, inducing the people to belecue confidently, that by the purchase of these pardons they must needs be saued: as if the vertue of these money-pardons could wipe away any sinne, and the money put into the coffers of the Church or of the Commissioners, could draw mens soules out of Purgatorie, and send them into Paradise. And therupon he exhorts euery man to belecue soberly, and to gouerne himselfe wisely in this businesse, and rather to employ their money otherwise then in this fruitiuous merchandise. The people giue eare vnto him, find his doctrine plausible: and *Frederick* Duke of Saxonie his Prince doth embrace it, *Luther*, supported by the fauour of his Prince and the people, proceeded: he publisheth propositions, wherein he doth dispute at large, Of Purgatorie, of true repentance, of the office and dutie of Charitie, of Indulgences and Pardons, to seeke out (saith he) the truth, calling all such to dispute as would propound any argument to the contrarie. He intreated all such as could not assist, to answer by writing: protesting, that hee would not maintaine any thing, but submit himselfe to the censure of the holy Church: yet reiecting all things that should not be conformable to the holy Scripture and the decrees of the Fathers. In the end he encounters the Popes authoritie, the Images of the Church, the celibate of religious persons, restraining the Popes authoritie within the limits of the Bishopricke of Rome, and publishing the doctrine, which hath caused a generall Schisme vnto this day. The Pope to quench this fire, cites *Luther* to Rome, forbids him to preach, declares him Cismatick, if he did not obey, and submit himselfe to the Ecclesiasticall censure. Notwithstanding the Original faith, he did not reforme many things that were of bad example, which *Luther* did blame with reason, beeing very odious to all men, vsing his pontificall office with small reuerence. But this was to cast oyle into the fire. These Ecclesiasticall armes did but increase *Luthers* reputation with the people. Neither the religious men, which *Leo* sent to preach against him, nor the letters which he did write to the Princes and Prelates, nor all the other meanes he employed to suppress him, could any thing withdraw the peoples inclination, nor the fauour of *Fredericke* from him.

This action seeming still of greater importance to the Court of Rome, made them to feare some great disgrace to the Popes greatnesse, to the preiudice of the Court of Rome, and the vnion of Christian Religion. Many assemblies were made at Rome, many consultations in the Popes chamber betwixt the Cardinals and Diuines, appointed to prevent these inconueniences. Some did shew, that for asmuch as they did not correct in themselves so many vices and damnable things which did scandalize all Christendome, the persecution of *Luther*, would but augment the hatred of nations against him: giuing counsell like vnto that of *Gamaliel* in the fift of the *Acts* of the Apostles, that it had bene better, to haue winked at such a folly, which happily would haue vanished of it selfe.

Notwithstanding the heate and violence of others preuailed, so as not onely the persecutions were doubled against him, and his followers (who by his name were called *Lutherans*) but an excommunication was decreed against *Fredericke* Duke of Saxony: the which did so incense him, as of a fauourer he became a vehement protector of the cause: the which since hath bene dispersed ouer all Christendome, so as neither prisons, nor banishment, fire, nor water, sword nor tortures, nor any other punishments, could preuaile against it. Without doubt, we haue learned by experience, that religion is not planted, nor rooted out by violent meanes. The altars of pietie are enemies to armes, drums, and trumpets. Mens consciences must be gently intreated, not violently forced. Let vs attend this so desired reunion from heauen. The mediation of the most Christian King is necessarie: let vs hope, that the continuance of a holy peace will giue him the meanes, as he hath a desire to choose men capable thereof, who not regarding their priuate interest, will seeke the aduancement of Gods glorie. But let vs returne to our historie. Whilest that *Charles*, the fift was crowned at Aix, the people of Spaine fore-seeing, that by the means of his aduancement to the Empire, he should remaine for the most part out of Spaine, beeing also incensed against the Lord of Chieures, and some Flemings which had gouerned *Charles* in his youth, through whose couetousnesse, Offices, Graces, Priuiledges, and Expeditions (which had bene usually giuen to Spaniards) were now dearly sold vnto them, they rebelled, refusing to obey the Kings officers. They created a forme of popular gouernment, with the aduice almost

1520. of all Spaine, whilest the Nobilitie sought by force to suppress this popular libertie. The A King, by the Popes counsell (who makes his profit of Christian Princes quarrels, that hee might haue peace, whilest they are at warre) seeing that the Emperour, being often vrged, did in no sort performe the Articles of the treatie of Noyon, sent an armie into Nauarre, vnder the commaund of *Esparre*, brother to *Lautrec*, who in lesse then fiftene dayes reduced Nauarre to the obedience of *Henry* of Albret their lawfull King. This was enough for *Esparre*. It had bene better to returne a victor triumphing with glory and honour, then to follow the aduice of too violent a Councillor, *Saint-Colombe* Lieutenant of *Lautrecs* companie, (promising to himselfe, it may be, the conquest of Spaine, as easily as that of Nauarre: or fed with a hope to make some good bootie:) carried *Esparre* euen to the frontiers B of Catalonia: who hauing taken Fontarabie, did runne as farre as the Grongne. The Spaniards being incensed, (the Nobilitie against the people) had endured the losse of the kingdom of Nauarre, but seeing them to inuade their owne marches, they put in practise the by-word of the dogges, who fighting together, layed aside their quarrell, to fall vpon the wolfe, their common enemy. So these, being at great discord amongst themselves gaue ouer their intestine quarrells, to pursue their professed enemies.

The Nobles and Commons ioyned their forces, they incounter *Esparre*, who to saue the souldiers pay, had dismissed some part of his armie, giuing leaue to all that would, in yeelding halfe a pay: they charge him, defeat him, and take him prisoner, being hurt in the eye with a Lance, whereof he grew blind. The Lord of Tournon was likewise taken, with C many other good men. So the Spaniards finding Nauarre vnfurnished of souldiers, recovered Pampelune, with as great facilitie as the French had conquered it. The first breeder of the horrible confusions which shall follow. But let vs see another motiue of warre, betwixt these two Monarchs, which rising from a small fire, shall flame ouer all this Realme, and many other estates.

The Prince of Chimay, of the house of Croy, had beforetime obtained a sentence against the Lord of Aimeries, giuen by the Peeres of the Duchie of Bouillon; (which iudge souverainly) for the towne of Hierges in Ardenne: yet through the fauour and credit which Aimeries had with *Charles* of Austria, and the greatest in his Court, hee was releued, although he had not appealed from the said sentence in time, grounding the causes of his releefe vpon the letts and hinderances he had had during the former warres, at the which hee had alwaies assisted in person. So as a Commission being granted before the great Chancellor of Brabant, and a day assigned to the heires of Chimay, to come to heare the reasons of Aimeries releefe: and if need were, to see the former sentence (giuen to their behoofe) reuoked. They found this commission so vniust, and vnreasonable (seeing that both their father and they had bene in long and quiet possession of the said Towne) and that this decree was not subiect to appeal: as they repaired to *Robert de la Mark* Duke of Bouillon, as to their Lord and Protector, that with their right he might defend the liberties and priuileges of his Duchie. *Robert* discontented, that his companie of men at armes had bene cashiered for the extorsions and robberies they had committed in Italy, and else-where, had E left the King, and was retired to the Emperour. But seeing that iustice was denied him, as well for the priuate interest of pupils (whose Vncle and Tutor he was, hauing married their Ant, sister to the Prince of Chimay) he made his peace with the King, by the mediation of his wife, and his sonne *Fleuranges* (thee being daughter to the Earle of Brenne) with the Kings mother.

*Robert* hauing assured his affaires with the King, sent to defie the Emperour at Wormes, where he had called a Diet of the Princes, and free Townes of Germanie, against the new-bred troubles, by reason of *Luther*. A bold attempt of a pettie Prince against an Emperour, mightie in meanes, men, and courage. A great riuer runs quietly betwixt the bankes that bound it, but at the first breach it ouerflows a whole countie: so there is nothing more easie then to incense Princes; but being once moued, they are hardly appeased. This defie giuen, *Fleuranges* the eldest sonne of *Robert*, notwithstanding the Kings expresse prohibition, made a leaue as well in France as in other places, of three thousand foote, and foure or five hundred horse, with the which he besieged Vireton, a small towne in Luxembourg belonging to the Emperour. But soone after he retired his armie by the Kings commandement, and

A and dismissed it. But their spleenes were wonderfully incensed vpon new occasions. The king, for that the Emperour failed in the payment of the pension, for the Realme of Naples, and in the restitution of Nauarre: and withal, his preferment to the Empire had greatly discontented him. The Emperour was grieved, for the enterprise of Nauarre, and the attempt of the Duke of Bouillon, being also well informed, that the King sought the meanes to recover the Realme of Naples. *Francis* had sent a Gentleman to the Pope, to know when it should please him to performe his part for the execution of that which they had concluded together (the which his Maiestie knew according to the disposition of *Leo* to be more counterfeited then currant.) And *Leo* giuing to the Gentleman a note of the horse, foote and artillerie, that was necessarie for this enterprise, assigned the King two and twentie dayes to arm, B whilest the Venetians might enter into this League.

The Pope had no meaning, that Naples should be subiect to the French. If the King had not in the meane time neglected his affaires, *Leo* had bene forced to runne another course. And the Pope glad to haue some colourable shew of discontent, accuseth the King either to be carelesse, or ill-affected, hauing not drawne the Venetians into the said League, for the defence of Italy. He complains, that his Maiestie had not payed but the first month for the leaue of Suisses, which they had bene forced to make against the Spaniard, who a little before had inuaded the territories of the Church, whereof the King should pay a moitie, and makes a shew as if the King had treated something with the Emperour, without his priuie, and to his prejudice.

C Thus *Leo* seeming iustly displeased, receiued into Rhegium (contrarie to his agreement with the King) all the banished men of Milan: he inuested *Charles* of Austria, in the Realme of Naples, made a defensue league with him, including the house of Medicis and the Florentines: and deuising how to conquer Milan; they agreed: That *Parma* and *Placentia* should remaine to the Church, to hold them with the same rights it did before: That *Francis Sforza* brother to *Maximilian* should be put in possession of the Duchie of Milan, as hauing right from his father, and his brothers renunciation: and that the Emperour should ayde the Pope against his subiects, and feudatories, namely, to conquer *Ferrara*. This mutuall resolution of aliance was a meane, by Gods prouidence, to shew his wonderfull iudgements, and a scourge to punish both French, Italians, and Spaniards for many yeares: whereby followed so many euerfusions of townes, oppressions of people, desolations of Prouinces; and the death of so many men of valour.

The Emperour in the meane time, leauies a great armie of horse and foote, vnder the command of *Henry* Earle of Nassau, who tooke Longnes from *Robert de la Marke*; raised the Towne, and hanged the Captaine, with twelue of the chiefe of his troupe. The Captaine of Musancourt, (deliuered by some of his souldiers, with the place to the said Earle) escaped the gallows at the intreatie of the chiefe of his armie, but twentie of his souldiers were hanged, and the place likewise razed and spoiled to the ground. About this time, there was much controuersie touching the Duchie of Milan, the Emperour pretending it to belong absolutely to him, not onely by conquest, but much rather by inheritance: concerning which, the most learned in the lawes of the Empire produced many and very probable reasons and arguments. These two prizes caused *Fleuranges* and *Sansey* his brother (the sonnes of *Robert*) to put themselves into *Sametz*, with a resolution to die or to keepe it. The Earle after foure dayes seige, hauing seen the garrisons firme resolution, raised his campe, to take the way to *Fleuranges*. The *Germanes* which kept it, yeilded vp both the towne and their Captaine the Lord of *Sametz*, the sonne of *Robert*, into the Earles hands, who hauing ruined it, did the like vnto *Sansey*. *Bouillon* was afterwards yeilded vnto him by intelligence. After this, *Robert* obtained a truce of the Emperour for sixe weekes. But the Emperour *Charles* dreamed of a more important warre: If his spleene had bene onely against the house of *La Mark*, why should he grant them a truce, being almost ruined; and being a Conquerour, and strong enough to subdue the said *Robert*, why did he still increase his armie?

The King hauing intelligence, that warre was proclaimed against him, prepared his forces to withstand the Emperour: and to this end he gaue a commission to *Francis* of Bourbon, Earle of Saint Pol, to leaue sixe thousand foote: to the Constable of Bourbon 8 hundred horse, and sixe thousand foote: and to the Duke of Vendosme the like charge. And to

1521. reuenge the disgrace receiued by *Esparte*, he sent fixe thousand Lansquenets, of whom *Cland* of Lorraine Earle of Guise was Generall, vnder *William* of Gouffiers, Lord of Bonniuet, Admirall of France, to whom he gaue fise companies of horse, and commission to leaue what number of Galscons and Basques he should thinke necessarie. The Lord of Lescut was in like fort releued with French and Suisses, for the warre of Italy.

The armies on either side were in field: there remains nothing but for the one to make a breach: the Imperials beginne. There had beene a long and a great quarrell betwixt *Lewis* Cardinall of Bourbon, and the Lord of Liques, a Gentleman of Hainault, for the Abbey of *S. Amand* which the Cardinall enioyed. *Liques* takes this occasion to assault the Abbey, which beeing of no strength, was deliuered vnto him by *Champeroux*, Lieutenant for the King in Tournaisis, in the which *de Loges* Gouverneur of Tournay was surprized. We might pretend that these were but priuate quarrels: but *Liques* aduanced with his forces to Mortaigne, a place subiect to the King, the which he said he had sometimes enioyed.

In the end *Prancy*, Captaine of the said place (hauing no hope of succours) yelded it, not to *Liques*, but to the Lord of Portien, vpon condition to depart with their liues and baggage. But contrarie to the Law of armes and honestie, they were pursued, stript, and hardly escaped with their liues. On the other side, *Piennes*, of the house of Luxembourg, Gouverneur of Flanders, beseege Tournay with a thousand horse, eight thousand foote, and fixe Cannons, continuing there fise moneths, whilest that the Bourguignons did take, spoile, and raze Ardres, the Lord of Teligni in exchange, did charge, defeat, and cut in peeces fixe hundred Bourguignons, that were entred the Realme to spoile it. In the beginning of these garboyles, *Henry* King of England did offer himselfe an Arbitrator betwixt these two Princes, *Charles* and *Francis*, and *Calis* was named for the treatie of a good peace. But what meanes was there to yeld to the Emperours vnreasonable demaunds, to restore vnto him the Duchie of Bourgogn, with an abolition of the homage which he ought vnto this crown, for Flanders? beeing vnreasonable (as he pretended) that an Emperour should doe homage to a King of France: as if we did not commonly see Princes hold their hands by the homage of simple Gentlemen. So this parle tooke no effect.

Hitherto the Imperials dealt vnder-hand, protesting not to make warre against the King: but now they discouer themselves, and come with enignes displayed to beseege Mouzon: they batter it in two places, the one by the meddow towards the port of Rheims: the other from the mountaine going to Iuoy. The footmen newly leauied, and not yet trained, grew amazed, and force *Montmort* the Captaine of that place, to demaund a composition: for the obtaining whereof, he went with *Lafsigny*, his companion, to the Earle; and obtained, *That every man at armes should depart, with a curtall vnarmed, and the foot-men and archers, without armes, and a white wand in their hands*: what policie was this, to see two Lieutenants to a King, goe forth off a place to capitulate with the enemye without doubt they deserued the shame which many haue suffered for the like rashnesse, to be detained prisoners, put to ransom, and forced to yeld the Towne at discretion.

The taking of all these Townes without opposition, drew the Earle to Mezieres (commanded by the Cheualier *Bayard*) but he found a more generous resolution then at Moizon. The experience and valour of the Capitaines, and the desire which *Anne* Lord of Montmorency had to do the King some notable seruice in his youth, had drawne him into the Towne, with many well-minded Gentlemen of the Court: amongst the rest, the Lords of *Loges*, *Annebault*, *Lucé*, *Villeclair*, *John de la Tour* Lord of Bremont, *John Duresl*, Lord of Betbee, *Nicholas* of Thouars Lord of Suilly, *Mathurin*, and *Charles de Cleres*, (whose valours and fidelitie deserue a place in our Historie.) *Anthony* Duke of Lorraine (whole Lieutenant *Bayard* was) and the Lord of Oruall, Gouverneur of Champagne, commaunded either of them; a hundred men at armes. *Boucart* and the Baron of *Montmoreau*, had either of them a thousand foot. This might seeme too much for a small place, but it was strong and of importance. The Canon did no sooner begin to batter, but most of the foot grew amazed, and in despite of their Capitaines fled, some by the gate, others ouer the wals: *Bayard* by the basenesse of them that fled, tooke occasion to assure the resolutions of such as remained, *For* (said he) *prefering the towne with the helpe of few men, we shall haue the more merit and reputation: our troups are of the more force, beeing discharged of this unprofitable burthen.*

The

A The Earle comming neere to Mezieres, sent to summon the commanders to yeld the towne vnto the Emperour. Report vnto the Earle of Nassau (said *Bayard* to the trompet) *That before he shall heare me speake of yielding up the towne, which the King hath giuen mee in charge, I hope to make a bridge of my enemies carcases, ouer the which I may march.* Henry makes two bateries, and shakes the wals, for the space of a moneth. But finding by sundry sallies (in the which the beseege did most commonly carry the honour and aduantage) the resolution of the commanders, men at armes, and fouldiers: hauing also intelligence of the defeat of a hundred choise horse of the Emperours campe, and two hundred foote, led by the Earle *Reinfourket*, to spoile *Arrigni*, vpon Aisne: all which *Francis* of Silli, Baylife of Caen, Lieutenant to the Duke of Alançon; had put to the sword, except 5. or 6. which were carried prisoners to the said Earle at Rheims; the towne hauing beene also releued, the first of October with a thousand foote led by *Loges*, foure hundred horse by *Teligni*, and some munition, he abated the first fury of his artillery, and despayring to take the towne by force or famine, he raised his campe, and made his retreat by Mont-Cornet in Ardennes, *Maubert* Fontaine, and *Aubenron*, to *Veruin* and *Guise*, spoyling, burning and killing, men, women and children without distinction: a mournfull beginning of the cruellies which haue beene committed in the succeeding warres. *Bayard* for a worthy reward of his vertue, was honored by the King with accompany of a hundred men at armes, and the order of *Saint Michael*. In the meane time the King assembles his forces at *Feruaques*, to cut off the enemies way about *Guise*, and to fight with him: during whose retreat, the Cont *Saint Paul* recouered *Mouzon*, for the King.

The Earle of Nassau leaves Mezieres.

Such was the estate of Picardy, and Champagne, whilest the Admirall of Bonniuet arrived at *Saint John de Luz*, for the enterprise of Nauarre. His purpose was to surprize Fontaraby. To hold the enemy in suspence, he first tooke the Castell of Poignan vpon the mountaine of Roncevaux, then making shew to take the way of Pampelune, hee turned head through the mountaines towards the towne of Maye, and whilest he lodged his artillery, he caused the Earle of Guise (who commanded the Lansquenets) to take the way by the riuier of Behaubie, running at the foote of the mountaines which come from Nauarre and so passeth into the sea before Fontaraby: and in the morning hee followed with his army. Hauiug some Spaniards in front, which camped on the other side of the water; he passed the riuier at a ford, the said Earle marching before them with a pike in his hand. *Don Diego de Vere* chiefe of the enemies army, being equall in number, and hauing an aduantage ouer those that came wet from the passage of a riuier, amazed at the resolution of our men, left the field, and fled with his men through the mountaines.

The Castell of Behaubie kept all victualls from our campe, and held it in great destresse. But the first Volee of the cannon, hauing split one of their best peeces, and slaine the gouernor with some others that did assist him, the soldiars beeing amazed, force their Capitaine to yeld at discretion: whereof the Admirall sent the best prisoners to Bayonne, the rest hee turned away being disarmed. The way beeing thus layd open to Fontaraby, (a place which they held impregnable, and one of the keyes of Spaine) fortified on three parts, with the sea, riuier and mountaine, in few daies he made a breach, but not assailable. Norwithstanding the Galscons, Basques and Nauarrois, demanded the assault, the which was defended with as great resolution as it was assayed: but the beseege hauing discovered some peeces, which the Admirall had planted on the mountaine, to beate them the next day in flanke at the second attempt, and knowing the resolution of the assaylants, by the proofe they had formerly made, caused them to yeld, vpon condition to depart, with their baggage and baggage. *James* of Aillon Lord of Lude, was made Gouverneur thereof.

Fontaraby taken.

Let vs returne to Feruaques, where we haue left the King preparing to fight with the enemy. To this end he giues the forward to the Duke of Alançon (who had married *Marguerite* of Valois the Kings sister) accompanied with the Marshall of Chastillon, (this was the first motiue of the Constable of Bourbons discontent; the which place was due vnto him as Constable of France.) He tooke the battaile himselfe, taking the said Duke of Bourbon vnto him, and committed the rereward to the Duke of Vendosme. *Bapaume* did much annoy the frontier towards Peronne, Corbie and Dourlans. The Earle of Saint Paul, the Marshall of Chabannes and the Lord of Fleuranges tooke it, beat downe the defences, and burnt

The ruine of Bapaume.

Ecc 1

it



1521. it to ashes. The Duke of Vendosme had Commission to do the like vnto *Landrecy*: who arriving late, foure or fiue ensignes of the bands of Picardie march, without commandement and without ladders, and sie furiously to the port, where they plant their Ensignes vpon the draw-bridge, but they were repulsed by seauen or eight hundred Lansquenets and some of their Ensigne-bearers slaine. This furie of the Picards did so amaze the Germanes, as without attending batterie, breach, or assault, they retired into the next Forrest, where they could not pursue them, by reason of the riuer running thorough the towne. Thus *Landrecy* vnfurnished of men, was the next day taken, razed and burnt.

The Emperor was retired with his armie towards Valenciennes: the King makes a bridge ouer the riuer of Escan beneath Bouchain, either to fight with him, or to make him abandon the cuntry with dishonour. *Charles* hauing intelligence of this bridge, sent twelue thousand Lansquenets, and foure thousand horse to stop the passage, but the Earle of *S. Pol* with those fixe thousand men which he commanded, was already in battaile on the other side of the water, in a marsh towards Valenciennes, and the King followed him speedily with all his army, which were about sixteene hundred men at armes, and fixe and twenty thousand foote with the light horse. The which the enemy perceiuing, he left seuen or eight hundred horse to couer the retreat of his footmen, taking the way to Valenciennes. *Tremouille* and the Marshall of Chabannes offer to charge them in the reere: the Swisses cried out for battaile, to giue a testimonie vnto the King, that they desired to seale the confirmation of their new alliance with some notable seruice: and if their aduice had bene followed, the Emperor had that day by all likelihood lost his honour, and the flower of his armie. So the enemy retired without any losse, except the bastard of Aimeries and some prisoners. GOD doth often minister occasions, the which beeing once neglected, are neuer recovered with so great aduantage. But howsoeuer, the Emperor retired by night into Flanders with an hundred horse, leauing all the rest of his armie behind him.

The next day, Bouchain yeelded at the first summons to the Duke of Bourbon. This shamefull retreat of the Imperials draws our armie to Hedin, beeing vnfurnished of souldiers, when as the inhabitants feared no enemy, beeing busied at the marriage of a daughter of the Receiuer generall of Arthois. The Dukes of Bourbon and Vendosme and the Earle of Saint *Paul*, with the troupes (commonly called the Blacke bands) notwithstanding the continuall raine, were at the Towne-gates, before the cittizens had any intelligence of their departure from the armie. The towne being resolutely attempted, was taken by assault, and was spoiled by the footmen, the which abounded in wealth: for that in old time the Dukes of Bourgongne had made their chiefe residence there. But in the midst of the spoile, one quarter of the towne was fired, contrary to the Constables expresse commandement, the which depriued the souldiers of part of their bootie. The Ladie of Rieux and the garrison of the castle departed with their baggage: but all the Inhabitants that were retired and come into it, were put to ransom. The Lord of Biez had the gouernement of the Castle, and *Lorges* of the towne, with a thousand foote. This happened on all-Saints day.

Winter was come, and the enemy appeared no more: the King dispersed his army, and giuing the most of the Gentlemen that had followed the Dukes of Bourbon and Vendosme the command of twentie fiue horse a peece, putting his companies into garrison, and disposing of the rest of the armie, he retired to Compiene, about Christmas, not able for the distemperature of the weather to releue Tournay, necessitie forcing the Lord of Champroux to depart with an honourable composition, armed, their Ensignes displayed, Drums sounding, and their baggage saved.

Now may we see, what effects the Popes league with the Emperor shall bring forth. Being both equally desirous to expell the French out of Italy, they thought it best, before they came to open force, to shadow their practises with a Foxes skin, and by meanes of the banished men, to assaile the Duchies of Milan and Genoua at one instant, with the citties of Parma, Placentia, Cremona, and Crema. But he that attempts too much, performs little: so many sundry enterprises do most commonly terrifie more then hurt. According to this plot the Emperors gallies, remaining at Genoua, the Popes come sodenly into the port of Genoua, with two thousand Spaniards, led by *Ierome Adorne*, hoping that the partisans of that family, would not faile to mutine: but the good order which *Fregose* had set, made their desaigne

The Emperors dishonorable retreat.

Hedin taken.

Tournay lost.

A desaigne fruitlesse. On the other side, *Lautrec*; before his comming into France, to marry the daughter of the Lord of Orual, had expelled many out of Milan, that were ill affected to the King, whereof they said the most part had bene banished for sleight occasions, or to seize vpon their goods.

Without doubt, severity looseth those hearts, which clemency and moderation in a temperate commander would make vse of at need. *Francis Sforza*, *Ierosme Moren*, *Manfroy Paluiofin* and *Soto* of Brindisi, were the chiefe, who hauing assembled a great number of their Partisans, for the execution of their desaignes, retired to Regium, belonging to the Church, although neither the Pope, nor the King (according to their treatie) ought to haue supported them in their territorics. *Lescur* Marshall of Foix, Licutenant to his brother, aduertised of these stirres, by *Frederike* of Bossole, parted from Milan on Midfomer eue, accompanied with foure hundred Lances, and followed by *Bossole*, leading a thousand foote, to require Count *Guy* of Rangon, gouernour of the towne for the Pope, that according to the treaty, hee should deliuer these banished men into his hands. Whilest that *Lescur* and *Rangon*, conferred together vpon their faith, at a posterne entring into the Ruelin, at the gate which goes to Parma, the one complaining, that contrary to the articles of the league, they did support (in townies belonging to the church) the banished men being assembled to trouble the Kings estate; and the other, that hee had sodenly entred with armes into the territorics of the Church: behold a gate being opened for the letting in of a cart laden with meale, the Lord of Bonneual aduanceth with some men at armes, to seize vpon the port, but they were repulsed, and the gate shut. Some banished men being vpon the walles, discharge their Harquebuses, and hurt *Alexander Truulce*, whereof he died two daies after. Nothing saued *Lescur*, but the feare which the Harquebusier had that aimed at him, to kill the Gouernour. The indiscretion of one man, is pernicious to such as accompany him. During this garboile, the Earle, to assure *Lescur*s person, led him vpon his faith into the Ruelin. The men at armes taking this for an imprisonment; fled to carry news to the troupes, which stayed two miles from Regium, who standing doubtfull, whether they should march against the towne to recover their leader, or returne to Parma, thinking it a practise to surpris the towne in their absence: the Marshall arrived, being released by the Earle, forbearing to stay him, hauing giuen him his faith, and receiued commission, not to proceed against the King by open warre. This enterprise, as badly effected as rashly attempted, was of consequence. It was a good colour for the Pope to accuse the King, and to iustifie his confederacy with the Emperor. To preuen this, *Lescur* sent *La Motte* to *Leo*, to disauow the attempt at Rhegium, and to let him vnderstand, that what hee had done, was neither to attempt against him, nor against the estate of the Church. For answer: *The Marshall of Foix* (said the Pope in great choller) *hath lodged (in armes like an enemy) vpon my territorie, I will make him know the wrong hee hath done vnto the King*. Presently after this threat, hee did excommunicate the Marshall out of the Church. The desaigne vpon *Como*, succeeded no better then that of *Genoua*, for *Manfroy* of Paluiofin, and *Soto* of Brindisi, hauing in the night approached to the walles, with eight hundred Italian foot, and Lansquenets, hoping that *Anthony Rusque* a citizen of *Como*, would make a breach for them in the wall behind his house, as he had promised to *Benedict Torne*, an other of that city, that was banished, capitaine *Garron* a Basque by nation, a man well practised in armes, did mingle the townes-men with the souldiers, at the gard of the wall, to preuent the execution of their intelligence, if happily they had any. So as the conspirators not daring to discouer themselves *Paluiofin* deceived of his foolish enterprise, hauing planted his gards about the towne, where hee thought most fit, went to sleepe. *Garron*, issues forth to giue them a skirmish, hee kills the greatest part; some seeke their safety vpon the lake, others vpon the mountaine. Three barks were sunke in the Lake, and seuen taken by *Garron*. Many were taken prisoners, amongst others *Manfroy* and *Soto*, who after they had confessed the reuolts and practises in the estate of Milan, were publickly quartered at Milan: and *Bartimew Ferrer* their complice, a man of authority in the towne, was beheaded, vpon the returne of the Lord of *Lautrec*; whom the King (beeing aduertised of these disorders) sent presently to Milan. The Lansquenets had leaue to depart into their country.

Seeing the Popes secret practises could not succeed, he now discouers himselfe, hee complains

An enterprise vpon Como, faileth.



1521. plaines in the Consistorie of Cardinals, of the attempt of Rhegium: and concludes, that the King is ill affected to the Apostolike sea, and (concealing the capitulations hee had secretly made with the Emperour) he protests, that he is forced to allie himselfe vnto him, who (said *Leo*) had neuer committed any thing vnworthie of a Christian Prince, and very zealous to Religion.

So, the Wolfe in the Fable accused the sheepe for troubling the water. Thereupon he presently makes shew to contract with *Dom Iohn Emanuel*, Ambassadour to *Charles*, the league which he had formerly concluded, and resolues, by the aduice of *Prosper Colonne*, to inuade the Estate of Milan with fixe hundred men at armes, and the companies of horse which the Emperour had in the Realme of Naples, fixe thousand Italian foote, two thousand Spaniards (which *Adorne* had in the riuier of Genoua) two thousand Neapolitanes, (which the Marquis of Pescara should bring) foure thousand Lansquenets, and two thousand Grisons, (which should be leauied at their common charge) and two thousand Suisses, which had remained voluntarily, of a greater number vnder the Popes pay.

An ominous  
signe to the  
French.

Whilest this was working, behold a fatall signe to our French-men of their instant calamities: for on Saint *Peters* day, the Sunne beeing set, and the skie cleare, lightning fell vpon the great Tower of the Castle of Milan, and ouerthrew fixe fadomes of the Curtaine on either side, consumed two hundred and fiftie thousand weight of powder, twelue hundred fire-pots, the prouision of salt for five yeares: and vnder the ruines were slaine *Richbourg* Capitaine of the Castle, and about three hundred Gentlemen and souldiers that were walking there. *Leo* did not forget to triumph at this accident, and to impute it to the wrath of God laid vpon the French.

Seege of Parma.

This heauie accident was a spur to hasten his resolutions, for the ruine of our men. And knowing that the estate of Mantoua did import him much for the warres of Lombardie, hee entertained *Fredericke* Marquis of Mantoua with two hundred men at armes, and two hundred light horse, giuing him the title of Generall for the Church: for the accepting wherof the Marquis renouncing the order of Saint *Michel*, sent backe the collar to the King, wherewith his Maiestie had honoured him. The Marquis of Mantoua and *Prosper Colonne*, hauing armed for the Pope, and the Marquis of Pescara for the Emperour, they besieged Parma, seated vpon a riuier of the same name, and easie to be passed: but after great raine, and the day after the beheading of *S. Iohn*, hauing battered the port of *S. Croix* towards Milan (which at that time was but the suburbe) and made a breach of fiftie paces, giuen three sharpe assaults and were repulsed, about foure thousand Italians (of fixe thousand that were within the towne) went out at the breach, and yeelded to the enemy. The Marshal of Foix, who had vndertaken the defence thereof, the Lord of Pont-Dormy, Gouvernour of the town and the other Captaines, hauing kept the bafe Towne about fiftene dayes, retired into the Towne beyond the Riuier, leauing an Italian Captain at the breach, to fauor the retreat of their men at arms, who, to work his own safetie, decieued the enemy by a gentle stratagem, he caused euery one of the harguebuziers, to lay an end of a match, light vpon the rampar, where they did vsually make their guard, so as it was an houre after the breake of day, before the enemies had knowledge that the breach was abandoned: which hauing discouered, they passe their artillerie, spoile the suburbes, make their approaches to the Towne at Noone-day, and begin to batter the wall, which defends the other banke of the riuier.

But small accidents doe often disappoint attempts of great consequence. The same night that the enemy entred into Codipont (which is the suburbe they had abandoned) newes comes, that *Alphonso* of Este, Duke of Ferrara, with an hundred men at armes, two hundred light horse, two thousand foote, (whereof *Lautrec* had sent him a thousand Italians and Corsegues, and twelue peeces of artillerie) had surprized Final and Saint *Felix*, and threatened Modena. *Prosper Colonne* would not diminish his army, when as he feared the enemies approach. But to assure Modena, they must draw out of the Popes armie two hundred light horse and eight hundred foote, led by Count *Guy* of Rangon, to ioine with fixe hundred others that were left within the place.

On the other side, *Lautrec* approached with his army, which consisted of seauen or eight hundred Lances, thirteene or fourteene thousand Suisses, foure thousand French, which *S. Vallier* had newly brought: five hundred men at armes Venetians, and foure thousand foote

A foote vnder *Theodore Triumice* generall of the Venetians, and *Andrew Gritti* Commillary, accompanied with the duke of Vrbin and *Marke Anthony Colonne*. These two considerations, with the obstinate resolution of the besieged, forced the enemy to raise the seege, and to take the way of Po, to enter the estate of Milan. *Lautrec* follows them: but hauing lost two or three daies in taking the Castell of Roque-bianque, he gaue them leasure to passe the riuier. It is good to obserue the errors of a Commander, that others may iudge and make their profit thereby. The Popes army lay open to the spoile: the Lansquenets mutined for want of pay, refusing to follow, and resolved to ioine with the French. The retreat was made in confusion: the army was full of feare, for this sodaine dislodging: they had in front a great difficulty, being to passe the riuier of Po: when a great army passeth any riuier, it is easie to disturbe them, if the enemy bee dilligent and valliant: were they not then likely to be put to rout, if *Lautrec* had pursued them hotly? Thus they passed the Po, the first of October, spending a whole day and a great part of the night at the passage, but the sparing of spies makes commanders oft times to let slip goodly occasions, being ignorant of the disorders and difficulties that troubled the enemy.

Errors of the  
French army.

This is not all, other accidents happen, which being neglected, the French shall receiue a shamefull disgrace. The enemies army was so weake, as the Spaniards and Lansquenets were now reduced to about seauen thousand, the Italians (for the most part new soldiars,) serued rather to make a number, then for any strength, and lodged at Rebec, attending a supply of Suisses, so prest for victuals, as the prouision of meale, which was brought vnto them in small quantity, was distributed to the companies by measure. The soldiars, for want of O-uens, baked their portions vpon the embers: their Suisses came not, many Italians fled away secretly, & al men confessed, that if the French army which lodged at Bourdellane, two miles neere to the enemies campe, & had charged them at their rising from Rebec, halfe vanquished with so many difficulties, ther had remained little or no hope of safety. For these necessities had forced them to retire: where the retreat being long and the enemy neere, the danger had bene euident, considering that from the Castell of Pont-Iuy, belonging to the Venetians, they might disorder their battaillions with the Cannon. But the fruitlesse and long stay of our commanders at Rebec, after the enemies departure, gaue them leysure to passe the riuier of Oglic, and to lodge in the village of Ostiana, with an intent not to rise, before the arriual of their Suisses.

The feast of all Saints drew neere, the nights grew long, the continuall rayne and cold annoyed our Suisses, who demanded that pay which the law of armes giues vnto soldiars that haue wonne a battaile, saying, that it was not their fault they had not obtayned a victory. But in this case, not the will, but the effect merits such a pay: so as of all their company there remained about foure thousand. Thus beeing full of disdain and discontent, suborned likewise by the practises of the Cardinalls of Medicis and Sion, who as Legats to *Leo* marched in the midst of the army with their crosses of siluer, enuionned (said the Originall) with numbers of armed men, artillery, blasphemers, murderers and theues, they did greatly weaken the Kings army, to fortifie the enemy, ioyning with *Prosper Colonne*, and imputing the chiefe cause thereof to the want of pay. Without doubt, it is a great error, in a Kings officers, especially in an army, to conuert the mony appointed for the paiement of an armie, to other vses. It was at the passage of the riuier of Adde, that the last act of this tragedy must be played: for the defence whereof *Lautrec* sent the Lord of Pont-dormy, with his company: that of *Ottavian Fregosc* (led by Count *Hugues* of Pepoli a Bolonois) a thousand or twelue hundred foote, and two faulcons. But it pleased God, at this time to satisfie the Popes couetousnesse with the spoile of our men, that he might execute the iust iudgement of his vengeance soone after vpon his person. The enemy beates backe our gards, and put them to flight, kills some and amongst others, *Gratian* of Luce and Chardon, neighbours to the forrest of Orleans: who commanded either of them a regiment of five hundred men. They passe Adde at Vauci, and force *Lautrec* to retire to Cassan, and so towards Milan with his whole army.

The passage of Adde recovered *Prosper Colonne*s reputation, who for the retreat before Parma, and his ordinary tediousnesse, was ill reputed of, as well at Rome, as in his army. Contrariwise, *Lautrec* wanting neither valour nor braue resolution, but Vigilance and happinesse, purchaseth

1521.

Lautrec odious to his army.

A notable adventure.

purchased contempt of his men and hatred of the Milanois, whome hee did the more exasperate, in causing *Christopher Palmoisin* to be publicly beheaded, a man of great Nobility, great authoritie, great age, and a long time detained a prisoner. *Colonne* advertised of the retreat of the French to Milan, lodged at Marignan, and his Suisses in the Abbey of Cleruaut, doubtfull whether he should passe on to Milan, being fortified with so many men: or turne to Pavia, being destitute of souldiars. Beeing thus irresolute, there appears vnto the Marquis of Mantoua; an aged man, meane in shew and apparell, who beeing brought before *Colonne* and the other Capitaines, assures them, that he is sent from the parishioners of S. Cir of Milan, to let them vnderstand, that at the first approach of their armie, all the people of Milan are resolu'd to take armes against the French, by the sound of the belles of every parish: wishing them to set forward with speed, without giuing the French leysure to be thinke themselves. And so he vanished away, not knowne to any man.

The Commanders gaue credit to this intelligence. The 23. of Nouember the Marquis of Pescara with his Spanish bands, presents himselfe at the port of Rome at Sunne-setting, and presently chargeth the Venetians, appointed to guard the suburbs with a bastion which they had newly begunne: he puts them to flight, making no resistance; and the Suisses likewise that were lodged by them: killes some and hurts others, before our men had any knowledge of their arriual. *Theodore Trimmle*, who (beeing sicke and disarmed) came to this alarme vpon a little moyle, was taken, The *Gibelins* seizing on the port, brought in the Marquis of Pescara and Mantoua, the Cardinall of Medicis, *Colonne*, and a part of the army: the victors not able to conceiue by what happinesse and meanes they had so easily obtained so notable a victorie; the which was confirmed by the sack of the Citie, which continued fifteene dayes.

We cannot but blame our Commanders herein of negligence, and too great confidence in not discouering the enemies remooue that day: who thought, that they would not assault the Ramparts without their artillerie, the which could not march, the wayes beeing broken with continuall raine.

*Lautrec*, troubled with the feare and the darknesse of the night, not able to discouer in so short a time, the estate of the enemy confusedly lodged, some in the citie, others in the suburbs: left *Masfaron* (a Gentleman of Gasconie) within the castle, with fiftie men at armes, and six hundred French foote, and retired his armie to Como, where leaving *John* of Chabannes Lord of Vandenesse, brother to the Marshall of Chabannes, with fiftie men at armes, and five hundred foote, he re-passed the riuer of Adde at Lecque, and tooke the way of Bergamo, to put his men at armes into Garrison in the Venetians cuntry, and other places which held yet for the French.

It is an vniuersall thing to yeeld vnto the Conqueror. Lauda, Pavia, Placentia, Alexandria, Cremona, hold for the Empire and the Duke of Milan. *Janot* of Herbouille, Lord of Bunnon, held yet the castle of Cremona. *Laurie* sent his brother *Lescut* thither, (who since the retreat of Parma, had ioyned with the armie) with part of his forces to recouer it. Who beeing repulsed, *Lautrec* brought all his troupes, which were but five hundred men at armes, foure thousand Suisses, and a few other footmen, foure hundred men at armes Venetians, and six thousand foote. As all things were readie for the assault, the enemy beeing amazed, demanded a composition, the which they obtained with their liues and baggage. A smal comfort for men halfe discouraged.

Cremona recovered.

*Frederike* of Bossole came from Parma with his forces by *Lautrecs* commandement. He had no sooner passed the Po, but *Vitelli* seizeth thereon with a most pleasing consent of all the people. All these victories were glorious to the enemy: but the trecherie of one blemished their former reputation. Como besieged and battered tenne or twelue dayes, despairing of succour and defence, had yeelded vpon condition, that as well the French companies, as those of the towne, should haue their liues and goods saued, depart with their Lances vpon their thighes, and be safely conducted into the Venetians cuntry: and yet when the French would depart, the Spaniards entred and spoiled both the souldiers and the Citizens. *Vandenesse* accusing the Marquesse of Pescara to haue broken his faith, challenged him to the combat: *If you will maintaine* (answered hee) *that this sacke is happened by my commandement or permission: I say that you haue lyed.* But before the quarrell could be ended, *Vandenesse* was slaine at Romagnen, at the retreat of the Admirall

1522.

Death of Pope Leo.

Alterations after this death.

Parma besieged.

A new Pope called Adrian the sixth.

The warre renewed.

A Admirall of Bonniuer, whom the end of the wars of Nauarre had drawn beyond the Alpes. At the same instant, those of the league sent the bishop of Verule to the Suisses, to withdraw their affections from this crowne. But displeased that their men had marched against the King, and complaining of the Cardinal of Sion, the Pope and all his officers, who had perswaded them to breake the conditions of their alliance, they put this bishop in hold at Bellinzone, and called home the troupes they had in Italy. Oftentimes the victor is parraker of the commodities of warre, they made preparation to assaile Cremona and Genoua. But their desseignes are broken by the death of Pope *Leo*, who hauing newes of the taking of Milan, but especially of Parma and Placentia (for the recouery whereof to the church, hee had chiefly moued this warre) he was so wonderfully transported with ioy, as he falls into a quotidian, with a Catarre, amidst all his iollity, the which carried him within three daies after to the graue, being the first of December.

This death did greatly impair the Emperours affaires in Italy, and bred new gouernments, new Councils, and a new estate of affaires in the Duchy of Milan. The Cardinals of Medicis and Sion, went to assist at the election of a new Pope. The Imperials retained fifteene hundred Suisses, and dismissed the rest. The Lansequets likewise departed. The Florentine companies returned into Tuscany. *Guy* of Rangon lead part of those of the church to Modena, the rest remained with the Marquis of Mantoua, in the Duchie of Milan. And the duke of Ferrara (making his profit of this occasion) recouered with the liking of the inhabitants, Bondene, Final, the mountaine of Modena and Carfagnane, hee tooke *Lugo*, Bagnacaul and other townes of Romagna. Likewise *Francis Maria*, beeing expelled his Duchy of *Urbino*, by *Leo*, and called home by the people, recouered it in few daies. Our Commanders slept not, but the chance was turned. The Admirall of Bonniuer, with three hundred Lances, *Frederike* of Bossole, and *Marke Anthony Colonne*, leading five thousand French, and Italians, went to beseege Parma, the which after many distresses incident to townes besieged, was preferred by the wife resolution, and singular direction of *Francis Guindardin* gouernour thereof.

In the meane time, the Cardinals at Rome did strue for Saint *Peters* chaire. The Cardinall of Medicis, for the reputation of his greatnesse, for his reuenues, and glory gotten in the conquest of Milan, had already gotten the suffrages of fifteene Cardinals. But the rest could not endure two Popes together of one familie, which might haue bene a president to vsterpe a right of succession in the Popedom: The most ancient Cardinals opposed themselves against his nomination, every man pretending that dignity for himselfe, which an other sought so greedily. During their controuersies, Cardinal *Adrian* bishop of Derthuse, borne at Vtrecht, and sometimes scholemaster to the Emperour *Charles*, was put in the election, not with any intent to install him in the place of the deceased, but onely to spend that morning, and by delaies coole the heat of the most violent furors. But the Cardinall of Saint Sixte, hauing by a long oration amplified his vertues, and knowledge, some yeelded vnto him (it may be the Emperour would haue bene displeased, if they had reiected his election) others followed them, so as all the Cardinals agreeing, by a common consent hee was created Pope, when as hee least dreamt of it, being absent, a stranger, vknowne, hauing neuer seene Italy, and without thought, or hope, euer to see it. Being loth to change his name, he was called *Adrian* the sixth.

But what shall this poore Fleming get, to runne so farre to sit in a chaire, so much enuied: Hee came from Spaine (where the Emperour had made him gouernour in his absence) to seeke his death at Rome. Hee shall be little esteemed, during his Popedom, and they will bee glad, to send him speedily after his predecessor. The winter passed, and our souldiers laied aside armes, to resume them againe, the one to preserue their conquests, and the other to recouer their losses. To this end the King sent *René*, bastard of Sauoie, Earle of Villars, Lord Steward of France, the Marshall of Chabannes, *Galeas* of Saint Seuerin, master of his horse, and the Lord of Montmorency, newly created Marshall of France, to make a leaue of sixteene thousand Suisses, to succour *Lautrec*. And to crosse him, the Emperour, by meanes of the King of Englands money (estranged from the loue of France) sent *Ierome Adorne* to make a leaue of fixe thousand Lansequets, to put into Milan, with *Francis Sforza*. *Adorne* comming to Trent, vnderstood that the Milanois had

1522. had already entertained foure thousand foote, with the which hee retired to Milan, whilest A the other six thousand did arme.

In the meane time there wanted no practises at Milan, by *Ierosme Moron*, and his partisans, to kindle the peoples hatred against the French. It is not alone in our late troubles, that we haue tried, with what efficacy seditious sermons touch the peoples hearts. *Andrew Barbato*, an *Augustin*, by profession, preaching with a great concourse of people, did wonderfully encourage them, to defend their religion, goods, families, liues and country. A vehement preacher, and gracious to the people, leads them as he pleaseth, and it is the ordinarie maske of the wise men of this world, to settle their affaires.

It is no lesse honour to preserve, then to get. Ten thousand Suisses were already come: B and *Posper Colonne* (to keepe the French from entring into Milan, by the castle, and to furnish it with victuall, and munition) caused to bee made, after the manner of the ancient Romaines, without the said castle, betwixt the gates that goe to Verceil and Como, two trenches, distant twentie paces one from another, about a mile long: and at the end of either of the said trenches, a Cavalier, or Mount, very high, and well furnished (to annoy the enemy) with his cannon, if he approached on that side, so as the succours could not enter, nor the besieged goe forth.

*Lautrec* hauing by chance surprised, and defeated the troupe of *Lewis* of Gonzagua, repaired his companies, and the Venetians assembled theirs, about Cremona; who being ioyned with the Suisses, passed the riuer of Adde, the first of March, and *John de Medicis* C with them, who perswaded by the Kings great and certaine entertainment, was newly drawne to his seruice. They march like men resolved to assaile the rampar, but the trenches stay them, the third day *Marke Anthony Colonne* and *Camillo* bastard sonne to *John Iaquet* of Triuulce, walking together in a house, and deuising to make a mount to shoot from thence with their artillery, betwixt the enemies two trenches, a vollee of cannon shot from the towne, did beate downe the sayd house, and buried them in the ruines thereof. Thus *Lautrec* despairing to take Milan by assault, conuerteth all his thoughts to vanquish it in time by famine, hee waits the countrie, stops the victuals, breaks the mills, and cuts off their water. But not to fall into their hands whom they feare, they dread not death. The peoples hatred against the French, and the desire of their new duke whom they expected, makes D them to endure all distresses patiently. *Francis Sforza* comes to Trent with fixe thousand Lansquenets, who by the taking of the castle of Croare, hauing opened the passage of Po, arriued without any let at Pauia. The way was difficult from Pauia to Milan: for at the first brute of their approach, *Lautrec* went to lodge at Cassin, and the Venetians at Binasque, upon the way to Pauia. There fell out an accident, which helpt *Sforza*; the Marshall of Foix came out of France with money, and some troupes of footmen. *Lautrec* sent *Frederick* of Bossole, to receiue him into the estate of Milan, with foure hundred Lances, and seuen thousand Suisses, and Italians: being ioyned together, they went to Nouarre, and through the fauor of the castle, tooke it at the third assault, with the slaughter of most that defended it. A final gaine which shall cause a great losse.

For *Lautrec* wanting a great part of his forces, he gaue *Sforza* meanes to enter into Milan, with his Lansquenets, and three hundred horse, with an incredible ioy to the Milanois. The coming of a new Prince is very pleasing to an estate, whereby the people hope for ease. *Lautrec* seeing *Sforza* dislodged from Pauia, and receiued into Milan, resolves to besiege Pauia, where the Marquis of Mantoua commanded, with two thousand foot, and three hundred horse. *Lautrec* batters the towne, and makes a breach of thirty fadome, hee giues two assaults, and is repulsed. There was a posterne in the towne, ioyning to the riuer of Tesin, where they watred their horses, which by reason of the riuer was ill garded, whilest they did busie the Imperials at the breach, *Saint Colombe* had charge to passe the riuer, at a foard, E with two thousand foote, and *Riberac* and *Rocheboscay*, with foure hundred horse, of the companies of *Lautrec*, and the bastard of Sauoie, who marching along the wall, where there was no flankers, should by the swiftnesse of their horses seize vpon the posterne, and hold it vntill their foote came. *Riberac* and *Rocheboscay* execute their desaigne, they enter the towne, plant a Guidon vpon the posterne: but *Saint Colombe* was content to bring his men to the riuers side, without wetting of his foote. So as the citizens had leisure to come to succour it,

Milan besieged.

Nouarre taken

Pauia besieged in vaine.

A it, and to repulse our men: who if they had beene followed, had taken the towne. *Riberac* was slaine fighting, and *Rocheboscay* had a legge broken with a musket shot. This attempt did wonderfully amaze the Inhabitants, considering their want of men, and munition, and the Marquis made it knowne, that without succours hee should in the end bee forced to yeeld the Towne. *Prosper* knowing the danger, sent twelue hundred Corles and Spaniards, who marching by night, speaking Gascon, were taken for Gascons, by the Venetians, and passed their first gards, and meeting with some French scouts, speaking Italian, were taken for Italians. So as deceiuing the companies by this stratageme, they passed without discouery, but very late, by the horsemen, who charging them behinde, slew some small number. The death of *Riberac*, kinsman to *Lautrec*, made him to double the furie of the cannon, and all B prepared for an assault: when as *Colonne* fortified with *Sforzas* troupes, goes to field, and comes to campe at Chartruse, three miles from the French. What meanes then was there to giue an assault, hauing a mighty army behinde them, and all things else succeeding crossly? The money which *Lesclapart* had brought, was spent, and that which came from France, was staied in Arone, by the Vicount *Anchiefe*, who was sent to that end from Milan to Buste. The continuall raine had ouer-flowed the riuer of Tesin, and small brookes grew to be great riuers: so as the victuals which came from Omeline, to the campe, could no more passe, whereby they were forced to raise the siege, and draw towards Monce, to enioy the commodities of Laudefan and Cremonois.

C The enemy seeing the French army take the way to Monce, fearing they would recouer Milan, went to lodge at Bicocque, a Gentlemans house, but of so great a circuit as twentie thousand men might easily be put in battaile, vpon the way from Laude to Milan. Without doubt the valour and wisdom of *Prosper*, gaue the first wound to the French affaires, but the impatience of the Suisses did vtterly ruine them. Their Colonells gaue *Lautrec* to vnderstand, that their companions were weary of camping so long without any profit, that they demand of three things the one, either money, leaue to depart, or a battaile. Our Commanders hoped by famine to driue *Colonne* out of his borrow. And what reason was there to assaile a mightie enemy in a fort intrenched, flanked with great platformes and wel furnished with artillery? But neither perswasions, praiers, promises, nor authority could D diuert them from their first resolution. Seeing then there was no other meanes to reteine them, *Lautrec* resolved, rather to hazard his armie by a battaile, then to giue any occasion to be suspected of cowardise. An vnfortunate condition of a commander, who sees himselfe a slave to those whom hee should command: and what a greefe is it to bee forced to doe that which must needs bring shame and confusion? but where force reigneth, right hath no place.

*Lautrec* forced to fight by the Suisses.

The day of *Quasimodo*, the armie marcheth towards Bicocque. The Marshall of Foix led the forward: *Lautrec*, the Marshall of Chabannes, the bastard of Sauoy, and *Galeas* of Saint Seuerin the battaile. *Francis Maria* Duke of Vrbin, with the Venetian army, the rearward. *Peter* of Nauarre marched before, to make the way. The Lord of Montmorency should assaile them on the one side with eight thousand Suisses. *Lesclapart*, with three hundred E Lances, and a squadron of French and Italian foote, should charge at the bridge, entring into the enemies lodging; and *Pontdormy* should march before the Marshall of Foix, with a troupe of horse, to watch, least the Imperials should come behind and disorder the armie, and likewise to succor where need should require.

Besides force, *Lautrec* vsed this policy, to cause the men at armes, to set red crosses vpon their Cassocks, the marke of the Imperial army, in steed of a white, the liury of France. But the providence of *Colonne* made this deuice fruitlesse, as we shall see. On the other side, *Colonne* had sent for *Sforza*, who hauing sodenly assembled foure hundred horse, and six thousand of the commons, was set to gard the bridge, and all the troupes were put in battaile vpon the trench. *Montmorency* accompanied with a great number of the Nobility, was come close to the enemies rampar, intreating the Suisses to attend the Artillery; and that the Marshall of Foix should be ready to assaile them on the other side: that *Colonne* being charged on all sides, might bee constrained to diuide his forces. But a rash fury transporting the Suisses, to their owne ruine, all ranne furiously to the enemies fort. The canon entertaines them before they approach, and kills about a thousand of them. A vollee of small shot kills most

The battaile of Bicocque.

1522. most of their capitaines, and chiefe souldiers, and the Rampar beeing about a pike in height, stayes them sodenly. The Earle of Montfort, eldest sonne to the Earle of Laual, *Miolans* of Sauoy, *Granville* brother to the Vidame of Chartres, Roquelaure, la Guiche, the Lords of Tournon and Longa, *Launay* a Gentleman of the Kings Chamber, and many others died there. Colonel *Albert Peter* (who about all others, thrust them into this furie) suffered the paines of his rashnesse. Montmorency was ouerthrowne, but sodenly releued by the gentlemen that were about him.

In the meane time, the Marshall of Foix forced the gards vpon the bridge, and charging the enemy within his fort, gaue hope of victory. But this violent heat of the Suisses was soone quenched. All retire, yet keeping a kinde of order. The Imperials freed from the Suisses, turne all their forces vpon the Marshall and *Vandenesse*, who had not about foure hundred horse, and force them to repasse the bridge with the losse of some men. Ont he other side the Spaniards issuing forth, charge the Suisses in the reere-ward, and had put them to route, if *Pontdormy* had not by a furious charge kept them within their fort. The Venetians kept themselves safe from danger, but if they had charged with the Suisses and men at armes, and the Marshall of Foix had bene well followed, the French in shew had wonne the victory. But when things are done, there neuer wants an *if*. The Suisses lost about three thousand men, and two and twenty capitaines. The enemy lost few, no men of quality, but *John* of Cardone Earle of Culsane. So *Lautrec* returned with the rest of his army, the Suisses and the artillery, to Monce, from whence the Tew/day after, the Suisses returned to their houses, and the bastard of Sauoy, the Marshall of Chabannes, and *Galeas* of Saint Seuerin retired with them. Now shall we see this nation so daunted, as of many yeeres they shall not shew their accustomed vigour.

Laude taken  
from the  
French.

The remainder of the French hopes was chiefly grounded vpon the towne of Laude, for the passage of the riuer of Adde, and preseruatiō of the country of Cremona. *Lautrec* sent *John* of Medicis and *Frederike* of Boffole therewith their troupes, which were about foure hundred men at armes, and three thousand foote, comprehending those which *Bonneuil*, capitaine of the place had. These companies tired with their march in the night, arrived in the morning, and leauing the gard of the towne to *Bonneuil*, they tooke their lodgings, to refresh themselves & their horse. The Marquis of Pescara had followed them, & his foreward marching nere vnto the towne, gaue occasion to the garrison to come forth to skirmish: in the which our men were so roughly repulsed, as the enemy entred with them pell-mell, into Laude, and surprised most of the soldiars in their beds at noone-day. Thus, foure hundred men at armes, and three thousand foote were shamefully taken in a towne without batterie, without breach and without ladder. *John* de Medicis and *Boffole* saved themselves in Cremona.

The losse of Laude for the French, was the cause the enemy recovered Pifqueton, one of the strongest places vpon Adde. Herevpon *Pontdormy* offers to put himselfe in to Cremona, with such as would follow him, and beeing strong or weake, hee would fight with all that should come, desyring rather to die by the enemies sword, then to fall into the mercie of villaines, or returne into France without armes, and without honor. *Lautrec* yeelds, and hee gathers together a troupe out of many companies. The Marshall of Foix would haue his part of this glory, siue or sixe daies after the Imperials campe before it. At their arriual, *John* of Medicis mutines, hee demands pay for fiftene or sixtene hundred men, which hee had gathered together presently after his retreat, hee seizeth vpon one of the gates, towards the enemies campe, and threatnes to deliuer it for want of payment. They search their purses and pay him the summe demanded.

Cremona  
yeelded.

But he was corrupted, and our men seeing his treacherous intent, hauing no hope of succors, did capitulate: That, if within three monethes the King did not send a strong army, able to passe the riuer, they should depart with their baggage, armes and all their artillery, marked with the armes of France, and should bee conducted in safety vnto Suze: and the said Marshall should deliuer into *Prosper*'s hands all whatsoeuer was held in the kings name, in the estate of Milan, except the Castles of Milan, Cremona and Nouare. This capitulation was found of hard digestion: for *Montmorency* was in possibilitie to renew the league with the Venetians, but aduertised of this composition, they changed both affections, and partie. The reason which made

A made *Prosper* yeeld to so honorable a composition, was the desire he had to restore the *Adornes* into Genoua before the leauy of foure hundred Lances, and foureteene thousand Gascōns should be ready to enter into Italy. *Prosper Colonne* plants himselfe before Genoua, which was then governed by *Ossianus Fregese*, a man of excellent vertue, who for his Iustice, and other commendable parts, was as much beloued, as any Prince might bee, in a city diuided into factions, hauing not yet lost the remembrance of the ancient liberty. *Fregese* seeing *Jerome* and *Anthony Adorne*, to take armes, in fauour of the Imperials, and the people inclined to sedition, treated of an accord, when as *Peter* of Nauarre enters into the port with two gallies, and some two hundred to assure the towne, attending the succors of France. But a Tower which the Marquis of Pescara had battered nere vnto the gate, made them returne vnto their parle. Being readie to conclude, the Spaniards discovering the smal gard they made within, vnder colour of this hope, seised on the Tower, entring the towne thereby, and by the wall which was ruined, killing all they met, and getting a great spoyle, *Fregese* beeing sicke, yeelded to the Marquis of Pescara, and within fewe daies after died.

1522.  
The Venetians  
for sake  
the King.

Genoa taken  
and spoiled.

*Peter* of Nauarre was taken fighting in the market-place. The Archbishop of Salerne, brother to *Ossianus*, and many capitaines saued themselves by sea. *Anthony Adorne*, was chosen duke of Genoua, and within fewe daies received the Citadell, the Chastelet, and the Church of Saint Francis, by composition. Sixe thousand men newly sent by the King, vnder the command of the Lord of Lorges, for the succour of Genoua, and the armie of *Claude* of Orleans, duke of Longueuille, to repaire the affaires of Lombardie, returned without any effect, being already entred into the territorie of Ast: and *Lescot*, prest by the terme limited by the composition, deliuered Cremona to *Colonne*, leauing *Bonneuil* capitaine of the castle. Thus the French were againe expelled out of Italie. *Lautrec* seeing the enterprise of Laude made fruitlesse, his armie ruined, the Suisses, and Venetians retired, hee returns into France, bringing to the King, rather iustifications of his actions, then any signes of his victories, imputing the cause of these disorders to want of money, without the which, hee could no longer keepe the men at armes together, who had serued eightene moneths, without any pay, the Kings mother hauing staid foure hundred thousand crownes, appointed for the payment of the army, which summe (hee said) hee had spared out of other reuenues, and had long before put it into *Semblaçais* hands, being overseer of the Treasor of France. Hereupon the King appointed certaine Iudges, and Commissioners to determine of this controuersie, and to araigne the said *Semblaçais*, for the which hee lost his life.

The French  
expelled out  
of Italy.

Let vs now passe ouer the Pirenee mountaines, and then we will returne to the frontiers of Picardie, an other Theater, where there was likewise acted a mournfull and bloudy Tragedie. The Admirall *Bonnivet* was no sooner returned into France with his troupes, but the Spaniards went and incamped before Fontarabie, and had so prest it with siege, for the space of a yeere, as many were dead of hunger. The Marshall of Chastillon marched with an armie, to releue the towne, and *Lude*, beeing then gouernour, comming to Dax (sixe leagues on this side *Bayonne*) hee died of a violent sicknesse. A Nobleman of great experience, and credit. *Montmorency* (who was then at Venice) succeeded him in the Office of Marshall, and the Marshall *Chabannes* in that of Lieutenant Generall for the King in his armie, who hauing gathered together his troupes, lodged in Endaye, hauing a riuer betwixt the Spanish army, and him, attending *Lartigue* Viceadmirall of Britan, with an army at sea, for the victualling of the towne. But hee not appearing, either through sloth or misfortune, resolues of an other course, hee passeth the riuer, dislodgeth the enemy with his Canon, and by continuall skirmishes, makes them flie through the mountaines. So *Chabannes* hauing victuall'd the towne, returnes, leauing *Françet* to gouerne there in the Kings name: hee was Lieutenant to the Marshall *Chabannes*, leading away *Lude* to refresh himselfe in France. Without doubt, *Lude* deserues to be registred in this History Hauing (saith the Original) *wonne such honour in the defence of this place, as he may well be compared to any that haue maintained sieges in our daies, or our forefathers*. Contrarywise, *Françet* shall purchase as much infamy, as his predecessor did honour. During these confusions beyond the Alpes and Pirenee mountaines, the warre continued throughout all the garrisons.

Fontarabie  
besieged by the  
Spaniard  
and  
releued by  
the French.

Warres in  
Picardy.



1522. of Picardy, sometimes with gaine, sometimes with losse. The day of the Annuntiation, twelve hundred Lansquenets going out of Arras, hauing spoiled Bernaillie and other villages thereabout, led away their booty, when as *Estreé* commanding the company of the duke of Vendosme, which was in garrison at Dourlans, aduertised hereof, goes to horse-backe about midnight, with thirty men at armes onely, fittie archers and three hundred of the country-men, without pay: hee attends them at a passage of the riuer of Othie: vpon their retreat, hee chargeth them, defeats them, and killeth a hundred and fittie, making the rest to leaue their prey. And if this handfull of men could giue them so great a check, what had beene the issue, if their footmen had come to fight? In this encounter were slaine the Lord of Ricame, and the bastard of Dampont.

Dourlans be-  
sieged.

The enemy greued at this disgrace, sought to be reuenged by the surprize of Dourlans, where there were no foote-men. With this designe, the Earle of Bures, Lieutenant general for the Emperour in the low-countries, incampes before the towne, with all his garrisons, batters it with six peeces of artillery: makes a breach nere to the Tower of Corniers, giues an assault, and plants many ladders. Here the Inhabitants shew themselves better Frenchmen, then in our late troubles: who backt by this small troupe of men at armes, repulse the enemy, and ouerthrow a good number dead in the ditch.

To raise this siege, the Earle of Saint Paul (vnder the authority of the duke of Vendosme his brother) gathers together such forces as the garrisons could furnish, whereof the Bourguignons aduertised, they shamefully returned to Arras, leauing their ladders within the trenches. Diental, Diuion, Breuil and other places about Betune (wonderfully annoying the frontier) were ruined by the duke of Vendosme. But oftentimes a small gaine is crost with a notable losse. *Telligny* came from Monstreuil, to ioyne with the dukes troupes at Mouchy le Cayen, when as passing by Hedin, he encountered three hundred Bourguignons foote, driuing the booty before them: hee chargeth these armed clownes, slue some and tooke others. A very preiudiciall victory, in regard of that valiant Knight, so well experienced in martiall affaires, who beeing shot into the shoulder, died within few daies after. In the meane time the Emperour passed into Spaine, to punish the authors of the sedition before mentioned, imparting his designes to the King of England. His voiage was not fruitlesse, they remayned well satisfied one of another, to the preiudice of this crowne, both equally desirous to ruine it. But it shall seele (as in former times) the fauour of heauen against their common attempts.

Telligny slaine.

A league be-  
tweene the Em-  
perour and  
the King of  
England.

The first effect of their treaty, was to send their Ambassadors ioyndly together to Venice, to require the Senat to ioyne with the Emperour, for the defence of Italy. For the second, The King of England complayning that the King did not continue the paiement of fiftie thousand crownes yeerely, which hee ought him (as we haue said) hee proclaimed warre against the King by his Herald, in case hee would not make a generall truce with the Emperour, comprehending the Church, the duke of Milan, and the Florentins. The King refused this truce, and as for the pension, *It is not reasonable (sayd hee) to giue money to him, that aides mine enemies with money.* Henry King of England had before lent a notable summe of money to the Emperour: but not discouering himselfe openly, he sent the duke of Suffolk, husband to Queene Mary, widow to Lewis the twelfth, to Calais, and the Emperour ioynded his forces with him, being led by the Earle of Bures.

The King opposed the duke of Vendosme, commanding about a thousand men at armes, with their archers, and eightene thousand foote, assisted by that reuerend old man *Lewis* of Threshouille. The enemies army was not ready in fiftene daies. The duke therefore diuided his forces into Bologne, Therouenne, Hedin, Monstreuil, Abbeuille and other places subiect to the enemies inuasion. He must not suffer their courage to quaille through idleness: Bapaume serued them for an exercise. The Earle of S. Paul led the Earles of Guise and Lorraine thither, equall in charge, with foure hundred men at armes, six thousand foot and foure Canons: who hauing taken, burnt and razed the towne and castle, they tooke their way, to the passage of Sluce, and finding it garded by the Bourguignons, they charge them, and chase them to the gates of Douay. Here Francis brother to the duke of Lorraine and Earle of Guise, of the age of sixteene or seuentene yeeres, carried his first armes, who seeing in this chase, seuen or eight Bourguignons on foote, seeking their safety within the woods: being alone

A alone, not scene by his followers, hee lights and chargeth them, but *Martin du Bellay* arriues happily, accompanied with ten or twelue horse, by whose meanes these run-awaies were cut in peeces.

The English  
land in France

Hereupon the English arriue at Calais, and at their first entry, they become maisters of the castle of Comtes, betwixt Monstreuil and Hedin. To preuent these incursions, the duke sent the foresaid Earles into the trench of Bologne (Ardes was then ruined and desert) who by the recovery of the said castle, put all to the sword they found within it, except the captaine: and afterwards ouerthrew many other troupes, that were disperfed in the land of Oye, while the two armies, English and Bourguignons assembled betwixt Ardes and Saint Omer, consulting vpon the first obiekt of their forces. Hedin seemed the easiest to be attempted, yet it must needs cost blowes. The Lord of Biez commanded there with thirty men at armes, and two hundred dead-paies: *Sereu* with a thousand foote, and *La Lande* with fife hundred. The battery continued fiftene daies, and a breach was made of the Earles of Guise and Pont-dormy, vnderstanding one day amongst others, that foure hundred English were gone towards Biez, and the Commander of Oison: they part from Monstreuil with their companies, and some of the duke of Vendosmes, they ouertake them, charge them, and kill or take them all. Some few daies after, *Pont-dormy* incountring some other troupes, which had burnt *Fressin*, a house of his elder brothers, hee put them all to the sword.

Hedin be-  
sieged by the  
Imperials and  
English.

C Thus kept within their lodgings, by continuall enterprises, and afflicted with a generall flux, which went through their army, proceeding in part by the continuall raine, after sixe weekes siege, they raised their campe with shame, to march towards Dourlans, which was not defensible. At that time there was castle, and from the mountaine where it is now built, they discouered the towne on all sides. The Earle of Saint Paul preuented the enemy, and (least they should make vse thereof) hee spoyleth the victuals, and tooke off the gates: then heretired to Corby, to withstand the attempts of the English. Then arriued the Marshall of Montmorency, bringing with him the two hundred Gentlemen of the Kings Chamber, with authority from his Maiestie to rule and command at Corby, if the enemy did beseege it.

But there was too great a resolution in Corby, the waies were too foule, the infirmities were many in the English and Bourguignons armies, and winter approaching (it was about all Saints) inuited them to set saile. Being able to doe no worse, they burnt Dourlans, and the villages about, and retired into Arthois, putting the Bourguignons into Garrison, and the English tooke their way for England. Let vs conclude this yeere with an ignominious and fatall losse for the Christians. *Soliman* did not forget to make his profit of these horrible confusions, who by a painefull and constant sege, for the space of eight moneths, brought the Isle of Rhodes vnder his obedience: where (to the great contempt of our Religion) hee made his entrie the day of the birth of our Lord and Sauour. In the beginning of the following yeere, the castle of Milan (preft with diseases and want of all things) compounded, to depart with bag and baggage, if they were not releued by the fourth of April. But death preuenting most part of the garrison, hindred them from enioying any benefit of the Capitulation.

Rhodes taken  
by the Turke.

E At the same time *Linet*, a soldiar of the garrison of Guise, treated with the duke of Afcot, to deliuer him the towne (but not according to the buyers intreat) by the consent of *Nicholas* of Buffu Lord of Longueuall, captaine of the castle. The party was well made and the plot cunningly laied, to take the marchants when they should come for their possession. The Lord of Fleuranges, with three hundred men at armes, and foure or fife thousand foote, should lie betwixt Auenues and Guise, to stop the enemies retreat. The duke of Vendosme, with fife hundred men at armes, foure thousand Germans, and foure thousand French, should cut off their way betwixt the Abbay of Bonhoury and Guise, so as the enemy seeking to retire, had the one before him, and the other behind. The chiefe of all their troupes would bee partakers of this enterprife: When as newes comes vnto them, that the King (who would countenance this exploite with his presence) was come in post to Genlis, nere vnto Chaunis. This made them turne head without any effect, giuing him the strap-  
padoe

The castle of  
Milan yielded.





1523.

The sute depended in the Court of Parliament at Paris, and *Charles* either distrustful the equity of his cause, or fearing least the Regents authority should preuaile against his right, and so by consequence dispossesse him; choosing rather to abandon his country; then to liue in want, he practiseth with the Emperour, by the meanes of *Adrian of Croy* Earle of Rieux: and to make the articles of his transaction the more strong, hee obtains a promise from the Emperour to marry *Eleanor* his sister, widow to *Emanuel* King of Portugal.

The King being past the Alpes, the Constable should invade Bourgogne with twelve thousand Germans, which should bee secretly leauied by the Emperour and King of England, who at the same instant should invade Picardy, whilest the Spaniards recouered Fontenoy, as they did. Of their Conquests hee onely reserued Prouence, pretending to call himselfe King of Prouence, as belonging vnto him (said he) by the house of Anjou, yielding all the rest to the English. A practise sufficient to shake France, before the King (being absent with his forces) should returne in any time to succor it. But they reckoned without their host, and the gardian of this crowne did prevent them: for *Argout* and *Maignan*, Gentlemen of Normandy, and household seruants to the duke, had aduertised the King, of his pretended retreat to the Emperour, but they were ignorant of the agreement made betwixt them. To diuert him from this resolution, the King passing by Molins, did visite the Duke in his chamber: who made a shew to be sicke, & that cunningly. I vnderstand (said the King) of some practises which the Emperour makes to withdraw the loue you vndoubtedly beare vnto the crowne, as issued and nere allied to the house of France. I doe not beleue, that you haue giuen eare to any such perswasions, moued with any dislike of mee, or of my realme: Some feare of distrust to loose your offices, hath perchance made a breach in the loue you haue alwaies made shew of. Let not this conceit trouble you. I promise you, in case you should loose your sute against my selfe and my mother; to restore you to the possession of all your goods. Prepare therefore to follow me, after your recovery, in the voyage of Italy. The duke (being very wise) dissembled his intent cunningly, confessing vnto the King, that in truth the Earle of Reux had fought him for the Emperour, but hee would giue no eare vnto him, that his intention was to haue aduertised his Maiesty at the first view, being loth to commit it to any mans report: that the Physicians gaue him hope to be soone able to goe in a litter, and that hee would not faile to come to Lions; to receiue his Maiesties commandements. But considering that hee had to deale with too strong a party, and that hardly hee should enioy his goods, which were already sequestred by a decree of the Court, he retired to Chantelles, in the beginning of September, a house of his owne, where he had the most sumptuous mouebles that any Prince could haue. From thence hee sent the bishop of Autun, of the house of *Hurauts*, to the King, with instructions signed with his hand, promising, *To serue his Maiesty well and loyally, in all places; whensoever it should please him, during his life, and without any breach, vpon restitution of the possessions of Peter of Bourbon.*

The Duke of  
Bourbon flies  
disguised.

The King finding this maner of proceeding hard and insolent, sent the bastard of Sauoy, Lord Steward of France, & the Marshall of Chabannes, with foure hundred men at armes, the captaines of his gardes, and the Prouost of his house, to besiege the duke in Chantelles. And vnderstanding that many Lansquenets did troupe together vpon the frontier of Bourgogne, he caused the bishop of Autun, the Chancellor of Bourbonnois, the Lord of Cars, Saint *Vallier*, *Bussey* brother to *Palisse*, *Ennard de Prie*, *la Vauguion*, and many others, to be taken prisoners, who for the loue of him were content to abandon their country, families and goods, notwithstanding they found grace with the King. But the duke (despairing of his estate) resolved to hazard all, and to begin a furious Tragedy, in the which wee shall see our *Francis* act the part of an vnforgotten prisoner of the warres, and *Charles* reserued for a bloody and tragicke end. He disguiseth himselfe, and taking the Lord of Pomperant for his onely companion, whose seruant he seemed to be. After many turnings, being often feared, as appeares in the Originals, the waies being laied, and the passages stopt, or full of troupes, marching into Italy, he recouers the Franche countie, and so by Ferrete, crossing through Germany, he came into Italy, and according to the choise which the Emperour gaue him, either to passe into Spaine, or to remaine in Italy with his army, in the end hee continued at Genoua, to see the end of these two great armies.

The

1523.

The Marshall and Lord Steward came vpon Chantelles, with the mouebles of *Charles*, and generally of all the lands of the house of Bourbon for the King. In the meane time, the Marshall of Milan, *Morenci*, and his brother *Morenci*, as his twelve thousand Swisses were ioyned with the Admirall, awaiting the Kings comming at Turin. But his presence was necessarie in France, where were stronger grounds against him. He therefore sends part of his forces to the Admirall, and commands him to execute the enterprise of Milan; as they two had concluded. He had eighteene hundred Lances, twelve thousand French, ten thousand Swisses, sixe thousand Lansquenets, and three thousand Italians, a sufficient armie for a great attempt: but want of judgement, misbracket occasions, and negligence of his businesse, made the Admirall lose the opportunity to gett into Milan at the first, and to be vnforgotten in this voyage.

*Prosper Colonne*, considering the Venetians league with the Emperour, and the treachery of the Duke of Bourbon, could not beleue that the King should continue constant in his resolution, to invade the Duchie of Milan that yeare. This perswasion had made him carelesse to make necessarie provision for this warre. But now (notwithstanding his infirmities) he employes all his meanes and forces to keepe the French from passing the riuer of Tesin, neglecting to repaire the Bastions and Rampars of the suburbs of Milan, being for the most part ruined and spoiled. But the French finding the waters lowe, some passed at a Foord, others in Boates, about some foure miles from the Imperiall campe, making a Bridge for the Artillerie. *Colonne* knowing that in the counter of this French is very dangerous, in their first heate retired into Milan, and finding the Cittizens and souldiars wonderfully amazed, seeing no meanes to keepe the citie in the siege, it was hee abandons it, to provide for the defence of Laude. Without doubte the capitious propositions of an enemy must be duly examined, and moreover, an assaillant that hath preuened his enemy, should not loose any houre, neither by his too great lenitie, nor his rash negligence.

Hereupon *Galeas Visconti* gaues the Admirall to vnderstand, that if hee enters forceably into Milan, there will be no meapes to save it from spoile, and so by consequence, the King shall make no vse thereof against his enemies: but if he would suffer him to goe and compound with some Cittizens, which did sollicite him, he would giue order the Imperials should depart, and furnish the King with a good summe of money, which might greatly auale him in his affaires. The Admirall is carried away with these perswasions. But whilst that *Galeas Boyer*, Generall of Normandie, and some others doe treatre, they spend some time in vaine by the riuer of Tesin, during the which, *Prosper* deluded our men with parles, reuiued the hearts of his men (who had already packt vp their baggage for their retreat) and with exceeding diligence, puts the Rampars in defence. And then knowing his forces vnable to defend the whole Duchie, he restrained them to keepe Milan, Cremona, and Pavia, whilst the furie of the French should grow cold by an idle aboad, and the winter approaching neare, ruine them.

The Admirall finding the error hee had committed by his too great credulitie, employed all his forces against Milan, but too late. The Cittizens had gotten heart, and *Prosper* had now gathered together eight hundred men at armes, eight hundred light horse, foure thousand Spaniards, sixe thousand sixe hundred Lansquenets, and three thousand Italians, besides the Inhabitants who were all armed. He doth notwithstanding beseege it, betwixt the wayes to Laude and Pavia, and seeing other places abandoned, hee takes Monce for the King, to cut off the victualles from Milan: he sends *Bussey d'Amboise*, with two thousand Frank-archers, to seaze vpon Alexandria, and the Cheualier *Bayard*, with foure hundred men at armes, eight thousand foote, and ten peeces of artillerie to Laude, where leauing a strong garrison, he went suddenly to attempt Cremona. The Castle held yet for the King, but the enemies had made two great trenches betwixt the towne and the Castell. There *Rene de Cere*, a Baron of Rome, ioyned with him, leading foure thousand Italians. This supply encouraged *Bayard* to attempt the towne in another place. They make their approaches, and within three dayes make a reasonable breach. But all fall out crossely for the French. Being ready to goe to the assault, a continuall raime of foure dayes, made the ascent so slipperie, as they went as much backward as forward, and did to breake the wayes, as no victuals could come to the Campe from any part. Euen so it chanced at *Laude* before Pavia.

Milan besee-  
ged.

1523. Paulia. Morteouer, the Venetians armie on the one side, and the Spanishe on the other, cutte A off their victuals. So Bayard prest with famine, refreshed the Castell with men and victualles, and returned to Milan. Without doubt Bayard with the whole garrison that kept this fort, deserved great commendations: where hauing continued two yeares in extreme necessitie, desiring all rather to die, after the example of their Capitaine, then to yeeld the place by treacherie, there remained onely eight souldiers, whom Bayard found languishing, but resolute in their constancie.

We haue vnderstood, that by the intelligences of the Duke of Bourbon, the Emperour at the same instant should assaile Bourgongne and Champagne, the English Picardie, and the Spaniards Fontarabie. According to this desseigne, and to make the sege of Fontarabie ca- B sie, the Spaniards campe before Bayonne the 17. of September. Lantrec Governor of Guienne, although he were vnprovided of men, (the Kings forces being dispersed in Italy, Champagne and Picardie) furnished the Towne with victuals, munition, and such men as the time and necessitie could afford, and he himselfe went into it: where the valour of this Noble man, who continued three dayes and three nights continually vpon the walles, prouiding for all things necessarie, especially for the entrie of two riuers which passe at Bayonne, giuing such courage to men, women, and children, as euery one falling to worke, the most coward made shewes of great willingnesse.

So as the fourth day of the sege, the enemy finding that he did but loose his time, left C Bayonne to beseege Fontarabie, which shewed no proofes of like valour. It was furnished with good store of men, and other things necessarie. Francis commaunded there, as wee haue formerly declared. He was an ancient Gentleman, and all his life had had the reputation of a good souldiar. But now to saue his goods, not attending any force, he yeelds the town which was not to be forced. A cowardise which brought him to a scaffold at Lions, to bee there degraded of his Nobilitie, and himselfe with his posteritie, declared base, for that hee had bene so faint-hearted, and carelesse, to preuent the conspiracie, which he said Don Pedro of Nauarre, (the sonne of Peter Marshall of Nauarre, whom the Spaniards had lately caused to die in prison) had with the Spaniards. On the other side, the Lansquenets which had bene leauied for the Duke of Bourbon, were come vnto Champagne, vnder the command of William Earle of Furstemberg, and spoiled the Prouince, after they had taken Coiffie, D place vpon the confines of the French Comté, and Montclair a castle seated vpon a mountaine, neare to Chaumont in Bassigni. The Duke of Guise, whome the King had made his Lieutenant generall in Bourgongne, in the place of the Lord of Tremouille, lately aduanced to the gouernement of Picardie: hauing with his companie of an hundred men at armes those of the Dukes of Alanson and Vendosme, ioyned with the forces of Orual, Gouverneur of Champagne, and some other troupes, making about fixe hundred men at armes, so restrained the enemy, as hauing no meanes, for want of horse, to guard their forragers, they were in few dayes famished, and forced to seeke their retreat at Neuf-chastell in Lorraine. The Duke of Guise aduertised of their course, sent some three hundred men at armes before to charge them in front, at the passage of the riuier of Meuse, whilst that hee should set on E them behind, being laden with a great bootie. The Duke came, and finding them half past, he cut the remainder in peeces, and recovered the bootie. But a quarrell chaunced betwixt Courville and Chasteler a Lorraine, Ensigne-bearer to the said Duke, the which (Courville being thrust through the mouth with a sword) ouerthrew the better part of this goodly enterprise. The Duke of Suffolke was lately landed againe at Calais, with fourtene or fifteene thousand English, which ioyned with the forces of the Earle of Bure, made fife or sixe thousand horse, and about fife and twentie thousand foote. But if in their former voyage, they made a great stirre and reaped small benefit, so likewise, they will make but a bare conquest by this last descent.

Tremouille (although he had so few men, as he was forced, when he had left the place, to F retire his men, to put them into that, whether the enemy seemed to bend) had so furnished the Townes with valiant Commanders, and all things necessarie, as the Duke and Earle, hauing made a shew to beseege Terouenne, Hedin, Dourlans, and Corbie, in the end they campe before Bray vpon Somme: the wall was weake, and three mountaines commanding the town, were the cause they could not fortifie it: yet that braue Pontdormy had thrust him- selfe

Fontarabie  
yeilded.

Warre in  
Champagne.

A Iesse into it, with an hundred and fiftie men at armes, and some fifteene hundred foote, to defend this passage against the enemy. Let vs not blame a valiant Capitaine, if he receiue a disgrace in a weake place. He made his accompt (in case he were forced) to retire by the causey, and to breake the bridges after him. But he was so prest, as he had no meanes to retire, but in disorder, with the losse of fourescore, or an hundred men: and if he had not maintained the fight with his men at armes, whilst his footmen recovered Corbie, there had bene no hope of safetie for the rest.

But see how he reuenged this disgrace. The enemy threatned Montdidier: and the small forces Tremouille had, made all men vnwilling to leade any succours thither. Pontdormy was neuer daunted with the difficultie of any enterprise. Night being come, he goes to field, and B without any encounter, puts Rochebaron an Auernac, into Montdidier, and Fleury Lieute- Pontdormy. nant of the Earle of Dammartins companie, either of them commaunding fiftie men at armes, and René of Palletiere, with a thousand French. And fearing lest Tremouille should haue need of him, he had not the patience to attend for night to make his retreat, he doth it at noone day, resolute to charge all he should encounter, hauing but his owne companie, with that of the Vicount of Lauedan. With this resolution hee meetes with fife hundred horse, chargeth them with such furie, as he puts them to route. But two thousand men coming to succour the rest, he was forced to leaue the chace, to fauour the retreat of his troupe. In the which, his horse being slaine, hee left Barnieulles and Canaples his brother and nephew, to beare the shooke with twenty men at armes, whilst that he faued the rest in Amiens, the enemy cutting off the way to Corbie. Barnieulles and Canaples (ouerthrowne from their horses) were taken prisoners with feuen men at armes of their companie. So Roye remained at the enemies mercie, who hauing taken and burnt it, marched to Montdidier, where a breach being made, they within distrusting of their forces, departed with their baggage, and came to Tremouille.

The enemy had opened the passage of Oise, and approched within eleuen leagues of Paris. But their courses are stayed, and Paris is assured by the arriual of the Duke of Vendosme with foure hundred men at armes, so as the English and Bourguignons fearing to bee compassed in by the Duke and Tremouille, and so famished, tooke their way to Artois, and a little D after Al-Saints day, (a notable season for the losse of corne, which was frozen generally throughout the Realme) they dismissed their armie, carrying no other spoiles of their victorie, but the taking of the Castle of Bohain, which was yeilded vnto them without somons. But the enemy was no sooner retired, but Tremouille, before the Duke of Vendosmes arriual, made so furious a batterie with fixe Cannons, as the Garrison seeing their armie broken, yeilded by composition. Thus Picardie is freed from a mightie armie, which at their departure held not one foot of land of their conquest.

In like sort, the Duke of Bourbons attempt against Bourgongne turned to snoake, for wanting money to pay his Lansquenets, the King did practise some of their Capitaines, who came to him with their troupes. So despairing to get any thing in France, hee retired to Milan. Augustus the Emperour loued treason, but not the traitor. So the Emperour Charles loued his actions, but not the Duke of Bourbons person. To keepe him from passing into Spain vnder hope of marrying with Eleonor, sister to the Emperour Charles, he made him his Lieutenant generall in Italy, whilst that he prepared to passe into France in person, as we shall see.

Let vs now returne into Italy, where we shall see a Pope of a more turbulent spirit then Adrian, who died the fourteenth of September, little lamented, and of small esteeme. Hee was a stranger, and little acquainted with the affaires of the Court of Rome, he was learned, and not greatly vicious. The Colledge of Cardinals repined to see any other set in Saint Peters chaire but an Italian, or at the least one bred vp in Italy: Iulio Cardinal of Medicis after many and sundrie strifes and contentions, euery one of the Cardinals seeking the choice and election by the support of such as fauoured him, in the end carried it, the nineteenth of November, through the fauour (saith the Originall) of the great reuenues of his Ecclesiasticall F lumbe. In all his actions we shall see him discover a spirit wonderfully ambitious, of a great courage, active, desirous of innovations, giuen to affaires, especially of the world, not much subiect to his pleasures, and giuing hope of great and extraordinarie matters: and for that presently

1523.

Clement the 7.

1524. presently after his insalment, he vfed clemencie to the Cardinall of Volterre, declared vn-  
 sufficient to come into the Conclaue by *Adrian*, for the subiect we haue formerly noted: hee  
 therefore tooke vpon him the name of *Clement* the seuenth. In the meane time our Admirall  
 tooke cold before Milan, which he thought to famish, cutting off the conduits that went in-  
 to the towne, and beating downe the milles: but the great number of hand-milles (which  
*Colonne* had caused to be made) preferred the Cittizens from famine. And to cut off the vi-  
 ctuals that came from Laudefan to the French campe, *Colonne* had put the Marquis of Man-  
 roua, with five hundred horse into Pauia. The Admirall fearing least he should seaze vpon  
 the bridge he had made at Vigee, by the which victuals came vnto his armie, he comman-  
 ded *Bayard* and *Rence*, to come and lodge at Vigee: but by their dislodging from Monce,  
 the passage was open to the enemy, and then victuals entred abundantly into Milan, which  
 caused the ruine of the French army.

*John de Medi-  
 cis his strata-  
 game.*

Nothing succedes happily with them, whom the providence of God doth not fauour.  
 The hope to famish Milan is frustrate, and the intelligence which the Admirall had within  
 the towne with one *Morgand*, a Corporall of the Squadron of *John de Medicis*, is discou-  
 ered with the losse of all their liues, that had consented (he should haue receiued the French  
 into a bastion, when the guard thereof fell vnto him.) Moreouer, the enemy growes proud  
 of small aduantages and light victories, who beeing accustomed to ouercome by degrees,  
 resolues to vanquish all at once. *John de Medicis* beeing to guard the victuals that came from  
 Trefse to Milan, with five hundred horse and a thousand foote, met with foure-score French  
 Lances: and by a fained retreat drew them into an ambush of five hundred Margeuoliers,  
 which he had layd: he easily defeats them, slew some, and takes the rest. In another encounter  
*Suere* a Bourguignon put to route threescore men at armes, of the companie of the Master  
 of the horse. Our men beeing in guard at the trenches, which were made to go vnto the  
 rampars, assailed by many skirmishes, had most commonly the worst. So decreasing in  
 number, prest with abundance of snow and the sharpnesse of the winter, which they had  
 endured sixe moneths together, the Admirall retired his armie to lodge it in Biagras, and o-  
 ther places thereabouts. He sent the Earle of S. Paul from Biagras with *Rance de Cere*, and  
*Lorges* Generall of the French foote, to beseege Arone, a towne vpon Lago-Maiore. They  
 make their approches, plant their ordinance, batter it about five and twentie dayes, and giue  
 two or three assaults. But *Colonne* foreseeing this desseigne, at the retreat of our men, had  
 manned the Towne with twelve hundred souldiers, who made our attempts fruitlesse. That  
 which they could not do by assault, they seeke to effect by mine, blowing vp a great part of  
 the wall. But they kickt against the pricke. The wall fals vpon the same foundation, and stands  
 firme. So frustrate of their intention, hauing lost many good men, they return to the camp.

At that time *Prosper Colonne*, the chiefe pillar of the Emperours affaires in Italy, died the  
 last day but one of the yeare. A famous Captaine throughout all the courts of his life, well  
 practised in matters of warre, slow to imbrace the occasions which the weaknesse or disor-  
 ders of his enemies might present him: but commended to haue managed the warre more  
 by counsell, then with the sword. *Don Charles* of Launoy, Viceroy of Naples, was substitu-  
 ted by the Emperour: *Don Charles*, hauing taken vpon him the gouernment, employed all  
 his wit to expel the French out of the Duchie of Milan, either by force or famine: and to ap-  
 proch neere vnto them, attending a supply of sixe thousand Lansquenets out of Germany:  
 an occasion was offered to make the first fruites of his armes famous.

They giue him intelligence, that *Bayard*, *Mezieres*, and *Saint Mesme* with two hundred  
 men at armes, and *Lorges* with the French foote, whereof he was Colonell, lodged at Rebee,  
 two miles from Biagras. To giue them a Camissado on the sodaine, hee sends the Marquis  
 of Pescara, and *John de Medicis*, who came from the taking of Marignan by composition.  
 Sometimes renowned Captaines are lulled asleepe with conceit of their owne reputations:  
 and although the enemy feares them, yet he most obserues them, and desires most to cir-  
 cumuent them. But *Bayard* was sicke, and that day had taken Phisicke. The Spaniard fall-  
 es vpon the French guards two houres before day, and presently beates them backe vpon their  
 men at armes, *Bayard* (beeing sicke) and *Lorges*, gather together what men they could, and  
 maintaine the hocke, whilst the rest retired to the Campe: few men, but all the baggage  
 was lost. Hereuppon the Lansquenets arriue, and the Imperiall armie ioyned with  
 the

The French  
 charged and  
 beaten in their  
 quarter.

1524. A the Venetians: and the Popes (a right Florentine, and no lesse counterfeite then *Leo* the  
 tenth his kinsman, for he assured *Saint Maxent* the Kings Ambassador, that he would assist  
 neither partie, and yet he did ayde the Emperour both with men and money) beeing come  
 to lodge at Casere, five miles from Biagras. There were in the Imperiall troupes, sixteene  
 hundred men at armes, sixteene hundred light horse, seuen thousand Spaniards, twelue thou-  
 sand Lansquenets, and fifteen hundred Italians. The chiefe Commanders were the Dukes  
 of Milan and Bourbon, the Viceroy of Naples, the Marquis of Pescara. The Duke of Vrbin  
 commanded for the Venetians, sixe hundred men at armes, sixe hundred light horse, and  
 seuen thousand foote. *John de Medicis* led the Popes forces. The Admirall besides his com-  
 panies diuided into Garrisons, and the French troupes camped at Biagras, (attending sixe  
 thousand Swisses to refresh his army) had with him eight hundred Lances; eight thousand  
 Swisses (and within few dayes after, three thousand more ioyned with him) foure thousand  
 Italians, and two thousand Lansquenets. The lodging was safe, and no meanes to force them:  
 onely feare of famine must dislodge them. With this desseigne, the Imperials passe the riu-  
 er of Tefin, and lodge at Gambale to cut off the victuals that came fro Omeline to the French:  
 they take Garleas from them, and *Saint George*, seated about Monce. Garleas furnished their  
 armie with victuals which came freely to them from Pauia: and *Saint George* cut off the pro-  
 vision that came to our men from Biagras.

So the Admirall fearing to be distressed for victuals, and to loose the other places of O-  
 meline, the which beeing taken, he had beene in a manner beseegeed of all sides: he leaues an  
 hundred light horse, and a thousand foote in Biagras vnder *Ierome Caraccioli* a Neapolitan,  
 and went to lodge at Vigee. He was farre inferiour in number, yet he presents his armie in  
 battaile three dayes together, but the enemy refuseth the combate: he would not hazard a  
 victorie which he held assured, without losse of men. It was better to dislodge the French  
 from Vigee: for the effecting whereof, the Imperials march to Sartirane vpon Po, fit to cut  
 off the victuals from our men: *Hugh Earle* of Pepoli, and *John* of Birague kept it for the  
 King. The Admirall followes them to saue both the men and the place. But vpon the way he  
 had newes that it was forced, most part of them slaine, and the Commanders prisoners. Ver-  
 cel supplied our men with most part of their necessarie victuals. The enemy by the meanes  
 of *Petit Perceclois*, stirrs vp the *Gibelins* beeing stronger then the *Guelphes* in the said cittie, who  
 by their mutinie bring in the Imperials, which gaue them great hope to haue the French ar-  
 mie at their mercie for want of victuals: and if neede were to stop their retreat into France,  
 and to this end they seaze vpon the passage of Camarlian. Mischiefe vpon mischiefe is no  
 laste. *Monteian*, and *Boutieres* Lieutenant of *Bayard* his companie, had chosen an hundred  
 or sixe-score of their best men at armes, for the execution of an enterprize they had plotted.  
 But beeing ill guided, they incountred a stronger partie, were defeated, and all taken priso-  
 ners: a great weakening to an armie in an after-season. The Admirall did still temporize,  
 grounding his hopes vpon foure hundred Launces, which the Marquis of Rotelin did bring:  
 who passing by the mount of Geneure, should ioyne with ten thousand Swisses, and *Rance de*  
*Cere* brought sixe thousand Grisons, by the countrie of Bergamo, to passe at Laude to *Fre-*  
*dericke* of Bossole, who led a great number of Italian foote, to assaile the Duchie of Milan  
 on that side, and force the enemy to repasse the riuier of Tefin. With this desseigne the Ad-  
 mirall comes to lodge at Nouarre.

But the ruine of our men approached. *Sforza* sent *John de Medicis* against the Grisons, with  
 fiftie men at armes, three hundred light horse, and three thousand foote, who ioyned with  
 three hundred men at armes, three hundred light horse, and foure thousand foot of the Ve-  
 netians, and stops their passage, so as beeing discontented hauing no ayde of horse nor  
 foote as *Rance* had promised them, they returned to their countrie. This thorne pulled out  
 of the Imperials foote, *John de Medicis* takes Carauage, batters downe the bridge which the  
 French had vpon Tefin at Bufalore: and nothing remaining of all the Townes betwixt Milan  
 and the Tefin but onely Biagras, which lying vpon the great channell that runnes to Milan,  
 did cut off the victuals which were wont to come to the Towne in great abundance: *Sforza*  
 followed by all the youth of Milan, beseegeed it, accompanied with *John de Medicis*: he batte-  
 red it foure or five dayes, and was repulsed from the first assault; he forced it at the second,  
 and spoiled it. A spoile dearely sold to the Milanois. Biagras was infected with the plague, so  
 all



1524. all the houses of Milan, whither any of the bootie came, were infected with the same contagion, which was the death of about fiftie thousand persons. Biagras taken, (to stoppe all passages from the French) the Viceroy went to lodge at Marignon, and the Admirall, considering that it was better to hazard the rest of his armie, then to perish by famine, and pestilence, which had greatly diminished his troupes; he tooke the way of Romagnan, to ioyne with eight thousand Suisses which were come to Yurec. But they stroke the last stroke. They send him word, *That it should suffice them, to retire their companions, and conduct them into Suisse, seeing the King had broken his promise with them, by the which they should meete at Yurec with Claude of Longueville, and foure hundred Lances to conuoy them.* Their Countrymen which remained in the campe, vnderstanding that their companions were vpon the banks of the riuer of Stefie, disbanded for the most part, to ioyne with them that were newly come.

A worthy  
speech of  
Bayard, beeing  
hurt, and dying

In the meane time the Imperials, by the perswasion of the Duke of Bourbon, followed the Admirall at the heeles, who to take from the enemy the knowledge of the Suisses disorder, endured the shocke, with such men at armes as he could gather together: but beeing hurt at the first charge with a shot in the arme, and forced through the griefe of his wound to leaue the retreat of the armie to the Earle of Saint Paul, and to Captaine Bayard. Bayard and Vandenesse (performing wondrous deedes of armes) died there: Vandenesse presently, Bayard thrust through the bodie, caused himselfe to be layed at the foote of a tree, by his Steward, his face turned to the enemy, as he that neuer turned his backe. The Duke of Bourbon pursuing the chafe, seeing him in this pittifull estate. *I am sorry for you; said hee, hauing knowne you so valiant a Knight. Sir (said Bayard, drawing towards his end) there is no pittie of me, I die an honest man: you are to be lamented, who serue against your Prince, your Country, and your aash,* and soone after hee gaue vp the Ghost. *Lorges* arriuing with those few French which remained, repulsed such as pursued vnto the bodie of their armie, and the Earle of Saint Paul hauing passed the riuer with the losse of few, but the brauest of his men, deliuered the artillerie to the Suisses, who made their retreat by the valley of Aouste, and himselfe by Turin. Laude, Alexandria, Nouarre, and generally all which the King possessed in Italy, remained at the Victors deuotion.

The estate of Milan was thus freed from the French, and Italy from their present calamities, but the roors were not yet cut vp: it was but deferred for a time. Then the Duke of Bourbon gaue the Emperor counsell to transport the warre into France. The King of England did willingly giue care vnto it. The fauor, the authoritie, the many followers, and the great intelligence which the Duke of Bourbon presumed to haue in France, inuited him thereunto. To this end, the Emperour treated with the English, and the Duke of Bourbon: "That the Duke should enter into France with a part of his armie which was in Italy: That hauing passed the Alpes, the King of England should pay him an hundred thousand Crownes for the charge of the first moneth, and should continue the same monethly, vnlesse hee would invade the Realme with a mightie armie: That France should be conquered for the English, and Prouence for the Duke of Bourbon, according to the treatie wee haue before made" mention of. That the Emperour at the same instant should make warre vpon them from the confines of Spaine, and should procure the Potentates of Italy, to concur in this enterprise, for the freeing of themselves for euer from the inuasion of the French. Marfeilles is a commodious port to annoy France, and to passe from Spaine into Italy. According to the Emperours desire, and the former treatie, the Duke of Bourbon, and the Marquis of Pescara, march to the conquest of Marfeilles. The King aduertised of their desseigne, sends *Rance de Cere*, a man well experienced in warre, and the Lord of Brion, with two hundred men at armes, and three thousand foot, for the guard of Marfeilles: repayred his armie, and sent to make a leaue of foureteen thousand Suisses, and fixe thousand Lansquenets. The Duke and Marquis had now lien fixe weekes before Marfeilles: the King hauing vntied his forces, marcheth with an intent to fight with his enemies, who seeing so great a power to approach, imbarcked their great Ordinance for Genoua: the lesser they laid vpon Moyles, and so made a speedie retreat. The Marshall of Chabannes, who had the leading of the foreward, sent foure or fife hundred horses after them: who ouerthrew many, & returned with great spoile: euery one leauing his baggage behind him, and the souldiers casting away their armes, to be more

A more light to run away. The King seeing himselfe to haue a goodly army ready, & his enemies retired, resolues to cut off their way, or to come before them into Italy: many dissuaded him, the season might well diuert him (for it was in the middest of October) the Regent his mother aduised him to make warre by his Captaines, and not in person: and the Bishop of Capoua, came from the Pope to treat of a generall peace. But the heate which transported this good Prince to his owne ruine and dishonour, made him to say vnto the Bishop: *That he should treat with him by letters, and attend him at Augnon with his mother.* If the King makes hast to pursue, the Duke and Marquis made as great hast to arriue in time for the defence of Milan: so as in one day the King arriued at Verceil, and the Marquis at Albe: the Duke followed a day after him with the Lansquenets.

B At that time *Claude* Queene of France died at Blois, leauing three sonnes by the King and her, *Francis* the Dauphin, *Henry* Duke of Orleance, and *Charles* Duke of Angouleme: and two daughters, *Magdalene* married afterwards to the King of Scots, and *Marguerite*, which shall be Duchesse of Sauoy. The Vice-roy seeing the King to march directly towards Milan without stay, he put *Anthony de Luna* into Pauia, with twelue hundred Spaniards, and fixe thousand Lansquenets: posting himselfe with exceeding speed to Milan with the rest of the armie. Milan had changed hir mind, the plague had wonderfully wasted the Citizens: many (to auoide this daunger) had absented themselves: there was no such store of victuals within it as was vsuall: the trafficke had ceased, there was no meanes to recouer money: they had made no accompt to repaire the fortifications, and the King had from Vigee sent *Michel Anthony* Marquis of Salusses, with two hundred men at armes, and foure thousand foot: who at the first ouerthrew the Spaniards that were set to guard the suburbs of Milan: beate them into the towne, and kept the suburbs: notwithstanding their continuall sallies, by meanes of the Lord of Tremouille, who came to second him.

The Vice-roy finding the Citizens minds to be litle at his deuotion, went out by the port Romaine, leading with him the Duke of Bourbon, the Marquis of Pescara, and the rest of the army to Laude. The Milanais freed from the danger of the Imperials, receiued in the Marquis of Salusse and Tremouille. The Imperiall armie retired in great confusion and disorder, tyred with the tediousnesse of the way, hauing lost many horse and armes: If they had bene hotely pursued, without doubt they had bene easily ouerthrowne. Moreouer, if our men had presently gone to Laude, the Imperials had not dared to stay there: and it may be passing the riuer of Adde with speede, they had disordered the rest of the armie with the like facilitie. But when as the prouidence of God means to chastise a people, he blinds the eyes of their vnderstandings, in such sort as they cannot iudge of occurrents, but oftentimes they embrace those courses which be most dangerous.

Thus it fell out with our *Francis*: for according to the aduice of such (as held it not fit for his Maiesties affaires, to leaue a strong towne behind him, manned with many souldiers) he turned head to Pauia, in the end of October. He had with him *Henry* of Albret King of Nauarre, the Duke of Alanson, Lorraine, Albanie, and Longueville, the Earles of Saint Paul, Vaudemont, Lual and Tonerre: the Marshals of Foix, *Chabannes* and *Montmorency*, the Bastard of Sauoy Lord Steward, the Admirall of Bonniuet, the chiefe authour of this counsell: *Lewis* of Tremouille, the Marquis of Salusses, *Anthony* of Rochfaucault, the Lords of Brion, Escars, Boineuall, Fleuranges, Paulmy, Roche-du-maine: the Vidame of Chartres, Aubigny, *Clermont*, *Bussy d'Amboise*, *de Conty*, *Fontenay*, a younger brother to *Rohan*, *d'Aumont*, and a great number of others: two thousand Lances, eight thousand aduenturers, eight thousand Lansquenets, fixe thousand Suisses, and foure thousand Italians, which number did afterwards greatly increase.

The Imperials gathered together the remainder of their shipwracke, and made a new leaue of twelue thousand men in Germanie: but want of money did greatly trouble their affaires. The Emperour could not helpe them: to draw any out of the Duchie of Milan, there was no meanes. From their auncient confederates, they hoped for small or no succors at all. The Pope and the Florentines contented them, but with generall words. *Clement* sought to maintaine himselfe in the middest of these stormes, and would make no League with any other Prince. The Venetians, vrged by the Vice-roy, to furnish the men whereunto they were bound by the Capitulation, made cold answers. They grew now more iealous of

1524.

Milan taken.

The state of  
the Imperials



1524. the Emperours ambition. All Italy complained, that he would not inuest *sforza* in the Duchie of Milan, vnto which the Popes authoritie did moue him: to whose example and counsels they had then great regard, beeing willing in like sort to frame themselves to preuent occurrences. And the King of England, in stead of furnishing them with the money he had promised, demanded all that which he had lent. All these considerations, made our *Francis* resolute to the sege of Pauia. He batters it in two places, makes a breach, and giues an assault, they winne the breach, but had not meanes to enter: they find large and deepe trenches to stay them, and the neereest houses furnished with shot, forced them to abandon the breach after the losse of many good men. As they despaird to take Pauia by force, *James* of Silly Bayliffe of Caen, propounds a more easie meanes to force it. The riuer of *Tessin* diuides it selfe into two branches, two miles aboute Pauia, and ioynes againe a mile beneath the towne before it runnes into Po. By reason of the depth of the water, the wall was nothing fortified vpon the greatest streame: he vndertakes to cut this arme, and to driue all the streame into the lesse, hoping that the course of the water beeing dried, and making a fodaine and furious batterie on that side, the towne should be forced, before the enemy had any meanes to preuent it.

They spend many dayes, employ an infinit number of men, and make a great expence in this worke. But the water is of more force then the labour of men, or the Industrie of Ingeniours. A continuall raine did so swell the riuer, as breaking the sluices and banks which were made within the Channell, in one houre it made all this great labour fruitlesse. So all the attempts of our men were reduced to a hope, to force them to yeeld at length by necessity. The Pope in the meane time, (moued with the sudden spoile and conquest of the Duchie of Milan by the King) desirous to settle his affaires and businesse, and to pacifie Italy the better, sent *John Mathieu Gilbert*, Bishop of Verona his Datarie, to exhort our warriors to peace and concord. The Vice-roy trusting in the strength of Pauia, refused to giue eare to any agreement or composition, whereby the King should hold any foote of land in the Duchie of Milan: the King on the other side, putt vp with his good successfe, the greatnesse of his armie, the hope not onely to maintaine it, but also to increase it, to preserue vnto himselfe the estate of Milan, to recouer Genoua, and afterwards to assaile the Realme of Naples, made him as vnwilling to yeeld to any peace.

Thus the Pope hauing failed to reconcile these two Princes, the chiefe cause why hee sent his Datarie, tooke effect. *Clement* bound himselfe, *Not to giue any succours, either open or secret against the King.* And the King receiued the Pope and the Florentines into his protection, especially to maintaine the family of Medicis in their greatnesse. The Pope supposed the Emperour should go to the wall, but he will soone repent him. This agreement drew the King to the enterprife of Naples: for the execution whereof, he made *John Steward* Duke of Albanie his Lieutenant generall, accompanied with *Raince de Cere*, sixe hundred men at armes, three hundred light horse, ten thousand foote, and ten or twelue peeces of Artillerie. His intent was to force the Vice-roy to abandon the estate of Milan, to flie to the defence of Naples, where as there remained no Garrisons. But he should haue consulted hereof after the absolute conquest of the Duchie. The enemy will make his profite of this indiscreete diuision of his armie in so vnseasonable a time. He did foresee, that in succouring Naples, the Duchie of Milan would be wholly lost. The Vice-roy hauing resolved to make head against the King within Lombardie, sent the Duke of *Traietto*, to giue order for the defence of the realme, in case the French did assaile it. Let vs leaue the King a little at his sege, and see some exploits of armes.

The Marquis of Salusses, Lieutenant for the King at Sauonne, had in the beginning of March, sent two thousand men in garrison to Varas, a small towne, all walled vpon the sea-shore, mid-way betwixt Sauonne and Genoua. *Don Hugues* of Moncade, Vice-roy of Sicily, then Gouvernor of Genoua for the Emperour, brought the Emperours gallies to beardowne the gate of Varas with their Cannon, hoping that the weaknesse of the place would force the Souldiars to make their retreat to Sauonne: and with this desseigne he put himselfe in Ambush with foure thousand men, betwixt Varas and Sauonne. The Marquis aduertised of this batterie, flies thither with those few men which the present necessitie would suffer him to gather together. At his approach, the besieged take courage, and rampar vp their gate

The Pope makes a league with the King.

A gate quite ruined. The Gallies of Genoua grow amazed, and turne their prowes. The Marquis pursues them. *Don Hugues* seeing himselfe abandoned by his forces at Sea, begins likewise to make his retreat to Genoua along the shore. *La Mailleray*, by the commaundement of the Marquis, goes to shoare, drawes forth the garrison of Varas, and leades them in the pursuite, whilst that he coasted along, seeking to disorder them with his Canon, beeing forced to march by the sea side, by reason of the mountaines. *Moncade* falls into the reere-ward with some of the chiefe Captaines to endure the shoocke. They charge him, and put his troupes in route, and he, with all them that did accompany him, are taken prisoners. The Marquis takes two Gallies, and pursuing his victorie, finds the Admirall of Genoua in the roade: he forceth her to yeeld, and makes a great bootie of Artillerie, munition, and other riches. And if his forces had beene sufficient to assaile Genoua sodenly by land, as well as by sea, considering the feare which had seized vpon the Cittie, it had beene in daunger to haue beene lost for the Emperour.

On the other side, *Anthony* of Crecquy Lord of Pontdormy, parting from Monstrueil, at such time as the King lay incamped before Pauia, to put victuals into Terouenne, and to try if he could force Neuffosse (which was a great trench full of water, that shut vp the valley of Cassell, from Saint Omer vnto Aire, furnished with Bulwarkes at euery entrie with artillerie, and well manned, to guard the entries and passages of the said valley whither they retired all their goods and cattle) he came to Fauquemberg with three hundred men at armes, some twelue hundred foote, and two Culuerins. And after the men at armes had fed their horses, hauing put the victuals they had brought into Terouenne, he parted for the execution of his enterprife, and comming to Neuffosse before day, he forced the passage, carrying away an inestimable prey, and passing in his retreat neere to Arques, halfe a league from Saint Omer, he ouerthrew the garrison of the said S. Omer, which issued forth to succour the valley. In this charge *Eftree* tooke *Licques*, Lieutenant to the Duke of Ascor, who the same day had married his mistresse, to whom *Eftree* was likewise a seruant: but with a courtesie neuer enough to be praised, at the request of the new Bride, he sent backe his prisoner. Those of Aire and Betune, likewise came posting, to the number of eight or nine hundred naturall Spaniards, siue or sixe hundred Wallons, and 300. horse of their Ordonances, and ioyned with the troupes of Saint Omer, to stop or hinder the retreat of the French. *Pontdormy* chargeth them, beates backe the horse vpon their Spanish foote, and entering pell-mell, breakes them, siue two hundred and fortie, and carried away eight or nine hundred prisoners to Terouenne, all which he sent backe for a moneths pay, and for hostages retained their Captaines.

Moreouer, *Fiennes* Gouverneur of Flanders, hauing suborned a Souldiar of the Garrison of Hedin (which had beene taken in the warres) to deliuer him the Castle of Hedin: the souldiar aduertised *Pontdormy* of the meanes he had to deliuer into his hands the said Gouvernor, the Duke of Ascor, and most of the Noblemen of the countrey. The Souldier brings this troupe at the day appointed. *Pontdormy* is there with two hundred men at armes: and couers balles of wild-fire with straw, in a raelin of stone, where the enemy must passe, into the which those that were aboute the gate should cast fire, when as they should see a sufficient number of the enemies entred. Men incounter their enemies both by fraude and vertue: but fraude is oft-times fatal to the author.

*Pontdormy* hauing his mouth open to speake, the fire was so suddenly cast, by him that had it in charge, as entering in at *Pontdormys* mouth, it burnt his bowels, wherof he dyed two dayes after. *Canaples* his Nephew, had his face likewise so burnt, as there remained no forme thereof: so as their enterprife to charge the enemy behind in this disorder, came to nothing. Foure-score or an hundred Bourguignons beeing entred within the Raelin, were burnt: the rest saued themselves in this amazement, and many were lost in the wood vpon their retreat. But all were not sufficient to repaire the losse of that worthy and valiant man of warre.

The sege of Pauia was continued, when as the Duke of Bourbon bringing siue hundred men at armes Bourguignons, and sixe thousand Lansquenets, the Imperials resolute to succour Pauia, and to that end part from Laude the 25. of Ianuarie. The Imperials approach, assured the King hee should haue bataille, and to prouide for it, hee had caused

Ggg 2

Tremouille,

1525.  
A notable victorie gotten by the Marquis of Salusses.

The worthy exploits of Pontdormy.

Pontdormy slain.

1525. Tremouille, whom he had appointed Gouvernor of Milan to come vnto him, leauing Theodore Triumue, with Chandou within Milan. Iohn de Medicis with three hundred light horse, and three thousand foote, was newly come into the Kings pay, and had wonne him many Italian Captaines: amongst which, Guy and Francis Earles of Rangon, and Iohn Lewis Paluioisin, brother to him whom Lautrec had beheaded at Milan. Tremouille, the Marshals of Foix and Chabannes, with other Captaines of great experience, aduised the King to retire his armie from before Pauia, and to incampe in some strong place, whereof there are many in that Countrey, by reason of the Channels which ouer-flow the Medowes. They gaue him to vnderstand, that the enemies armie beeing vnfurnished of money, they should be forced within few dayes to breake, and to put their companies into Garrison. That the strangers for want of payment of their money, would make some dangerous mutinie. That the enemies did not maintaine themselves together, but with hope to giue battaile: and if they did see the warre prolonged, they would be ingaged in many difficulties and confusions. To conclude, it was (say they) exceeding dangerous, to thrust betwixt a Towne defended, by five thousand men, and an armie that came to succour it, beeing mightie in numbers of men, in valour and experience.

But all this was to cast oyle into a fire which already flamed. The King will not leaue the sege, and yet will he keepe the enemy from entring into Pauia. He referred (saith the Originall) the gouernement of the armie to the Admirall: hee beleueed his counsell onely, and gaue eare to Anne of Montmorency, and Philip Chabot Lord of Brion, men pleasing vnto him, but not yet of any great experience in matters of warre. Moreouer, he had not that number of men in his armie, as they gaue him to vnderstand. The Duke of Albanie had led away part of his horse: some remained for the guard of Milan, many were disperfed into townes and villages about. There were but 8. hundred Lances in the Campe: and the negligence of his Officers, with the deceit of his Captaines, especially the Italians, abused him, not furnishing the number of footmen, for the which they receiued pay. But howsoeuer, he must needs fight. Behold pittifull first fruites, fore-runners of a generall ouerthrow.

Sad fore-runners of an ouerthrow.

Two thousand Valaisans lodged at Saint Sauueur, betwixt S. Lansfranc and Pauia. They within charge them suddenly, and disperse them. Pyrrhus brother to Frederick of Bossole, held the Castell of Saint Angelo with two hundred horse, and eight hundred foote. This place lying betwixt Laude and Pauia, stopt the victuals which might be brought from Laude. Ferdinand of Aualo approacheth with his Spaniards, takes away the defences, and forceth the Garrison to yeeld, that Pyrrhus, Emilius Cauriane, and the three sonnes of Phabus Gonzaga, remaining prisoners, all the rest should depart without armes or horses, and for a moneth should beare no armes against the Emperour. Belioyeuse, and then all the other places which lay behind them, except S. Colombain, which they had so besieged as no man could issue forth, came into the power of the Imperials.

Moreouer, the King caused two thousand Italians to come of those which had maintained the sege of Marfeilles. Passing the confines of Alexandria, neere to the riuer of Vrbé, wearied and toyled with the tediousnesse of the way, Gaspar Maine Captain of Alexandria, charged them suddenly, breakes them, and chaseth them into Chaitellat, and there forceth them to yeeld with seateene Ensignes. The like successe had Iohn Lewis Paluioisin. The King had sent him to surprize Cremona, which was guarded onely by five or six hundred foote. Sforza aduertised that he lodged at Cassall the great, with foure hundred horse, and two thousand foote, sent Alexander Bentiuole with some number of horse, and two thousand foote, suddenly leuiet, to Cremona. Too great confidence doth no lesse preiudice men, then feare. Paluioisin (holding himselfe strong enough, without attending of Francis of Rangon, who came to ioyne with him, with three or foure thousand men) abandons his Fort to fight with them, marcheth directly to the enemy, and at the first, puts Sforza's horsemen to flight: but Bentiuole comming with his footmen, Iohn Lewis was ouerthrowne in the midst of the combat, taken prisoner, and all his men put to route, which was a great preiudice to the Kings affaires. Behold another disgrace of no lesse importance.

Iohn Iagues of Medicis, a Milanois, Captaine of the Castell of Mus, had intelligence, that the Captaine of Chiauenné, a Castell vpon the Lake of Como, belonging to the Grisons, hauing no enemy neere to annoy him, went daily to walke without his Fort, (the taking of this

A this places, was a fit meanes to diuert fixe thousand Grisons, newly come vnto the Kings Campe) Iohn Iagues lying one night in ambush close to the Castle, failed not of his prey, but holding this insufficient Captaine, he brought him before the gate, with a dagger at his throate readie to stab him, if his wife had not let downe the bridge. The gate beeing open, three hundred men issue forth of another ambush, seaze vpon the castle, and so on the Towne. The Grisons supposing that Medicis had other enterprises vpon their places, call home their men, who notwithstanding the shame they should purchase in forsaking (vpon the point of a battell) a Prince, whose pay they had receiued, and to whom they had giuen an oath, returned five dayes before the fight. All these difficulties chancing one vpon another, were infallible fore-runners of some great disaster: which when he sees come, he ought carefully to prouide for the preservation of his estate, or with a firme and constant resolution, trie the hazard of a battaile. A commaunder may lawfully trie this last remedie: but a King must vse the other. The two armies approached within halfe a mile: the foreward led by the Marshall of Chabannes, lodged with the Suisses at Ronces, in the suburbs neere to Saint Justins gate: the King at the Monasteries of Saint Paul and Saint James, places of aduantage neere vnto Pauia: the Duke of Alançon at Mirabell with the reeward, so as holding Pauia girt in of all sides, the Imperials could not enter, vnlesse they did passe the riuer of Tessen or the Parke of Pauia. The Imperials lodged at Prati towards Saint Justins gate, and extended vnto Treleuere and la Motte, and in a wood by Saint Lazare, and as they did greatly indamage one another with their Cannon, beeing diuided onely by a little brooke, which they call Vernicule. The lodging of both armies had in front on their wings, and on the left flank, great rampars enuironed with trenches, and fortified with bastions. But the Imperials had this aduantage, beeing approached so neere vnto Pauia, as in a day of battaile they might be assisted by them within the town. In the meane time Anthony de Léna did greatly annoy our men by continuall sallies, and in many skirmishes had most commonly the better. The 17. of February, Iohn de Medicis, to be reuenged of a disgrace which his troups had receiued by a former sally, laid a bait for them of the town, seconded with a double ambush, the one in the trenches neere vnto the town, the other farther off. The Spaniards drawn on by their former victories, pursuing them which had charged, they discouer the farthest Ambush, and began to retire, when as the neerer cutting off their way, puts them all to the sword. But this smal victorie did greatly preiudice the General Iohn de Medicis had the bone of his heele broken with a shot, and was carried vnto Placentia. His troups were so disperfed after his hurt, as the armie was diminished about two thousand, and his absence did coole his souldiers courage and heate in skirmishes and assaults: for he was a great souldier, and the good successe of a battaile, doth partly depend vpon the presence of such personages.

The Imperials had no more meanes to maintaine themselves within their fort, want of money had soone driuen them forth: yet they considered that by their retreat, Pauia would be lost, and they were out of hope to preserve the rest, which remained in the Duchie of Milan. To assaile the French within their lodging, were a dangerous and vaine attempt. Also the enemies resolution was not to giue battaile, vnlesse some aduantage were offered them, but onely to retire their men that were within Pauia, and to man it with fresh troups, the which they could not do, without passing in view of the French Campe. They therefore prepare themselves to two effects, either to execute their designe, or to fight, if the King issuing out of his fort would stoppe their passage.

The night before Saint Matthias day, the 25. of Februarie, the day of the Emperour Charles his natiuitie, they disquiet and tire our men with many false alarmes, and make two squadrons of horse, and foure of foote. The first, vnder the command of the Marquis of Guast, consisting of fixe thousand Lanquenets, Spaniards, and Italians. The second vnder the Marquis of Pescara. The third & fourth of Lanquenets, led by the Vice-roy and Duke of Bourbon. They come to the Parke wall, cast downe about threescore fadom, enter within it, and take the way to Mirabell, leauing the kings army vpon their left hand. The artillerie planted in a place of aduantage, doth much indamage their battalions, and forceth them to runne into the valley for shelter. Here impatience transports the King. Hee sees the enemy disordered, and thinks they are amazed: moreouer, he had intelligence, that the Duke of Alançon had defeated some Spaniards that would haue passed on the right hand, & had taken from them four or

1525. five Cannons. Thus the King loosing his aduantage, seekes his enemies; and passing before A  
his owne Cannon hinders their execution. The Imperials desired nothing more, then to  
haue the King out of his fort, and to be couered from his Artillerie. They now turne head  
against him which was directed to Mirabell. The King (supported with a battalion of his  
Suiſſes, beeing his chiefe strength) marched directly against the Marquis of Saint *Ange*, who  
led the first of the horsemen, ouerthrowes them, killes many, and the Marquis himselfe. But  
oh villanie! The Suiſſes in steade of charging a battalion of the Emperours Lanſquenets,  
which did second their men at armes, they wheele about, and go to saue themselves at Mi-  
lan. The Marquis of Pescara came to charge the King with his battalions: *Francis* brother to  
the Duke of Lorraine, and the Duke of Norfolk, who led about five thousand Lanſquenets,  
marched resolutely against him, but they are suddenly inuironed with two great battalions B  
of Germans, defeated and cut in peeces: the Suiſſes thus retired, the Lanſquenets lost, the  
whole burthen of the batraile lay vpon the King, so as in the end being hurt in the legge, face,  
and hand, his horse slaine vnder him, charged on all sides, defending himselfe vnto the last  
gaspe, he yielded vnto the Viceroy of Naples, who kissing his hand with great reuerence,  
receiued him as prisoner to the Emperour.

At the same instant, the Marquis of Guast had defeated the horse that were at Mirabel, and  
*Anthony de Lema* issuing out of Pauia charged our men behind. Thus (seeing the pitifull e-  
state of the Kings person) all giue way, all seeke to saue themselves by flight. The Duke of  
Alancón seeing no hope of recouerie, preserues the reward in a manner whole, and pas- C  
seth the riuier of Tesin. The Vant-guard (for a time) maintained the fight, but in the end it  
shrunke by the death of the Marshall of Chabannes. This day deſtroyed vs of a great num-  
ber of the chiefeſt Noblemen of France, amongst the which the Marshals of Chabannes and  
Foix, the Admirall of Bonniuet, *Lewis* of Tremouille, about threescore and fiftene yeares  
old, (a worthie bed for so valiant a Nobleman, whose counsell deserued to be followed) *Ga-*  
*leas* of Saint *Seuerin* Master of the horse, *Francis* of Lorraine, the Duke of Norfolk, the  
Earle of Tonnerre, *Chamont* Sonne to the great Master of Amboise, *Buffy* of Amboise, the  
Baron of Buzançois, *Beaupreux* Marafin the chiefe Quirie of the Kings stable, and about 8.  
thousand men. The Bastard of Sauoye Lord Steward of France, died of his wounds beeing  
prisoner. There were taken, *Henry* K. of Nauarre, the Earle of S. *Paul*, *Lewis* of Neuers, *Fleu-* D  
*ranges* sonne to *Robert de la Mark*, the Marshall of Montmorency, *Laual*, *Brion*, *Lorges*, *la*  
*Roche*, *Montcien*, *Annebauld*, *Imbercourt*, *Frederick* of Bosſole, *la Roche*, *du Maine*, *la Mail-*  
*leray*, *Montpelat*, *Boissy*, *Curtion*, *Langey* and many others. Of the enemy there died about  
seauen hundred, few men of marke besides the Marquis of Saint *Ange*. *Triunlee* and *Chan-*  
*dion* who remained at Milan, aduertised of the ruine of their armie, returned with their men  
into France, so as the very day of the batraile, all the Duchie of Milan was freed from the  
French forces. The next day the King was led to the Castell of Pisqueton, vnder the guard  
of Captaine *Alarçon*, alwaies intreated according to the dignitie of a royall person, but so  
farre-forth as the qualitie of a prisoner would permit. The Duke of Albanie was farreinge-  
ged in the Realme of Naples, and all passages by land were by this disgrace stopt. To draw E  
him out of danger, the Regent mother to the King, giuing order for the affaires of the  
Realme, sent *Andrew Doria* Generall of the Kings Gallies vnto him, with *la Fayette* the Vice-  
admirall being at Marseilles: who (without any losse of men, but of some scouts, chased by  
the Colonniois euen to the very gates of Rome) returned safely into France. The estate see-  
med now neere a shipwracke, as well by the imprisonment of the head, as by the death of  
many worthy personages, who might haue serued greatly in the preseruatiō thereof. But  
God by many corrections would often chastise France, but neuer ruine it. And now tou-  
ching the King of England (who was then readie to imbarke for Calais) he suddenly changed  
his hatred into loue, so as growing ielous of the Emperours exceeding greatnesse, the Re-  
gent hauing intreated him by *John leachin* a Geneuiois her Ambassador, to giue eare to some  
mild intreatie, rather then to inuade the Estate of a captiue Prince: he promisseth all succors  
both of men and money for the Kings deliuerie, and without any demand of restitution for  
his charges he dismisseth his armie.

In the meane time, the Emperour aduileth in Councell, what course he should hold with  
the King. The Bishop of Osime, the Emperours Confessor, is commended to haue aduised  
him

The King of  
England of-  
fers all loue to  
the Frenc  
King beeing  
a prisoner.

A him to shew a brotherly loue, and to set him free, referring this notable victorie to the  
expresse will of God: shewing that the chiefe vse thereof should be the peace of Christen-  
dome, threatned with a totall ruine by the Turkish armes, whereof we shall soone see farall  
effects. But the aduice of *Fredericke* Duke of Alba, a man of great authority with the  
Emperor, was of more force. He yielded to the Kings liberty, but with so excessiue condi-  
tions, as it might haue beene the meanes, for *Charles* to lay the foundation of an absolute  
Monarchy in Christendome.

According to this aduice, he sent the Earle of Reux, his Lord Steward, to offer the King  
liberty, so as he would reſeigne all the rights he pretended in Italie; restore the Duchie of  
Bourgongne, as belonging to him by right, with Prouence and Daulphiné for the duke of  
Bourbon, to incorporate them with other lands, which hee had formerly enioyed, and to  
make all together a Kingdome. Moreouer the Emperour offered to giue him his sister in  
marriage, propounding many other conditions, so absurd and voide of reason, as it is bet-  
ter to let the curious read them in the Originals themselves. Amongst all losses, that of  
liberty toucheth nearest; but our *Francis* hauing learned to withstand all aduersitie with a  
constant resolution, I will die (said he) a prisoner, rather then make any breach in my realm  
for my deliuerance. Whereof I neither will nor can alienate any part, without the consent  
of the soueraigne Courts and Officers, in whose hands remains the authority of the whole  
realme: Wee preferre the generall good before the priuate interest of Kings persons. If  
the Emperour will treat with me, let him demand reasonable things, which are in my power,  
then shall he find mee readie to ioyne with him, and to fauour his greatnesse. And to re-  
deeme his liberty with honour, and his subjects content, who wonderfully desired his en-  
largement, he then offered, To marry his said sister, widow to the King of Portugall, and to  
hold Bourgongne for her dowrie, the which should belong to the children that should  
come of this marriage, to reſeigne his interest to the realme of Naples and the Duchie of  
Milan: to accompany the Emperor with an army both by land and sea, when he should go  
to Rome to receiue the Imperiall crowne. Was not this properly to giue him all Italy in  
prey? To yeeld vnto the duke of Bourbon his offices, lands and moueables confiscated, and  
the reuenues receiued by reason of this seisure, and to giue him to wife the Duchesse of  
Alancón his sister, newly a widow by the death of the duke of Alancón, instead of *Eleonor*,  
the widow of Portugall, which had beene promised him: to content the King of England  
with money, and to pay what sums of money should be set downe for his ranſome.

Herevpon the Earle of Saint Paul, hauing corrupted his gards, escaped out of prison, and  
ioyntly with the Earle of Vaudemont, and the Marquis of Saluſſes, treated by the means of  
*Francis* Earle of Pontrefine, with certaine Princes and Captaines of Italy, to stay the King  
from being transported out of the Duchy of Milan, hoping that the Potentates of Italy  
(feareing least the Emperor should seeke to supplant them) would seeke his maiesties deliue-  
ry with their common forces. And the Venerians being now aduertised of the reconciliati-  
on of the English with the King, retired themselves from their league with the Emperour.  
But the Viceroy discouering these stratifies, gaue the King to vnderstand, that he had com-  
mandment from the Emperour, to passe him into Spaine, that beeing there, their maiesties  
by a gracious and fauorable enteruiew, would easily conclude a peace, which should cause  
his liberty. So the King vnderſtanding that the duke of Bourbon pursued his marriage in  
Spaine with *Eleonor*, yielded to this passage, hoping shee would rather desire to marry a  
King of France, then a Prince dis-inherited. They imbarke the seuenth of Iune, and within  
few daies after (the Emperour hauing commanded, that hee should be receiued, withall  
the honour that might bee, as hee passed) they arriue happily in Castille: the King was  
lodged at Madril, a place of hunting and pleasure, but farre from the sea, or the confines  
of France.

The Emperour would not admit the King to his presence, before the accord were made,  
or in such times as there were no doubt thereof: for the aduancing whereof a truce was  
concluded vntill the end of December, during the which *Marguerite* the Kings sister, Duch-  
esse of Alancón, came with a large commission into Castille, to treat with the Emperour.  
Her arriual was very pleasing and healthfull to the King: who finding him so sicke, as few  
men hoped for his recovery, she did more reuiue him then all the Physitians art. But ha-  
uing

1525.

The Empe-  
rours vnrea-  
sonable de-  
mands.

The Kings  
reasonable  
offers.

The King  
transported  
into Castille.

uing found the Emperour (who was come to visit the sicke King) constant in his vnreasonable demands, especially for the restitution of Bourgongne, whereunto the King would not yeeld, but vpon the former condition, or that they might trie it by law, to whom it belonged, and seeing that the King had recovered his former health, she returned into France, leauing with the Emperour, the Archbishop of Ambrun, afterwards Cardinal of Tournon, and *John de Selue*, chiefe president at Paris, to pursue the treaty begun, bringing with her an ample declaration from the King, whereby (reseinuing vp his crowne) he gaue her power to inuest the Dauphin his sonne, the King remaining resolute, rather to continue in perpetuall prison, then to passe any thing to the preiudice of his realme.

The King  
set at liber-  
tie.

But the Emperour seeing the King constant in this resolution, in the end yeelded to his Maiesties deliuey, whereof we will set downe the most important points; That within six weekes after his deliuey, he should conserue the Duchie of Bourgongne to the Emperour, with all the dependences, as well of the Duchie, as of the Countie, the which should hereafter bee sequestred from the Soueraignty of the realme of France. That at the very instant of his enlargement, they should deliuey into the Emperours hands, the Dauphin, and with him the duke of Orleans, the Kings second sonne, or twelue of the chiefe Noblemen of France, such as the Emperour should name, to remaine as hostages, vntill the restitution of the said lands, and ratification of the peace, with all the Articles, by the generall Estates of the realme, and vpon the restoring of the Hostages, they should deliuey vnto the Emperour the Earle of Angoulesme the Kings third sonne, to bee bred vp with him, the better to assure and maintaine the peace. That hee should reseinue vnto the Emperour, all his rights pretended to the Estates of Naples, Milan, Genoua and Ast: That hee should quit the Soueraignty of Flanders and Arthois, and should marry *Eleonor*, sister to the said Emperour, with two hundred thousand crownes dowry, and Jewels fit for her estate, and the Emperour should renounce all his pretensions, to any place belonging to the Crowne of France, especially to Peronne, Mondidier, Roie, Bologna, Ponthieu and other Seigneuries, lying on either side the riuer of Somme. Without doubt, these were hard conditions, and beyond all the bounds of reason. But the King being a prisoner, garded, and not his owne man, of what validitie could they bee in law? It was therefore in his power to redeeme his children by money. These be the fruites the Spaniard would gather by his victory, to teach the French not to fall againe into their hands. The iudicious reader may consider, whether they bee growne wise by their owne losse.

Then the King and Emperour did visit one another againe, with great demonstrations of loue: they shewed themselves together in publike places, had often, long, and secret discourses, they went in one Carosse together, to see *Queene Eleonor*, to whom the King was made sure. But for that in the midst of all these shewes of loue, the King was at no more liberty then before, but more carefully garded: who would not haue held this accord to bee full of discord, this alliance without loue, and the most part of the articles extorted by force, would bring forth the fruites of their ancient ialousies? A lesson for Princes that be victors, to containe themselves within the limits of reason, for whatsoeuer is forced by violence, is not durable. Some daies were spent in these actions: then the King was conducted to Fontarabie, where exchange was made of his Maiesty, with his two sonnes, beeing yet very yong. At Bayonne the Ambassadors of *Charles* demanded the ratification of the treaty which the King should giue at his entrie into the Realme, but hee could not alienate the Bourguignons without their consent, and therefore he answers, that he will shortly assemble the Estates of the countie, to know their mindes. Let vs see then what followed, and begin somewhat higher.

After they had transported the King into Castile, *Francis Sforza* fearing least the Emperour should retein the Duchy of Milan to himself, together with the excessive sum of twelue hundred thousand Ducats, which he demanded for the expences hee had made in the conquest, and defence of the sayd estate, considering also, that part of the Spaniards were gone into Spaine with the Viceroy, part were with the duke of Bourbon, many laden with spoile, were retired into diuers places. And the Marquisse of Pescara, was in bad termes with the Viceroy, he perswaded himselfe, that the rest of the troupes might bee easily ouercome, if the Marquis would giue his consent. *Sforza* therefore, by the aduice of *Jerome Moron* his

Chancellor,

A Chancellor, did found the Marquisse his minde, he propounded vnto him, to cut in peeces, those companies which remained within the estate of Milan, and to make him King of Naples, if the Pope and the Venetians would agree. A sufficient spur to prick forward an ambitious man. The Pope did not dislike it: the Venetians shewed themselves most affectionate, all ioyntly doe malice the greatnesse of *Charles*. The Marquis at the first gaue care vnto them, but hauing discovered the whole practise to the Emperour, and growing suspect vnto the rest, hauing accepted the Lieutenantcy of Lombardy, of the Emperour, hee publickly put in execution what he had in charge, to preuent these imminent dangers, as he should thinke most fit. And first he seized vpon *Moron* (whom he made to confesse all the conspiracy, charging duke *Sforza*, as culpable and consenting to all that had passed) hee made him to reseinue vnto him Cremona, Treffe, Lecque and Pisqueton, the keyes of the Duchy of Milan, hee forced the Milanois to take the oath of fealty vnto the Emperour, and *Sforza* to shut himselfe into the castle of Milan. But when as the Marquisse had reduced him to all extremities, death takes him away before he could enioy the fruites of his malice. The duke of Bourbon did succed after him.

The Marquis  
of Pescara  
dies.

There was great like-hood, that the Emperour beeing in quiet possession of the estate of Milan, all the rest, especially the Pope (lying betwixt Lombardie, and the Realme of Naples) would remaine in prey. To preuent *Charles* his attempts (who made shew to inuest the duke of Bourbon in the Duchy of Milan, if *Sforza* were found guiltie of the crime, whereof they accused them) a league was made at Cognac, betwixt the Pope, the Kings of France, and England, the Venetians, Florentins and Suisses, for the common liberty of Italy, and the restoring of *Francis Sforza* to the Duchy of Milan, being besieged, as we haue sayd.

A league  
against the  
Emperour.

This league was signified by the King, to the Viceroy of Naples, to the duke of Traieto, and to *Alarcon*, whom the Emperour had sent, to bee fully satisfied of the Kings intent, who excusing himselfe, that hee could not performe his promise for the alienation of Bourgongne, as very preiudiciall to the crowne, hee offered to accomplish all the rest, and for the ransome of his children, to pay two Millions of crowtes. According to this treaty, the Pope sends to field eight hundred men at armes, seuen hundred light horse, and eight thousand foote, vnder the charge of *Gai* Earle of Rangon, and *John de Medicis* Colonel of the Italian foote. The Venetians sent eight hundred men at armes, a thousand light horse, and eight thousand foote, commanded by *Francis Maria* duke of Vrbin. Laude was the first object of their armes, the which by the intelligence of *Lodowike Vistarim*, a Gentleman of that towne, they surprisid from fiftene hundred Neapolitaines, whom the Marquisse of Guast, and *Anthony de Leua*, had lodged there, vnder the charge and command of *Fabrizio Maramao*.

These happy beginnings, should haue made the heads of the league to haue proceeded in their course speedily and valiantly. By the taking of Laude, the way was open euen to the gates of Milan: the enimie had no more meanes to succour Cremona, and if they had speedily aduanced towards Milan, they had found them in great perplexity and confusion: the citizens oppressed by the tyrannicall vsage of the Spaniards, breathed nothing but rebellion, but the duke of Vrbin, terrified with the very name of Spaniards, marching slowly like an Abbot, and staying a whole day in euery lodging, to attend the Suisses, without the which he thought it dangerous to approach neere Milan, by his slow and faint proceeding, he caused an irreparable losse and blemish to his owne reputation, and to his maisters. For hauing by his long delaies, giuen the duke of Bourbon leasure to enter into Milan, with eight hundred Spaniards, before the army of the league could approach, the fouldiars of Milan refused courage, charged the Artillery in the night, and so terrified the duke, as hee presently retired his army, desiring rather, said he, to repaire the forepassed error, then to persist in it, seeing they had approached so neere Milan, contrary to his opinion, where expecting no resistance, he knew that a longer abode would wholly ruine the league. He trembled for feare, at the report of the Spanish forces, and yet would make shew as though hee had to deale with men made of snow, who without striking stroke, would suffer him to reape the fruites of his pretended victory. So the duke retired to Marignan, being resolute, not to dislodge, vntill hee were fortified with twelue thousand Suisses: without doubt, a hundred thousand men cannot assure a feareful minde. It was a foule error, at the beginning of



1526. of a long and dangerous voiage. The Imperials freed from this army, repaired the Rampars and Bulwarkes of the Suburbes, disarmed the people, thrust forth such as were suspect, and lodged the souldiers in the citizens houses: Who insulting ouer their hostes, as in a towne of conquest, forced them to furnish victuals, clothes, and money, abused their wiues and daughters, compelled seruants to discouer their maisters wealth being hidden, to conclude, they practised all acts of inhumanity, which licentiousnesse doth commonly breed in this nation being a Conqueror.

The miserable estate of Milan.

Being thus oppressed, they repaire to the duke of Bourbon, being newly arriued, and with pittifull complaints, teares, and lamentations, they beseech him to ease their miseries. The duke, after he had imputed the causes of these infolencies, to the want of pay for the army, he promised to lodge them else-where, so as they would prouide thirty thousand crownes for the entertainment of one moneth, and the better to countenance his promise, he wished, *In case that euer any extortion were committed, that he might be flaine with a Harguebuse, as the first enterprise he should be at.* A praier which we shall soone see take effect. The money was gathered, but the people finding no fruits of his promise, the pittifull estate of the multitude being spoiled, nothing mollifying the cruell infolency of these barbarous souldiers, many not knowing to whom to haue recourse, cast themselves head-long from the tops of their houses, many hanged themselves, many ended broth their liues and miseries, by other horrible and strange kinds of voluntary torments.

The second siege of Milan.

The castle of Milan yeelded.

Cremona taken by the confederates.

Francis Sforza was at this instant ready to yeeld vp the castle, when as the confederates, fortified with five thousand Suisses, newly arriued, drew the duke of Vrbina a second time before Milan: but this was to make a second discouery of his indiscretion and cowardise, for being still ready to number his souldiers, possessed with a strange feare, and seeking rather meanes to flie then to fight, Sforza prest by famine, and want of courage in the duke of Vrbina, yeelded vp the castle of Milan, to the duke of Bourbon, the 24. of Iuly, and retired himselfe to the confederates, who put Laude into his hands. Then the Kings army arriued, lead by *Michell Antonie* Marquis of Saluces, consisting of foure hundred men at armes, five hundred light horse, and foure thousand Gascons, and within fewe daies after, the twelue thousand Suisses, leauied in the Kings name, encouraged the duke of Vrbina to returne towards Milan, where leaving part of his men at armes, the Popes troups, and the foresayd Suisses, he went with the Venetian foot to fortifie *Malatesta Baillon*, who with three hundred men at armes, three hundred light horse, and eight thousand foot, besieged Cremona, and so prest it, as they yeelded by composition, the which was likewise deliuered vnto Sforza.

The Colonne capitulate with the Pope.

Rome surpris- ed.

Euery one hath his turne, saith the Prouerbe: the Pope had bene the principall Author of the Kings sending the duke of Albany into the estate of Naples, and now hee solicits his confederates againe to invade the realme, supposing things could not succeed happily, if the Emperour were no where else encountred, but in the Duchy of Milan. But whilest he seeks to fire and burne his neighbours house, it fallies vpon his owne head. Ill counsell is commonly dangerous to the giuer. All these warres had bene plotted in the Councell at Rome, was it not reason he should reape what hee had sowne? The Pope vrged his confederates to send a part of their sea-forces into the Realme of Naples: which consisted of foure Gallions, and sixteene Gallies for the King, thirteene Gallies for the Venetians, and eleuen for the Pope, ouer all the which, *Peter of Nauarre* was appointed Generall at the Kings instance, notwithstanding the Popes persure in fauour of *Andrew Doris*, whom he had entertained. The Colonne vnable to resist such forces, did cunningly strike faile, and to busie the Pope vntill the Vice-roy's returne from Spaine with the army at sea, they did capitulate with him the two and twenty day of August: *To retire their troups to Naples, with the which they did molest the territories of the Church, and on the other side the Pope should remit all offences past, and reuoke the monitory which he had published against Cardinall Colonne.* This reconciliation made the Pope in a manner to dismiss all the horse and foote, which hee maintained vpon the territories of the Church against the Colonne, and to disperse the rest into townes about Rome, growing cold in his designe to invade Naples.

The Colonne cared not to wrong the Pope with the preiudice of their honour, but hauing no meanes to make open warre against him, they straine all their wits to circumuent him

A him by fraud. Fayning therefore to suppress Agnane, defended by two hundred men in the Popes name, they flie with all speed to Rome the twentieth of September, with eight hundred horse and three thousand foote, they seize vpon three gates, sacke the Popes palace, and the ornaments of Saint Peters Church. There were present in person *Africanus Colonne*, *Don Hugues de Moncade*, *Vespasian sonne to Prosper Colonne* (the mediator of the accord, and who had plighted his faith, for himselfe and the rest) Cardinall *Pompe Colonne*, to farre transported (saith the Originall) with ambition and fury, as hauing conspired to put the Pope cruelly to death, hee had resolved to force the Cardinals to make choise of himselfe, and to install him in the chaire being vacant. The Pope in the beginning grew resolute, like vnto *Boniface* the eight, when hee was surprised by *Sarre Colonne*, but in the end B conuired by the Cardinals that were about him, he retired himselfe into the castle of Saint Angelo; where *Don Hugues* hauing receiued the Popes oth, and the Cardinals, *Cibo* and *Rodolphe* his cousins, for hostages of his safety, capitulating with him in tearmes of a Conqueror, he forced the Pope to promise, *To retire the army of the league, out of the Estate of Milan, and not to giue any succours to the confederates, for foure moneths.*

Times for punishments, are noted in the Councell of Gods diuine prouidence, who ment to giue two notable stroakes with one stone, as we shall shortly see. This truce was wonderfully commodious for the Emperours affaires. Milan had bene vanquished at length: Genoua oppressed by the confederates army at sea, cryed out for bread, and the small store of victuals which came by land, did but keepe them in breath for some few daies. But behold two great effects diuerted by the comming of *George Fronsperg*, who knowing the extremity of *Gaspar* his sonne, Colonel of the Lansquenets, which were within Milan, hauing stirred the Germains, with hope to enrich themselves with the spoile of Italy: he led a good number of horse, and foureteene thousand Lansquenets, who receiuing euery man a crowne, followed him to the succour of Milan. The Marquis of Salusses, and the duke of Vrbina aduertised of these succours, abandon the siege of Milan, with an intent to cut off their victuals, and to charge them at the passage of some riuier. But the dukes accustomed delaias had giuen *Fronsperg* leisure to assure himselfe of the field, so as the league could no way annoy him, but by light skirmishes: in one of the which *Iohn de Medicis* having his thigh broken with a faucon shot, retired to Mantoua, and there died, within few daies. This death was an absolute victory to the aduerse party, for he was young, wife, and a valiant captaine. Laude and Cremona did cut off the victuals from Milan, and the duke of Bourbon being freed from the siege, hauing no more meanes to maintaine his army, after hee had by strapadoes and other tortures wrested some money from the citizens to pay his Spaniards, he left *Anthonie de Leua* in the city, and entred the territories of the Church, with an intent to possesse Placentia. To preuent him, the Marquis of Salusses (leaving the duke of Vrbina in field) put himselfe into it, so as the duke of Bourbon (seeing the towne well manned, and the Venetian army to follow him) left Placentia, and by the duke of Ferrares aduice (whom the Emperour had won vnto him) being ioyned with *Fronsperg*, he marched directly towards Rome.

E The Pope (to bee reuenged of the outrage receiued by the Colonne) called the Earle of Vaudemont, brother to the duke of Lorraine, issued from the house of Aniou (a house greatly desired by the ancient partisans thereof) to the realme of Naples. The Earle accompanied by *Rance de Cere*, with about ten thousand foote, and some horse, entering into the Realme, had taken Aquila, Salerno and many other places, chased *Don Hugues de Moncade*, and raised the siege of Freselon, which the Imperials had besieged, when as the Vice-roy of Naples required of the Pope in the Emperours name a sur-cease from armes. The Pope had no money to maintaine so long and heauie a burthen of the warre, there were greater difficulties in the enterprise of Naples then hee expected, the King did not seeme F willing to make warre out of Italy, as he had promised in the articles of their Capitulation, neither did hee furnish, besides his part of fortie thousand crownes a moneth for the common warre, the twenty thousand, which he ought euery moneth for the expedition of Naples, the French gallies were so ill furnished, both with men and munition, as they remained fruitlesse at Sauonne, not attempting any thing: the succors of the King of England were farre off, and vncertaine, the tedious, and variable proceeding of the duke of Vrbina did vex him,

Milan releued by Landsquenets.

Iohn de Medicis dies.



1527. him, the approach and threats of the Imperiall army at the gates of Rome, did amaze him: All these considerations made him conclude a truce with the Viceroy for eight moneths, whereby either party called backe his men speedily, deliuered vp the places taken, and caused the army at sea to retire. This was an other meanes to lull the Pope a sleepe a litle before his ruine.

For, threecore thousand Ducats which Pope *Clement* had giuen in regard of this truce, were not sufficient to satisfie two paies due to the duke of Bourbons Lanquenets, the Germans and Spaniards gaped greedily after the sacke of Rome, which had beene long promised them. The truce did nothing stay them, from shewing all acts of hostility, they spoyled the countries of Bolonia and Romagna, and then camped before Rome, the next day, the duke of Bourbon causing a furious assault to bee giuen, marching in the head of his troups, with a ladder in his hand, was slaine with a Harguebus shot. *Philbert* of Chalons, Prince of Orange (who marched besides him) to conceale it from the souldiars caused his body to be couered with a cloake, and following the charge hotly, he forced the suburbs and the city. The victors entring, put about foure thousand men to the sword. It is to be supposed, the slaughter had beene greater, if the death of their generall had beene knowne, they spoule friend and foe indifferently, Prelats, Temples, Monasteries and reliques. They ranfome both secular, and religious men. They sacke the Cardinals palaces (except such as had redeemed their goods, and such as were fled into their houses) with exceeding sums of money. And which is worse, many being spoiled by the Spaniards, were fleeced againe by the Lanquenets, being seasoned for the most part with *Luthers* doctrine, and by consequence passionate enemies to the sea of Rome. To conclude, Rome is subiect to all the insolencies of a conquered towne which they meane to ruine.

The Pope besieged in his castle of Saint Angelo, sent for the Vice-roy of Naples, hoping that he would make him some better composition. But comming to Rome, hee found the Imperials nothing pleased with his gouernment, who had chosen the Prince of Auranges for their generall, with whom the Pope (voide of all hope of succours) agreed the sixth day of Iune: To pay unto the army foure hundred thousand ducats, a fourth part presently, the rest as sundry termes: to remaine prisoner with thirteene Cardinals that did accompanie him, untill the first hundred and fiftie thousand were paid, and then to goe to Naples, or to Caicte, to attend how the Emperour would dispose of them. To giue in hostage for assurance of the money, the Archbishops of Siponte and Pisa, the Bishops of Pistoia and Verona, Iames Saluiati, Simon Ricafoli, and Laurence brother to the Cardinal Rodolphe: To deliuer into the Emperors hands (to hold so long as he pleased) the Castle of Saint Angelo, the forts of Ostia, Cinis-a-mecchia and Cinis-a-castellana, with the cities of Placentia, Parma and Modena. The accord being made, *Alarcon* entred the castle with three companies of Spaniards, & three of Lanquenets, lodging the Pope verie straightly and with small liberty.

This insolent and hard proceeding against the Pope, to the scandale of al Christendome, caused the Kings of France and England to make warre in Italy, at their common charge, to free the Pope, and his Cardinals beeing besieged both with warre and pestilence, and to restore him to the possessions of the Church, the King of England contributing for his part threecore thousand angels a moneth: and to confirme the league betwixt the King and the Venetians, they promised to entertaine ten thousand Swisses in common, the King furnishing the first pay, and they the second, and so consequently. The duke of Milan with the Venetians should likewise entertaine ten thousand Italians. *Odes* of Foix Earle of Lautrec was made generall of the whole army, and passed the Alpes with a leauy of fixe thousand horse, fixe thousand Lanquenets, ten thousand French and Gascons, and ten thousand Swisses. Then *Andrew Doria* was entertained by the King with eight gallies, giuing him thirty thousand crownes pay euery moneth. Before they came to open warre, the two Kings sent ioyntly to the Emperour, to demand the Popes enlargement; the restitution of the children of France, with an offer of two millions of crownes for their ranfome, the preservation of the estates and gouernments of Italy, and finally a generall peace, which the Emperour accepting, the duke of Orleance should marry with the daughter of England, but hauing refused these articles they did sweare and solemnly proclaime their league the eight day of August. The expectation of *Lautrecs* forces was great, and the confusions of the

The Duke of Bourbon slaine.

Rome sacked.

A new league against the Emperour.

1527. A the Imperiall army great, being disperfed by the plague about Rome, and so diminished as there scarce remained ten thousand men of all the Emperors forces. *Lautrec* had no sooner set footing in the marches of Lombardie, but hauing intelligence that the Earle of Lodron had sent two thousand Lanquenets to Bosco, in the territories of Alexandria, he beleagard them, battred it day and night, and the tenth day of the siege forced them to yeeld, at his discretion, who keeping the captaines prisoners, dismissed the souldiars; but upon condition that the Spaniards should return into Spaine, through France, & the Lanquenets into Germany, through Swisserland, but these were afterwards receiued into the Kings seruice, vnder the Earle of Vaudemont Colonel of the Lanquenets. This smal victory was the fore-runner of an other, of greater importance. *Andrew Doria* generall of the Kings gallies, made hot wars against the Genouois, so as no ship durst goe to sea along the riuer of Genoua, and *Cesar Frigese* aduertised by his friends that were within Genoua, of the great scarcety of victuals which did presse the Inhabitants; beeing sent by *Lautrec*, with two thousand men by land, he kept them so short, as in few daies there was neither corne nor cattail for the Inhabitants. The bellie is an importune solicitor, especially when many mouthes crie for meate. The Genouois had no more hope of helpe, but in hazarding some gallies to sea. They arme some, and send them out by chance, to seeke victuals, foure laden with corne were taken by the French gallies, foure returned fraught with corne, and one with other marchandise: and nine were gone forth of Genoua to west them, when as hauing newes of *C Frigeses* approach, they abandon their gallies, to goe to charge him. In the meane time *Andrew Doria* arriues, he compasseth in these gallies in the port of Genoua, burnes one and takes all the rest, whilst the Genouois (hauing ouerthrowne the first they encountred) chased them so farre, as they being cut off by the French betwixt the towne and them, they were all defeated, and *Gabriel* Earle of Martinengue their generall taken prisoner. This misfortune with sundry other crosses and losses of money and diuers ships, the famine hauing brought them to the last extremity, reduced the towne to the Kings obedience, whereof *Lautrec* made *Theodore Trinuice* Gouvernor.

The losse of the Lanquenets had wonderfully daunted them of Alexandria, so as although *Alberic* of Bel-ioueuze had some-what reuiued them with a supply of a thousand men, yet the rough and continuall battery of *Lautrec*, forced the Earle of Lodron to enter into composition, whereby the Lanquenets departed with their baggage, taking an oth not to carry armes against the King; nor his allies for fixe monethes. The taking hereof brought *Vigue*, with all the countrie of Lomeline and Biagras to the Kings obedience. *Anthony de Lena* had not within Milan about a hundred and fiftie horse and five thousand Lanquenets and Spaniards, beeing ready to abandon the towne (doubting to bee vnable to defend it, with so few men and so many difficulties) and to retire to Pavia. But Pavia was ill victualed; and moreouer his army could not liue there vpon extortion and spoile, as it had done at Milan. Hee therefore sends *Lodowike* of Bel-ioueuze to Pavia, with two thousand five hundred men, and resolues him selfe to defend Milan. *Lautrec* followes him, and besiegeth it on the castle side, and the Venetians on the other part: hee makes a breach, and takes the towne at the second assault, hee leaues it eight daies in spoile to the souldiars, and leads away *Bel-ioueuze* (who lately for a quarrel with *Frederick* of Bossole had forsaken the King) prisoner at Genoua. All which places according to the treaty were restored to *Francis Sforza*. Milan wauered, the confederats did sollicit the taking thereof. But it was thought good to leaue this thorne in the Venetians feet and *Sforzaes*, for beeing both freed from feare of the Emperour, who (hauing this passage stoppt, should draw no succors out off Germanie) would haue beene lesse affected to fauour the King in his enterprise of Naples. Moreouer it was a meane for the King to make a more easie treaty of peace with the Emperour, of whom (leauing the estate of Milan) hee might with more ease obtaine the liberty of his children, according to the treaty with the Emperour, by the Ambassadors of France, England and Venice. But the King desiring that *Sforza* should stil stand in need of helpe, gaue the Emperour more means to speake bigge. He was of a great spirit, and neuer daunted in aduersity. Hee protests, that neither loue nor force, shall make him to alter any of the conditions before propounded: and his proude demands make prooffe that hee had no inclynation to peace. As the Venetians and *Sforza* labored to stay the French forces in Lombardy:

H h h

fo

Genoua yeelded to the King.

Alexandria taken.

Pavia taken.

1527. so the Pope pressed them to drive the Imperiall army out of the territories of the Church. A He therefore passeth the river of Po the 18. of October, with an intent to attend the rest of the Lansquenets commanded by the Earle of Vaudemont, which were not yet arrived, to be in the Suisses place, being for the most part retired.

*Lautrec* had no sooner turned his backe, but *Anthony de Leu* came and recovered Biagras the eighteenth day of the said moneth, and prepared to passe into Lomeline to rake Vi-geue and Nouarre: but *Lautrec* aduertised of this attempt, sends backe *Peter* of Nauarre with six thousand French foote, and some men at armes, who chased the Spaniards into Milan, and settled *Sforza* in Biagras. The Lansquenets being arrived, *Lautrec* took the way to Placentia, where the duke of Ferrara (it may bee) well pleased to see the Pope, against whom B he had beene long incensed, receiue some disgrace leaving the Imperials, ioyned in league with the King, and there was concluded the marriage of *Hercules* his eldest sonne, with *René* the youngest daughter to King *Lewis* the twelfth. The Marquis of Mantoua a friend to the strongest, did likewise ioyne with the confederats.

The Emperour then foreseeing, that the inuasion of the realme of Naples by *Lautrec*, would force him to call backe his forces, which he had in the territories of the Church, hee sent his Commission to set the Pope at liberty, which done, after many treaties hee agreed, the last of October, To attempt nothing against the Emperour, neither for the estate of Milan, nor the Realme of Naples. To pay three hundred and fifty thousand ducats, that is three score thousand presently to the Lansquenets, and thirty five thousand to the Spaniards, the like somme within fifteene daies, and the rest three months after. The Pope to free himselfe from prison, fled to those remedies, which hee had before his restraint neglected, he made Cardinals for money, the most of them (saith the history) being vnworthy of so great an honor. Necessary it was, that the Court of Rome should thus bee disgraced, that they might meddle lesse in worldly affaires, and looke to their spiritual duties. The 10. of December was come, when as the Spaniards shold conduct the Pope to a place of safety, but knowing the bad affection of the Spaniards, especially of *Don Hugues de Moncade*, Vice-roy of Naples, by the death of *Launoy*, and fearing a worse condition, or some other change, he deceived his guards, and the night before (disguised like a marchant) he went secretly out of the castle, and saued himselfe in Oruieto: but his hostages paid his ranfome. A rare example to be noted in the Church, D since the time it came to that greatnesse: To see a Pope issued from one of the greatest families in Italie, fallen from so great a dignity, to loofe Rome, to bee a prisoner, and to haue all his estate possessed by the violence of Christian armes, then in few moneths, to bee restored to his seat, and by the meanes of the eldest sonne of the Church to recouer his estate, greatnesse and authority. Without doubt the Emperour, suffering himselfe to bee so much preft, for the Popes deliuey, shewed, that the Counsell of Spaine was more gouerned by ambition, then deuotion.

The Pope being at liberty, hee exhorted the confederats to draw their companies out of the territories of the Church, that by their example the Imperials might make their retreat according to promise, as in deed they did: he gaue thanks to *Lautrec* in particular, for that E hee had assisted him in his deliuerance, adding, that hee was as much bound vnto the King, and him, as if he had beene freed by his forces. But the Moore changeth not his hew. He held (saith the history) his accustomed disposition, hauing not (by his imprisonment) left his craft, and couetousnesse. As the Kings of France, and England, required him to reioyne his armes, and meanes, with them and their allies, sometimes hee fed them with hope, that hee would employ himselfe for a generall peace, and the good of all Christendome, sometimes with excuses, that wanting men, money and authority, his vnion with them would bee fruitlesse, and giue the Imperials occasion to wrong him in many respects. *Lautrec* staid at Bolonia, attending directions from the King, either of a full resolution of peace, or to proceed in his course of armes. The Emperour offered to settle *Sforza* F in his estate, and to compound with the Venetians, Florentins and other confederats. But the Emperour and the King stood vpon the point of honor, which should trust other. A point which plainly discouered the bitternesse of their spleene. The King would not be bound to draw his army out of Italy, before he had recouered his children, yet he offered to put hostages into the King of Englands hands, for performance of whatsoever he should bee bound vnto,

The Pope deliuered.

vnto, if vpon the deliuey of his children, he did not presently withdraw his army. The Emperour grew obstinate, saying that he could not trust him, who had once deceived him. The Ambassadors of France and England tooke their leaues of the Emperour, and according to their masters Commission proclaimed warre against him. The Emperour accepts it cheerefully, but to stay the Ambassadors instantly, to send them fifteene leagues from Bourgos (where then the Court of Spaine remained) to giue them a gard of shot, and halberds, and not to suffer them to conferre, or to write in any sort. Was not this to violate the law of Nations? The fire is now kindled, they dreame of nothing but warre. *Lautrec* proceeds in his course, he takes the way to Rimini, Ancona, and Recanate, chaceeth the Imperials before him into the realme of Naples, where we shall soone see the exploits of his armes.

B The King aduertised of the detention of the bishop of Tarbe, his Ambassador, who was afterwards made Cardinal of Grandmont, he committed *Nicholas Perrenot* Lord of Granuelle, the Emperours Ambassador, to the Chastelet at Paris, and staid all marchants, subjects to the Emperour. But this was not all. The Emperour had before time at Granado, when as they treated of a peace betwixt them, sayd: That hee would willingly end all controuersies with the King, by a single combat of his person against the Kings: he now deliues the same words vnto the Herald that denounceth warre vnto him, adding: that the King had basely, and treacherously broken his faith with him. The King would not haue refused it, but his Ambassador did then wrong him, in concealing this speech. It may be the Emperour had such an intent. He was a most valiant Prince, but our *Francis* did yeeld nothing vnto him in courage. He had no sooner intelligence of his challenge, but calling to- C gither, the twentie eight of March, all the Princes, all Ambassadors, with the whole Court, into the great hall of the palace at Paris, sitting in his royall seate, hee caused *Iohn Robertet*, one of his Secretaries of Estate, with a loud voice, to read a Cartell signed with his owne hand: that the Emperour, accusing the King to haue falsified his faith, had spoken vntruely, and as often as he did speake it, he did lie. To the end therefore hee should not defer the deciding of their controuersies, hee wished him to appoint the field, and hee would bring the armes, the King protesting, that if afterwards the Emperour should write, or speake any thing preiudiciall to his honour, the shame of the delay should redound vpon himselfe, seeing that the combat is the end of all writing. Without doubt, this proceeding had beene more seemely for Knights, then for such Princes; and no enterprises are commendable, but so farre forth as they agree with the dignitie of their Persons, and States.

And for that *Granuelle* refused to take vpon him this charge, the King dismissing him, did accompany him with an Herald, to present this writing vnto the Emperour: Within few daies after, *Henry* King of England, sent him the like desie, and did put away *Catherine* his wife, daughter to *Ferdinand* and *Elizabeth* Kings of Spaine, whom hee had married being widow to *Arthur* his elder brother. A diuorce which Pope *Clement* granted, vpon promise that *Henry* should, for his safety, maintaine him a gard of foure thousand foote.

In the meane time *Lautrecs* forces preuailed in the Realme of Naples, with such E applause of the people, as, whether for affection of the French, or hatred of the Spaniard, almost all the townes, sent to offer their keyes, and gates. *Peter* of Nauarre had chased the Prince of Melphie out of Aquila, and reduced all Abruzzo to the Kings obedience, the whole estate of Naples was readie to set vp the banners of France, when as the Prince of Orange hauing assembled within Troye, and thereabouts, five thousand Germaines, five thousand Spaniards, and fifteene hundred Italians; hee made *Lautrec* to vnite his forces, which were disperfed, and to turne head to the enemy, with an intent to fight with him. Hee wanted the sinews of warre, the Kings assignations failed, so as hee could not long maintaine the burthen of the warre: the aduantage of men, victuals, and the field, did inuite him, he must therefore attempt some great matter. Hee goes to field with three thousand French, whereof the Lord of Bury was Colonel, foure thousand Gascons, vnder the command of *Peter* of Nauarre, and the Lord of Candale, eight thousand Germaines commanded by the Earle of Vaudemont, three thousand Suisses vnder the charge of the Earle of Tende, with ten thousand Italians, &c. approached nere the enemy, but there was no means to draw him out of his fort. Many daies were spent in skirmishes. In one of them, three hundred

1528.

The King of France and England proclaimed warre against the Emperour.

King Francis challengeth the Emperour to the combat.

Henry King of England does the Emperour and puts away his wife.

*Lautrec* succeeds in the Realme of Naples.

1528. hundred horses coming out of their battailions, which marched after the artillerie, were A charged by *Moriae* and *Pomperant* (it is that faithfull *Achates* to the duke of Bourbon, whom the King had drawne to his seruice, and honored with a company of fifty men at armes, for the good seruice hee had done him at his taking at *Paui*, hauing freed him from some souldiars, that had inuironed him in, and not knowne him) were wholly defeated, and their ensignes, and guidons carried away.

*Lautrec* offered bataille, yet well pleased not to fight in the absence of *Horatio Baillon*, who brought thirteene ensignes of foote, whom *Iohn de Medicis* had long before trained in the exercise of armes. But behold, a heauy signe of a fatall defaster, the windes were so violent, and the skie so troubled, as all the tents in the French campe were ouerthrowne, and many men slaine. *Baillon* arriues, the enemy packs vp his baggage, stops the bels of his moyles, and marcheth through the woods directly to Naples, without sound of drumme or trumpet. It had beene a goodly thing to pursue these runawaies. The French captaines flew after them in their hearts, but *Lautrec* said. *I will haue them at my mercie, and without losse of my men.* But the wit of man is ignorant of future destinies. *Don Hugues de Moncada* and other chiefe seruants to the Emperour, did so hate the Prince of Orange, as without doubte, they had shut the gates of Naples against him, the which had giuen the French a great advantage, but the soueraigne Iudge of armes had otherwise decreed. The Prince of Orange being dislodged, *Lautrec* sent some troupes of French horse and foote with the black bands (which were those of *Baillon*) to goe before *Melfe*, which might cut off the victuals from the army lying before Naples: the Prince thereof defended it with three thousand men, who by their continuall sallies had much indamaged our troupes. They made a small breach with two Cannons, and the Gascons burning with heate, offer themselves to the assault, the blacke bands follow them, without any commandement or direction from their captaines. A volley of shot makes them retire, killes many Gascons, and some threescore of the black bands. At night they renew the battery, and make a second attempt; but with like successe, yet at length they carry it.

The next day they haue a supply of artillery, wherewith they make two great batteries. The peasants (which were in great numbers within *Melphe*) mutine for feare, they are indeed more fit to amaze, then to serue at need. The souldiars terrified with this tumult, abandon the defenses and recouer the castle, they enter the towne, spoile it, and kill of souldiars and Inhabitants fixe or seuen thousand: they take the castle by composition, and the Prince with his wife and children prisoners. *Barleta*, *Trani*, *Venouse*, *Alcoli* with all the places there abouts, except *Manfredonia*, yeeld to the victors fortune, who prepared a great masse of victuals for the seige of Naples, the Venetians troupes hauing fortified the army with about two thousand men. *Capoua*, *Acerre*, *Nola*, *Auerse* and all places there abouts, hauing voluntarily opened their gates, made the way easie for *Lautrec*, who campt before the walles of Naples, in the end of Aprill the Imperials were resolu'd, onely to defend Naples and *Caiette*. It was a great matter to haue chased the enemy out of the field, and to keepe them coopt vp, within the capitall city. But alas! what shall become of so great a multitude of men? our French must learne once more, to their cost, that all their strange enterprises attempted farre off, haue bene mournfull graues vnto them. *The issues of death belong to the eternall God.*

Melphietaken.

*Lautrec* imploies all his wits, in the siege of Naples, but who can hope for any happy successe? The city was full of men of defence, and the meanes to famish it very vn certaine: for the gallies of *Philippin*, Nephew to *Andrew Doria*, being vnable to stoppe vp the port, some ships fraught with meale stoale in: those of Venice came nor, the enemies light horse (which were many) cut off the victuals from our men, the ordinary grossenesse of the aire, the continuall raine, the discommodities of the souldiars, who for the most part lay open, filled the campe full of diseases: the Kings slow prouision, and the negligence of the Treasurers, were the cause that no money could passe the mountaines: the Venetians, of two and twenty thousand ducats which they should contribute euery moneth, did owe threescore thousand, and that little which *Lautrec* did gather of the custome of the cattaille of *Apulia*, was imploied for the defraying of his ordinarie expences. The number of the defendants was great, their experience in deeds of armes well tried, being

Naples besieged.

The discommodities of the siege.

A being nine or ten thousand old souldiars. It was therefore better to besiege, then to assaile Naples, and to prouide that they might not be releued with victuals, neither by land nor sea, *Philippin Doria* kept the gulph of *Salerne*, and the Imperials relying vpon the valour and strength of their men, conceiue a hope to ouercome him. This resolution was necessary for the Spaniards, they make choise of a thousand Spanish shot, and diuide them into fixe Gallies, foure Foists, and two Brigantines. *Don Hugues* the Vice-roy, *Gobbe* an old sea captaine, and almost all men of command, will be partakers, and to amaze *Doria* a farre off, by a shew of a greater number of ships, they make a long traine of fisher-boates, & send two gallies before, giuing them charge to retire at the enemies approach, that they might draw them into the open sea. *Doria* aduertised of the Imperials counsell by faithful spies, makes three of his gallies to disperse themselves, as if they fled, to the end that turning, they might (through fauour of the winde) charge them in flanke and in poupe: and followed with five gallies, he marcheth towards the enemy. The greatest stratagems consist in expedition: the first blow is worth two. The Spaniards presumed, that compassing in *Doria*, with the smoake of their Canon to take from him his sight and marke. *Doria* preuents them, and for the first check, hee carries away with one Canon-shot, forty men out of the Admirall, amongst the which was the captaine and many officers: the other peeces fitly discharged, doe likewise disorder them. On the other side, the gallic of *Don Hugues* discharging her Canon, killes the captaine of *Dorias* galley, and hurts the maister, with some others. The approaches are made, and a furious charge is giuen with their shot and other armes. These two fight with great courage; three other Imperials presse two Genouoises, and seemed to haue the better, after the death of many men of either side, when as the other three which made shew to flie (hauing gotten into the open sea) they turne the prow against the enemy, beate in peeces the Admirall, and an other called *Gobbe*, take their foists, sinke some, burne others, kill their men, breake their armes, and fighting hand to hand, and foote to foote, in the end they get both the aduantage of the combate, and the honour of the victory.

1528.

A brau stratagem of Philippin Doria.

*Don Hugues de Moncada* Vice-roy of Naples, *Fieramosque*, with many other Gentlemen and Captaines, and aboute a thousand men, were slaine and remained as a prey for the fish. Two Spanish foists sore battered recouered Naples with great difficulty: the Prince of Orange caused the maister of one of them to bee hanged, the other went and yeelded to *Philippin Doria*. The Marquis of *Guaft*, *Ascanius* and *Camillo Colonne*, the Prince of *Salerne*, *Saint Croix*, *le Riz*, *Gobbe*, *Serenon*, with a great number of chiefe men, were taken prisoners. These are goodly beginnings in so famous a siege, which fill the French with great hopes of a happy successe, and the Imperials with a strange amazement. They see the flower of their men buried in the waues, they haue lost the command of the sea, and are blockt vp so neere at land, as they haue no meanes to bee releued with victuals, they haue no meale but by their hand-mills, no money for their souldiars, the plague did daily diminish their numbers. *Staby*, *Saint Germaine*, *Fondy*, and all the country about, yeelds to the conquest: the Prince of *Melfe* ioynes to that party, the people of *Calabria* seeme very willing to come vnder their command; but the point of a totall victory consisted either in the conquest or the defence of Naples. Our men were much annoyed for fresh-water, diseases increased, the which did greatly wast the army, the enemy being stronger in light horse, did cut off their prouisions by their daily sallies.

A victory at sea gotten by Philippin Doria.

*Lautrec* without doubt a great captaine, but absolute in his opinions, left most of his horsemen disperfed at *Capoua*, *Auerse* and *Nola*, so as the black-bands hauing no horse to second them, came often with disaduantage from their skirmishes. The report was, that they prepared an armie for the sea at *Marfeilles*, but it was onely in imagination. The Venetians more carefull of their priuate interest, then of the generall good, fitted themselves of those places which should bee their portion of the conquest. The Pope had no other defeigne, but to recouer the authority which his house was wont to enioy at *Florence*. Thus there appeared many difficulties on either side, yet such as there was an expectation of victory for the French: for in the end there arriues two and twenty Venetian gallies in the gulph of Naples, the tenth of Iune, which depriued the besieged of all commodities at sea, & threatned them with a general famine. But see what caused the total ruine of our French.

1528. The Emperour in the midst of a losse, makes a great gaine. We do commonly sinke vnder our owne burthens, and are the cause of our owne miseries. The infidelity of the Genouois is herein detestable: but we may obserue a goodly lesson for Princes, to endure much of a rude seruant, when hee is profitable vnto them, and that they must neuer hope to recouer him, when he is chased away or lost. *Lautrec* aduertised of the fore-said victory, commanded they should send the prisoners into France, *Philippin* puts them into two gallies, with that intent. But the bootie was too good, and might easily draw a Genouois soule to dispencc with his faith. As they passed by Genoua, *Andrew Doria* staied them, couering his secret descignes with this pretext; That the King had not satisfied him for the ranfome of the Prince of Orange, and other prisoners, which hee had taken at Porte-fin during the siege of *g* Pauia (the which had beene set at liberty, a peace being concluded at Madril with the Emperour) neither yet for the entertainment of his gallies, without the which hee could no longer maintaine them. That if it pleased his Maiesty to doe him right, and yeeld vnto the Genouois their accustomed commands ouer Sauone (the King thinking to keepe Genoua in awe, had transported the traffike of marchandise, and the custome of salt to Sauonne) with their ancient liberties, and priuileges, hee would deale with the people, that for assurance of his faith, he should furnish the King with twelue gallies entertained in the which hee might place such captaines, and fouldiars, as he should thinke good, reseruing onely two gallies, for the gard of the port.

A strange and insolent course for the seruant, to prescribe a law to his master. But the losse of such a seruant was the losse of Genoua, of the Realme of Naples, and of the army which beseegeed it. But these demands of *Doria*, being found vnreasonable by the Counsell, especially by the Chancellor *du Prat*, a fower man, and of great authority, the King sent *Anthony de La Roche foucault* Lord of Barbezieux, with the office of Admiral into the East-seas, and a Comission to seize as well on his Maiesties gallies, as of those of *Andrew Doria*, yea and of his person, if hee might finde the meanes. *Andrew* aduertised of this charge, retired himselfe to his gallies, deliuered vp the Kings, left his pay, and practised by his Spanish prisoners, he followed the Emperours partie with the freedome of Genoua, vnder the Emperours protection, the subiection of Sauonne to the Genouois, a pardon for himselfe, who had beene so great a persecuter of the Spanish name, entertainment with the Emperour for twelue gallies, and threecore thousand ducats yeerely pay, with many other honourable conditions: during which treaty, his Nephew *Philippin*, not onely kept ill gard, but also priuilege releued the besieged with victuals, and in the end, retired himselfe from Naples, with all his gallies. This departure of *Philippin*, caused the Venetians (who wrought from the sea-shore vntill they met with the trench, which *Lautrec* had made betwixt the towne and Mount Saint-Martin, which the enemies had fortified) to leaue their worke, and looke to gard the sea. This was the first effect of *Doria's* retreat, to preiudice the French armie. Behold the second, whence followed the ouerthrow of their enterprises, and the losse of their infinit charges. The fifteenth day of Iulie, the Venetian gallies returne into Calabria, to prouid biscuit. So the port remayning open, the besieged received a great refreshing at such time as necessity had brought them to *Lautrec's* deuotion, who (norwithstanding the plague) resolving rather to die, then to retire one foot backe from the place, he solicited the King, to supply him with money, & men in their roomes that had died of the infection. The King sent the Prince of Nauar, brother to *Henry* King of Nauarre, but with so small a troupe (whereof the greatest part were voluntary young gentlemen, who marched onely for pleasure, and to win honour) as he was forced to send some out of the armie, to conduct him safely from Nola to the campe, and to receiue some money which hee brought. This charge was giuen to *Candalle's*, Nephew to the Marquis of Salusses, who passing in his returne before Naples, was charged by the Imperials, who issued forth in great troupes, being hurt (his men put to rout and himselfe taken prisoner and brought to Naples, and then redeemed by exchange for one of theirs that was taken in the fight, he died of his wounds. *Hugh* Earle of Pepoli was likewise exchanged for an other, and their troupes were diminished about two hundred, that were slaine and taken. A hard forerunner of a fatall checke, which within few daies shall daunt our warriors.

Now behold a pittifull Catastrophe of these two armies. The Imperials, by their daily sallies,

1528. A sallies, prouided them things necessary, and do often cut off the victuals from the French armie, take their baggage and forrage, euen at their forts, and their horses at the watering, their hopes increase with their aduantages: their Lansquenets mutine no more: euery one esteemes it a glorie to haue suffered: contrariwise, the others decay, both in force and courage, the horse dis-band some to refresh themselves, others to auoid the plague: the footmen faint, hauing no horse to second them: the plague began to cease at Naples. & increased amongst our men. The Earle of Vaudemont, *Gruffy* with many other Captaines, were already layed in their graues: the Prince of Nauarre, *Camillo Frionlee*, and almost all the men of command were sicke: and that which did most import, *Lautrec* stricken with sickness, could not redresse those things, which did hourly tend to ruine. *Renee de Cere*, whom he had sent towards Abruzzo, to make a leaue of foure thousand foote, and fixe hundred horse, found the Treasurers who payed him with their ordinary answer. *I haue not a farthing, the king hath no money in his coffers.* The enemies did so belay the wayes, as they could not go to Capoua: euery man almost was sicke in the armie, the footmen were almost wasted: *Simon Romzini*, a braue Knight, and of the French partie, had beene defeated in Calabria. Somme had beene sackt with the slaughter of a troupe of men at armes, and light horse. Most commonly there were no victuals in the campe: they wanted water, all the Cesterns beeing drie: and to heape vp their miseries, *Lautrec* dying the 15. of August, interred with him all his braue desseignes.

C The head failing, all the members faint and soone decay. Moreouer, we obserue in this Nobleman, that no man (how wise and valiant soeuer) is alwaies happie: for vertue and fortune, haue alwaies beene at hatred and mortall warre. The King did honour his funerals at our Ladies Church in Paris, with a mourning pompe fit for one of his children. The Marquis of Salusses tooke vpon him the gouernment of the armie. A man of courage, beloued and well followed by men of warre: but it decreased, and disorders increased daily.

The Earle of Sarni with a thousand Spaniards, chased three hundred foote from Sarni which were in garrison there: and followed with a greater troupe, he tooke Nola from *Valerius Vrsine*, who beeing retired into the Castell, attended two thousand men which the Marquis sent him, the which beeing charged in the plaines of Naples, were put to route. D *Fabrisio Miramoa* issued out of Naples with foure hundred men, and finding Capoua in a manner forsaken, he straight-way entred into it. So the French abandoning Pozzuole, put the garrison into Auerse, a place of great importance for the Campe.

But Capoua and Nola beeing lost, they could hardly recouer any victuals. So as the armie beeing no longer able to subsist, did rise in the night to recouer Auerse. The Imperials discover their departure, they pursue them, defeat the battaile vpon the way, being led by *Peter* of Nauarre, and the reereward commaunded by *Pomperant*, *Negrepelisse*, and *Pau*; *Camille Trinuile*; They take the Nauarrois with many other Commanders, and men of qualitie, and beseege the Marquis in Auerse: who hauing no means to defend himselfe, sent *Guy* of Rangon to parle with the Prince of Auranges, and did capitulate with him, as followeth: That he should leaue Auerse with the Castell, artillerie, and munition. That as Lieutenant General to the King, he should remaine prisoner: That he should imploir his autoritie to cause both French and Venetians to yeeld vnto the Emperour all the Realme of Naples: That the men of warre should yeeld and deliuer vp their ensignes, guidones, banderolles, armes, horses and baggage, but such as had command might euery one carry away a horse, or a moyle, at their choyce: That the strangers should not beare armes against the Emperour for sixe moneths. So all the companies were defeated, all the Captaines dead, taken or fled: and this accord was a conclusion or scale of the miserie of the French in the Realme of Naples, and a confirmation of the Spaniards greatnesse in Italy.

Things hauing succeeded after this manner, the Marquis was carried sicke in a Litter to Naples, where within few dayes after he died. During the sege and after, there died the Earls of *Lautrec* & *Vaudemont*, *Charles* Prince of Nauarre, *Candalle's*, the Barons of *Grandmont*, *Buzançois*, *de Conty*, the L. of *Tournon* and his brother, *Claude* of *Estampes* L. of *la Ferte Nabert*, *la Val* a *Daulphinois*, *Gruffy*, *Morlac*, *d'O*, *Pomperant*, *Montdragon*, *Louppé*, *Cornillon*, *Grutture*, *Maumourri*; the elder *Iarnac*, *Boninet*, *Hugh* Earle of *Pepoli*, Count *Walse*, with so great a number of others, as of so many men at arms there remained not a hundred and

Result of  
*Andrew Doria*

Of *Philippin*  
his nephew.

The great  
constancy of  
*Lautrec*.

The sege of  
Naples raised



1528. and of so many thousand of foote, there hardly escaped foure thousand : but let vs see the A  
successe of our forces in the estate of Milan.

The Duke of Brunswike, hauing passed the riuer of Adice the 10. of May, with ten thousand Lansquenets, and fixe hundred horse well armed, hee marched to the succour of Naples. And the King, to crosse his desseignes, opposed the Earle of Saint Paul, brother to the Duke of Vendosme, with fixe hundred men at armes, fixe hundred light horse, vnder the commaund and gouernment of *Boissy*: fixe thousand foot led by *Lorges*, and three thousand Lansquenets by *Monteian*. The Earle had commandement from the King, to follow this Germaine Duke at the heeles, if he directed his course to Naples, and to engage him betwixt the two armies: but necessarie prouisions for his troupes causing the Earle to make a fruitlesse stay at Ast, gaue the Duke libertie to take by composition Pescara, Rivolte, Lunate and almost all the other places vpon the Lake of Garde. This little successe drew him to the seige of Laude, but in vaine; the valour of the besieged, the plague among the besiegers, the policie of *Anthony de Leua* (who would haue no companions of the bootie, nor so great forces as might prescribe him a law in his gouernement) tooke from them all hope to recouer any money, considering the pouertie of Milan, and the difficultie of victuals, whereof there was great want in Lombardie: the Lansquenets mutining returned home in disorder, the thirteenth of Iuly.

The Earle being thus freed from this thorne, and ioyned with the Dukes of Vrbino and Milan, recouered what the Imperials had seized on, and all that they held betwixt Po and the riuer of Tefin vnto Pavia, which then obeyed the Emperour: for after the passage of *Lantrec* to Naples, *Anthony de Leua* aduertised that it was carelesly kept by *Peter* of Lungene, with foure hundred horse, and a thousand Venetian foote, and by *Hannibal Pissinard* a Cremonois with three hundred foote, he scaled it in the night, and surprized it by assault. Biagras and Arone were by the same meanes brought vnder his obedience. The confederates meaning was to assaile Milan sodenly, but a continuall raine breaks their way going to the port of Verceil, by the which they should enter, so as they change aduise and went to campe before Pavia. They battered it with twentie Cannons, and made a reasonable breach where they disputed who should haue the point of the assault, the French and the Venetians affecting this honour equally. The lot fell to the Venetians, who gaue it: but skirmishing coldly and farre off, *Lorges* moued with choller and impatiencie to see them so faintly pursue the aduantage which fortune had giuen them, thrusts himselfe betwixt them and the breach, and takes it by force, before the Venetians could approach. *Florimond* of Chailly and *Gransay* (who did second *Lorges* on either side if neede should be) were there slaine, and the ensigne which marched before them. *Peter* of Birague died, being shot in the thigh. There were slaine within about feuen hundred, almost all Lansquenets. The towne being taken, the Castle yeelded by composition.

But this victorie is crossed with a notable losse. The plague was great at Genoua, and for this reason the towne was almost desolate. *Andrew Doria* imbraceth this occasion: he approacheth neere the towne with some gallies, enters it with small resistance, ruines the Chasteler speedily, and in the end receiues it by a composition made with *Theodore Triumler*, being vnfurnished of men and money. The Genouois being restored to their libertie, raze the Chasteler, establish a new forme of gouernment, name a Councell of foure hundred Citizens, by whom all the Officers and dignities of the Cittie should be chosen: they abrogate the law, whereby all Gentlemen were excluded (a good expedient to banish all partialities) they relerue in their important affaires, the preheminence which *Andrew Doria* had deserued in recompence of the libertie which hee had purchased for them, who (neither meddling with the election of their Duke, nor any other magistrates, neither yet with the gouernement of the treasor) made his authoritie lesse hatefull, and this new policie more pleasing. Afterwards they tooke Sauonne, and the better to hold it in subiection, they ruined the fort, and filled vp the hauen with stones.

The Earle of Saint Paul, relying on the word of some Citizens, who promised to giue him meanes to surprize the Town, parted with speed out of the Duchy of Milan, with three thousand foot and some horse to second them: but hauing no prouision of victuals, but for foure and twenty houres, and no artilerie with them, all turned to smoake, and he retired to Alexandria,

A Alexandria, to winter the rest of his troupes, his Lansquenets being already retired, and the French halfe diminished of their numbers for want of pay. The spring being come, the Earle of Saint Paul goes to field with those small troupes he could gather together: he takes Mortare, a strong towne well flanked and with double ditches full of water: Nouarre abandoned by *Conte Philippin Tormiel*, Vigeue and almost all other places on this side the riuer of Tefin: yet all this was nothing, seeing the towne and castle of Milan, with other chiefe places were in the Emperours power. The Dukes of Vrbino and Milan aduertised, that the French armie kept the field, came and ioyned with them at Marignan: yet all these armies united were not sufficient to assaile Milan, the Venetians hauing not the moitie of twelue thousand men, which they should entertaine by the articles of the League. Moreover, *Anthony de Leua* was newly releued with three thousand Spaniards, which came from Naples: They resolute therefore, that (to cut off the victuals from the Imperials) the French should march to Biagras, the Venetians to Cassan, and *Sforza* to Pavia: but the Earle of Saint Paul did wonderfully affect the enterprize of Genoua. *Andrew Doria* departed the 8. of Iune with his gallies, to guard the Emperour who passed into Italy. This absence put the Earle in good hope, that *Cesar Fregeze* (to whom the King had promised the gouernement of Genoua) would make the towne reuolt with some few foote.

This was to take a mightie Wolfe by the eares, which will bite them shrewdly that thinke to lay hold. They had behind them too vigilant an enimie. According to this desseigne, the Earle in stead of Biagras arriues at Landriane, the twentieth of Iune: but in the night a great raine doth so swell the riuer, as he had no meanes to passe his artilerie. *Anthony de Leua* aduertised of the Earles stay, parts from Milan, ouertakes the Earle (who was busie in pulling downe an old house, to haue some peeces of Timber, to put vnder the carriage of a peece, that was myred) and chargeth him before he had in a manner discovered him. At the first the Earle forceth the Spanish shot to retire into the battalion of their Germaines, and the French Lansquenets had repulsed those that had passed a little riuer, which diuided the two armies: but pursuing and following them to the banke, they were greatly annoyed by them that were opposite on the other side. *Guy* Earle of Rangon, had in the morning taken the way to Pavia with the foreward, so as he had no notice of the fight, until it was past time to succour them. *John Thomas* of Galere and the Castellain of Laude, Colonells of Italian foote were already well aduanced: and leauing them engaged that were desirous to fight, they retire on the one side and saue themselves likewise in Pavia. *John Ierojme* of Castillon and *Claude* of Rangon, Commanders ouer two thousand Italians, performed wonders. But the Imperial horsemen, hauing passed the riuer with a great battalion of Germaines, our Italians turne their backs, our Lansquenets yeeld to their countermen, the Earle and *Annebault* with those few horsemen which remained, made the retreat, alwaies turning their faces to the enimie, until they were stayed by a brooke, which the Earle was not able to passe, through the weaknesse of his horse: whereas hee and almost all that followed him were put to the sword, or taken prisoners, except *Annebault* and some few Lances, which leaped ouer the ditch: the footmen were all defeated, the artilerie lost, and the baggage taken.

After all these stormes and confusions: after so many fatal sweats caused by the waight of their arms: was it not now time to take breath? The Alpes and high-pointed Pyreneé mountaines, bee they not sufficient barres to restraine vs within our bounds, and to be contented to enioy and defend that which belongs vnto vs? was not so much blood spilt sufficient to make all Italy drunke? Such pittifull spectacles of French mens bones, wherewith the plaines of the estates of Milan and Naples were made white, had they not force and vertue to take from vs all future desire to beare armes in such mortall conquests? Without doubt they had reason to make this complaint with the auncient Church: *All our enemies haue opened their mouths vpon vs, they haue hissed, gnashed their teeth and said: we haue confounded them, this is the day which we expected: we haue found it, we haue scene it.* And with the like repentance to crie. *Remember O Lord what hath chanced vnto vs, behold and see their reproches. Turne vs vnto thee O Lord, and we shall be turned.* Behold now the pitiful relickes of our Frenchmen, hatefull to strangers, scorned of all the world, beaten on all sides, returning home with their shirts tyed vpon their shoulders, who hauing scarce breathed foure yeares, we shall see

A brame aft of  
*Lorges* which  
caused

The taking of  
Pavia.

Enterprize v.  
pon Genoua.

1529. see againe fall to armes. This vnfortunate successe of our men, hauing caused armes to cease in a manner throughout all Italy, the Emperour and Pope both beeing bare of mony, treated of some articles of peace. The Emperour had no inclination thereunto: yet hee could not graunt it in a season more beneficiall for himselfe. The King sought it: two notable afflictions drew him thereunto, the imprisonment of his children, and the ruine of so many armies, with the wasting of his treasor. But one especiall consideration did moue him. If the confederats had discouered his intent, they might haue preuented him, and by their agreement with the Emperour excluded him from a League with any of them: and by consequence haue brought him to that point, as he should haue bene forced to accept far lesse tolerable conditions of peace. *Louise* the Kings mother, and *Marguerite*, Aunt vnto the Emperour by the fathers side, did treat it at Cambray, furnished with authoritie and Councell from both their Maiesties, where finally they concluded: "That the king should pay 2. millions of Crownes for the enlargement of his children: that is, 12. hundred thousand crowns, when as the said children should be in France and at libertie: Hee should deliuer the lands which *Mary* of Luxemburg, mother to the Duke of Vendosme had in Flanders, Arthois, Brabant and Hainault, and those which the Duke of Montpensier, cousin-germaine to the said Duke, did possesse in the said Countries, for 4. hundred thousand crownes to be redeemed within a certaine time: and for the other foure hundred thousand remaining, he should acquite the Emperour off so much to the King of England, which he had lent vnto him, and fiftie thousand more which the Emperour did owe vnto the English, for the indemnitie of the marriage betwixt the Emperour and *Mary*, daughter to the said King of England, whom he had left, to marrie with the daughter of Portugall. Moreouer, he should vngage the Flower-de-luce of gold, enriched with pretious stones, and a peece of the crosse which *Philip* the Emperours father had ingaged to the King of Englands father for fiftie thousand Crownes. That the King should renounce the Soueraignie of Flanders and Arthois. That he should marrie with *Eleonor* the Emperors sister: and if they had a sonne, he should haue the Duchie of Bourgoigne. That he should restore whatsoeuer he possessed in the Duchie of Milan, and the Realme of Naples. That he should disanull the Duke of Bourbons processse, restore him to his honour, and his children to their inheritance, and generally all others that had bene spoiled by reason of the warres. These Articles thus concluded, were read and published in the great Church of Cambray the fift day of August. But could the King renounce such pretensions, seeing they were inheritances purchased to the Infants of France by the succession of *Claude* their mother, daughter to *Lewis* the 12. Duke of Orleans, of whom depended the said succession of Milan?

This treatie did greatly moue the confederates, for that they were not acquainted with it, especially the King of England: notwithstanding his secret desseignes made him to temper his choler. He meant to put away *Catherine* his wife, Aunt to the Emperor, and daughter to *Ferdinand* King of Spaine, saying, As it was true, that she had bene before married to his eldest brother, wherewith the Pope could not dispence, belonging to the law of God: which conclusion he obtained by the means of the Lord of Langey, in the Vniuersities of Paris, Pavia, Padoua, Bologna and others. The Emperour and his Ministers crost him in this desire. This quarrell had neede of a strong support. To make vse of the Kings fauour at need, he lent him the said summe of foure hundred thousand Crownes, to be payed in foure yeares: he forgaue him fiftie thousand Crownes, and gaue the Flower-de-luce to his god-sonne *Henry* Duke of Orleans.

The tenth of May was come, when as the Deputies should meete at Bayonne, for the exchange of the Infants of France, with the payment of their ranfome. *Monsmorency*, Lord Steward and Marshall of France, came for the King; for the Emperour came *Velsques* Constable of Castille: the Crownes are told and put to the prooffe: but beeing found somewhat altered by the aduice of the Chancellor *du Prat*, who thought to make it a benefit to the King, forty thousand Crownes more payed the interest of the whole summe. There were about foure moneths spent in the tryall of these Crownes: and in the beginning of Iuly, the Daulphin of Fraunce and the Duke of Orleans came to the riuer which runnes by the walles of Fontarbie, and diuides France from Biscay. A great boate was fastened in the middelt of the streame, with anchors and cables, that the sea which flowes twice a day,

A a day, raising the boate to the height of the water, might serue as a bridge: and ouerthwart this great boate, they made a barre, to the end that the boate which carried the Infants of France, and that which brought the money for their ranfome, beeing fastened on either side the great boate, the Frenchmen should passe into that where the Infants were, and the Spaniards where the ranfome was. Thus it was performed, and they came accompanied with Queene *Eleonor*, to meete the King: their father betwixt Roquhart of Marfan, and *Caprieux*, in a little Abbey of Nunnies, where the King and Queene were married an houre before day. Then taking their way by Bourdeaux, Cognar, Amboise and Blois, they came to S. *Germane* in Lay, attending the preparatiues for the Queenes coronation at S. *Denis*, and her entrie into Paris.

B The Emperour beeing thus assured of the King, who above all others might troffe his desseignes, he is now resolved to be crowned. To this effect, he must winne the Pope (for he must receiue the Crowne from him:) and the Pope who desired some notable reuenge of the Florentines, for the iniurie they had done him during his captiuitie vnder the Imperials (they had spoiled all the goods belonging to the *Medicis*, and chased them and their adherents out of the estate of Florence) was easily drawne to the Emperours will; yea with such extraordinarie priuiledges, as the Emperour fitting himselfe to the Popes passions, settled the foundation of that admirable greatnesse, which his house doth at this present ioy in Italy. The Pope hauing granted the Crowne to the Emperour, which he could neuer obtaine of his predecessor *Iulius*: vpon condition, that for recompence thereof, he should succour him with an armie, to restore them of his name to their auncient authoritie within Florence, he imbarques at Barcellona, lands at Genoua, passeth to Placentia, and at the Popes request, restores *Francis Sforza* to the Duchie of Milan: but he reserves in his owne power the Castles of Milan and Cremona: he marieth the said *Sforza* with his neece, daughter to the King of Denmarke, a prisoner, and dispossessed of his realme: and on S. *Matthias* day (so famous for his natiuitie, and the taking of the King before Pavia) hee receiued the ornaments of the Imperiall dignitie from the Pope.

One scruple with-held the Emperour from resolving against the Florentines. The Turke besieged Vienna in Austria, with two hundred and fife and twentie thousand fighting men: but the valour of *Philip* Count Palatine, the Earles of Solme and Rokendolf, and the succours brought by *Ferdinand* Arch-duke of Austria, and King of Hongarie, hauing forced the Infidels to take their way to Constantinople, with shame and losse, the Emperour gaue the charge of this warre to the Prince of Auranges, who ioyning with *Don Ferdinand* of Gonzagua, and the Marquis of Guast, takes from the Florentines, Cortone, Arezzo, Lastre, Pistoia, Prato, Volterra, Empoli, camps before Florence, and reduceth the Cittizens to extremitie: but as he marched to encounter some forces that came to succour the besieged, meaning to winne the horse, or to loose the saddle: he was slaine in the charge beeing in the head of his troupes, performing (saith the Originall) rather the office of a man at armes, then of a Generall.

E The succours notwithstanding defeated, the Florentines (after a long and painefull siege of eleuen moneths) fell in the end into the Popes power: who by many and sundrie punishments of death and banishment, did so weaken the Cittie, as in the end (the power of the *Medicis* beeing more free) they haue settled the Soueraignie in their family. The Duke of Ferrara had in time purchased fauour with the Emperour: and happie was he, for without it they would haue clipt his wings shorter. Wherewith the Pope was so greatly mouued, as he would not ratifie the sentence, by the which the Emperour had condemned the Ferrarois in an hundred thousand Crownes to the Pope: neither would he accept the money, nor the rent, which according to the auncient custome, the said Duke caused to be offered vnto him, at the feast of Saint *Peter* following: and euen then beganne to studie how he might secretly oppresse the Duke by ambushes, or find some matter or occasion to wrong him openly, with the ayde of great Princes. But he did not fore-see, that death would soone cut off the thred of his life, and interre with him the issue of his desseignes. The present estate of things promised in shew a generall peace betwixt these two great Princes, but their minds had other impressions: That of our *Francis*, with a wonderfull desire to be reuenged for the rigorous conditions of the treatie of Cambray, beeing forced to renounce the

The Prince of  
Auranges  
slaine.

1531. the Soueraignties of Flanders and Arthois, auncient members of the Crowne of France, A and to quit his rights to the estates of Milan and Naples, the which had wonderfully discontented him. That of Charles, who feared lest the King or his successors should draw those Provinces within the bounds of the Realme, and by the recoverie of the Duchie of Milan, molest him continually in the possession of Naples and Sicily. To exclude the King from all hope, the Emperour thought best to restore Sforza to the estate of Milan, that hee might rule him at his will and pleasure: and for a time giue good contentment to the Potentates and Common-weales of Italy, to sequester them from the alliance of France, and make them enter into a defensiu League for the said Sforza: the first motion or occasion, which within few yeares shall transport our armes beyond the mountaines. There were diuers others which toucht as neere. Sauoy lyes upon the way or passage from France to Lombardie: therefore to lay a strong barre before the King, if he should reuiue his auncient quarrels and pretensions, the Emperour sold to Charles Duke of Sauoy, the Countie of Ast with the appertinances, beeing the auncient patrimonie of the house of Orleance, to tye him to his command, and to draw him to this League, as hauing now a priuate interest in the warres of Lombardie. Moreouer, he employed the mediation of the said Duke, to withdraw the Swisses and Grisons from the Kings friendship to his. These were new motives of new troubles, and for one enemy, he had two: they al had priue perswaders, who desirous of new broyles, anchored the hope of their priuate affaires, vpon the generall troubles of Christendome.

Causes of the Kings discontent.

A scarre scratched too hard, breakes forth easily: a noble courage wronged, doth with like facilitie feelee an outrage. Here we obserue a publike preiudice done to the Crowne, and a priuate contempt to the Kings person. A notable wrong, cutting off from the Soueraignie two rich neighbour Provinces. A contempt, for that we see Sforza issued from a meane stocke, and the sonne of a bastard, (oftentimes termed by the Emperours owne mouth, a traytor and periured) preferred before the King, brother-in-law to the said Emperour, and his Maiesties children, whom no iust title, but onely force of armes could exclude. Let vs adde hereunto a third sting, sufficient to animate any generous mind: vnder a colour pretended, that they sought to steale the Infants of France secretly out of prison, the Emperour had put most of their Officers into the Gallies: and although hee had beene often summoned by the King, by vertue of the treatie of Cambrai, yet would he neuer enlarge them. Let the iudicious Reader iudge, which of these two did first infringe the Articles of the said Treatie.

But the vlcers of precedent warres, beeing not yet well cured, and the King calling to mind the calamities to come, they dissuaded him from taking armes. It was better to trie a friendly course, and seeke to recover his owne by money, rather then by force. With this desseigne he sends Rabodenges to the Emperour. The Regent and Queene, assist and labour for an interview betwixt the Emperour and King. The Emperour aduertiseth the Pope, and doth assure him, that whatsoever he treats with the King, hee will conclude nothing with him to bring him into ialousie. The Pope dares not rely vpon this promise: he complains of the King, that without his priuities such practises are managed. The King excuseth himselfe, alledging, that they were not so farre forward, as it deserved to be lightly imparted to his holinesse: notwithstanding, he surceaseth the said practises, and the death of Louise the Kings mother and Regent, chancing the 22. of September, did quite dissolue them. There are other matters which shall hereafter import. The Emperour sought to force the Princes and other estates of the Empire, to receiue Ferdinand his brother for King of Romans, making them to allow of the election made of him, to the preiudice of the golden Bull, and contrarie to the ancient orders of the said Empire. A leuaine, which shall cause the ciuill warres, that hereafter shall afflict Germanie. Moreouer, these Princes pretended, that the Emperour failed in the performance of many things promised by him, touching the rights, priuiledges, and liberties of the Empire. So as John, Elector and Duke of Saxonie, John Frederick his sonne, William and Lewis Dukes of Bauaria, Philip Landgrave of Hessen, with many other Princes, make a generall league, for the fore-said causes. And now seeing the King discontented, that the Emperour had newly discovered vnto the Pope the treatie of their interview, mediated by the Ladies, and that the King had many and lawfull occasions to

1532. A to giue care to the perswasions which were made often vnto him, that the Emperour did but seeke to lull him asleepe, while that he did fortifie himselfe with men, money, and alliances: they intreate the King to enter into their association, by vertue of an auncient league obserued long before betwixt the Empire and the Crowne of France: they send him an authentically copie of their treatie, that he might know their intention was not to make any inuasion, but for the defence of the Empire, the which they did foresee, that Charles the fifth did seeke to subuert; and to make it hereditarie to his house, to the great preiudice of the neighbour Princes greatly troubled with the Emperours exceeding ambition, and iniurious outrages.

The King to giue two strokes with one stone, imparts this matter to the King of England B his perpetuall Allie: asketh his aduice and counsell, how they two together might enter into this league without breach of the treaties they had with the Emperour: and in the end, by Pommery his Ambassador, he doth capitulate: "That the King of England beeing assailed by the Emperour, he should succour him with twelue shippes well appointed and victualled, with fife hundred men at armes, French, and three thousand foote. And in like case, if the King were inuaded within his Realme, the King of England was bound to furnish him the like proportion of shipping, and with fixe thousand English men, both the one and the other to be entertained at his charge that was assailed. That either of them beeing assailed, should stay all Marchants, that were subiect to him that did assaile, that should bee found within the territories of their obedience, & deliuer them to him that was assailed, to redeeme such as had beene seized on by the aggressor, in the beginning of the war. That neither the one nor the other Prince, should hereafter treat or make alliance with any other Prince, Potentate, or Commonaltie without the consent and association of either of them."

And they treated likewise of the meanes how they might best vndertake to resist the Turk (if he did persist to inuade Christendome:) whereupon their Maiesties concluded an interview at Bologne: the 28. of October they made a new treatie: That to giue more perfect proofe of their zeale and desire to enlarge Christendome, and to summon other Princes by their example, considering that the Turke, notwithstanding his retreat, had left a good part of his forces in Hongarie, they should assemble together by their ioynt forces, an armie of fourescore thousand men, whereof there should be ten thousand horse with artillerie requisite for the said Campe. And besides this treatie, these two Kings had many causes of discontent: Our King found himselfe grievously wronged, for that the Pope and the Emperour with their partisans, had newly made a League for the defence of Italy, whereof they had declared Anthony de Lena to be Generall. The King of England had no lesse cause to complaine of the wrong, hee said the Court of Rome did him, touching the matter of his diuorce, seeking to force him, either to goe in person to Rome, or to send, with expresse deputation, men of great account that should stand to the Popes Iudgement.

An insolent proceeding in like cases, chanced among soueraigne Princes: seeing that such a businesse of that importance, and touching the conscience so neere, did will deserue, that according to the vsuall custome; they should send Iudges to the place: it beeing reasonable, that the persons should speake personally, and not by their Attorneys: and very vnreasonable, that a Soueraigne Prince, leauing the rule and gouernement of his estates, should go and plead his cause at Rome. Moreouer, he did complaine vnto the King, of the exactions of the Romane Church, vpon the Clergie and people of England, and did instantly require, that they two should send their Ambassadors ioyntly together to the Pope, to summon him to appeare at the next Council to heare of the extorsions he did vnto Princes and Christian people.

The King proponed like abuses. The Pope had dissembled with him touching certaine tithes which hee had graunted him to leaue vpon the Cleargie: and the French Church complained of him, of the vndutifull and new exactions, which vnder colour of pietie they made at Rome for the expedition of Bulls, by meanes whereof all the treasor was daily carried out of his Realme, to the preiudice of the Clergie, which grew poore: the Churches were not restored; nor the poore clothed nor fedde: their yearely rents were excessive, no equalitie in them; many Officers newly created, which were payed vpon the dispatch and expedition of Bulles, ouer and aboue the iust price which they were wont

1533. in former time to pay: the Offices which fell void, were sold to the great benefit and profit of Saint Peter, enterpayning many groomes, Chamberlaines, Protonotaries, their seruants, Gardiners and others: and for the repairing of Saint Peters Church, a great summe of money was leauied, the which they did afterwards imploy, to make warre against the King. Yet the King would neither wholly allow, nor dis-allow of the King of Englands complaints: but for that the Pope had feat him a promise, by the Cardinall of Grandmont, of an interview at Nice, or Auignon, after the Emperours returne into Spaine, he requested the King of England to attend the issue of their parle. These griefes of the French Church had bene presented vnto the King in the assembly of the Estates of the Countrie and Duchie of Brittain, with many other things, farre from that charitie which ought to be in the Church. In the said Estates it was concluded: *That Francis the Kings eldest sonne, Dauphin of Viennois, should be acknowledged Duke of Brittain: That the eldest sonne of France should hereafter carry the titles of Dauphin of Viennois, and Duke of Brittain: and the said Duchie should for euer be incorporate to the Crowne.* So the treatie made by the mariage betwixt K. Charles the 8. and Anne Duchesse of Brittain, and others following, were dis-annulled in regard of the said Duchie. As these things passed in England, William of Bellay, Lord of Langey, promised the Germaine Princes in the Kings name, That for the affection he bare to the preservation of the priuiledges, rights, and customes of the Empire: if the Emperour (with whome hee desired to obserue inuiolably the alliances and treaties he had with him) would in that case employ his forces to their oppression, he would succour them with all his power: so as neither his men nor money should not be employed to the offence of any of his confederates, namely, of the Emperour, but onely to defend the rights and priuiledges of the Empire. A great desseigne is alwayes shadowed with goodly shewes. Hereupon the Emperour came to Bolonia, to conferre againe with the Pope. The Kings of France and England, well informed of the Emperours bad disposition, and especially the English, of the Popes to him, by reason of his pretended diuorce: they sent the Cardinals of Tournon and Grandmont, the Popes seruants, that vnder color to accompanie him at this interview, they might imploy their authorities, that nothing might be done to the preiudice of their Maiesties: or at the least they should giue intelligence of their conclusions. And the said Cardinals had commission to lay open vnto the Pope, the griefes and complaints of the two Kings, and to summon him to make reparation: if not, they would take order for it. So as his Holinesse might well perceiue, that they two together were not to bee contemned: and to wish him to consider wisely, of the support and profit he might draw from these two Kings, and what disgrace otherwise in discontenting them, especially the King of England, whose cause the King did no lesse affect then his owne. For (said these two Princes) if we come to demand a generall Councell, and his Holinesse doth not grant it, or delays it, we shall take his delay for a denyall; and calling it without him, we will easily iustifie the fact with other Princes, who producing the like or greater complaints, would in the end forbid their subiects to send or carrie any money to Rome. If his Holinesse (for so did our Francis protest) will proceed by censures against me and my Realme, and that I be forced to go to Rome for an absolution, I will passe the Alpes so well accompanied, as his Holinesse shall be glad to grant it me. The scandals of Rome haue already withdrawne most part of Germany and the Cantons from the obedience of the Romaine Church. It is to be feared, that if these two mighty Kings seuer themselves for want of iustice, they shall find many adherents, and these two, together with their open and secret allies, may make such an attempt, as it will be hard to resist. That if his Holinesse be disposed to moderate things (especially towards the King of England) there is hope, that at the first interview, all may be ordered by mildnesse, before they should proceed to greater bitternesse, by a generall summons from both the Kings.

Thus the King spake vnto those Cardinals whom he sent to Rome. But we haue elsewhere obserued, that men of the Church do commonly preferre the Popes respect, before the seruice of such as employ them. These men flea the Ecce by the tayle, and in steade of following their instructions from point to point, beginning with rigour, and ending with mildnesse, they take a contrarie course. They feared (sayd they in their iustification) that his Holines holding the wolfe by the eares, pressed on the one side, sometimes with promises, sometimes with threats by the Emperour: and on the other side, in a maner despairing euer to find

The Duchie of Brittain incorporate to the Crowne.

The Kings of France and England complained of the Pope.

A find grace or fauour with the King, should in the end cast himselfe into the Emperours armes, and runne the same fortune with him. To draw him therefore to the French partie, they offer the Pope in the Kings name: To make him Iudge and Arbitrator, of such controversies and quarrels, as he had with the Genouois, the which his Maiestie pretended were not contained in his renunciation. And the better to draw him, they renewed (without any speciall commission) the proposition first made by Pope Leo, and after reuiued by Clement, of the marriage of Henry Duke of Orleans, with Katherine daughter to the Duke of Vrbino. This did greatly please Clement, who then began to hold vp his head, and resolved to strike whilst the yron was hote. This match was wonderfull honourable and beneficiall for his Holinesse, and helped much for the ratifying and support of his house, the which hee had in singular regard.

The Emperour did presently discouer, that vpon the coming of these Cardinals, the Popes affection to him was greatly altered. And vpon the first discouerie of this treatie of mariage, he employes the Lords of Cannes and Granuelle, to break it in fauor of Francis Sforza, with the said Duchesse of Vrbino, and to perswade the Pope that this practise was artificially brought in by the King, to entertaine him onely, but not with any intent to conclude it, considering the great disparitie of their degrees and qualities: and seeing these two Cardinals (said hee) had no sufficient authoritie touching this alliance, it was an euident proofe of the fraude. But by meanes of this marriage, the King thought to strengthen his house, and to get new footing in Italy: and the Pope did thereby free himselfe from the feare of a Councell, wherewith he was threatened from France, Germany, and England. While the Cardinals attend a Commission from his Maiestie, to conclude this marriage, the Emperour continued his pursuite, for the assurance and declaration of his league, comprehending the estate of Genoua. And the better to vnite it, he required his confederates, to make a taxe among them, for the pay of such Souldiers as should be fit to entertaine in Italy for the peace and quiet thereof: that the first payment should be presently consigned into the hands of a Banker of Genoua, and that the Emperour should not bee tyed to any contribution, in regard of his great charge to resist the Turkes inuasion, and to preuent the attempts of such as would trouble the common quiet of Italy, whereof there was now great

D likelihood. By the force of his perswasions, the matter was in a manner concluded. But through the liuely reasons of the French Cardinals, and the Lord of Velly, Ambassador for the King, shewing, That the Emperour had no other desseigne, but to entertaine his armie vpon the frontiers of Italy, at other mens charges, beeing readie to assayle the King vpon all occasions, without any charge to himselfe: and that without doubt the King (hauing reason to looke to his affaires,) would encounter him with another armie on the frontiers of Italy, in the Marquisate of Salusse or in Dauphiné, which would breed no quiet, but troubles and combustions throughout all Italy (for two armies beeing neere, they willingly fall to blowes) they concluded, not to make any consignment, but that euery one of the confederates, should taxe himselfe for his portion (any warre chancing in Italy) and should giue a caution for his part, the which did amount to an hundred or sixe-score thousand Crownes a moneth. So the Emperour sent three thousand men out of his armie into Spaine, as many likewise to Naples, and the rest he dismissed.

Then came authoritie from the King to the Cardinals and his Ambassadour, with an expresse clause for the confirmation of the marriage. And the Emperour seeing himselfe frustrate of his intent (to make the Pope declare himselfe openly against the King,) he embarked the 8. of Aprill at Genoua, and sayled towards Spain: the Pope went towards Rome, whether the aboue-named Cardinals did accompanie him, alwaies insisting by the Kings importunity, that the troubles of England might be pacified, before the fall of that great storme which threatned the Church.

F But the King of England wearied with the Popes dissembling & delaies (whome he then called but Bishop of Rome) vpon the matter of his diuorce, he caused it to be decided by the English Church. The Archb. of Canterbury, Primate of England, being President: where, by sentence of the said Church, his mariage was declared void, & the dispensatio void, as giuen in a case that was not dispensable, and which is not in the Popes power, nor in the churches: according to this sentence, he left his first mariage, and took to wife Anne Bullen, and in

The Cardinals meanes to win the Pope.



1533.

The first mo-  
tione of the se-  
paration of  
England from  
the Church of  
Rome.

her name did publish an ample Treatie, against the authoritie and preheminences of the Church of Rome, resolute to sequester himselfe wholly, if the Court of Rome did him not iustice. These newes beeing published, the Emperour growes in choler, threatens to raise all the world against England: takes his Aunts cause in hand, summons the Pope to admit the like iustice to her that was put away, as her cause required: if he doth it not, he protests with an oath to be reuenged. The Colledge of Cardinals stormes, they enuiour the Pope, and all with one voyce demand iustice against the attempts of the King of England, and the Arch-bishops, hauing taken knowledge of a cause, the deciding whereof belonged to Iudges deputed by his Holinesse: His Holinesse desired to temporize, and to make a more quiet end. He did foresee, that proceeding to condemnation, and hauing no meanes to execute it really, were a fruitlesse enterprise, and would make his Apostolick authoritie contemptible, hauing no meanes to put it in execution without the Emperours assistance: besides, they had a great let, which was the strict alliance of the most Christian King with the English, who ioyning their mutuall forces, offensiue and defensiue, might ingage all Christendome in more mortall warres then euer. Notwithstanding, in the end (as well to gratifie the Emperour as his Cardinals) hee pronounced his censures against the King of England, if within a certaine time he made not reparation of the said attempts. Then hee prepared for his interview with the King, notwithstanding all the crosses which the Imperials gaue him, transforming themselves into as many shapes as *Proteus*, to draw him from this resolution: all which are to be read in the Originals.

Nice had beene appointed for this effect: the Duke of Sauoy had freely offered it at the Popes request, holding himselfe happie (said he) that so holy a worke should be treated of in his countrie. And in truth it was his best course. The Pope did affect this place, that hee might by this meanes reconcile the Duke vnto the King, who for many respects (as we shal note hereafter) was discontented with him. But the Emperour forgetting nothing which he thought might serue to breake off this interview, gaue him such goodly reasons, as afterwards he let men vnderstand, that this assembly was nothing pleasing vnto him. *Marseilles* supplied the defect of Nice. Patience beeing moued (saith the Prouerbe) turnes into furie. If the King to this time had many motiues of discontent, now is he prickt to the quicke, which will soone draw him to reuenge. The vniust death of the Seigneur of *Marueilles*, who was a Gentleman of Milanois, bred vp in Court, since King *Lewis* the 12. one of the *Quiries*, and now Ambassadour for the King with *Sforza* Duke of Milan, yet secretly, hauing besides his instructions and letters of credit, a priuate letter directed to the Duke, in recommendation of some businesse for the said *Marueilles*: to the end, that if the Emperor should grow iealous of the Duke, he might by meanes of the said letters, iustifie his being there, not in qualitie of an Ambassadour, but onely for his owne priuate affaires. It chanced the first of Iuly, that *Marueilles* accompanying the Duke through the cittie, a Gentleman Milanois of the house of *Castiglion*, (hauing either by chaunce, or of purpose pickt a quarrell) demanded of one of *Marueilles* seruants, to whom he belonged: he answered, I serue the Lord of *Marueilles* of France, who is there? Nay (replied *Castiglion*) *Marueilles* of the galowes: which was a very ignominious word. Another following his Lord, takes hold of this speech, and in the end, reprocheth the Milanois, as hauing spoken ill against such a personage: the Milanois denies it: the lye is giuen on either side, and the French-man offers to maintaine it with his sword. *Castiglion* happily disdainig a man of baser qualitie then himselfe retires, two of his seruants draw their swords, but they are parted. Afterwards *Castiglion* gathers together ten or twelue Rustians, with Harguebuzes and Pertuisans: he passeth and repasseth often before *Marueilles* lodging: one euening he meetes fife or sixe of his seruants, offers them violence, but they retire: *Marueilles* complained to the Capitaine of the Iustice, and intreates him to take order, beeing loth to seeke reuenge of their wrongs, or that they should continue to wrong them.

The Capitaine makes no account thereof. *Castiglion* continues his course, and sets againe vpon *Marueilles* seruants: but the first feare had made them wise, they defend themselves, kill him, and put his followers to flight. The next day being the 4. of Iuly, the Capitaine goes in the morning, to take an Inuentorie of *Marueilles* goods, puts him into prison, and all his seruants he could find: giues the strapado to one about fourscore yeares old, being deafe

The vnworthy  
execution of  
*Marueilles*.

F

1533.

A for very age, to wrest some confession from him against his matter: he suffers not any of his friends to speake with him, or to see him: teares in peeces, disdaining to read the iustifications (which according to the custome of Milan some of his friends had presented him in writing:) and the Sunday following, after midnight, first informed of the Dukes pleasure, he cuts off his head in prison, and causeth his bodie to be cast vpon the marchants meeting-place. A horrible and insolent proceeding against so notable a person, beeing publike, sacred and inuolable! If it shall be lawfull so to violate the law of nations, what safetie shall Ambassadors find with them to whom they are sent?

The King demands satisfaction of this wrong of the Duke: he writes to the Emperour, and to all Princes and Potentates of Christendome; as hauing all a priuate interest in this publike iniurie. The Duke excuseth himselfe by *Francis Tauerne* his Chancellor, Nephew to the said *Marueilles*, who alledgeth, that the Duke his master did neuer acknowledge *Marueilles* to haue the place, nor to hold the ranke of an Ambassador: but as a priuate man, his vassall and subiect, he had suffered iustice to be done, for the murder committed on the person of one of the ordinarie Gentlemen of his house. That *Marueilles* was a man of a vicious conuersation, seditious, scandalous, a concealer of murderers and conspirators against the life of the Duke his master, who for these causes had often let him vnderstand that his stay at Milan was not pleasing vnto him.

An vnkinde Nephew (he was sonne to *Marueilles* sister) and a bad Aduocate in a badde cause. Had not *Sforza* belyed himselfe in a letter of his owne, dated the seuenth of December 1532. whereof the King had the Originall, where he did giue him to vnderstand, that his coming from the most Christian King, (to whom he was, and desired to be a most humble seruant) was very pleasing vnto him, and that for many respects, he should alwaies haue bene welcome to Milan? And could *Tauerne* be ignorant of *Marueilles* qualitie, seeing that he himselfe had procured this charge for his Vncle, beeing at Fontainebleau, and propounded this meanes of priuate recommendation to the Duke, to serue as a shadow against the Emperours iealousies? Moreouer, he knew his Vncle had letters of credit to the Duke, and his instructions signed with the Kings hand. But the hastie proceeding from Friday to Sunday following, the execution done by night and without the peoples priuie (who perchance would tumultuously haue opposed, fearing to incurre the reuenge, which without doubt the King would take) do they not plainly discouer, that the fact was not excusable, nor to be iustified?

The Emperour made answer to the Ambassador *de Velly*, that *Marueilles* had well deserved death, not beeing acknowledged for an Ambassador, but for a priuate Gentleman, subiect to the Duke, and following his owne priuate affaires, beeing nothing moued, when as *Velly* presented him the Dukes letters vnto the King for his allowance: whereby it appeared what place *Marueilles* held with the Duke. Thus seeing himselfe more assured of *Sforza*, he sent into Flanders for his Neece, the youngest daughter of *Christierne* King of Denmarke, according to the promise which had beene made him at Placentia. About this time the Pope made his entrie at *Marseilles* in great pompe, set vpon a young Ass: he was carried in a high chaire vpon two mens shoulders, followed by his Cardinals, and the Duchesse of Vrbin apart, accompanied with a great number of Ladies and Gentlemen. There was nothing readie for a Councell, which the Princes of Germanie did sollicite with great vehemencie: neither was there any intent of reformation. But expecting the oportunitie of this generall conuocation, a Bull was sent forth to stay the course of religion, which passing from Germanie into Suifferland, and from thence into France, did greatly multiply. Then the marriage betwixt the Duke of Orleans, and *Katherine de Medicis* Duchesse of Vrbin, was consummated by *Clement* the 7. her Vncle: who in the end of their parle, at the Kings request, created foure Cardinals, the Cardinall of Veneur, Bishop of Liseux, and chiefe Alimner to the King, one of those three notable houses, Chastillon, Chambre, and Giury. This done, the Pope embarked for Rome the 20. of Nouember, and the King tooke his way to Auignon. Here the King resolved in his priuie Councell vpon a request made vnto him, as well by *Christopher*, son to the Duke of Wirtemberg, both in his owne name, and his fathers, spoiled of their estates seuentene yeares since, by the Emperour *Charles*, and *Ferdinand* his brother: as also by *Lewis* and *William* Dukes of Bauaria his Vncles. The mother of

An enuie  
betwixt the  
Pope & King.

1533. Christopher, was daughter of a sister to Maximilian, Grand-father to the said Emperour, and King of Romaines, and the consummation of the marriage of Eleonor their sister with his Maiestie, gaue the father and the sonne hope, that the King in fauour of this alliance, interposing his authoritie for them that were spoiled, should either procure restitution of *Ferdinand* for these Dukes, or refusing Iustice, to purchase him the hatred of all Germany, which in the end might by open force dispossesse him of the Duchie of Wirtemberg, and of the name of King of Romaines. The King did greatly desire to see these Dukes restored to their estates, and to that end would willingly haue opened his purse, to weaken the Emperours and his brothers forces, and by the same meanes, to confirme the amities which he had purchased in Germanie, and to procure new, requiting the Emperour, who sought by all meanes to take from the King his ancient alliances. But he sought to colour the protection of these afflicted Princes in such sort, as no man might iustly challenge him to haue broken the treatie of Cambray. He therefore sent the Lord of Langey, with commission to do for these Dukes whatsoever were in his power, not directly contradicting the conuentions: and to conclude, the consignation of an hundred thousand Crownes, into the hands of the Dukes of Bauaria, with a sufficient bond to his Maiestie: reseruing notwithstanding this clause, *That his money should not be employed to the inuasion of any one, but onely for the defence of the ancient customes and priuiledges of the Empire.* The publike and priuate perswasions of Langey, were of such efficacie, as that ancient and great League of Sueue (which had continued three-score and ten yeares, to the benefit of the house of Austria) was dissolved. But for that the re-intigration of these Dukes, could not be made but by armes, they couered it with this expedient. *That the Duke of Wirtemberg should sell the Countie of Montbeliard (whereof he was Lord) vnto the King, for sixe-score thousand Crownes, upon condition that he might redeeme it: which money he might employ to his use, either in peace or war, without any breach on the Kings part, to the articles of Cambray.* So the Landgrame of Hessen, chief of this present League, and the Dukes of Bauaria and Wirtemberg, with their allies, went suddenly to field with an armie, before the Emperour or his brother could crosse their attempts, restoring them that were spoiled, to the possession of their Duchie: and soone after they repaid the Kings money, within thirty or forty thousand Crownes, for the which the Dukes of Bauaria were answerable: and the Countie of Montbeliard was restored vnto the. Let vs now see what Catastrophe the Popes rash censure, given against Henry King of England, shall cause. Henry was wonderfully incensed against the Apostolicke See, by reason of the iniustice (he said) was done him; in that they had refused to send him Commissioners to take knowledge of his cause, and of the contempt done to his authoritie, in that they would disdainfully force him to abandon his Realm, and appeare personally at Rome. Notwithstanding, by the perswasions of John du Bellay, Bishop of Paris, (whom the King had sent vnto him, presently after his interview with the Pope) hee granted, that in case the Pope would surcease from the said sentence, vntill he had sent Iudges to be heard, that he would likewise surcease from his intention, to withdraw himselfe wholly from the obedience of Rome. The Bishop offers himselfe to go to Rome to that end. Henry intreats him, and assures him, that hauing obtained his demand, he will giue him authority presently, to confirme what he had yeilded vnto. The matter was not yet desperate, but the Consistorie of Rome gaue so short a time to haue an answer from the King of England, as the Poste came short two dayes at his returne. The terme expired, they proceed hastily to the confirmation of the curses and censures, notwithstanding the Bishops instance, to obtaine sixe dayes delay, seeing the King of England had wauered sixe yeares before he fell. Two dayes were scarce past, after the prefixed time, but the Poste arriuing with authority and declarations fro England, the which did greatly amaze those hastic Cardinals, who afterwards could find no meanes to amend that which they had marred. The matter (saith the Original) was so hastied, as that which could not be finished in three Consistories, was done in one. This indignitie done to the King of England, and the small respect they had to his Maiestie, caused both him and his Realme to shake off the yoke of the Romane obedience, declaring himselfe immediately vnder God, supreme head of the Church of England.

In the mean time, the King not able to get by Iustice, a reparation of the vnworthy death of his Ambassadour at Milan, hee studied to haue his reuenge by armes. To this end following

Estate of England.

A following the example of the Romans, hee erected in euery Prouince of his realme, a Legion of sixe thousand foote, vnder the command of sixe Gentlemen, who for euery thousand should haue two Lieutenants, and vnder euery ensigne five hundred men, who in time of peace, should once a yeere make a generall muster, and the captaines should know their names and surnames, with the dwellings of euery one, to haue them ready at all commands. Then hee sent William Earle of Furstemberg, into Germany, to make a leaue of twenty ensignes of Landsquenets, and demanded passage of the duke of Sauoy, through his countie, to be reuenged of the wrong done him by the duke of Milan. The Sauoisien refused it, which caused our Francis to demand the portion of Louyse of Sauoy his mother, sister to the said duke, children to Philip duke of Sauoy. Philip had to his first wife a daughter of Bourbon, by whom he had Philibert duke of Sauoy, and Louyse the Kings mother. Then hee had to his second wife, a daughter of Ponthieure, by whom hee had Charles, who is now in question, and the Earle Geneua, afterwards duke of Nemours. Philibert was dead without children, and therefore the King challenged a good portion in the succession of Sauoy, his mother comming of the first marriage, and sole heire to the sayd Philibert. But the Kings deputies not able to draw any reason from Charles, vnto his Maiestie, hee must seeke that by force, which hee could not get by a friendly and gentle composition.

New moethes of warre in Sauoy.

The Kings first stratagem, was to bring a part of Renee de Ceres company into Geneua, to succour them against Charles, who besieged it. The second was to stirre vp to the Bernois, allies and neighbours to Geneua, who taking the towne into their protection, went to field with ten or twelue thousand men; made the duke retire, spoiled him of a good part of the lands that were vnder his obedience, chased away the bishop of Lanzauna, and ioyning it to their iurisdiction, they remaine still in possession thereof. The Emperour returned then from his victory of Tunis against Barbarossa, and seeming desirous to make a more stricter league with the King, hee offered him a pension of a hundred thousand crownes a yeere, out of the Duchie of Milan, for any one of his children, whom hee should name: hee treated the marriages of the Daulphin with the Infant of Portugall, daughter to Queene Eleonor, and of the duke of Angoulesme, with such a one as the King should well like of (it seemed that hee ment the Infant of Spaine) to the end that by these new bonds (sayd hee) in the honour and profit of the mightie conquests, which they should make vpon Greece.

All this was but cunning. The Emperour was tired, and his forces were wasted by the toiles of warre, and the great heat they had endured. And the King beeing readie with a fresh and mighty armie, threatned the Duchies of Sauoy and Milan: hee must therefore busie him with some baite, and at the least stay the exploits of his forces. The death of Francis Sforza, presents a new occasion. By this death the Emperour pretends to bee freed of that bond, and that hee might dispose of this Duchy at his pleasure. The captaines promise to hold their places of the Emperour. The Emperour giues hope, not onely to dispose of the sayd Duchie to the Kings liking, but also to conclude of a generall warre, against the Turke: in the which hee offered to impart with the King, the good or euill that should growe thereby, and of the faith and reunion of the Church, namely for the reducing of Germanie and England, to the generall beleefe of Christians, and of a generall peacetime. In the meane time hee prepared for warre, hee caused Cont Nassau to make a great leauey in Germany, and called backe Ferdinand Gonzagua into Italy, with his Spaniards which remained in Sicilia.

The Emperors disunion.

The death of Francis Sforza.

Thus all the negotiations and practises of these two great Princes, gaue sufficient signes of open warre: there wanted nothing but a iust occasion for either of them to blame his companion, and to lay vpon him the causes of the first inuasion. The Emperour required moreouer, that for the quiet of Italy, the King should desist from the action of Geneua. That excluding the duke of Orleans, from the estate and Duchie of Milan (the which the King demanded for his second sonne, according to the treaty made with the Pope at Marseilles) the duke of Angoulesme, for that hee was farthest from the crowne, should be inuested.

That

1536.

That the King should send him the sayd duke of Orleance, to assist him at the conquest of A  
Alger which hee pretended. The King desired greatly to maintaine true friendship with  
him, and to vnite it by as strong alliances as the Emperour offered, that the greatnesse of the  
one might not breed any ieaousie in the other. As for the action of Genoua, he was con-  
tent to surcease that controuersie, vntill it might be decided by good and lawfull meanes, to  
renounce for euer his pretensions to Naples, and to cause the said duke of Orleance to yeeld  
vp his quarrell to Florence and Vrbino, with such security as the Emperour should require: so  
as his second sonne might be inuested in Miland. He promised the Pope (which was *Alexan-*  
*der Farnese*, vnder the name of *Paul* the third successor of *Clement* the seuenth) summoning  
all Princes to that end, to employ his forces, to make Germany and England obey the sen-  
tence and decree of the Church, and to employ himselfe in fauour of the said Emperour, to  
the States and Princes of the Empire, that they should ioynly receiue his brother *Ferdin-*  
*and*, for the true and lawful King of Romans. He offered to succor the Emperour in his holy  
warre with a certaine number of gallies, and men entertained, promising to accompany  
him the yeere following, in the voiage of Constantinople, with all his forces.

But to exclude the duke of Orleance from the inheritance of his Ancestors, which his  
eldest brother did willingly yeeld vnto him, in fauour of his marriage, to install his youngest  
sonne, was it not to sow dissention and cause warre, betwixt them whom he desired to breed  
vp in peace and brotherly loue? And to what end did the Emperour demand the duke of Or-  
leance, but rather to hold him in manner of an hostage, then to make any shew of loue or  
trust? On the other side, to giue hope, that hee would compound with the King touching  
Milan, and to vrge this claime vehemently, that all should bee managed without the Popes  
priuity, who no doubt would seeke all meanes to crosse it (said the Emperour) if hee should  
vnderstand they had treated without imparting it vnto him, and notwithstanding to giue in-  
telligence to the Court of Rome, by *Andrew Doria*, and to assure him; that although hee  
gaue care to the Kings ministers, yet would hee not conclude any thing without the aduise  
and consent of his Holinesse: was not this a corrupt proceeding, seeking to breed a ieaousie  
and distrust betwixt the Pope and his Maiesty?

The King (weariend with these long dissimulations and delaies, without effect) sent the  
Lord of Beauuais vnto Venice, to make a new league with the Senate, and the King of Eng-  
land sent the bishop of Winchester to the same effect. The Emperour had some intelligence  
thereof, and to crosse the Kings desires, hee sent *Du Prat*, a Gentleman of his house, to  
make a new league of Lansquenets, and *Andrew Doria* to Genoua, to prepare his army by  
sea, but vnder colour of his enterprize of Alger. Who would not then iudge, but in steed of  
a confirmation of peace and loue, all things tended to open warre? Nothing could detain  
these inuincible warriors, but that the Emperour, after so great a dissipation of his forces,  
could not so sodenly repaire his armie, and the King making a scruple to bee the first assai-  
lant, would not incur the blame, to haue broken the treaty of Cambray. But without  
breach thereof, many motives of discontent, had long incensed him against the duke of Bour-  
bon. The Jewels which the duke had engaged, to borrow money for the duke of Bourbon,  
and to fauour his rebellion against the King, the letters of congratulation hee had written  
for his taking at Paulia, his purpose to withdraw the Swisses from the alliance of France, the  
purchase of the county of Ast, his refusall to lend Nice, for the enteruiew of Pope *Cle-*  
*ment* and his Maiesty, and to giue him passage against *Sforza*, the detention of his Mo-  
thers inheritance, which the King could not by any gentle meanes drawe his Vncle  
to restore.

This must be tried by the sword. The King therefore sent *Francis* of Bourbon, Earl of Saint  
Paul, who before the duke could oppose his forces, conquered all Sauoy, except Montmeli-  
an, where *Francis* of Charamont a Neapolitane commanded, who wanting victuals, and  
without hope of succors, in the end yeelded vp the place, to depart with baggage, and after-  
wards condemned by the duke, he followed the victors fortune, and in the end did good ser-  
uice to the crowne. Then the Emperour granted (by the Lord of Cannes and Granuelle) the  
Duchy of Milan to the duke of Orleance. But when the security and conditions of his in-  
stalment came to be demand, they made answer to the Ambassador *de Velly*, that it was suf-  
ficient for that time to haue granted the principall, the rest should bee treated of with *Philip*  
*Chabot*

Causes of the  
Kings dislike  
with the duke  
of Sauoy.

Conquest of  
Sauoy.

1536.

A *Chabot* Earle of Busançois, Admirall of France, who should presently arriue (they supposed  
he should first make a voiage without any forces) and that they must keepe this conclusi-  
on secret from the knowledge of his Holinesse. All this discouered plainly, that it was a  
tricke of their ordinary craft and dissembling, to lull the King a sleepe in the beginning of  
his course.

At the same instant, the King hath newes sufficient to giue him a certaine impression of  
the Emperours designs, that the Pope had bene duely aduertised by the Emperours mi-  
nisters, of all these practises, which he would haue secretly managed: that the Venetians, at  
the vrgent request of the Emperour, were entred into a defensive league for the Duchy of  
Milan, in fauour of any one he should inuest: that he offered great matters to the King of  
England, to draw him to his deuotion: that *Du Prat* passing by Milan, had deliuered spee-  
ches quite contrary to the hopes and promises which the Emperour had giuen: and that in  
Flanders he had made great preparation for warre. That the Emperour tooke vpon him the  
protection of the duke of Sauoy. And for the sixth point, the preparations made by *Andrew*  
*Doria*. It was therefore resolved, to proceed in Sauoy and farther, without breaking off (on  
his part) this negotiation with the Emperour.

To this end, the King sent (for his Lieutenant generall) the Earle of Busançois Admirall  
of France, with eight hundred Launces: whereof the seuerall cptaines were *James Galiat*,  
maister of the horse, and maister of the Ordinance of France: *Robert Steward* Marshall of  
France, *René* of Montican, *Francis* Marquisse of Salusses, *Claude* of Annebault, *Anthony*  
Lord of Montepesat, *John* of Estouteuille Lord of Villebon Prouost of Paris, *Gabriel d'Ale-*  
*gre*, *Charles Tiercelin* Lord of Roche du Maine, and *John Paul de Cere*. A thousand light  
horse, vnder the command of the Lords of Esse, Terme, Auffun and Verets of Sauoy.  
Twelve thousand of his Legionary men, that is two thousand Picards, commanded by *Mi-*  
*chel* of Brabagcon Lord of Cany, and *Anthony* of Mailly Lord of Auchy. Two thousand  
Normans, vnder their captaines *La Sale*, and Saint *Aubin* the Hermit. Two thousand  
Champanois, lead by *John d'Anglure* Lord of Iour, and by the Lord of Quinsy. A thou-  
sand of Languedoc, vnder the Knight *d'Ambres*. Foure thousand out of Daulphiné, vnder  
the Lord of Bresieux, and others. And a thousand vnder the Lord of Forges, the Kings  
ordinary Cup-bearer, of al which bands *René* of Montican was Colonel: six thousand Lanf-  
quenets, lead by *William* Earle of Furtemberg: two thousand French, nor Legionaries,  
lead by their captaines *Lartigue-Dieu*, *Blanche Anguer* and *Wartis* a Nauarrois. Two thou-  
sand Italians, vnder the command of *Marc Anthonie* of Cusan, a Gentleman Milanois, and  
a thousand vnder captaine *Christopher Guaco*, eight hundred Pioners, six hundred and foure-  
score horse for Artillery, and the charge thereof appointed to be vnder the gouernment of  
*Claude* of Coucis Lord of Bury.

Count *Philip Torniel*, and *John Iaques* of Medicis Marquis of Marignan, marched before,  
to stop the passage of Suze, but *Annebault* aduancing with the troupes of Daulphiné, pre-  
uented them with speed, chased them before him, from lodging to lodging, and at the first  
E summons, puts into the Kings hands the townes of Turin and Chiuas. *Don Laurence Ema-*  
*nuel John Iaques* de Medicis, and *John Baptista Castaldo*, camped vpon the riuier of Doaire. The  
French and Lansquenets, impatient to attend the making of a bridge, wade through the  
water cuen vnto the breasts, repulse the Imperials, and make them retire towards Vercell. A  
gallant Legionary (to whom the History ought this name) swimming through the riuier,  
brought away a boate in despite of the enemies shot, for the building of a bridge. The Ad-  
miral, to encourage the rest according to the Kings command, caused a gold-ring to bee gi-  
uen him, in view of the whole army.

The Emperour was vpon termes of his departure from Naples, to make his entry into  
Rome, when as these happy beginnings made him to renew the treaties of an accord: but  
F with such slow proceeding, as a man might easie iudge, that his onely intent was, to stay the  
King in his course, labouring to entertaine him with doubts, hopes, and delaies. In the  
meane time, hee sollicites the Pope to declare himselfe on his partie, hee assured the duke of  
Sauoy, to cause all he had lost to bee soone restored to him againe, he hastened the leauy of  
his Lansquenets, causeth his horsemen to aduance, drawes Artillery and Munition out of  
Imperiall townes, makes them to march towards Italy, protests againe to the Pope, that hee  
would

The Empe-  
rours practises  
vnder-hand.

The Kings  
army.

Beginning of  
the warres in  
Piedmont.

1536.

would neuer yeeld Milan to the King, nor suffer him to possesse one foote of land in Italy, A he solicited the Court of Rome, the Senate of Venice, and all other Potentates of Italy, to oppose against the inuesting of any stranger in the Duchy of Milan. These were vehement presumptions, to shew, that the Emperour meant not to treat but armed, which caused the King to command his Admirall to proceed in his first course, (hee had temporised by his Maiesties commandment, attending the issue of this new parle) and to march against Verceil: and if hee encountered his enemies with equality, to fight with them. There were three thousand men, to defend Verceil, and foure miles aboue, *Anthony de Leua* camped with about sixe hundred horse, and twelue thousand foote, not as Lieutenant to the Emperour, but as capitaine generall for the league of Italy, cutting off the passage to Caguin, and *Hanniball Gonsagua*, *Guy Earle* of Rangon, and some other pensioners to the King, who had brought for his seruice, fise hundred light-horse, choise-men, bred vp in the former warres, and sixe thousand foot. The Admirall therefore, to be assured of *Anthony de Leua*, demands free passage for the fore-said pensioners. *I will* (answered *Leua*) *giue them assurance, so as they come for the league of Italy.* A sufficient answer to begin the warre, whereof the King would by no means be the first author.

The Emperours entry into Rome.

During this time, the Emperour made his entrie into Rome. An entry, which by the ruine (amongst other buildings) of that ancient temple of peace, gaue the most curious occasion to iudge that his entry was not with an intent to confirme a peace, as he gaue hope by his speeches, but contrariwise, to deface all memorie thereof. His actions did afterwards confirme many in this opinion, for after *Charles* his first parle with the Pope, the bishop of Mascon and Velly, Ambassadors for France, the one to the Pope, the other to the Emperour, learned from the Popes owne mouth (who said hee would remaine a Neuter, as a common father to maintaine Iustice, and yet oppose against the obstinacy of him that would not yeeld to reason) that the Emperour would neuer condescend, to giue Milan to the duke of Orleans. This was the chiefe point, and either party growing obstinate, vpon the effect of this clause, what accord could bee expected? This holy father was little affected to the house of *Medicis*, and therefore would hardly haue bene pleased, to see a daughter of that house Duchesse of Milan. To conclude, the Emperour did submit his instalement, to the Popes liking: and the Pope did promise verbally, to yeeld vnto it, if the Emperour would consent, yet did hee freely shew, that the Emperour entertained this practise of purpose, to abuse the King, whilest that hee should fortifie himselfe with alliances, men, and money, and yet (as it were) giuing scope to both parties: *I thinke* (sayd the Pope to the French Ambassadors, replying that this condition sayling, the King their maister would neuer come to any conclusion) *that things cannot passe, without a breach, for that the Emperour neither will, nor can giue Milan, without the consent of some, who in my opinion will neuer yeeld.*

These were the Venetians, whom the Emperour did coldly intreate to like of this clause, but in effect to contradict it: and all in generall, would haue no duke of Milan, who might at any time, vnite this goodly estate to the crowne of France, for (sayd they) the duke of Angoulême being inuested in the Duchy of Milan, although hee depends on the King his father: yet marrying one of the Emperours Nieces, (he offered him the widow of *Sforza*) his wife would bee of the Emperours faction, and so matters should remaine in suspence, whereas the duke of Orleans, besides many other obstacles, must bee onely at the King his fathers deuotion: and as husband to the Niece of Pope *Leo*, and of *Clement*, would not cease to pretend an interest in the estates of Florence and Vrbin, and consequently, by new pretended quarrels, trouble the quiet of Italy.

In the end, the Emperour in a speech made to the Pope, in the presence of all the Cardinals, and many Ambassadors, as well to shew (sayd he) his good meaning, and how much he desired the peace of Christendome, as to bee cleared hereafter, before God and men, hee offered againe three conditions to the King. The first to giue the Duchie of Milan to one of his children, so as thereby hee might confirme a good and durable peace, maintayning notwithstanding that it could not bee, so long as the King continued obstinate in fauour of the duke of Orleans. The second was, to fight with the King, hand to hand with like armes, and hostages, in an Island vpon a bridge or boate, or in any other place of safety, to auoide

1536.

A auoide greater effusion of blood, being reasonable that they, by whom such great combusions did grow, should decide their quarrels in person.

A Spaniards bragge.

But vpon condition, that the victor should giue his forces to the holy Father, to maintaine the celebration of a Councell, to reduce them that were rebelled and sequestred from the Church, and to the suppression of Infidels, and the vanquished should assist the victor with all his power. Requiring moreouer, that this combat being accepted, the King should pawne the Duchie of Bourgogne, and the Emperour that of Milan, both to bee adjudged to the victor. The third was, a protestation neuer to take armes, but forced, foreseeing that the warre would be so cruell, as the victory would bee of small profit to the victor, and should but open a passage to the common enemy of our faith. And to conclude, hee added, that what he had propounded touching a peace, proceeded not from any feare, hauing neuer sought peace in losse, but could well giue it to them that were vanquished. But contrariwise, three good and iust reasons gaue him an assured hope of victory. That he was not the beginner of this warre. That the King had begun it in a season of great aduantage for the Emperour. That he found his subiects, capitaines, and souldiers so well disposed, as if the Kings were like vnto them, hee would craue mercie with his hands and feete bound. The second article of the three, and the last, being but bragges, were by the Ambassadors (as shalbe noted hereafter) concealed from the King. The Pope requested them, that without preiudice to the King, they should suppress what might incense his Maiesty, adding thereto the explication, which the Emperour himselfe did afterwards make of his words, at the request of the French Ambassadors (desirous to know if the Emperour had any meaning thereby, to charge the King to haue done any thing preiudiciall to his honour, or if his intention were to challenge him) hee publicly declared: that what hee had spoken, was but by way of aduice and proposition, as being more fit, and of lesse inconuenience, then to expose the liues of so many thousands, fighting for their quarrells, to the mercie of armes, to decide it betwixt them two, with the perill of their owne bloods: not meaning in any sort to taxe the King, whom he knew to be a great Prince both in courage and person, much lesse to defie him, and in the presence of his holinesse, without whose permission hee would not attempt such an action. So as the King answering onely to those articles whereof hee was aduertised, sayled in these.

The Emperours protestation.

The Emperour hauing thus published his protestation, tooke his leave of the Pope, who displeased in shew of the neere breach of peace, resolved bee a Neuter, not assisting either party with counsell or fauour concerning the warre. In the meane time the Admirall (hauing expresse commandment from the King, & afterwards re-iterated by *John* Cardinall of Lorraine (sent by his maiesty to the Emperour) not to attempt any thing whereby the Imperials might frame any iust complaint) had retired his army towards Saint Germaine, with an intent to assure himselfe of the towne of Yuree, and of all the valley towards the Swisses, to receiue men for the Kings seruice, if they should come to open warre, and to succor Turin when need should require.

E But hauing intelligence of that Emperours care, to increase his force, and that *Anthony de Leua* was resolved to passe into Astifan, to cut off his victuals behind, he sent *Montpelat* with two hundred men at armes, foure thousand French-foote, and eight hundred Italians, to seize vpon Fossan, Vignon, Sauillan, Cony, Mont-deuis and other townes thereabouts: And to prouide for the fortification of Turin, he sent *Stephen Colonne* with a hundred men at armes, and foure thousand foote. From words in the end they fall to blowes. The Emperour hetherto fed vs with good words, now hee discouers himselfe, and to make an open declaration of warre, he makes three ambies to assaile at one instant, the Prouinces of Picardy, Prouence and Champagne. To crosse him, the King disperfeth foureteene, or fiftene thousand of those men which he had in Piedmont, to fortifie those places, which hee held beyond the Alpes, and calls backe his Admirall, to the end the might lay all the blame of this inuasion vpon the Emperour. Considering moreouer, that the Admiral (hauing placed his garrisons) had bene too weak in field, he sent Commissions, with great sommes of money to *Charles* of Bourbon, duke of Vendosme, Gouvernour of Picardy, Grandfather to the most Christian and victorious King last deceased, and to *Claude* of Lorraine, duke of Guise, Gouvernour of Champagne, brother-in-law to the said duke, to leaue sixteene thousand

The Kings preparation for the war.



1536. fand aduenturers, to diuide them into frontier towns, & to prouide for the victualing, & fortifications therof. At Marfeils he placed *Anthony* of Rochefaucault, Lord of Barbezicuz. In Dauphiné, *John* Lord of Humieres. In Guienne, *Henry* of Albret King of Nauarre, for his Lieutenants, and gouernours in the said Prouinces. And himfelfe (refolute to oppofe against the enemy, fome fortified places vpon the frontier, to make him to confume time, men, munition, victuals and money, in the fiege and battery thereof) affembled the reft of his forces neere to his owne perfon. The Admirall retyring out of Piedmont, left *Glande* Lord of *Annebault*, to command within Turin, as the Kings Lieutenant, with a hundred men at armes, and three hundred light-horfe, led by the Lords of Auffun, *Termes* and *Effé* four thousand five hundred foote, vnder the enfeignes of the Lords of Auchy, Cany, Sale, Quincy, *Lartigue-Dieu*, *Blanche* and *Anguar*, and two thousand Italians, vnder the charge of *Marke-Anthonie* of Cufan, of all which footmen, *Charles* of Coucis, Lord of Burie, was head and Colonel generall, and the reft of the army *Francis* Marquis of Saluffes commanded.

This was to giue the pufe to keepe to the veriest thiefe, but his treachery was yet couered with a great fheue of hypocrifie. He had long determined to reuolt. Feare, and hope moued him thereunto, feare to loofe his eftate, hope, to bee fauoured by the Emperour, in the caufe he pretended to the Marquisat of Montferrat. Moreover hee was a man curious to know what was to come, and did fuperftitiously beleue Southfaiers, who had fore-told him, that the Emperour fhould this yeere difpoffeffe the King of his Realme. The first act of his treason appeared in this, that the enemy being neere, and strong, hee fayd hee had neither order nor meanes to fortifie any place in time, or to make it tenable, but that of Turin, and that to put in more men then thofe that were, were to loofe them wilfully. The fecond was, when as the Lords of Montpefat, *Roche du Maire*, *Villebon*, the Knight of Ambres, *Saint Aubin*, the Earle of Pontreme and other captaines were refolued to attend the enemy in fome place of importance, before hee came to Turin, and had concluded to put themfelves into Foffan, after they had receiued commandement to hold Foffan or Cony onely for fifteene daies, to keepe the Imperials occupied; hee difcovered this defigne to *Anthony de Leua*, aduifing him to come thither with fpeed, promifing to deliuer into his hands, both the towne and men that were in it: and in fteed of fending to Foffan the meale, a culuerin, three Canons, powder and bullets, which hee had drawne out of Cony; hee conueied thither, but one Canon, a Culuerin, five barrells of powder and fome bullets, but of an other fize, he put all the reft into his houfe at Rauch, and retyred the night following. A horrible treason: hee had bene brought vp with the King, from his infancie, well maintained during the life of the Marquis *Michel Anthonie* his brother, and honoured with the order of *Saint Michel*. And which is more, his Marquisate hauing bene adiudged vnto the King for the treason, and rebellion of *John Lewis*, the eldest of the houfe, after the deceafe of *Michel*, the King had not onely inuefted him, but alfo giuen him freely out of the conquest of Sauoy, to the number of feenteene townes; the flowre of Piedmont, amounting to more in reuenue, then the Marquisate; amongst the which *Sauillan*, *Cony*, *Foffan*, *Cauallimont*, *Mont-Deuis* and others, which hee pretended to be ancient appurtenances of the fayd Marquisate.

According to the aduice of *Francis* of Saluffes, *Anthony de Leua*, leauing at Turin (which he had beleagard) ten thousand men, to continue the fiege, came and camped before Foffan the twelfth day of Iune: makes his approches, beginnes his trenches, many of the affaylants loofe their liues, fewe of the befieged. The third day, the Canon plaies, but flowly. The Marquis affured them, that fhewing themfelves before one gate, the befieged would goe forth at an other, they goe forth indeed, but not like men that fled. The baron of *Castelpers* Lieutenant to Montpefat, led the horfe, *VVarté* the foote. The Imperiall Lanfquenets were lodged fome-what farre from blowes, and therefore their gards were but weak. *VVarté* doth charge them, and at the first giues them a great checke. *Castelpers* arriues, and re-enforceth the alarum. *Anthony de Leua* fends a good number of Spaniards, to cut off our men in their retreat, and they whom he had appointed to gard the trenches, feeing euery one runne to the alarum, would likewife haue their share in it. *Saint Petre Corfe* appointed with *Villebon* to gard the Bastion newly begunne; within the towne, perceiving the trenches

Treacheries  
of the Mar-  
quis of Saluffes.

Foffan be-  
sieged.

A gallant fal-  
lie.

A trenches vn furnifhed, iffue forth with fome Champanois and Normans, kils fiue and twenty, or thirty men, and puts the reft to flight. *Anthony de Leua* fends the reft of his men which remained, to fecond them, and himfelfe beeing old, and full of the gout, is carried forth of his lodging to faue himfelfe, they follow him; but thofe which carried him, fet him in the come, where the height of the eares couered him, from fuch as fought him. It is a rashneffe, yea in the greateft captaines, to contemne an enemy. *Anthony de Leua* building vpon the hope which the Marquis had giuen them, left the befieged a gate free, thinking they would retire to Cony. But this was a refrefhing vnto them, for of feuen wels which they had in the towne, fiue were dried vp in two daies. *Anthony* therefore perfwaded, that the befieged attended fome more honeft excuse, and colour for their retreat, hee plants foure Canons in battery, and makes a breach for twenty men in front. Foffan had no ditches, fo as the Imperials might more eafily affaile, then the French could defend the wallles. But *Anthony* would refrefue his Spaniards for fome better enterprife: they were old fouldiars, and the whole hope of this army. The Italians would not march, vnleffe they were paid, and the Germanes (who held themfelves of no leffe reputation, then the Spaniards) would not hazard themfelves alone. So the breach continues twelue daies in this fort, giuing them leifure to repaire it, and to make a trench within, and a rampar well flanked.

The time the King had appointed, was now expired: they had no wine, nor meale, but fome come, and no milles, and the Marquis had maliciously fent away the workemen they had to make any. Moreover, the King commanded them, not to hold it fo long, as very neceffity fhould force them, to accept a difhonorable composition. But it was a point of honour, for the one to demand, and for the others to giue a composition. In the end, the griefe which *Anthony de Leua* conceived, to spend the time before apaltry hens-roust, which might haue bene better imploied, and the great defire thofe within the towne had, to doe the King good feruice, in affaires of better importance, made them to enter into capitulation: whereby at the end of the moneth, they departed with their armes, and enfeignes difplayed, leauing nothing in the towne but the artillery, munition, and their great horfes, which were about 16 handfuls and foure fingers high, except twelue, at the choife of the captaines, and came to refrefh, and to horfe themfelves a new at Marfeilles, honoured by the King, with three moneths pay, besides that which was due. But the enemy had fmall profit by their horfes, for they had filled them before with new come, fo as when they came to water them, moft of them burft with drinking.

Let vs here obferue fome other Spanifh brags, but boldly incountred by a French liberty of fpeech. Eight daies after the capitulation was figned, the Emperour came to visit *Anthony de Leua's* campe, accompanied with the dukes of Sauoy, Alua, Bauaria and Brunfwick, the Princes of Salerne and Bifignan, the Marquis of Guaft, and many others: hee caufed his army to bee put in bataille, and findes it goodly, and pleafing to his minde: hee calls *Roche du Maine*, *la Paliffe* (the onely fonne of the Marshall of Chabannes deceased) and *Affier* (the onely fonne of the maifter of the Kings horfe) who remained for hostages of the composition: hee imbraceth *la Roche* courteoufly, whom hee had heard reputed to bee a gallant Gentleman, caufeth him to couer his head, by reafon of the heat of the funne: and faies, that to doe him a pleafure, hee will fhew him his army: My Lord (answered *la Roche*) to fhew mee your army goodly, as you esteeme it, were contrary to all content I fhould be better pleafed to fee it poore, and ruined: vnleffe the King my maifter and you would agree together, & not bring two fuch goodly armies to fight, as yours, and that which the King will fhortly oppofe against you, to the preiudice of al Chriftendome. If you were both well aduifed, you would agree & hold, both the Turke and al others in fubiection. But to think to ouerthrow one another, were a mere folly. And if the first army the King fhall oppofe against you, fhould chance to bee vanquifhed (which God forbid) he will within 15. daies raife another, yea and at need, would fhew you as many gentlemen on foot, as you haue men here of al forts. *VVhereupon the Emperour faid*, I am not ignorant of the Kings forces, fo are mine well known vnto him. As for an accord, I will neuer ftop mine eares against that motion, fo as it might be made as it ought. This being fpoken he commanded the Marquis of Guaft, to conduct them about the army, and to dine with the Princes of Germany: that after dinner he would fee them againe. After dinner the Emperour fayd: *How thinke you of mine armie?*

Kkk

I finde

*Anthony de  
Leua* forced  
to flic out of  
his campe.

1536. *I finde it very faire (answered La Roche) it is pittie you employ it not in some other desaigne.* The Emperour replied, *where thinke you I will employ it?* La Roche answered, *into Prouence.* The Emperour said, *The Prouencals are my subiects* (he did commonly peruse the mappe of Prouence, and had already deuoured this Prouince in imagination, but hee shall finde the situation stronger then in his mappe, and men of a firmer mettall then paper) La Roche answered: *you shall finde very rebellious, and disobedient subiects.* The Emperour replied: *How many daies towney is it from hence to Paris?* La Roche answered: *if you meane battailes, at the least a dozen, if the Inuader (meaning the Emperour) haue not his head broken at the first.* The Emperour smiled, admiring his wit: and some one of the assistants (who knew Terrcelin well) said, *I told you before my Leage, he could speake well if hee list.* Then the Emperour taking the word, gaue him assurance that hee would giue eare to any proposition of peace, so as it might be worthily treated of.

And in truth hee doth reuiue it, but this was to haue speedier meanes to send newes to the Earle of Nassau, and to receiue intelligence from him, that both his army; and that which the Earle led vpon the marches of Picardie, might at one instant inuade the frontiers of the Realme. Moreouer, attending the yeelding vp of Fossan, hee made at Sauillan, Montdeuis, Cony and Tende, great prouision of biscuit, and beasts of burthen to follow the campe with this biscuit, and other victuals to supply the waste which hee did foresee. Some, and the greatest number, councelled him to pursue the recovery of the countie, which the King had wonne from the duke of Sauoy, by meanes whereof hee might plant a strong bar against the French forces, and first to settle a sure peace beyond the Alpes, before hee came to make warre in France. Other men clawed him where it did itch, and by a more pleasing then holefome Councell perswaded him to take his way to Prouence.

The Earledome pleased him greatly, gaping wonderfully after it; for the commodity of his passage vpon the Mediterranean sea, hoping that, as Italy should take breath, and new courage after the ruines and desolations where-with it hath bene continually shaken these thirtie yeeres, the spoiles & ruine, which he should draw after him, chasing, destroying, amazing and making desolate the people of France, Paris in the end; and the crowne of France should bee the prize and recompence of his victories. But hee reckoned without his host, *Marseille* in steed of making his entry into the Realme, shall shamefully make D him retire into Castille.

Many inticements drewe him into France. Wee haue had (sayd hee) almost for these twenty yeeres, a continuall victory against the enemy. The Duchy of Milan which wee now possesse, is a certaine testimony of our triumphs: wee haue reason to retaine the same resolution in this warre, and the same hope which conquerours ought to haue: and leaue vnto the French, terror and dispaire, which commonly doth accompany the vanquished. Wee are superiors in number, men of better constitution, more practised in the art of warre, and leauing some part of our forces on this side the mountaines, wee haue sufficient remaining to encounter the enemies power. But that which will giue vs the victory, wee march against one that hath broken his faith (the iudicious reader may consider which E of these two Princes had most right, whether the Emperour, taking vpon him the protection of the duke of Sauoy, or the King seeking his right by force of armes, which hee could not obtaine by reason from his Vncle.)

Doubt not but wee haue God for vs, hee is a iust Iudge, and a rigorous reuenger of the breach of faith. Moreouer let vs not feare, that the French King can fortifie himselfe on this side the Alpes: hee will prepare all his forces against this armie, but I haue an other, ready to inuade Picardy, and besides, the Empreffe prepares one in my Kingdomes of Spaine, which shall come by Languedoc, to ioine with mee. I leaue an other to assaile Champagne and Bourgongne, in the hottest of these warres, the which shall performe as much for my seruice as the rest. Having so great preparatiues, and in so many places, and the King so surpris'd as hee cannot in time assemble sufficient forces to encounter so many armies, it is impossible but on some one side, wee should make a passage by force, euen into the heart of his Realme. Wee haue good intelligences and manage great practises. This spake the Emperour. But, *Doeft thou know the decrees of heauen* (saith the eternall reprehending man) *and wilt thou dispose of the government thereof vpon earth?* What were these

The Emperour  
first conceit  
of his passage  
into France.

A. these great practises and secret intelligences, which the Emperour vaunted to haue in France? A politike Commander dorth commonly vse this kinde of speech, to giue courage to his men, and breed ieaousie and distrust in his enemy against his subiects. Hee had some secret practises vpon the towne of Langres (but the Inhabitants were too faithfull to their King, and since in these latter daies, haue giuen sufficient testimony of their obedience to the crowne) some held that the Marquis of Salusses had partakers of his treachery, and William duke of Bauaria said openly, that many in France, holding the same party, would discouer themselves at need.

B But whatsoeuer it were, that which gaue a more liuely impression: *Francis Dauphin* of Viennois, the Kings eldest sonne, whom his maiestie (going from Lions, to see his army which hee ment to oppose against the Emperour) had left sicke at Tournon, dies the fourth day of his sicknesse, beeing about twenty yeeres old, bred vp by his father, in singular expectation of all the world, to prooue in time, a great and most excellent Prince. And *Sebastian* Earle of Monte-cucullo, found guilty of poison, and for that cause was drawne in peeces with foure hories within Lions, had by his confession declared, that the Emperour had once enquired: *if hee knew the order and manner of the Kings eating and drinking.* An attempt so wicked, as it is scarce credible, that so wretched and damnable a treason should enter into the heart of so generous a Prince. Notwithstanding when *Don Ferdinand* of Gonzagua presented the sayd *Sebastian* to the Emperour: saying, that hee was ready to execute that which hee had promised vnto him, and to *Anthony de Lena*: if the desaigne extended vpon any places of the French obedience, why did hee informe himselfe of the Kings eating and drinking? Besides, during these practises, why did *Don Lopes* of Sora, Ambassador for the Emperour at Venice, inquire who should reigne in France, and against whom the Emperour should pursue these warres, in case the King and his children should die: If hee had not bene acquainted with some fatall practise against the said Princes.

Thus the Emperour, resolute to passe, against the opinion of the clearest sighted (as hee afterwards confessed vnto the King with his owne mouth: who hauing till then seemed to follow Councel, did now rashly follow his owne head) and now by diuers and many expeditions, of diuision of places, offices, captainships, gouernments, gifts of townes and castles, deuouring (by presumption) the goods of the Kings subiects and seruants, hee left ten thousand men to continue the siege of Turin, and for the affaires of Piedmont: hee diuided his army into three troupes, for the greater commodity of the passe, and appointed their Rendezuous at Nice, and thereabouts. In the first were the men at armes, with the Lansquenets of the Lord of Thamise, conducting the artillery and the baggage, who tooke their way by the riuier of Genoua. In the second *Don Ferdinand* of Gonzagua, generall of the light-horse and with them some Neapolitane men at armes, the Lords of Iseltstein, Dietrich, Spech, Wolfe, Dietrich of Kuttinghem Colonels of the Reistres, then the Marquis of Guast with the Spaniards and Emperours household, and at their tayle *Anthony de Lena*, with the Lansquenets of *Marc Ebenstein*: after whom marched the Emperour, in the midst of a troupe of Spaniards, followed by the Lansquenets of *Gaspar* of Fronsberg, taking the direct way from Fossan to Nice. In the third, were the Italians, which tooke their way by Cony. On the other side the King made his necessarie prouisions at Lions, and providing for all parts where the enemy might enter, hee sent *Claude* of Sauoy Earle of Tende, and the Lord of Bonneuall his Lieutenants generall in that army, to ioine with *William* Earle of Furtemberg Colonel of his Lansquenets, and other captaines placed towards Cisteron, vpon the passages of Roque-sparuiere, Terreneue, and other approaches, to spoile the corne, either standing, or in the barne: to draw all that might bee into strong places: to beate downe all ouens and milles, which might any way helpe the enemy, to burne the horse-meat, to beate out the heads of their wine vessels, if they did not speedily retire them, and to cast corne into their wells to corrupt the waters. All the people, both great and small, were so wonderfully affected to the publike good, as euery man forgets the griefe of his priuate losse.

The Lords of Mas, Calds, Carsts and many others, pricke them forward by their example, themselves setting fire on their corne, barnes and milles, and causing good fellows

Kkk 2

to

1536.

The death of  
Francis the  
Dauphin poi-  
soned.

The Kings  
order against  
the Emperour.

1536. to drinke their wine. And for that the King had not yet all his forces vnited, to present himselfe with honor and reason in person before the Imperials, his maiesty appointed the Lord of Montmorency, at that time Lord Steward and Marshall of France, his Lieutenant generall as well on this side as beyond the Alpes, to seize vpon Auignon. But for that the King would consult with him, more at large of these great affaires, he sent *Robert Steward* Lord of Aubigny Marshall of France, to that end, with eight thousand Swisses, who kept the enemy from the sayd towne. *Montmorency* hauing in *Auignon* imparted to the Marshall of *Aubigny* and other Commanders, the meanes which seemed most conuenient for the managing of this warre, he came to Aix, viewed the situation of the place, and finding it hard to fortifie, by reason of certaine little hilles neere at hand, which looking into the towne, might serue as a cavalier or Mount for the enemy to plant his ordinance on, he caused all that might be, to be transported, razed the portalls & such defence as it had, and abandoned it, leauing it empty and vnprofitable for the enemy. The Emperour was now in the plaine of Cannes, and the next day *Don Fernand Gonfagua*, who led the foreward, should aduance with eightene hundred horse and fixe thousand Lansquenets (whereof the maister of the campe marched sometimes three or foure leagues before the whole army) *Monticane*, a hardy and aduenturous Knight, seeking oportunity in the beginning of this warre to doe the King some notable seruice, resolved to see if he could surprise this maister of the campe. *Boisfy* no lesse couetous of glorie, would bee his companion in this enterprife, they part with about eight-score horse, and three hundred foote, and encounter *Don Ferdinand* with his horse-men, who came to take lodging for the foreward in the towne of Luc, on this side the riuier of Argence, and gaue him an alarme: but vnable to fight with so great a troupe, they found the retreat, and all tired come about the shutting of the euening to Brignoles.

Aix abandoned.

The defeat and taking of *Monticane* and *Boisfy*.

*Don Fernand*, aduertised by them that went and came, of the small number of our men, takes a troupe of choise men, marcheth speedily after them, and causeth all the rest of his forces to follow: hee passeth on the one side of Brignoles, and laies a great ambush where our men should passe the next day, and doth compass them in betwixt his troupe and the ambush: at the breake of day hee chargeth into the village, and seekes to force some barricadoes which the capitaines had made to stay them, whilest they arme and go to horse-backe, they kill some at the first, and loofe aboue forty. *Monticane* and *Boisfy* take the field, they place capitaine *Wartis* with his foote-men on the wings of their horse-men, marching close couered with their shot to get to Aix, maintaining still the shock of the enemy, they kill and hurt many in the narrow waies, whereas the enemy could not stretch forth his troupes. But thrust into the open champion, assailed by their whole force, charged by the ambush vpon one of their flanks; the Lansquenets approaching, this present supplie giues courage to the enemy, and the perill, without hope of succour, makes the French to faint: they all giue way, all are ouerthrowne, and of al this troupe but three men at armes escaped, but were slaine or taken. *Monticane*, *Boisfy*, the other capitaines, and many Gentlemen which had followed them (desirous to make prooffe of their persons) are taken prisoners. There were slaine of the enemies (besides the wounded) fixe score men, and two hundred horse: but the number preuailed aboue valour.

The Emperour hearing of this victory, did not forget to make a triumph, publishing it throughout all the world, as if hee had defeated all the Kings foreward. Without doubt this lightnesse allowed by *Montmorency*, at the importunate request of the vnder taker, purchased to the enemy, those which were doubtfull and vncertaine, what partie they should take, confirmed his adherents, and strooke feare into them that were contrarie. This first encounter might giue courage to the Imperials to seeke the Constable in Auignon, yet hee sees no reason to hazard a bataille in open field, before hee had sufficient forces to encounter so great a power. To put himselfe into Auignon, were to hazard himselfe in a Towne not defensible, and hardly to bee fortified so speedily as necessity required.

Marfeilles was the onely fronter towne, sufficiently furnished with all things necessarie to endure an Imperiall siege: but to leaue all the rest of the waie open to the enemy, had beene to giue him meanes to fortifie on either side of the riuier of Rosne, at his pleasure, and

A and to draw vpon him (without resistance) a flourishing and glorious army. It was therefore better to let the Emperour know, that for an vnfortunate encounter they had neither lost courage, nor hope: with this desaigne *Montmorency* lodgeth his men in field, and chooseth the place for his campe, betwixt the riuers of Rosne and Durance, the one did furnish his army with victuals and other commodities: the other serued as a Ranpar and barre against the enemies approach. And to cut off all meanes and liberty to runne to forrage, to learne newes of the French campe, and to found the passage of the riuier at his pleasure, without contradiction, he placed garnisons in all townes and places, to be held on the other side of the water.

1536.

B The King on the other side was at Valence, where like the Maister of a ship commanding from the Helme to the prow, hee sent daily new forces to the Constable, fortified the towne, and assembled such a power, as if any mischance had ruined this first army, the Emperour had had the King presently ready to giue him a second bataille. Let vs now change our climate, and make an escape into Picardy. *Henry* Earle of Nassau, and *Adrian* of Croy, Earle of Reux, Lord Steward of the Emperours house, beeing entred into Picardie, did at the same instant, spoile all places in their passage which were of weake resistance, but besides the taking of Bray vpon Somme, they did no great exploit; for beeing repulsed from before Saint Riquier, they lost some of their Artillery, and a great number of their men for a sleight enterprife. *Charles* duke of Vendosme, with three hundred men at armes, and fixe thousand foote, hauing forced them to repasse the water, reuenged the wrong they had done vpon the frontier, hee tooke and spoiled some small townes, castles and villages vpon the marches. But seeing the enemy fortified with two thousand men, the which hee hoped to surprise at Marolles, an open towne, hee repassed the water, not to hazard his forces rashly, attending the comming of *Claude* duke of Guise his brother-in-lawe. Amongst other places vpon the frontier not defensible, hee had appointed to abandon Guise.

The Earle of Nassau in Picardy.

The Earle aduertised by his spies, of the hast they made to carry away their moouables and victuals, to driue away their cattaile, and that the garrison of the castle, carefull to free the towne, and to beate downe the defences which might any way accommodate the enemy, did negligently gard the approaches, hee marcheth ether with speed, surpriseth them in disorder, and kills some before they could recouer any place of safety, hee summons the castle: some preferring life before honour, cast themselves ouer the walles into the ditch: the rest amazed, yeeld the place at the enemies discretion. A basenesse vnworthy of Nobility, so as those which were found to bee Gentlemen, were degraded, and both they and their posterity, declared peasants, and subiect to taxes.

Guise beeing sackt, and all the country about burnt, the Earle carrying away a bootie of men, cattaile and goods, marched against Saint Quintin. But beeing aduertised of the good order the duke had set for the guard and defence of the towne, hee turned sodenly, and tooke the way of Peronne. It is strong by nature and situation, but at that time not well fortified, nor sufficiently manned to withstand so great a power. Hee therefore passeth the riuier of Somme aboue Aplincourt, abandoned as not defensible, and spoiling, burning and making the whole country desolate, hee camps before Peronne about the middelt of August. The Lord of Sercu, Colonel of the Legion of Picardy, puts himselfe into it with a thousand men, and the Marshall of La Marke with a hundred men at armes. Misfortune is good for something. The darkenesse of the smoke which the fire of the Farmes and Villages burnt by the enemy, had caused, couered the passage of our men, in view of the Imperials. In the meane time, the Dukes of Vendosme and Guise, leauy new bands in Picardy and Champagne, to ioyne with the Lansquenets, which *Nicholas* of Rusticis did bring. Let vs leaue Count *Nissau* assailing, and the defendantes valiantly encountering his attempts, vntill that the Emperour after his first disgrace receiued before Marfeilles, shall bee blemished with a second at Peronne, in the persons of the Earles of Nassau and Reux, and let vs see what happened in Piedmont, after the yeelding of Fossan.

Peronne besieged.

The troupes which *Guy* Earle of Rangon, *Cesar* *Fregose* his brother-in-lawe, *Cagnin* *Gonfagua*, and other Italian capitaines, pensioners to the King, had leauied, were broken, Warre in Piedmont, by

1536.

by reason of the last hope and practise of peace, cunningly given out by the Emperour. A Now they renew them by a new Commission from the King, so to crosse the Imperials in Italy, as he might thereby diuert the great forces they had in France. *Rangon* Lieutenant for the King in this army, leaued two thousand men, *Caguin* as many, *Cesar Frego* the like number, and two hundred light-horse: the Lords of Paluoina a Vicount of Milan, *Peter Strapsi* a Florentine, *Balthazar* called the Cheualier d' *Azzala* Ferrarois, either of them a thousand men. *Beringer* of Caldore, a Neapolitane, Earle of Monte de Rife, and *John* of Turin a Florentine, euery one five hundred, *Auerol* of Breslan foure hundred; *Bandin* of Tufcane foure hundred, and two hundred light-horse, and the Lord of Tais (a Frenchman borne, but sent into Italy, to receiue the Earle of Mirandola into his Maiesties seruice) B two hundred light-horse. An armie of great hope, whose exploites wee shall soone see. *Annebauld* and *Bury*, beeing straightly besieged in Turin, performed the parts of good and vigilant captaines, and well practised in matters of warre, preventing both the enemy, and the citicens newly reduced to the Kings obedience, from daring to attempt any thing against them, and by their daily sallies, bringing prisoners, and store of cataille, returned victors within the circuit of their wals. *Maramao* had gathered together within Ciria all the corne and victuals he could get thereabouts. *Annebauld* aduertised thereof by his espials, sent *Esse* with seenty horse, and *Auchy*, and *Cany*, leading either of them five hundred foote: who parting towards the euening, came to the wals-side before they were discouered, they plant their ladders, surprise the towne, put all to the sword that made resistance, C loade their beasts of burthen with victuals, and booty, and retire to Turin without any encounter. This happy victory brought vnto the besieged the conquests of Riualles, Veillane and Saint Ambrois. The garrison thus reuiued, aspires to greater enterprises. The Emperour had left in Sauillan, sixteene peeces of artillery, with all their prouision of bullets, poulder, and other necessaries, and a good supply of armes. The garrison which hee had placed there, forraging without feare in the villages about, gaue them hope to defeat them, and to surprise the towne. *Marc Anthony* of Cusan captaine of two thousand Italians, demanded the execution of this stratageme, with his troupes: they giue him for companion *Chambray* Lieutenant of *Annebauld*'s company, with threescore choise horse. But they loose an ox, to take an egge: vpon the way they are aduertised by their scouts that certaine free-booters D of the enemies, laden with a great spoile, were presently retired into a castle adioyning. They turne head, and take the castle by assault, and sacke it, it may bee more greedily then wisely. For whilst they are busie at the spoile, the alarum is giuen in the country, and some troupes enter speedily into Sauillan, draw the bridges, ramper vp the gates, and man the walles, and the defences. The towne beeing furnished, the suburbs remaine in spoile, they beate in peeces two great Canons, they carry away all the armes, and make booty of all they finde good. In the meane time *James* of Scalenghe approached, with about foure thousand men, as well of his owne troupes, as of the peasants gathered together. Our men making a vertue of necessity, troupe together, and goe closely to field, charge the enemy running hastily to surprise them, beeing dispersed in the streets, and busie at the spoile: E they make them turne their backs, kill about three hundred, hurt many mo: and of nine ensignes winne seuen, the horse-men flying, pulled away the other two, from them that carried them, seeking to saue them. In the end, *John Iaques* of *Medicis*, Marquis of Marignan, came to succour them, with two thousand Lanquenets, beeing called by *Scalenghe*, our men hauing their bodies tyred with trauell, and their armes with striking, resolute to retire, and send to *Annebauld* for succours. *Alegre*, an aduenturous and wise captaine, brings them two hundred horse, who arriuing when as our men were in danger to bee defeated, entering amongst the enemies, killing and chasing, gaue their companies (half tyred) leisure to take breath: and through the fauour of twelue hundred foote, which followed *Alegre*'s troupe, doe retire with their booty, and baggage safely into Turin. A shot F which *Cusan* receiued in the head, caused him to remaine at Pignerol, where soone after hee died: leauing a happie memory of his valour, and a great griefe to his friends for the losse of his person.

The Emperour approached now to Aix, hauing receiued some losse by the way, not so great as troublesome, in regard of the quality of the persons. The peasants, and moun-  
tainers,

A braue and  
happy exploit.

Enterprise vp  
on Sauillan.

The Imperi-  
als defeated.

1536.

A rainers, lying in ambush, in the straights, and narrow passages along the Alpes, and issuing forth sodainly, sometimes vpon the scowts, sometimes vpon the reere-ward, stayed them euery two hundred paces, to defend themselues: hauing no meanes to offend this swarme of men, who beeing charged, vanished by crooked and vknowne wayes. Fiftie men of the Countrie resolute for all euents, had shut themselues in a fort, called our Ladies tower: with an intent to shoote at the Emperour in the passage, and all of them at one instant to discharge their harguebuzes. But they take *Martha* for *Mary*: they kill a Nobleman with a rich coate of armes, and followed by a troupe of men which did him great honour. The Emperour brings the Canon, batters the Tower, and forceth them to yeeld at his pleasure: and to purge the offence they had made, sends them all to be hanged. B Moreover, beeing aduertised that a great number of peasants, women, children, and cattle, were hidden in a peece of ground enuironed with wood on the side of a mountaine, he caused the wood to be fired in many places about the wind, so as all were miserably burnt or slaine. A stratageme which did so incense the people against the Emperour, as neuer any one of his men fell into their hands, but he made tryall of a most tragicke and cruell death. These first fruites might induce the Emperour to draw a consequence from the lesse to the greater, in comparison of these people vnacquainted with armes, with those whom nature and exercise had instructed, and to make him know, that it was no small enterprife to assaile a King of Fraunce at his doore. But this troubled his mind. Hee thought in the beginning of this warre to haue so C disgraced the King with the Germains and Suisses, as he should draw no men from them. Norwithstanding, aduertised that besides the eight thousand Suisses leuiy by *Lewis* of Anguerrand, Lord of Boisfrigault, *Stephen d' Agne* Lord of Beauuais, and *William* Lord of Liernay, Gentlemen of the Kings house, had made a leauie of the like number, all which had in a manner ioyned with the Marshall of Montmorency, who had now about thirtie thousand men in his campe: he is now much grieved in his heart, that hauing in the former warres wonne so many happie victories, vnder the command of his Captaines, now marching in person with so strong and mightie an army, after that hee had proclaimed his triumphes throughout the world, he should performe no honorable exploit of warre. Therefore the 15. of August he makes choice of three thousand Spaniards, foure thousand Itali- D ans, and five thousand Lanquenets, and takes in his companie the Duke of Alua a Spaniard, *Alphonse d' Aualos*, the Marquis of Guast, and *Don Fernand Gonzague* Italians, and the Count *Horne* a Germaine, followed with all the flower of his horsemen, and aduanceth neere to Marselles: he goes himsele in person to view the towne, beeing couered with the ruines of a house lately beaten down, and puts foorth the Marquis to make a conuenient place for the planting of his artillerie against the weakest part of the Towne. This resolution had bene good, when as the Kings forces were not yet vnited, and his subiects terrified by the sudden and vnexpected entrie of so mighty an enemy. The Centinell vpon the rampars discovered the Marquis: they send foorth men to compasse him in behind, if there were no more then those which appeared with him. He retires towards the place from whence hee E parted, and by his retreat he discover a greater number of men, behind that ruined house. They set vpon them that issued forth, and some Cannon-shot scatter the stones, kill some, and hurt others.

This first amazement carried the Emperour to his Campe, after that hee had appointed the Duke of Alua and the Count *Horne*, to stay about Marselles: and the Marquis of Guast with twelue hundred horse, and fixe ensignes of foote to go and view Arles: that if they found it not able to be taken by assault, he would come thither with all his forces. In the meane time, least the first that sallied foorth, should fall into some ambush, they send other fresh men in fregats and boates armed, who going along the shore, get about the place, where they had seene the glistering of their armes: who landing take a compasse among the myrtels and other bushes which grow in that Countrie. The Duke discouers them, and to busie them, sends certaine horses, to draw the whole troupe which followed vpon them. Our men had the like dessein, and when as the enemies whole strength appeares, they seeme amazed, retire without order, and draw them that pursued towards an open plaine, commanded by the Cannon, then turning their backs they saue themselues among the bushes. The Cannon playes, and passing through the Imperials, makes heades, legges, and  
armes,

Marselles sur-  
prized by the  
Emperour in  
imagination.



1536. armes, to flie into the ayre so pittifully mangled, as the cries of them that died, the terrour A of them that fled, and the amazement of them that were sound, turnes them all into a hasty flight, and the fouldiers hidden in the bushes, make a furious salley vpon them that fled: the Duke gathereth againe his men farre from the shore into a valley couered with rockes and hilles, and hauing viewed them, he found his number greatly diminished, amongst others, those of the Count *Horne*, and of another Germaine Captaine his neere kinsman. The Marquis of Guast had already discovered, that they had taken downe a little hill which did ouerlook the Towne of Arles, vpon the which a few peeces of Artillerie being planted, would haue held the towne in great subiection. Arles is seated vpon Rofne, at the point where it parts in two, and runs with two mouthes into the sea: making an Island, which they B call Camarola. *John Carracciol* a Neapolitane, Prince of Melphe, commanded there, as the Kings Lieutenant with a thousand foot Gascons, of the troupes of *John de Foix* Earle of Carmaine: a thousand Champagnois vnder the command of *John Anglure* Lord of Iour, two thousand others vnder the ensignes of the Lords of Marieu of Daulphiné, *la Goute* a Bourbonois, *du Palais* of the Countie of Foix, and the Baron of Rixou of Languedoc, to every one five hundred, and *Bonneual* about an hundred and thirtie men at armes. As the Marquis lying in ambush behind certaine wind-mills, viewed the weakest parts of the Towne, being discovered, *Anthony* of Ancienuille Lord of Villiers, Commissarie of the artillery, plants two peeces of artillery directly against these mills, as if the Marquis, seeing them giue fire, had not slipt aside, hee had there ended his dayes. So as the Marquis (frustrate of his C hope, either to surprize or to force the Towne of Arles) tooke his way to Marfeilles.

Marfeilles was beseegeed by the Duke of Alua, more in shew then with any hope to force it, and onely with an expectation to draw the beseegeed to some rash salley, or to haue the Kings armie to come and succour them, and then to fight with them with an aduantage. With this desseigne, the Emperour lay so neere, as at the first dislodging of the French Campe he might easily preuent them, and ioyne with his forces. But those within the towne had good and wise Commanders, who suffered their men not to issue forth but to good purpose, and alwaies to the enemies losse. As for remoouing of the Campe, *Montmorency* would not hazard the estate, nor the forces of the King his master: he hopes by the route of his enemies armie to preferue his owne: and according to the aduertisements hee had of the D Imperials desseignes, he restrained or gaue libertie for the execution of his Councils and commandements. The surprise of Brignoles had made him more warie: yet not to daunt the courage of his men, he continually studied of reuenge, vexing the Imperials with daily alarmes, encounters, and charges, and all without any losse or preiudice.

The Daulphin comes to the Campe.

The King being aduerted of the approches which the Emperour had made to Marfeilles, *Henry* the new Daulphin and Duke of Brittain desired to make prooffe of his person in so iust and honourable a warre, and against so worthie an enemy, obtaines (by his instant sute, & the intercession of such as might preuaile much with his Maiestie) leaue to go to the campe. Not to command presently (said the King) but to learne to command hereafter, and vnder the Lord Steward, (as another *Palantes* vnder *Aeneas*) to passe his apprenticeship in the art of warre. His comming made the youth to crie for bataille, whensoever they went to consult, whether it were more expedient to approach neere their enemy, or to prolong the warre by temporizing and delays: and many which till now had followed the last opinion, were carried away to the contrarie. Many considerations moued them, the Kings forces able to encounter the Emperours, the presence of a young Prince, burning with desire to trie himselfe in the warre, the dishonour (as they said) in suffering the Town of Marfeilles to be beseegeed, the meanes they had to defeat their enemies, before the Emperour could bring all his forces to succour them, who for want of victuals were constrained to lye disperfed.

But the Lord Steward, and the wisest heads found it farre more safe to win the victorie F without striking stroke, cutting off the enemies victuals as they had done before. Marfeilles was well fortified, furnished with all necessarie munition, manned with valiant Captains, & men of resolution. Contrariwise, famine and pestilence which did much afflict, and daily increase in the Emperours campe, would soone ruine his forces. It was now neere at hand: The peasants had lately carried away, slaine, and hurt, all the beasts which carried the biscuit that

A that was made at Toulon, and consenting to molest them by these affronts, they brought the Imperiall armie into wonderfull wants and necessities. Moreover, the daily checkes which the French-men at armes gaue vnto the enemy, made the Emperour thinke of his retreat. It was therefore a wise constancie and resolution of the Lord Steward, not to subiect the importance of this warre, to the discretion of a doubtfull hazard. There is no lesse honour to vanquish an enemy by counsell and gouernment, then by bataille: and not to hazard himselfe to the chance of armes without necessity, it is an abusing of the bloud and liues of men.

Hereupon newes comes to the King, that his armie beyond the Alpes had brought most part of Piedmont vnder his obediencie; and all the Marquisate of Salusses, except some Castells. His Maiestie (using his rightes) might haue annexed this Marquisate vnto Daulphiné, whereon it depends, as confiscate, by the rebellion and trecherie of the Marquis *Francis*. But let vs heare an act of his naturall clemencie and bounty. *John Lewis* brother to the said *Francis*, was prisoner at Paris for the like rebellion. The King set him at libertie, he did inuest him in the Marquisate, receiues his oath of fealtie to him, and against all other men: hee causeth money to be giuen him, to furnish him and his traine, and then sends him to take possession. *Francis* within few weekes after came to Carmagnole: *John Lewis* receiues him into the Castell, and suffers himselfe to be so carried away with sweet words, as hee sweares by nothing, but by the confidence he had in his brother *Francis*. *Francis* was farre more malicious and cunning. *John Lewis*, against the aduice of Saint *Julian* (a Gentleman Gascon bred vp in the house of Salusses, whom the King had sent with *John Lewis* to obserue the actions, and the going and comming of this new Marquis, being a simple and dull man) he suffers himselfe to be drawne out of Carmagnole, and to be lead to the Castell of Valfeniere, where *Francis* detained him prisoner, and then seeks to recover the places of the Marquisate. Saint *Julian* foreseeing the issue of this subtil stratageme, practised *Saluador d'Aguerres* by his perswasions, and receiued of him in the Kings name, the stronge Castell of Vrezeul, a beame in *Francis* his eye, which kept him from being absolute Marquis. *Andrew Doris* comming then from Spaine, brought victuals and money to the Emperour, vpon whose arriual he made a Proclamation throughout the Campe: That all men bearing D armes, should be ready to muster (without doubt the great decay of his armie, the which from fiftie thousand men that he had parting from Nice, he found decreased to 25: at the most, did touch him to the quicke) to receiue money, and prepare to depart vpon the day assigned, every man to be furnished with eight or ten dayes victuals. This proclamation made the king suspect, that he meant to come and assaile his campe, or to march after the Duke of Alua to the siege of Marfeilles. And seeing the Emperour was there in person, the King did hope to haue meanes in the midst of these great armies, to effect the contents of the challenge he had before sent to the Emperour by an Herald, as we haue heard. But his Maiestie was no sooner come from Valence to his campe neere Auignon, as he was giuing order to prepare to receiue or giue bataille, newes comes vnto him, that the Emperour with all his Campe, is dislodged from Aix, leauing behind him (besides the dead bodies which were infinit, the ayre being corrupted round about) a great multitude of sicke men, which could not follow the armie, neither on horse-backe nor on foote: and taking the route of Spaine, he left the towne of Aix spoiled with all the desolations which warre could bring forth, except fire from which the Emperour did preferue it. Onely the pallace, and especially the Chamber that comprised was abandoned to the fire, at the instance of the Duke, of Sauoy, who would aske in person at the burning thereof, hoping (it may be) to abolish the memorie of the rickes, whereby it appeares, that Piedmont belongs to the Earledome of Prouence. But the Lord Steward had foreseeing this inconuenience, sending the to a strong place of his named *Baux*. The King gaue money to repaire the losses. Amongst his chiefe F champions, the Emperour lost *Anthony de Lema*, *Mark Buthlein*, another Captaine of Lanquenets his kinsman, the Count *Horne*, *Baptista Castalde*, and many other men of accompt. Let vs apply here that holy Oracle speaking of *Senacherib* King of the Assyrians: *T by bragging hath come vnto mine eares, I will put my ring into thy nostrils, and my batt into thy mouth, and will make thee retorne the way thou camest. And thus said the Eternall touching the King of the Assyrians: he shall not enter into this Cistile, neither shall he shoot an arrow therein, he shall not*

Exploits in Piedmont.

The Emperours retreat.

1536. *not present himselfe before it with shield nor cast, &c.* Behold the Earle of Prouence in imagination, who had lately threatned the Prouinces of this Realme with fire and sword, and swallowed vp the Crowne thereof by presumption, ashamed and confounded in his retreat hauing lost halfe of his troupes, turmoyled by the peasants, who vsing the armes of his sicke men, and of those that were dead, seaze vpon the passages and streights, beate downe the bridges vpon the riuers, which were then very violent, charge them in front, in flanke, and behind, and the light horse-men led by the Earle of Tende, *Bonnemal, Langcy,* and *Iohn Paul de Cere* follow them so close, as they had no meanes to forrage, leauing the waies from Aix to Freius, couered with dead carcases, and men languishing, harnesse, lances, pikes, harguebuzes, and all other armes pel-mel on a heape.

The King resolued to march after them, and wheresoever he should overtake them to giue them battaile, and so passe into Italy, where at that instant he had a mightie armie in field. But he is diuerted from his desseigne by letters from the Marshall of La-Marke. Hee had no more meanes to hold Peronne long, the wals were beaten downe in many places, famine pressed the beseege, they wanted harguebusiers and powder. So the King caused some part of his men at armes to march speedily, and tenne thousand French foote, resolute to follow after by great marches, to raise the sege, or to recouer the Towne before the enemy should fortifie it and furnish it with victuals. God would preserue him from this toyle, and giue him leysure to take breath. The Imperials being alwaies repulsed, with losse from many and sundry assaults, the myne wherein they had long laboured, prouing fruitlesse, (besides the death of *Philip* of Boulinuilliers, Earle of Dammartin, ouerwhelmed in the ruines thereof, in a countermine he made to blow vp the enemies myne (whose death was reuenged, with the slaughter of three hundred Lanquenets, and twenty of their men at armes, at the last assault giuen by the Tower that was vndermined,) and the towne being releued with siue hundred shot; every one carrying ten pounds of powder, chyring by meanes of a Generall alarme, giuen by the Duke of Guise with two hundred horse; and all the trumpets he could recouer, they dis-lodged in the night, about the middest of September, continuing their burning as they had begun.

France (by the grace of God) is now free from enemies. But nothing is perfectly happy. There are crosse newes which trouble the Court. The English Ambassadors that were neere the King, ill-affected to his Maiestie, and without doubt, no faithfull seruants to their master giue him intelligence. That the Emperour seeing, that he could neither by spoyle, or any other meanes, prouoke the King to battaile, made shew of a retreat, to draw him to pursue him, and so to fight, or else retire to take a greater leape, and to invade Prouence suddenly, when as the French forces should be farthest off: That the Emperour himselfe (the better to colour his departure) gaue out, that famine and mortalitie had diminished his forces of one third part, and the rest had run the like danger, if he had not retired: yet notwithstanding he had no such want of victuals, as was supposed, and since his comming out of Italy, had not lost aboue two thousand men. That since the taking of Montecian and Boisy, no man durst giue any alarme to the Emperours Campe, nor yet follow it at their dis-lodging.

These Impostures and false impressions had wrought such effects with the King of England, as *Pomeray* being sent from the King, to three ends: To satisfie him of the truth, touching the enterprise of Prouence: To procure his liking of the marriage of *Magdalen* a daughter of France, with the K. of Scots, and to learn the K. of Englands intention, vpon the motion before made, touching the mariage of the duke of Orleans with *Mary* of England daughter to the said King: he had much ado to alter him in any thing from the opinion he had conceived. But the marriage of Scotland did so inuense the King of England, as hauing layed open vnto *Pomeray* his griefes and the causes of his discontent vpon this Article, hee sent him backe without any conclusion, being loth to haue his neighbour so highly allyed. There comes another matter of greater importance: the Countrey of Tarentaise in Sauoy had lately shaken off the French yoke. To reduce it to his obedience, the King sent the Earle of Saint *Paul*, Duke of Estouteville by his wife, with some French troupes of horse and foote, and the Earle of Furstemberg with his company of Lanquenets, to whome, for the purging of their offence, the Countrey was abandoned to the spoile,

The cause of warre betwixt England and France.

A spoile, with the Towne of Conflans. Being thus punished, they afterwards performed the duty of subiects, and the Duke returned into France with much honour. Let vs now discharge our promise, and conclude the yeare with the exploits of the assembly made at Migenoua: and to this effect they came speedily and closely, hoping either to surpris it, or by the partisans of *Cesar Fregese*, to become masters of the town: but a Luquois of the troupes of Count *Guy*, stealing away in the night, had discovered the enterprise to the Citizens. So the Earle retiring his campe halfe-a league from Genoua, betwixt two mountaines, he suddenly caused many ladders to be made, which prouing too short, made the successe fruitlesse. These Captaines had no Cannon to make any batterie: moreouer, Turin being beseege, required their presence.

They therefore turne head. The Imperials aduertised of the Earles approach, abandon the sege, and leaue the field at the deuotion of this new army. The Lord of Annebault, seeing the Campe dislodged, sallies out after them, and in passing takes the tower vpon the bridge of Pau by composition (the taking whereof the Emperour had so highly commended) and the Lord of Burie tooke Groillan: the corne and wine that was found there, serued to refresh Turin. The town of Quiers was taxed by the Imperials at siue and twenty thousand Crownes: but whilest the souldiers were busie to force the Inhabitants to pay this sum, *Annebault* sent certaine Captaines, who surprized the town from foure hundred souldiers, which kept it in the Emperours name. *Montcallier* sent presently to offer obedience: and the Castell of Carignan yeelding, did furnish Turin with about three thousand sacks of meale, packt vp readie to send to the Campe. Salusses, *Quieras*, and many other places of the Marquisate of Piedmont did homage vnto the victors. The King sent to refresh *Annebault* and his troupes both with horse and foote: he drew them out of Turin, sending two thousand French foote vnder the command of Captaine *René*, and *la Godiniere*: and two thousand others, vnder the Cheualier *Birague*: and for gouernour he sent *Bury*, to whome he gaue the company of men at armes, which *Francis* of Salusse being reuolted, did command. But behold an act as remarkable, as it is rare, proceeding from a singular affection: and what will not a braue Knight do for his mistrisse? Vpon the first newes of the Emperours descent into Prouence, the King of Scotland did arme sixteene thousand men, to come and succor the King without his request or priuie, (sayes the Originall) and nothing stayed him from comming in time vpon the generall hope of a battaile, but a contrarie wind, which had put him backe twise. The King had assured himselfe of his new conquests, and hauing giuen order to the frontiers of his Realme, returned into France.

Unexpected succors from Scotland.

The King of Scotland came to meete him at la Chapelle, betwixt Tarare and S. *Saphorin* in Lionois. and there he demanded one of his daughters in marriage. The auncient alliance of the realme of France and Scotland, was considerable. The Father of this King had bene slaine in battaile against the English, for the partie of King *Lewis* the twelfth, and should his kind affection be denied? So the marriage betwixt him, and *Magdalen* of France, was concluded in Blois, and solemnized the first day of the yeare following. Great prosperities are oftentimes accompanied with some crosses, else the vanity of our senses, would easily transport vs; and we would attribute that to our owne valour, which belongs to the great Iudge, and moderator of battels: behold pittifull first-fruits, in the gouernement of the Lord of Bury at Turin. Oftentimes he is taken, that thinkes to take. The Emperour had ad-iudged *Montferrat* to the Marquis of Mantoua, against the Duke of Sauoy, and *Francis* of Salusses who pretended it: and those of Cassal would not accept of him. *Bury* during these garboiles, practiseth *Damian Curtial* a Captaine in the garrison at Cassal for the Emperour. *Damian* promiserh to deliuer him a gate. *Bury* leades thither *Christopher Gouast*, with twelue hundred Italians, whereof he was Colonel, and some number of horse vnder the Lord of Tais: and at the first becomes master of the town.

But the mattockes, shouels, and other instruments for Pyoners, which *William* Earle of Biendras shold haue prouided with the money he had receiued to that end, to make a trench suddenly betwixt the town and the castle, whilest that Count *Guy* should come to succour them, with the artillerie to batter the Castell, were yet to buy. Whilst they seeke for others to make trenches, the Marquis of Gouast had leysure to assemble his forces within Ast, and

1536. to enter into the Castle, by the field-gate, and so into the towne. Twelue hundred men A were not able to withstand the furie of this vnexpected storme. He maintaines the shocke, and enters fight: but in the end beeing forced by the enemy, he is taken prisoner. *Tais, Gnaß* and al the rest were slain or taken. *Biendras, Damian*, and other Marchants saue themselves. We find the fault when it is done. It is good to obserue it to make vs wise. He should haue imparted this enterprize to Count *Guy*, who should haue drawne his armie nere vnto Ast. The Marquis fearing to loose the one, and not to saue the other, had contained himselfe within his walles. *Guy Guffroy* Lord of Boutieres was appointed Gouverneur by the King in *Buries* place.

Pursue a-  
gainst the Em-  
perour in su-  
stice.

The snow, yce, and slipperinesse of the winter stayed the course of the Garrisons in Pi- B cardy. And whilest the season kept them from doing any memorable exploits, the King laying open in his Court of Parliament at Paris (in the presence of the Peeres of Fraunce, and Princes of the bloud, forty or fiftie Bishops, many Officers of the Crowne, and other great personages of all Estates) the lawfull armes of a Lord against his vassall that hath committed a trespasse: he sent to summon the Emperour, vpon the frontiers by a Herald, to come and plead what he should thinke good, against the demaunds of his Maiesties Aduocate and Proctor generall: concluding, that in regard of the rebellions and trecheries of the said Emperour against the King, his naturall Prince, and Soueraigne Lord, by reason of the Earledomes of Flanders, Arthois, Charolois, and other places, holding of the crowne C of France, they should be adjudged confiscate and vnited to the Crowne. And no man appearing for the Emperour, the demand of the Kings Councell was registred according to the forme and tenure vsuall in those cases.

For the execution of this sentence, the Lords of Annebault, Tais, Termes, Auffun, French-men: *More* of Nouate, *Francis Bernardin* of Vimercat, Italians: *George Capusse- mens*, and *Theode Manes*, Albanois, either of them commanding two hundred light-horse, *Bies* Seneshall, and Gouverneur of Boullen, and *Cregui* Gouverneur of Monstreuil, Cap- taines of fiftie men at armes: hauing victualled Therouenne in view of the Earle of Rieux, who issued forth of *S. Omer* with sixe hundred horse to preuent this stratageme, the King parting from Amiens, (whereas *Charles* Duke of Vendosme then died, much lamented of the King and Realme, a braue Prince, and well deseruing of this Crowne, for his many and D notable seruices) the King in the end of March, sends *William* Earle of Furstemberg to field with eight thousand Lanquenets, the Lords of Sereu and Auchy (who were slaine at the first approches at Hedin) *Heilly*, *S. Senal*, *Picards*, *Bacqueille*, *la Salle*, and *S. Aubin*, Nor- mandis: *Quincy* a Champanois, *Haraucourt* a Lorraine, either of them leading a thousand men: and many other bands of Germains and French, amounting all to siue and twentie thousand men, whereof *Montmorency* (Lord Steward) was Lieutenant generall for his Maiestie.

Hedin is of consequence to the King, for the preferuation of his other places in Picardy: and beeing in his power did wonderfully annoy the enemy. The towne abandoned by the Garrison, they retire into the Castell, the which was taken without resistance, but the Earle E of Reux had well furnished the Castell for the defence of a place of importance. Captaine *Samson* an old Knight of Namurs, a great souldiar commanded there with 1500. men, vnder the Ensignes of *Boubers* and *Vaudeuille*. They make their approches, and many Cap- taines perswaded that the thickest of the wall, maintained with a great rampar, would ne- uer admit any breach, they come to vndermine. The Prince of Melphe, the Lords of Bar- besieux, Bury, Villiers, Corneilles, vndertake the worke, and cast downe halfe a Tower passing from the Towne to the Castell, but that part which ioyned to the Castell standing firme, the place was not much weakened. The King then resolues to attempt it by batterie, and he himselfe shewes the place where to plant the Cannon. At the approches *Lusarches* and *Pont-briant*, well experienced Commissaries of the artillerie, with many Cannoniers F and others loose their liues. The Cannon planted vpon the brinke of the trench, plays two dayes together, and the third they make a breach of thirtie sadomes. The Kings pre- sence beeing the rewarder of vertue, sets many young Gendemen on fire, beeing desirous of reputation, and before that order be giuen for the assault, carries them to the toppe of the breach. But they find the like valour in receiuing them: some are slaine vpon the place, others

A others returne fore wounded. *Charles* of Bueil among others, Earle of Sancerre, a young Nobleman who followed the steppes of his Ancestors vertue, *Aubigny* Lieutenant to *Ser- en*, and *Damiete* ensigne-bearer of the said Company, testified by their deaths the hope of their youth, if the chance of armes had lent them a longer life. *Haraucourt* a Lorraine and his brother his Lieutenant, sonnes to the Lord of Paroy Lieutenant to the Duke of Guise, in the gouernement of Champagne and of his companie of men at armes, *Flieures* sonne to *Mardicque*, and many others returned backe lame. Yet this attempt amazed the besee- ged, and helpt the Generall. For when as they see the order the King had giuen to assaile them in the morning, a great number of men at armes on foote, with siue or sixe hundred light horse-men, all the rest on horse-backe, the whole army readie to be put in bataille if B the enemy approached, some appointed to march first, others to second them, and some to releue them that went to the assault, the resolution and courage of the night past, made them enter into composition, whereby they departed with their baggage, leauing the ar- tillerie, munition, and victuals. The King committed it to the guard of *Sereu*, giuing him a company of fiftie men at armes and a thousand foot. *S. Paul* neere vnto Hedin might much annoy him, and reduced to the Kings obedience, crosse the garrisons of Betune, Arras, Li- liers, and other places thereabouts: *Annebault* did this exploit, and *Anthony* of Castell, an Italian Ingenour vndertooke the fortification of the towne and Castell. Liliers abandoned C by *Lieuin* Captaine of the towne, was by the Lord Steward and Duke of Guise, visiting the Country, added to the former Conquests, and left vnder the command of *Martin du Bel- lay* Captaine of two hundred light-horse, ioyning vnto him *la Lande* with a thousand foote, to keepe them of *S. Venant* and Maruile, from annoying the forragers and victuallers of the French army. The Bourguignons had fortified an Island, at *S. Venant* vpon the riuier of Lis. The Lord Steward vndertakes to force it, and takes with him the Earle of Furstemberg, with eight thousand French and Germains. At the first the beseege repulse the Lanquenets, kill some, and wound many. And now the day began to faile, when as *Charles Martel* Lord of Bacqueuille, and *La Lande* discouering one part of the trench worse manned then the rest, they crosse it with their Normands and Picards, and come to handie blowes, they loose some men, and kill many of the enemies, force the trench, the rampar and the bastion, D they compell them to abandon and leaue their defences, and make way for the rest of their companies and troupes to enter, who chasing the enemies, make a great slaughter of men, to reuenge the death of their companions. They presently set vpon the second fort, the bridge whereof was croft with great long peeces of wood, ioyned one to another, and betwixt, manned with good shot, defended with a mill of stone well pierced, and furnished with harguebuses of Crocke, and other shot. But nothing is difficult to a resolute mind, and the first flying to the second fort, stricke terror into them: they force them, and put them all to the sword: The number of the dead was esteemed twelue or fiftene hundred on both sides, the place spoiled, the bootie carried away, and the houses burnt.

There passed no day without an enterprize of one side or other, courses, and recourses; E prises, and reprises, of men, victuals, and places ill guarded, or riot guardable. The King seeing the Emperour had no armie readie, able to crosse his new conquest, content for that yeare to haue taken Hedin, and fortified Saint *Paul*, he caused Liliers to be burnt, (refer- ring the Abbey of Nunnes and the Churches) and the wals to be beate downe, that the enemy lodging there, should not annoy Therouenne and *S. Paul*: he gaue the gouernment of Saint *Paul* to *John d'Estouteuille* Lord of Villebon, Prouost of Paris, with his company of men at armes: that of Moyencourt named de Hangeft, to *Martin du Bellay*, with his two hundred light-horse, and two thousand foote, commanded by the Captaines *la Lale* and *S. Aubin* Normands, *Blerencourt* and *Tuile* Picards, euery one siue hundred, and in the castell a thousand men, vnder the charge of *René* of Pallietiere. He left the Earle of Furstemberg in F garrison at Dourlans, with his Lanquenets, and an hundred men at armes, vnder the gui- dons of the Lords of Estreé and la Roche du Maine. But these bands were so ill compleate, as they made not halfe their numbers, then hauing in like sort provided for other places, he brake vp his campe, and dismissed his troupes, to giue order for the affaires of Piedmont, where the enemy grew strong.

The King thus disarming, the Earle of Bures armes fourte and twenty thousand Lan- quenets,

1537. quenets, 6. thousand Wallons, and eight thousand horse, and resolves to charge the Lanf. A quenets, lodged neere to Dourlans, to make the seege of Saint Paul more easie, which hee meant to attempt. By the surprise of some letters, he learned that the fortifications of the place required yet twenty daies time, to make it able to repulse the enemy. He changeth his opinion, and turning head to Saint Paul, makes his approaches the tenth of Iune, notwithstanding the many sallies and skirmishes of the beseegeed: he recouers (by meanes of a great hollow way, which the sodaine arriuall of the Imperials would not suffer them to make euen) the point of a great Bulwarke vpon the way to Mouchie: they vndermine day and night, shoot sixteene or eighteene hundred Cannon shotte, make a breach of three or foure hundred paces, and by the furie of 7 or 8 peeces of artillerie, force Martin de Bellay, Blerencourt and Tuille to abandon the breach which looks towards Dourlans, their chiefe and almost onely defence: he giues an assault with fife or fixe hundred men, onely to view the breach: and by the thunder of their Cannons which battered all along the breach, and into the towne, they kill, or at the least hurt, aboue a third part of the defendants: those which were set to defend the breach, being forced to lye flat vpon their bellies. They discover the breach, draw seuen or eight ensignes more into the ditch, which diuided the great bastion from the towne, they had had no leysure but to make two Courtins of pipes full of earth, to defend the way which went from the bottom of the trench into the towne: they set fire to the props which supported the point of the bastion that was vndermined: it sinks downe, and presently ouerthrowes all them that defended this point into their trenches: they giue the assault by that place, and are valiantly receiued by La Sale, and Saint Aubin. But during the assault, those which the enemy thrust into the trench, winne the Courtin made of pipes, force fife and twenty or thirty shot that kept it, and enter the towne pelmel with them: they come behind them, (who performing as much as valour and nature could do) defended the bastion, and cut in peeces all they incounter.

Those which defended the breach, ignorant what passed on the other side, had already endured a furious assault, when as behold, those which were entred by the port of the great bastion, come and charge them behind, and the greatest number surmounting the lesse, at the first charge they kill Moyencourt, and his brother d'Une, they massacre in the furie of the fight, seauen-score of the companie of Du Bellay, and the most part of that of Villebon: D Villebon and Tuille were taken prisoners by Tonnoire a Spanish Captaine, du Bellay and Blerencourt were saued by Pofe a Germane Captaine. La Pallatiere forced in the castell by the bulwarke which was not yet in defence remained prisoner: but the contention of some (euery one maintaining that he had giuen his faith vnto him) was the cause of his death. Finally, sparing neither men nor children, wiues nor maidens, religious men nor Nunnes, about 4. thousand fife hundred persons tryed the pittifull chance of a horrible and cruell victorie, whereunto they are commonly subiect, who against the lawes of armes undertake the defence of a place not defensible, or that is not readie to withstand the violent attempts of a mightie army.

Saint Paul being burnt, the castell and all the defences razed to the ground, the Imperials come before Montrueil. Montrueil was ill furnished: Canaples Gouvernor of the towne entred but three or foure daies before, with a thousand foote, and some two hundred horse of the bands of Normandie: but the towne not being tre-nched, it required at the least fixe thousand foote, and three hundred men at armes. So the Earle of Bures lodgeth a part of his campe at the port of Hedin, one part at the Celestins vpon the way of Therouenne, and a part at the gate of the great market towards Abbeville: hee plants his artillerie in three places: makes a breach along a great courtin from the gate towards Hedin to the port of the great market, and then prepares for the assault. The breach was reasonable, but the trenches full of water made the access difficult. On the other side, the defendants were troubled with many disauantages. Two batteries of the enemies kept them from coming to the breach: and being at their defence, they lay open vpon both the flanks, and had no meanes to couer themselves: besides, their number was not sufficient to keepe the one halfe of the bafe towne, so as the enemy coming to the assault, had the rest of the towne at his discretion, the which is of a great circuit.

These considerations made Canaples demand Composition, and the Earle intending the

Saint Paul beseegeed by the Imperials.

Saint Paul recovered by assault.

A the conquest of Therouenne, to prevent the next victualling, which hee did foresee, hee graunts the men of warre to depart in armes with bagge and baggage, and to the inhabitants to carrie what goods they could about them. This done, the want of men and powder which he knowes to be in Therouenne, inuities him to this enterprife. Francis of Montmorency Lord of Rochport, then Lieutenant generall for the King in Picardie, knowing the importance of Therouenne and the enemies desseigne, besides three-score men at armes, an hundred foote and some hundred dead payes which kept it, he sent the Lord of Cany, Lieutenant of the company of the young Duke of Vendosme (whom we shall see King of Navarre, and father to our most Christian King lately murdered): Fondras Lieutenant to Cany B the sonne of Dampierre guidon to the Daulphin, leading foure-score men at armes, and S. Brise foure hundred foote. He comes before it, make his approaches, plants his Cannon in batterie, forceth our men to abandon the castell which had but two towers (the English Talbot hauing taken the towne in the yeare 1513. had razed the castell) and makes a breach in the towne wall, about two hundred paces long, but hardly to be forced: our French-men retyring, had made a trench behind them, and made the rampar in such sort, as the enemy winning it, should fall into a trench well flanked.

When as the Imperiall army began to march against Saint Paul, the King sought to raise his army, hoping (according to the promises of the fortificators) it would hold out vntill that succours should come. Now the Daulphin accompanied with Montmorency Lord Steward, Commander of the army vnder the Daulphin, giues the rendezvous towards Abbeville, to the Earle of Furstemberg, and to Nicholas de Ruffies, newly arriued with foure thousand low Germanes, warlike men, and in good order. Whilest the Daulphin attends the rest of his troups, the beseegeed giue him notice that they had great neede of shot and powder, for the furnishing whereof, they choose Annebauls Generall of the light horse. With this desseigne, Annebauls followed with an hundred men at armes, and sixteen hundred light-horse, made choice of foure hundred harguebuziers, vnder the charge of Biendras, euery one carrying a sacke of leather bound about him full of powder: many voluntarie Gentlemen desirous of honour, (a braue ambition if wee could temper the heate of youth) augment this troupe, resolute to be either taken or defeated, rather then to faile of their enterprife. The Imperials hauing intelligence of this desseigne, go to horse to prevent the execution: and the French light-horsemen, prickt forward by these yong Noblemen, desirous to trie their valour, giue them an alarme. Mischance is good for something. It was night, and the darknesse hindering their enemies foreward from knowing their battaile, which came from another side to ioyn with them, they charge, and kill one another. whilest that our shot enter into Therouenne without discouerie: being entred, they make a signe, whereby Annebauls should make his retreat, and might haue done it without danger. Notwithstanding, aduertised that his light-horse were in skirmish, he sought to retire them. The enemy preuents him, and cuts off his way at the passage of a bridge. Here begins the combate, and so violent, as the greatest checke falls vpon the Imperials. But in the end all the horsemen arriue, Annebauls is ouerthrowne, taken prisoner, and neere vnto him the Earle of Villars, the Lords of Piennes, d'O, and Sansac, Captain George Capussemont, Francis Bernardin, and almost all, but some which had before passed the bridge. Those (amongst the which was Aufsun) retire to Hedin, change their horses, post to the place of combat: find the Imperials in disorder, dreaming no more of any enemy: they charge them, defeat them, take a great number, and recouer many of their companions that were prisoners: and so cut off a great part of the glorie which they did challenge for such a victorie. In the meane time the Daulphine and the Lord Steward had gathered together about sixteene hundred men at armes, two thousand light-horse, ten thousand Germanes, and twelue thousand French, with the which they pretended to succour the beseegeed, or to force the Imperials to fight with disadvantage: when as the treatie which Mary Queene of Hongary, sister to the Emperour, had made by the meanes of the Duke of Ascot, for the procuring of a peace or truce, caused a suspension of armes for three moneths betwixt the King and the Emperours countries of the Netherlands, vntill that matters being pacified, there might be a generall peace concluded betwixt these two great Princes and their allies. Let this truce now carrie vs beyond the Alpes, to see the estate of the forces in Italy.

1537.

Montreuil taken by composition.

Annebauls defeated.

A truce for 3. moneths.



1537.

The ordinarie iealousies, diuisions, and partialities of Capitaines, which thinke themselves equall in authoritie and reputation, and of like vse for seruice, is commonly of dangerous consequence. The composition which *Cagnin* of Gonsagua made with the Imperials at Carignan, without the priuie of *Guy* Earle of Rangon, Lieutenant generall for the King on that side the Alpes, had discontented the Earle, and on the other side, *Cagnin* complained, that they had cashiered some of his foot-men, and in case Count *Guy* should dye, or leaue the place, the King had substituted *Cesar Fregose* his brother-in-law, without any respect of the auncient seruice of his house, and his breeding in the Kings seruice, from whom he had not fallen as the Earle had done, although he had bene fought vnto with many profitable conditions. These quarrels did so increafe, as after many complaints and reproches B vpon the point of honour, *Guy* and *Cesar* banded ioynly against *Cagnin*, framed a challenge vpon some writings published to the disgrace of the said *Cesar*, vnder the name of *Aretin*, whereof they held *Cagnin* to be the chiefe author. *William* of Bellay Lord of Langey, sent by the King to heare the griefes of either partie, hauing giuen Count *Guy* and *Cesar Fregose*, to vnderstand what preiudice their quarrell with *Cagnin* would be vnto his Maiesties seruice, and that by the articles of the Kings order, the Knights may not without the leaue of their superiour (which is the King) send nor accept of any challenge one against another, *Cagnin* offered not to wrong the Kings seruice, and to deferre the combate, vntill the seruice were ended, so as after the answer he had made vnto the challenge, *Cesar* had not written or said any thing that should come vnto his knowledge, whereunto he should be bound in honour to answer: and vnder colour to go to the bathe for his health, he obtained a passport to retire himselfe to his house, with promise that if it pleased the King to giue him an honorable charge, he would returne with a troupe fit to do him seruice: and that how-soeuer, he would neuer weare a red crosse.

During these contentions the Imperiall army increased daily, and the Kings decreased, so as the Lord of *Humieres* sent by the King for the affaires of Piedmont, could not be master of the field, without a bodie of foure or fife thousand Lansquenets or Suisses, and some supply of men at armes. To this end the King causeth his light-horse-men to march into Piedmont, after the conquests of Hedin and Saint Paul, and sent to *Christopher* Duke of Wirtemberg, who brought ten thousand Lansquenets to passe the Alpes, and to ioine with D *Humieres*. But vpon the coming of the Imperials before Saint Paul, the King being forced (as we haue seene) to countermaund his light-horse, he sent the Baron of Curton, *La Fayette*, *Brissac* and others, leading three or foure hundred men at armes, and two hundred light-horse, *Lasigny*, and *Allegre*, either of them commanding a thousand foote.

The Marquis of Guast had at that time deliuered into the Marquis *Francis* hands, all the Marquifate of Salusses, except the Castels of Verculo and Carmagnole. Two hundred Italians held it for Count *Guy*: the Marquis of Guast doth summon it, and vpon their refusall approcheth the artilerie. *Francis* Marquis of Salusses (knowing the place) brings two Cannons on the right hand going from the towne to the castle, breakes downe two houses to couer himselfe in stead of Gabions: himselfe playes the gunner, and shootes two volleys. A souldier of the castell discouers him (but knowes him not) and shootes him through the body like dead with a musket. The Marquis of Guast causeth him to be couered with a cloake, and then againe sends to summon the besieged, promising them an honourable composition: they depart with bagge and baggage, and the Marquis seeing them passe, commended their good endeuours. But when he came to demand what he was that had shot so well from one of the windowes ouer the port, the souldier both ignorant of the Marquis intention, and of the effect of his shot, presents himselfe vnto the Marquis, who against the Capitulation caused him to be hanged at the same window. The King hauing afterwards reduced the Marquifate to his obedience, did inuest *Gabriel* Bishop of Aire in Gasconie; who married the daughter of the Admirall *Annebaut*, but dying without heires he left the said Marquifate to the Crowne. The coming of *Humieres* and the Lansquenets had shut the Marquis of Guast with his troupes into Ast and Verceil, who by his retreat left Pignerol, Chiuaus, Montcallier and other places abandoned to these new Conquerors. But at the first, want of the chiefe sinewes of warre, makes the Italian bands to mutine, whereby our men loose tenne or twelue dayes, during the which the Marquis had

Francis Marquis of Salusses.

leisure

1537.

A leisure to hasten his Lansquenets, leuied by the elder brother of *William* Duke of Furstemberg. *Humieres* had no sooner pacified the Italians with a portion of their pay, but hee frames an enterprise vpon Ast, where the Marquis had left his brother-in-law, *Don Antonio* of Arragon Lieutenant for the Emperour, with two thousand foote and two hundred horse. The Lansquenets require the charge to make the approches, and take it from *John Paul de Cere*, who had a meaning to discharge it well. About midnight *Humieres* comes speedily to see their lodging and finds nothing done. Some exclaiming first would haue made their cause good: others storme (their pay being now out) and protest, that if it bee not satisfied, they will wrappe vp their ensignes, and sound a retreat. They had reason, it is an ordinarie course, when as the chiefe force of an armie consists in a mercenarie nation. B *Humieres* searcheth all the purses in the campe, makes for euery company fife hundred Crownes, and with this bone did somewhat satisfie their greedinesse. But in the mean time the besieged, giuing the alarme to the Campe, they bring in seauen companies of foote, and three hundred horse to their succours. Thus the small likelihood to force the Towne, and lesse to famish it, seeing that for want of pay, the strangers were no men of resolution, *Humieres* leaues the Towne of Ast, to surprise that of Alba. About eight hundred Spaniards, were parted from Alexandria to enter into it. *John Paul de Cere* meetes them, chargeth and defeateth them, so as at the arriual of the French, the Cittizens of Alba vnsurrounded of souldiers, yeelding to the yoke of obedience, gaue occasion to them of Quiers C to follow their example.

This absence of the armie made *Cesar* of Naples, Gouverneur of Vlpian, a man aduice and vigilant, but unfortunate in his enterprises, to attempt Turin. Turin had in it but two companies of foote vnder de *VVartis* and d' *Angart*, weake forces for a place of such importance, yet the Inhabitants were well affected to this Crowne. *Cesar* subornes a Corporall, a Gascon, to deliuer him the next day of his guard, a bulwarke of the towne right against our Ladies Church. Such base people should neuer know the day nor houre of their watch. The night being come, he brings ten ensignes of foote, and some three hundred horse: the souldier giues him notice by a signe of the most conuenient place to plant his ladders, he settes them vp, and before the alarme was in the towne, he puts fife ensignes into the bulwarke: two or three base souldiers whom the traitor had of purpose drawne in with him, saved themselves by flight. *Boutieres* Gouverneur of Turin hearing the alarme, goes into the streete, followed onely with the Suisses of his guard, and some Gentlemen: he findes the townsmen armed, and resolute to do their duties, hee marcheth directly into the bastion with no armes but a halberd, shuts the gate by which they came from the said bastion into the Towne, (the darknesse of night had hindered the enemy from seeing it open, the which preferred the towne: for whilst that *Cesar* made fitte his ladders to enter into the Towne, the alarme grew hore) *VVartis* arriues with two hundred shot, and forceth the enemy to abandon the bulwarke, hauing lost seauen or eight score men, at whose departure the souldier payed for his offence with his life.

This attempt, the bad inclination of the forraigne forces, the quarrels betwixt *Cesar Fregose*, who led the fore-warde, and *John Paul de Cere*, Colonell of the Italian foote: the controuerfies of *Brissac* with *Aluibal* of Gonsagua Earle of Lanuolare: six thousand Spaniards and twelue hundred horse, being entred into Montcallier, and threatening Turin, but weakly furnished with men, made *Humieres* to leaue *Julio* *Vrsin* in Alba with a thousand foot vnder his charge, and a thousand more vnder *Artigue-Dieu* and *Peter Stroff*: in Quierres *Cesar Fregose* with the like number of men, such as he would choose, and with the rest of the armie turnes head towards the enemy to surprise him at Montcallier. The Marquis of Guast aduertised of this dessein, puts the rest of his troupes into the said place. This enterprise proving fruitlesse, and *Humieres* not able any longer to hold his strangers without pay, he sent *Francis* Earle of Pontremie with sufficient forces, to make good Pignerol against the Marquis, who threatened to surprize it, to take from the French all means of retreat and succours in keeping the passage of Suze. Then hee supplied Turin with two thousand French foote, commanded by *Allegre* and *Lasigny*: Quierres with a thousand men of the bands of Aramont, besides eight hundred which the Knight *Assal* gouernour of the place had: *Sauillan* with a thousand Italians vnder the command of *John* of Turin, leading the

L 11 3

Lansquenets,

A dangerous attempt against Turin.

1537. Lanquenets and the rest of the troupes into the Marquise of Salusses, to attend newes and A money from the King for their pay, for want whereof this army serued to small vse. The Marquis of Guast seeing *Humieres* retired into Pignerol, whither the violence of the Lanquenets had driuen him, there to attend their pay: hee sent thirteene ensignes of foote, to Siria a small towne vpon the mountaine, to keepe the valley of Suze in subiection, and by the taking of the Castles of Rioule and Villane, to take from them of Turin all meanes to the hearing newes out of France. So the way by the valley of Suze being cut off, and that of Pignerol by the meanes of Montcallier, Carignan, and Carmagnole which the enemy enioyed: *Humieres* being ill obeyed by the Lanquenets (whom they forced to pay vpon their old rowle, although their number of ten thousand were halfe decreased) and those of Turin, prest with want of victuals, and money, which they could not endure after *S. Andrewes* day, B the King was in danger to loose all Piedmont.

Piedmont in danger to be lost for want of money.

The Marquis hauing taken the towne of Quiers by assault, with Alba and Quieras by composition, was become master of the field, and held Pignerol, a great and vast Towne, so streightly begirt, as no victuals might enter, when as the King by a supply of five and twentie thousand Crowns, which he sent to Boutieres, made an entrie for the Countie-men to bring victuals to Turin, which before was shut vp, for want of payment for their wares: then he caused the bands of the Earle of Furtemberg, and of *Nicholas de Rusticis* march to Lions, vnder the command of the Daulphin his sonne and of the Lord Steward, with ten thousand French foote, commaunded by *Monteian*, followed by foureteene hundred men C at armes, and light horse, attending a leaue of foureteene or fifteen thousand Swisses, which the Earle of Tende made for his Maiesties seruice: resolute to march after himself in person. And not to leaue his realme vnfurnished, he left the gouernement of Paris, and the Ile of France, Picardie, Normandy, and other Countiees about, to the Duke of Orleans his younger sonne: he lent backe the Duke of Guise into Bourgongne, and Champagne: *Henry* King of Nauarre his brother in law into Guienne and Languedoc, and the Lord of Chastel-aubriant into Brittainie.

The Daulphin accompanied with *Anthony* Duke of Vendosme, parts from Lions about the tenth of October, gathers together in Daulphinie some three thousand Legionaries, and the remainders of *Humieres* armie, which were come out of Alba and Quieras: he forceth D the passage of Suze against *Cesar* of Naples, who kept it with ten thousand men, chaseth them two miles, wins all their baggage, makes the Marquis to retire all his forces to Rioule and Montcallier, leauing Pignerol at libertie, opens a way by the taking of Villane from two hundred Spaniards which were cut in peeces, addes to his conquests Rioula, abandoned by the Marquis, turnes head to the enemy, incamped on this side the riuer of Po, right against Montcallier: but hauing the bridge to fauour him, to retire when he pleased, he begins the skirmish with his light-horsemen against theirs, kills many, takes some, and loofeth few, he chaseth all their troupes beyond the bridge, who breaks it after them, but with the hazard of their liues that remained behind. Those of Montcallier, come with a great shew of affection and repaire it: and then receiue into their Towne all the souldiers which the Daulphin E had left to guard the riuer, whilest the army passed at Carignan. The Marquis dislodging still, left in Quiers *Don Anthony* of Arragon his brother-in-law, with foure thousand men, and himselfe recovered the Countie of Ast.

Thus our men beeing at libertie on all sides, become masters of Poirien, Riue de Quiers, Villeneufue d'Ast, Montafie, Antignan, and of all other forts, vnto the gates of Ast, of Quieras, Alba and Fossan, whether they retired all the corne of the Countie, which did serue for the victualling of the campe and places of conquest. About thirtie thousand sacks of corne, which the Marquis had gathered together, but had not lezsure to bring fro Montcallier, and much other munition found in diuers places, supplied Turin for a year. During these actions, the King comes accompanied with the Earle of Saint Paul, the Cardinal of Lorraine, and many other great personages. And as his Maiestie tooke counsell at F Carignan, with the Daulphin, and the Lord Steward, newes comes vnto him, that the Garrison of Vulpian kept the valley of Suze, and for that Rioule nor Villare had any horsemen to stay their incursions, they did wonderfully annoy those that followed the Campe. He presently sent away *Martin du Bellay*, and very happily. They had newly feared vpon fixe

A fixe moyles laden with money for the payment of the army, driving the moyles, and the treasurers in the midst of them. *Du Bellay* passeth the riuer of Douaire, intercepts their way, and ouertakes them three miles from Vulpian, hee makes them to leaue the moyles, and onely with the losse of the treasurers, which they carried away, brings them safe to Rioule.

The conclusion of this Councell was, to besiege Quiers, where the King would imploy the first fruits of his last forces. But the great commander of battailes, giues him a more fauorable issue. The truce of Picardie had giuen libertie to the Queene of Hongarie, and likewise to the King, to send some Gentlemen into Spaine, to mediate a peace, or a general truce: and the deputies had so well performed their charge, as a suspension of B armes was concluded on either side, from the eight and twentieth of Nouember vntill the two and twentieth day of February following, whereby euery one enioying that whereof he should bee found seized at the time of the publication, the garrisons of Turin, Vorlin, Sauillan, Montdeuis and other frontier places, were not slacke to enlarge their limits, as farre as they could, nor to put men in the Kings name into all the small places, and castles thereabouts.

Three daies after the truce was proclaimed, the Marquis of Guast, came to kisse the Kings hand, whom he receiued very graiously, and the King making the Lord of Saint *Monticam* gouernour of Piedmont, he left *William* of Bellay his Lieutenant generall in Turin: *Francis* Earle of Pontremie at Pignerol, the Baron of Castelpers at Sauillan: *Charles* of Dros a Piedmontois at Montdeuis (hee had surprised, and kept the place from the Imperials, when they were the strongest in field) *Lodowike* of Birague, at Vorlin, and *Nicholas* of Rusticis at Carmagnole: he dismised his Swisses, and taking his way to France, hee sent the Cardinal of Lorraine from Lions, with *Montmorency* the Lord Steward to Locate, where the Emperours deputies should meet, concerning a peace betwixt their Maiesties. The confusions had bene great, and their spleene not easily to bee pacified, which made them to prolong the truce for fixe moneths more. After all these toyles, and painefull endeours, the loyall seruice of the most worthy deserued reward, which made the King, being at Molins, to aduance *Anne* of *Montmorency* to bee Constable of France, the place beeing voide by the D reuolt of the Duke of Bourbon: he gaue his place of Marshall to *Monticam*, and that of the Marshall *La Marke* deceased, to *Claude* of Annebault. It was now time to suppress these infernall furies, which had so long troubled the quiet of Christendome with such fatall combustions, and that the Pope (doing the office of a common father) should therein imploy his authority. Hee procures an enteruew of these two great Princes at Nice, and himselfe assists, being about threecore and fiftene yeeres of age, in the begining of Iune. Their mutuall hatreds, had taken too deepe rootes in their hearts, and that fatall and bloody checke, which his brother *Ferdinand* King of Hongary had lately receiued from the Turke, had nothing mollified the Emperour. Time doth pacifie discontents. Ten yeeres were sufficient, or neuer, to dispose both the one and the other to a general peace. The Pope E therefore seeing that by the full deciding of their quarrels, hee could not confirme a final peace, hee propounded a truce for ten yeeres, the which they concluded betwixt their countiees, and subiects, and then euery one returned home. But *Charles* was borne to bee a perpetuall scourge to this realme, and many yeeres shall not passe before hee put vs in alarum with an vnworthy and base motiue of new confusions.

An enteruew at Nice.

Let vs now see how hee worketh like a foxe, to produce effects for his owne benefit. The Emperour Policy. The Gantois being oppress with many extraordinary tributs, had spoiled the Emperours officers: who growing desperate, and seeking to fortifie themselves against the reuenging wrath of *Charles*, they secretly offer obedience to the King, as to their Soueraigne Lord. The King performing the duty of a good brother, and faithfull friend, giues the Emperour intelligence thereof. The Emperour deuiseeth by some notable examples, to suppress the Gantois insolencies. But the passages thither were not very certaine. By Germany, the protestants might some what hinder him. By sea, a storme might as well cast him vpon the coast of England, as vpon Flanders: the diuisions hee had with the King of England by reason of the marriage of Queene *Catherine* his Aunt, would not suffer him to take any assurance from him: France was very commodious for him, to this end, hee demands the

1539. the Kings word for his safety, and among other toyes, hee promisseth, *in case he gines him an assured passage, to inuest him, or one of his children, in the Duchy of Milan.* But (oh notable policy) he desires not to bee prest to signe these promises, *To the end (saith he) it may not be spoken, that I haue done them by constraint to obtaine a passage,* and requires the King to take his word for assurance. This was to build a castle vpon a quick-sand.

The Emperours  
passage  
through  
France.

Notwithstanding the King iudgeth another mans heart and intentions by his owne, hee grants his brother-in-law such assurance as he demands. Being sicke, he parts from Compiègne, to goe to meet with him, sending his two sonnes to Bayonne, to receiue him, and to accompany him to the place where the King and hee might meete (which was at Chasteleraud) giues him authority to make entrees, and to deliuer prisoners, in many townes of the realme, as if hee had bene in his owne country: feasts him in all places, causeth him to bee conducted by his sayd children vnto Valentienues, the first place of his owne territories, where hee is moued to confirme that which hee had promised before his departure from Spaine, but it was to no effect. The Emperour defers the matter, vntill hee had conferred with his Counsell of the low countries. It may bee hee would haue kept his promise, if hee had found the Gantois so desperately affected, as hee must needs haue vsed the aide of France, to force them to obedience. But seeing themselves abandoned by the King, they sought and found mercy, vpon certaine conditions which hee prescribed them. And the Constable, who (relying vpon the word of such a Prince as the Emperour) had giuen the King assurance, was for this cause in disgrace with his Maiesty, and retyred himselfe from Court to his house: from whence wee shall see him called and restored to his dignities.

Let vs obserue the craft and subtilty of the Spaniard, to bring the King into dislike with his friends and allies. The Venetians were ill satisfied of the league they had made with the Emperour against the great Turke: their treasure was wasted, and their estates (after that great and famous victory in Hongary) were in danger. They were (for their owne safety) ready to enter into a treaty of peace, or of a long truce with the Turke. To breake this, the Emperour solliciteth the King to enter into this common league, and the King perswaded thereto, sends (by his instigation) the Marshall of Annebault (Lieutenant generall for his Maiesty in Piedmont, by the death of *Momian*, lately deceased) to goe in company with the Marquis of Guast to Venice, and the Lord of Gié to the Pope, as sollemne Ambassadors, and to giue them hope, that the King of France ioyning his forces to theirs, all ioyntly together, would make an army both by sea and land, to extirpate the race of the *Ottomans* out of Europe. The Emperour strooke three stroakes with one stone, hee disswaded the Venetians from all accord with the Turke. He bred a hatred and dislike betwixt the King and the Turke. And put the King of England in ielousie: who could not well like of this great alliance and fraternity, which the Emperour did cunningly make (shew to haue with the King. So as the English being perswaded, that the King had with-drawne his loue, he grew strange, and began to assure himselfe of the Emperour. And which is more, all the Kings other confederates, seeing that honourable and respectiue entertainment giuen to the Emperour, and the Ambassadors of both their Maiesties ioyntly sent into Italy, they conceived many causes of distrust, blaming the King in leaving them at need to the Emperours mercy, from whom they could not expect (if hee did vanquish them in warre) any better vsage then that of the Gantois.

Budens died.

This yeere *William Budus* Maister of Requests, died at Paris, a man of singular learning and godlinesse, to whom all men that loue learning are much bound, hauing by his learned and laborious writings, eased them of much paine: whose credit with the King, and the Cardinall *Du Bellay*, caused honest pensions, according to that age, to bee giuen to those whom we call the Kings readers, and professors, a fountaine from whence are sprong so many great riuers, that in the end they are spred ouer all Europe. The extreame heate, and great drouths, did likewise make this season the more memorable, by the name which it carries yet, of the yeere of Roasted Vines. The Emperour hauing by his dissembling disappointed the King of his hopes, it was now needfull to satisfie his friends and allies, touching the truth of things past: for (to incense all the Potentates of Christendome against our King) the Emperour had vnder-hand giuen them to vnderstand, that the King treated with him

A him of matters to their preiudice. To this end hee sent *Cesar Fregose* to the Senate of Venice, and *Anthony Rinçon* a Gentleman of his chamber to the great Turke. The Marquis of Guast hath some notice thereof, and to surpriue these Ambassadors with their instructions and letters of credit (which notwithstanding were not found about them, the Lord of Langey, who could not disswade them from the passage of Po, had so preuailed with them, as they sent their instructions vnto him, to conuey them vnto Venice an other way:) hee sets watches vpon all the passages, especially vpon the Po, knowing well that *Rinçon*, a bigge fat man, would rather passe by water then by land, and causeth them to bee murdered in their barke, passing at Cantalone, three miles about the mouth of Tesin, putting all the water-men into the dungeon of the castle of Pauia, as well those which carried the Spaniards, that were the murderers, as the French: they were souldiars of the garrison of Milan, and of the said castle. An odious and reprochfull act. Some packets comming from Venice to the King, and from the King to Venice, were surprisid, and the carriers wounded by men attired after the Marquises deuise.

1541.  
The Kings  
Ambassadors  
surprised and  
murdered.

But see the notable policy of Langey, to discouer the truth of a fact which the Marquis thought to haue managed so secretly, as it should neuer haue come to light. Gifts (saies an ancient) pacifie both Gods and men. *Langey* findes a meanes, by money, to file a sunder the grates of the prison towards the castle ditch, with secret Files: drawes forth the Marriers, winnes some of the faction to the Kings seruice, learns from them the number, the names, and the nation of the murderers, the order, the manner, and the houre of the murder, and all other available circumstances to incounter the dissembling of the Marquis, who making a good shew of a bad cause, seemed to enquire carefully of the crime, by the captaine of the iustice at Milan. The Emperour was then at the Diet at Ratisbone, where he granted an *Interim* to the Protestants, that is to say, vntill a Councell were held to determine all controuersies of religion, euery one should peaceably enioy the beleefe and ceremonies whereof hee then made profession: and in doing this, the restoring of the duke of Sauoy to all his estates, was granted at the Germains charge.

Ferdinands  
army defeated  
by the Turke.

Soone after, *William* of Roquendolse Lieutenant generall for *Ferdinand* King of Hongary, was defeated before *Buda*, with the losse of twenty thousand Germains. It was a great shame for the Emperour, being nere to so mournfull and fatall a check, if hee should not employ his forces in his brothers fauour. He vndertakes againe the voiage of Algier in Afrique, with an intent (that if passing through Italy, hee should finde the Kings affaires disordered, and his forces dispersed) to attempt some thing against him, making account that the King would not faile to be reuenged of the violence and wrong done vnto him, in the persons of his Ambassadors. But the good prouision which the King had made in Provence, and in Piedmont, by *Langey* his Lieutenant generall, caused him to passe on without any further attempting. Being at Luques, he had conference with the Pope, and the King, sent his Ambassador vnto them, to demand satisfaction for the crime: but he was put off with shifts. The enterprise of *Algier* was vnfortunate, the violence of the windes, the continual raine, the stormes and haile, with all the iniuries of the ayre, had coniuured against him: breaking some of his ships, hee was beaten backe with great danger of his person, and losse of his men.

The Emperour  
goes to Algier  
without suc-  
cesse.

Hetherto the Marquis had as couertly as hee could, disguised the matter: but finding now that all men had discovered his deuises, that notwithstanding the death of the Ambassadors, hee could not decipher the Kings desaigne, that the King demanded as well from the Emperour, as from the Estates of the Empire, satisfaction for this foule fact: Now to make his cause seeme good, hee writes to the Estates which were assembled againe at Ratisbone, for their common defence against the Turke, whereby he maintaines, that he committed no act that might touch him for breach of the truce, and in shew to iustifie himselfe of the crime wherewith he was charged: *There are (saith he neither denying nor aduowing the fact) two waies of iustification, the one ciuill, the other Knightly. I offer so maintaine ciuilly, that there is no breach of truce growne by mee, and to deliuer into our holy fathers hands (the protector of the truce) both my selfe, and all those the King shall thinke culpable of this act, so the end the truth might be knowne: and if any Knight my equall will charge me with any such fact, and proue his saying by armes. I will maintaine that hee hath spoken falsely, and as often as hee shall*

The Marquis  
of Guast iustifies  
himselfe.

1541. *shall charge mee with the like, so often shall hee speake falsely.* Wee doe often shadow a lie with such good words, as it giues it a colour of truth. But did hee thinke by this brauadoe, to prouue his innocency? the retreat of those murtherers to him, bringing them all prisoners that were left aliue within the boates, to the end there should bee no meanes to discouer this infamous murther: the detention hee made of the water-men, whom hee afterwards transported into other prisons vnder his command: the penall Edicts hee did publish in places where the fact might bee knowne, against them that should bee found discouraging of this action: the ill vllage of them that had spoken of it: the fauours, honours, and aduancements, giuen to them that had bene the actors: the depositions of prisoners freed by *Langey*, were not all these sufficient witnesss, to crie vengeance against the Mar-  
quisse? *Langey* answering to the pretended iustifications of the Marquisse, was the Knight to make triall thereof, by the one or the other way. But the Marquisse had no such meaning.

The reasons  
that moued  
the King to  
warre.

Wee haue heard how the King demanded of the Emperour (being in conference with the Pope at Luques) satisfaction of the murther, audaciously and against all diuine, naturall, and humane lawes, committed vpon the persons of two of his especiall seruants, men of estate, and of reputation by their birthes, hauing by their merits deserued, the one an honorable degree amongst his chiefe Gentlemen: the other an especiall place amongst the greatest Noblemen. They would haue satisfied him with friuolous reasons and excuses, perswading him to leaue the abolition of their blood, to the forgetfulness of time, which might haue bene an imputation to his Maiesty, either of want of wit and iudgement, or of valour and courage. Profit vrged the King, honour prickt him forward, and necessity constrained him, to vse those meanes which the law of Nations did allow to him which doth acknowledge no other superiour: and three chiefe reasons did vrge him thereunto. Vnder this colour of peace, the Emperour had a thousand practises vpon the frontiers of his realme: and the King had no sooner cut off one of this *Hydras* heads, but presently there riseth vp an other or many mo. Moreouer, this truce allowed the trafficke and conference of eithers subiects, by meanes whereof so many treasons were practised. Neither could he draw his subiects from the commerce of the Low-countries, belonging to the Emperour, without expresse prohibitions, the which by consequence would argue hostility. But that  
which did most moue a noble and generous spirit: he had good and certaine intelligence, that the Emperour (seeing warre proclaimed, in case he did not within a certaine time make satisfaction for the aboue named murthers) made his account, that vnder colour of zeale to the common-weale of Christendome (filling the eares of the whole world with a goodly and great enterprife, against the enemies of the faith) hee would raise great forces, and prouide great preparation, at the cost and charge of his most credulous subiects, lying most open and nereft vnto the Turkes inuasion, and coniure the most Christian King to assist him either with men or money.

If then the fumes of an Affricane or Turkish voyage, had bene proclaimed through the world, before that warre were denounced betwixt these two Princes, those which were not acquainted with the deuises of the one, would haue imputed the stay of so holy an enterprife to the other. Let vs adde, that howsoeuer, hee must intertaine men both in Italy, and vpon the frontiers of Languedoc and Prouence, for that both a truce, and warre were of equall charge vnto him. There were two meanes to begin the warre: the one profitable and lesse honest. Many thrust him on, some with discontent, others with reuenge, some with couetousnesse, some with desire of innouation, or some other priuate passions, offering to seize vpon diuers places for his Maiesty, the conquest whereof, might bee a worthy reward for a long and doubtfull warre. The other was more honest, but of lesse profit, iust and not couetous. The Duchy of Luxembourg, and the countie of Roussillon were worthy motives in general, besides the priuate interest of inuasion, which the King had against his enemy. The Emperour did possesse them both, without any lawfull title. Luxembourg, by the succession of *Charles* and *Philip* dukes of Bourgogne, his great grandfather, and his father, who had by force dispossessed the true and lawfull Lords of the said house, who had substituted our *Francis*, by a new grant into their rights and actions, besides the ancient rights, which the Kings of France haue euer pretended thereunto, and especially, since the purchase

A purchase which *Lewis* duke of Orleans, brother to King *Charles* the sixth made. Besides that the Lords of la Marke had of late transported their pretensions vnto him, of the said Duchy. Roussillon, by the two scrupulous restitution of *Charles* the eighth, being abused, and deceived (faith the original) by friar Oliuer Maillard, his confessor, a man in shew holy, but in effect an Hypocrite, and corrupted with money by the King of Arragon, to sell and deceive his master. King *Charles* hauing no power to make this alienation, in preiudice of the crowne, neither the King of Arragon, nor his successors, accomplishing the conditions annexed to the contract, *Charles* now Emperour, was but an vsurper, and a violent possessor.

The situation of Luxembourg was commodious to receiue the Germans that came vnto the King: but more, by this approach, to fauour the duke of Cleues, whom the Emperour did threaten to make the poorest man in Christendome. So the King sent *Charles* duke of Orleans, his yongest sonne, accompanied with sixe hundred men at armes, sixe thousand French, and ten thousand Lansquenets, and *Claude* duke of Guise commanding the army vnder him: *Francis* of Bourbon duke of Anguien, brother to *Anthony* duke of Vendosme, the Earle of Aumale, eldest sonne to the duke of Guise, the Lords of Sedan, Lamets, Rochedu Maine, la Guiche and many others, men of resolution, valour, and experience. And for the enterprife of *Roussillon*, *Henry* his eldest son Daulphin of Viennois, assisted by the Marshal Annebault, for the chiefe conduct of the warre: & for an assistant in those military toiles, the Lord of Montpensar, Lieutenant for his Maiesty in Languedoc. Parpignan is the chiefe city of this country: the onely barre, and bulwarke of Spaine towards the South, the conquest whereof drew after it not onely the losse of that which the Emperour possessed on this side the mountaines, but laied open al the Prouince beyond it: and the King conceiued, that assaying it (being vnfurnished of many necessaries, for the maintayning of a great siege) either honour, or feare of losse, would draw the Emperour to fight, and with this hope, hee prepared the rest of his forces to march in person. But this was but a great shew, without any effects.

The duke of Orleans hauing assembled his troupes, betwixt Verdun and Dun-le-Chastell, he besieged, battered, and tooke Danuiller, a place of Luxembourg: where there came to  
Dioyae with him the Baron of Hedecq sometimes Lieutenant to the Earle of Furstemberg, the Earles of Mansfeld, and Pignelin, and the Colonel *Reichs*, with their regiments of Lansquenets, making about ten thousand men. Then came Count *Reingraue* to the Kings seruice, a yong Nobleman, and resolute, who promised in his person, many good parts, as wee shall hereafter see. Danuillier being burnt, as not defensible, had opened the way to Luxembourg: but newes comes, that a part of the wall was false at Yury, the duke turns the head of his army thither, makes his approaches, plants three Canons and a halfe vpon the brinke of the ditche, but vndiscreetly, without gabions, without trenches (this was to contemne the enemy too much) and without any couering for them that garded the artillery. The garrison sallies forth in the open day, in view of the army, and tie ropes vnto the ordinance, but the weight of them was the let they could not drawe them into the ditch, wherevpon they burnt their carriages and dismount them. They make trenches, and batter it towards Ardennes: they make a reasonable breach, but it was not assailed. In the midst of the breach, the besieged had a Casemate in the bottome of their trench, the which could not be taken from them without great slaughter of them that should attempt it. They draw from Sedan, Mouzon and other nere townes a supply of artillery and munition, and make a new battery: the besieged (being amazed) demand a parle. The bastard of *Sombret*, the Lord of Noyelles, *Hannuyer*, capitaine *Famas*, *Gyles de Leuant*, and others vnto the number of two thousand men, defended the place, the which could not bee assaulted without hazard and losse of men. So it was concluded, they should depart with their baggage, and to carry with them sixe faucons with munition to discharge them sixe times a peece. Then *William* duke of Cleues fortified the Kings army with ten thousand Lansquenets, and sixteene hundred horse, led by *Martin de Rossan* Marshall of Gueldres. *William* had lately espoused (but without any consummation of marriage, by reason of the Infants base age) *Joan* daughter to *Henry* of Albret and of *Marguerite* the Kings sister, whom hereafter we may see, by the nullity of this contract, to marry with *Anthony* of Bourbon duke

1541.

Warre declared in Luxembourg.

Warre in Roussillon.

Exploits in Luxembourg.



1542. duke of Vendosme, and of their marriage was borne *Henry* the fourth, the French King and of Nauarre, lately murdered. Iuoye (which men held the strongest place in the country, and best furnished with men, artillery and munition) by their yeelding, caused *Arlon* to open her gates at the first summons. Luxemburg seemed of a harder issue. It was kept by three thousand foote and foure hundred horse. But the trenches, the approches and a breach made, although not reasonable to giue an assault (considering the trench was very deepe cut off the rocke) did so amaze the besieged, as they yeelded to depart with their baggage. The Earles of Mansfeild and Piguelin promised to defend it against all men: but wee shall shortly see how they will discharge their duties.

Montmedy a small place situate vpon a mountaine, so as they could not approach but on the one side, mooued with this happy successe, yeelded at the first view of the Canon. To conclude, such was the successe in this expedition, as onely *Tionuille* remained in the Emperours hands of all the Duchie of Luxemburg. But the great desire the duke of Orleance had to be at the battaile, which, in shew, was to bee giuen before *Parpignan*, drew him to Montpellier, where the King remained attending the progresse of the sayd siege of *Parpignan*, to bee ready to receiue the Emperour, if hee came to succour it. The duke had no sooner dismissed his army, and turned his backe to Luxemburg, leauing the duke of Guise as Lieutenant generall for the King, but the Imperials presented themselves before the towne, and receiued it very easily of the Earles of Mansfeild and Piguelin: and by the recouerie of Montmedy did wonderfully endamage all the French troupes at *Stenay*, and along the *Meuse*, if the duke (assembling what hee could of those companies, hee had dismissed) had not chased them from Montmedy, before they had any time to bethinke themselves. A stratageme which did pacifie the Kings wrath, for the dismissing of so gallant and braue an army, in the heate of their most honourable and happy successe. It is commonly sayd. That youth can doe what age doth know but cannot doe. What did this youthfull escape of the duke of Orleance benefit, preferring a desire of vncertaine glorie, before the fruits of an assured conquest? No increase of his reputation; small assistance vnto the Kings troupes, if hee had bene vpon the point of battaile, and a great preiudice to his Maiesties affaires: for this voyage of Roussillon, being wonderfull sumptuous, and of no profit, he might with great honour haue continued his victories, the which hee had so happily begunne.

Let vs now obserue the successe of this enterpryse. *Annehaute* hauing brought vnto the Daulphin, being at Auignon, eight thousand Suisses, sixe thousand French foote, of the old bands, whereof *Charles* of Cossé, Lord of Brissac was Colonel: sixe thousand Italians, foure hundred men at armes, and sixteene hundred light horse, whereof the Lord of Termes was generall; and *Montpesat* hauing ioyned with him at Narbonne, with his legion of *Languedoc*, and part of that of *Guienne*, sixe thousand *Languenets*, and a great number of Suisses, newly leauied, who being ioyned with their country-men, made about foureteene thousand, so as the whole armie was esteemed forty thousand men of all nations, two thousand men at armes, and two thousand light horse. The rough entertainment the Imperials gaue them at the castle of *Saulles*, with their Canon and Culuerin, made them to coniecture, that the intelligences which *Montpesat* (the first fire-brand of this attempt) pretended to haue, were vncertaine.

And what successe could *Parpignan* promise them, finding it very well fortified with plat-formes, well manned, and well furnished with artillery, and munition? what assurance could the assailants haue in a plaine field, behind gabions which they could not fill but with sand? The long time which was spent in assembling so many sundry nations, and the fruitlesse stay of *Annehaute*, sixe or seuen weekes in Piedmont, had giuen the defendants time to preuent their enemies designs. Moreouer winter approached, and the Emperour might well keepe the place without hazarding of his person or trying the chance of battaile, wherevnto the King fought by all meanes to draw him. This was the meanes to take cold, and to consume himselfe in vaine. Vpon the first raine there had bene no meanes to retire this army, by reason of the floods which runne on all sides from the mountaines, the which the neerenesse of the sea makes to ouerflow the champion country that lies neere it, so as being shut vp betwixt two seas, and the mountaine, the enemy would easily haue prevailed. The King

Attempt of  
Roussillon  
fruitlesse.

A King foreseeing these dangers, retired the Daulphin and his army, knowing but too late, that hee had bene ill serued. These flourishing troupes, fresh and resolute, might haue bene most profitably employed in the estate of Milan. But the assurance they gaue the King, to take *Parpignan* at the first, of two parties made him chose the worst. Moreouer, in an army there is alwaies some one of those that are of the Councel (being ialous, and enuying that any other should doe better) loue rather to crosse and frustrate designs, then to aduance them.

In the meane time, *Anthony* duke of Vendosme, Gouvernour and Lieutenant for the King in Picardie, suffered not his armes to rust: the enemy lurkt in diuers places, which did greatly annoy Ardres, and the country about Bologne: namely *Montoire* and *Tournellon*, the first being strong of situation, vpon a little hill, at the entry of the county of Oye, discouering all that come out of Ardres. The other vpon the edge of the county of Bologne, going from Ardres to Saint Omers, belonging to the count of Bures, one of the strongest places of the country. The taking and razing of these two, was the destruction of many others which held for them, and yet the enemy being the stronger in men, made some shew to try his forces. But on the other side, the country of Piedmont, was left in prey to the enemy, by reason that *Annehaute*, had carryed away the troupes for the enterpryse of *Parpignan*. The Marquis imbracing this occasion, assembled his forces at the bridge of *Esture*, a fit place to haue the riuers at commandment, and whereof he pleased, on this or the other side of *Po*, to assaile Piedmont. *Langey* Lieutenant for the King in Piedmont, to crosse the Marquis, drawes a company of foote out of euery towne, makes an enterpryse vpon *Cony*, *Quieras* and *Alba*, being ill furnished with souldiars. The vndertakers for *Cony* and *Alba*, wander in the night, and the day approaching, made their voyage fruitlesse. *Aussun* Gouvernour of *Sauillan*, & *Centall* of *Riez*, appointed for *Quieras*, planted their Ladders, notwithstanding the day breaking had giuen the alarum in the towne, they force it, and the castle hauing but one horse, and two sacks of meale in it, yeelded, after they had fasted six and thirty houres. *Centall* being made gouvernour, manned it with two thousand souldiars, which he leauied, as well vpon his owne lands, as else-where.

The Marquis posted to succour them, but the distance of the places required three daies journey. Hee tooke his reuenge vpon Villeneufue of Ast, Poiring and Cambian, small places not fortified, resolute to passe the *Po*, and to campe at *Marignan*, to take from the French all the plaine country, and to famish *Turin* and *Pignerol*, with the other places, which they held on this side, and to take from them all commodity of the Marquisate of *Salluses*. Five thousand foot, with some few men at armes, and light-horse-men, which *Langey* might oppose against the Marquis, who lead fiftene thousand foote, and two thousand five hundred horse, were not sufficient to stop his passage. But the industry of a well aduised commander, doth often that which force cannot effect.

Hee comes first to lodge at *Carignan*, fortifies himselfe speedily, and with continuall skirmishes, keepe the Marquis from forcing of the passage. The waters were low (it was in the moneth of Iuly) they might easily wade through both aboue and beneath *Carignan*, these two armies had already camped fiftene daies one against an other, and the weakest in number was almost tired. *Langey* himselfe with his exceeding toile, was growne lame, yet hauing his tongue and his spirits free, hee winnes from the Imperiall army, sixe thousand Italians: so as weakning his enemy, hee fortifies himselfe. The Marquis amazed, and fearing lest these should suborne the rest of his troupes, retires to *Villedestelon* and *Quiers*. It was a goodly thing to pursue them, and the Suisses had accepted of this proposition: but in steed of passing the *Po*, being muined by the perswasions of some, they turne their Ensignes directly to *Pignerol*, and *Boutieres* with them. *Langey* seeing himselfe abandoned, diuides his last-come Italians into *Caselles* and *Siria*, betwixt *Turin* and *Vulpian*, leaues about fifty souldiars in the castle of *Carignan*, and causeth himselfe to bee carried to *Turin*.

The Marquis hearing of this soudaine departure, sends to summon the place, and threatens the souldiars with death, if they attend the Canon. They yeeld at the summons. It was likely the Marquis would finish the forte which *Langey* had begunne. Hee therefore sends his brother *Martin du Bellay*, Gouvernour of *Turin* thither. *Du Bellay* sends

1542.

A gallant stratagem of *Langey*.

M m m

sends

1542. sends before him capitaine *Marnille*, and the Earle *Maxime*, *Anthony de Sesse*, his two Lieutenants, with about fifty horse, to obserue the enemies countenance. The Earle leaues his companion in garde, and by a Trumpet, demands to speake with the capitaine of Carignan. This capitaine goes forth vnder his assurance (the Earle knew him well: he had sometimes serued him:) the Earle tels him, they are sent to inuest him, attending the troupes, and the Artillery, and assures him, that if hee makes any delaie, it will not be in his power to saue his life. So the capitaine terrified by this stratagem, deliueres the castle to the Gouvernour of Turin, who tooke order, the like inconuenience should not happen.

Then the Marquis, after two assaults, giuen in vaine to Chiuas, and repulsed by *Ierosme* of Birague, hee stayed at Casal, and *Cesar* of Naples, to open the way from Vulpian to Turin, hoping to recouer againe the Italians, lately fallen from him, came to assaile Cazelles. *Langey* discovering this defeigne, appointed the Cheualier *Villegagnon* to command them, who sent backe his enemy with the losse of about foure-score men, leaving his Ladders in the trenches, for a pawne of his vaine enterprise. *Barges* stopt the passage from Pignerol to Ruel, and did then greatly annoy the places which obeyed the French, beeing in the midst of them. The Marquis retired from Casal could not succour it in many daies. And therefore not to suffer the Suiffes to growe dull, for want of exercise, *Boutieres* by the commandement of *Langey*, parts from Pignerol with sixe Canons, finds a Conuent fortified, ioyning to the castle, without the taking whereof the castle might not bee attempted: hee makes a breach, takes it by assault in foure and twenty houres, and puts three hundred Spaniards which had the garde thereof, to the sword. Then hee approacheth the castle, makes a breach, and compounds with the besieged, that if within sixe daies the Marquis, or some for him, came not strong enough to raise the siege, they should depart with their liues. The Marquis aduertised of this composition, postes to succour them, and *Boutiers* beeing too weake to attend so great a power, retires to Pignerol.

In recompence whereof, *Langey* takes from him the castle of Montault and some other places in Monterrat, beeing hard to bee recouered in winter. And to pull so troublesome a thorne out of his foote, hee causeth *Vasse*, gouernour of Pignerol, to practise *Paul Monnet* capitaine of Barges, and then with some bands newly come from France: hee marcheth with speed to the said place, plants foure Canons in battery, and by meanes of a hole which hee made in the Tower, although not reasonable for a breach, hee receiues both the place & captain to the Kings seruice. The time fitted well for the war, and the King beeing loth to loose the oportunitie, and to imploy some part of the forces that were retired from Parpignan, sent the Lord of Annebault, with the regiment of *Reichbroc*, into Piedmont, with the old Italian bands, and the French, all the light-horse, and foure hundred men at armes. This new armie, might in shew (whilest the Marquis of Guast was at Carmagnole, doubtfull where they would make their first attempt) haue surprised Casal, and other places where *Langey* had intelligence. With this defeigne, hee secretly kept boates vpon the riuer of Po: within foure and twenty houres they might goe downe by water, and the Marquis could not come to succour them in lesse then foure daies march. Moreover, a friend (whom hee entertained neere vnto the Marquis) assured him to deliuer ouer vnto the French three thousand Lansquenets, and a thousand Spaniards, the which hee himselfe should lead, and cause them to bee surprised at a passage nere to Villedestelon, where they had no meanes to escape: so as passing the Po by night, they had sent some foure hundred horse, betwixt Carmagnole, and Villedestelon, and opposed the army betwixt Villedestelon and Quiers. Without doubt *Langey* beeing lame of his limmes, imployed all his wittes, to discover the Imperials purposes, and still to get from the enemy. But Enuy hath alwaies sworne the ruine of vertue. Some enuious persons breake off these two defeignes, and disswaded *Annebault* from these great enterprises.

*Langey* seeing his proiect croft by his enemies, hee parted from Turin with the Kings good leave, to acquaint him with many things touching his Maiesties seruice, which hee could not commit to any mans report: but death preuented him at Saint Saphorin, vpon the Mountaine of Tarare. The Marquis dislodging from Carmagnole, had left so few men in Cony, as a sodaine assault had carried it at the first. To this end *Annebault* parts with foure

A foure Canons, and causeth *Rinoles* to come with the Regiment of *Reichbroc*. The bridges of Carignan and Montcallier were broken, so as the Lansquenets must passe at Turin. *Du Bellay* Gouvernour of the towne, and Lieutenant for the King on this side Po, prepares their lodging, to imploy them as they passe. The Tower of Saint Bony, Chastillon, Saint Raphael, and other small places, vpon the Mountaine of Monterrat, did wonderfully annoy Turin: They could not goe to the places of Monterrat, whence the victuals (especially wine) came in great abundance, without being discouered.

He mounts foure Canons, departs with some troupes of horse, three ensignes of Frenchmen of his garrison, and the sayd Germaines, plants his artillery before Saint Bony, makes a hole, the Lansquenets giue the assault, force it, and put all they finde armed to the sword, except the capitaine, who was hanged by the lawe of armes, for that hee had endured the Canon in so weake a place. Chastillon could not bee battered but from an other mountaine opposite, and the horses could not draw vp the artillery. The Lansquenets, bestir with the prey of Saint Bony, force it vp by maine strength, and the besieged, beeing foure hundred good men of warre, terrified with the vse of Saint Bony, yeeld to depart with their baggage. Those of Saint Raphael, and some other places, send to demand a composition, and retreat. Onely Chastillon was defensible, and commodious for the gard of the passage, all the rest were razed.

The Lansquenets hauing ioyned with *Annebault*, hee besiegeth Cony, ouerthrowes a peece of the wall, and giues an assault, but it was the place which was best fortified: a great rampar behinde the breach, staies our men, the which after an houres fight they are forced to abandon, with the losse of many men of seruice: and the night following, two hundred horse, and eight hundred foot beeing entred, made the Admirall to sound a retreat, eight Canons diuided into two batteries, had so troubled the defendants, as not able to answer the diuers assaults, the towne in shew had bene wonne. But errors are knowne after they are committed. Vpon the retreat, the Earle *Maxime*, *Anthony Marnille*, and *Thiède Bedaine* an Albanois, encounter 200. Imperiall horses, neere to Bra: they charge them, de-seate, and take the most part of them, and the enemy hauing abandoned many small places, the Admirall reduceth to the Kings obedience Villeneufue d'Ast, Poring, Cambian and Riue de Quiers.

Winter did cut off all meanes of more happy successe. So dismissing his army, and sending the Lansquenets of Colonnell *Reichbroc* into France, hee tooke his way to Mont-Cenis: Mont-Cenis is subiect to tempests, as well as the sea. The way is straight, restrained by two mountaines, when any storme ariseth, the gusts of winde doe gather together balles of snow, vpon the tops of the hilles, which growing great as they roule downe, ouerthrow all they meet, and they to whom the straight is not knowne (for oft-times, the guides are lost) runne many times into caues full of snow. *Annebault* was in this danger, most part of them that did accompany him, found their graues vnder the snow: some loose their eyes, others die with cold, some returne benumbed of their feete, others of their armes, and hands, and few of this whole troupe inioyed his perfect health: himselfe was neere vnto a fatall end, if some men attending the end of the storme, in litle caues, had not preferred him from the iniurie thereof.

At that time, the King determined a reuenge against the inhabitants of Rochelle, and the neighbour Islands which were mutined against the Kings officers, for the custome of salt. Being arriued at Rochell, they assembled all in the garden, where his Maiefty did lie, confessed their rebellion publikely, and most humbly craued pardon for their offence. *The furie of a King (saith the wise man) is the messenger of death: but a wise man will pacifie it. And the cheerefull countenance of a King is life, his fauour is like vnto a cloud, bringing raine in due season.* The King mooued with the pittifull noyse of this people, crying for mercy, with their hands lift vp, kneeling on the ground, and teares in their eyes: did graciously remit their offence, freed the prisoners for this offence, deliuered their armes, and the keyes of the towne, commanded the garrisons both of foote and horse, to retire: receiued them into grace, and restored their liberties, and priuiledges: without doubt, *A King maintaines his throne by clemencie.* In the meane time, many practises, and enterprises, are made against Turin.

1543.  
An enterprife  
vpon Turin.

The Marquis of Guast, did at sundry times send vnto the Iudge of Turin, being borne at A  
Quiers, a number of carts laden with wine: and within the vessels which were as long as the  
carts, many armes, harguebuzees, pertuisans and corselets, to arme fourescore men, the  
which he should receiue into his house, disguised like councitrimen, bringing victuals to the  
market: who at the first tumult they should heare at the towne-gate, should issue forth  
armed, and seize vpon the Court of gard, in the market place, whilst that other souldiars  
armed with Iacks, and shirts of maile, morians, swords, daggers and targets, brought in five  
carts of hay, fixe in euery one (the hay being so cunningly laied, as cutting a cord within, the  
bundels would fall downe) should fight with the gard at the port, and fauour the entrie of  
eight hundred horse, and five thousand foot, which should be ready at the alarum. But the  
enterprife being discouered, made the Iudge to loose his head.

The enemy notwithstanding, lets not to proceed to the execution of his carts of haye, B  
in the absence of *Bellay*, whom his priuat affaires had called into France, after the death of  
his brother: and the twelfth of February, *Boutiers*, Lieutenant for the King at Turin, was well  
advertisid of some carts which were preparing at Ligni (an imperiall towne nere vnto Vul-  
pian) but not of the manner of the former enterprife. They hazard their haye. *Raimonet*  
commanding at the gate, causeth *Perrichon* his Lieutenant to thrust a pike through the  
first cart, he drawes it out all bloody, the souldiars leape forth, and the first thrusts *Raimonet*  
through the body, with his sword. *Raimonet* takes him by the throat, and stabs him, his com-  
panions likewise come forth, force the gard, seize vpon the armes that hang vp, and be-  
come maisters of the port. Valiantly without doubt, but some-what too soone for them,  
their succours were a mile or more from the first bridge.

Captaine *Saluadeur de Aguerre* (who deserues to be registred, hauing a great share in the  
preseruacion of the towne) hauing then the gard of the place, hearing the alarum at the  
gate, and crying *Sauoye*, turnes head with his troupe, repulseth the five that were slipped out off  
the first cart, and goes directly to the gate. A well aduised Smith, who dwelt neere the  
gate, goes vp, and with a great hammer breakes the chaine, and lets downe the Portcullis,  
so as the Imperials could not enter. *Boutiers* and *Maurins* arriue, they shut the gates, kill  
some of the souldiars that were betwixt the gate and the Portcullis, the rest creepe vnder  
the Portcullis being too short, and *Casar* of Naples (who not many daies before, had left D  
three of his souldiars hanged at Turin, being executed for an other conspiracy against  
the towne) seeing his enterprife made frustrate, retired without the losse of any, but of his  
Lieutenant, who was slaine with the Canon. On the other side, the duke of Cleues made  
warre in Brabant, and had wonne some places from the Emperour. So as the Bourguig-  
nons turning all their forces against him, giue the duke of Vendosme meanes to victu-  
all Therouenne, to take Lilliers by composition, being a strong place, betwixt Aire and  
Betune, at the entrie of the marsh: to burne the towne, beat downe the gates, and to make  
it and many other places about Therouenne, Saint Omer, Aire, Betune, altogether  
vnprofitable for the enemy. And to the Earle of Aumale eldest sonne to the Duke of  
Guise, accompanied with the Lords of Laual, Saint *André*, *Escar*, *Dampiere*, *Chastai- E*  
*guerau*, *Eguilly*, and a great number of other young Gentlemen occasion to quicken  
the enemy with continuall skirmishes, and assaults, most commonly carrying away the  
aduantage.

Exploits in  
Picardy.

The happie successe, and the fauourable season, inuited the King, in the beginning of  
Iune, to goe to field with all his forces, with an intent to assaile Auennes, being vn-  
furnished of men. To this end hee sends the admirall of Annebault, newly aduanced to that  
office, by the death of the Admirall of Brion, that attending his comming, hee should  
inauest the towne; and sent to the duke of Vendosme, to come to him to Chateau Cam-  
bressis, which was the Rendezuous for all the army. So the King had the Admirals armie,  
as a forward on his right hand, that of the duke on his left, and his Maiestie in the midst. F  
*Longuenall* and *Langey*, with their companies of men at armes, and *La Lande* with a thou-  
sand foote, goe before, by the Admirals commandements, they take the fort by assault,  
which the enemies had built vpon the bridge of the riuer of Estruell: and before the  
towne had any knowledge thereof, they put to the sword three hundred men, that had the  
gard thereof. In this amazement, if they had furiously assailed the towne, in shewe  
it

1543.

Landrecy and  
other places  
taken by the  
French.

A it had beene forceable. Notwithstanding *Landrecy*, the castle of Emery, and some other pla-  
ces taken and fortified, gaue entry into the country of Hainault. Landrecy is situat vpon  
Sembre, a small riuer, but deepe and strong vpon the bankes, which issuing out of Oise, in  
the Duchy of Guise, runnes by Chastillon, Landrecy, Marolles, Emery and Maubeuge:  
then it runs into the Meuze neere to Namur. Beyond Sambre, is the Forrest of Mormaut.  
*Langey* foreseeing that the garrison might vse the same stratageme, they had done in the  
yeere 1521. had placed a hundred horie betwixt the Forrest and the towne, that being forti-  
fied by the Admiralls comming, they might cut off the retreat to them that were assailed.  
But as we haue said else where: Enuy doth alwaies crosse braue designses. The Admirall in  
steed of fauoring the enterprife, calls back them that were on the other side of the riuer, be-  
ing ready to performe a worthy exploit. And the enemy seeing the way open, retires into  
the Forrest, and at their dislodging, consumes the whole towne to ashes: and not able to  
saue any thing but the Church, they burne their victuals and munition, which was suffici-  
ent to feed the Garrison of the towne a whole yeere. To repaire and make it defensibie,  
the King gaue the gouernment thereof to *La Lande*, who by a counter-trench couered it  
from a mountaine on the Forrest side, which lookes into the towne: he made three great bul-  
warkes, and filled the castle with earth to make a platforme, seruing as a flanke to the bul-  
warkes. Let vs marke an other fault, no lesse remarkeable. The duke of Vendosme, marching  
by the high country of Arthois to the Rendezuous, had suddenly reduced Bapaume to his  
C obedience. *Auchimont*, with the souldiars and citizens of all sexes, being retired into the  
castle, had but one well, which being dried vp in two daies, would haue brought them to the  
dukes mercy, when as hee receiues a second charge from the King, that vpon paine of diso-  
bedience, and to incur his disgrace, he should come the same day to him to Chateau Cam-  
bressis: so as he left the besieged at liberty.

The King hauing his forces vnited, he found the number to be about eighteene hundred  
men at armes, whereof the commanders were, the Daulphin, the dukes of Orléans, Ven-  
dosme, and Guise, the Earles of Saint Paul, Aumale and Brissac, the Marshall of Biez, the  
Admirall, *Dampiere*, *Maugeron*, *Bosffy*, *Longuenall*, *Bonneual* and many others, the number  
whereof would bee tedious: eighteene hundred light-horse vnder *Brissac* their Colonel:  
D twelue thousand Legionaries, Picards, Normands and Champanois, and twelue thousand  
low Germaines. The castle of Emery might bee fortified, and serue to second *Landrecy*: To  
that end the King sent the Daulphin, with part of the army, and some artillery. The Lord of  
the place, was at the warres in Gueldres, and they which kept it, yeilded vpon the first ap-  
proches. *Langey* with his company of men at armes, and an esaigne of the legion of Picar-  
dy, was left for the defence and fortification of the place. The taking of Barlemont, an other  
cattle vpon the same riuer opened the passage vnto Bains, and to the gates of Monts in  
Hainault. Maubeuge was the enemies store-house, when as hee made any attempt against  
this Realme, and the towne being vnfurnished of men, able to attend the Canon, the inha-  
bitants yeilded to the Daulphin, who (leaving *Heyley* captaine of a thousand men, of the  
E legion of Picardy, and Saint Yue with five hundred) he retired to the army.

The castle of  
Emery taken.

The army camped tenne leagues from Bains, and Bains was the ordinary retreat of the  
Imperials returning from the warre in Guelderland, who for the distance of the French  
campe, did lodge securely in the suburbs and villages about: considering that there were  
no horse-men at Maubeuge, *Langey* giues intelligence to *Maugeron*, that they had meanes  
to doe a braue exploit with honour and profit. Hee comes with his company of men at  
armes, and fourescore of the Admirals, and parting by night, they take (in their passage cap-  
taine Saint Yue) with fifty Harguebuziers on horse-backe, of the Garrison of Maubeuge,  
they lay an Ambush halfe a league on this side Bains, within a wood, and send *La Mot Gom-  
drin* Lieutenant to *Maugeron*, who remained sicke at Maubeuge, to enter the suburbs of  
F Mons, and by the firing of some houses to take from them of the towne the knowledge of  
the enterprife of Bains: and then to retire themselves into the ambush, in case they were  
charged, and they send *M. ruiile* Lieutenant to *Langey* (who commanded the ambush) the  
Vidame of Chartres, *la Rocheignion*, and the Harguebuziers on horse-backe, to surpris-  
e the Imperials in their suburbs, at the breake of daie. Euery thing was executed ac-  
cordingly. About fixe-score horse, arriuing the night before, slept at their ease: they  
Mmm 3 awake

1543. awake them some-what rudely, and carry them away prisoners, spoile the Villages about, A  
returne to diuide their rich booty at Maubeuge. At the same time the Earle of Aumale tor-  
mented the garrisons of Auennes with continuall skirmishes: but still with the decrease of  
their men, and no lesse of his.

The Imperi-  
als surprised  
at Bains.

The prisoners of Bains had assured the King, that the towne was vnfurnished of men of  
defence. Hee therefore sends the Daulphin and the Admirall to subdue it to his obedi-  
ence. But at the first approach they found themselves abused. The Imperials had the  
next day after the alarm, put fiftene hundred Lansquenets into the towne. Moreouer,  
for want of well viewing the fort, they had indiscreetly planted the Canon against the  
strongest part: the battery did small harme, many died there, and many returned wounded. B  
*Alegre* amongst others, a young man, who for his age had made good prooffe of his per-  
son, lost his life. *Gaspard* of Coligny Lord of Chastillon (he shall hereafter play many parts  
vpon the Theater of this History) for one of the first exploits of his armes, had a shot in the  
throat. So the great number of Germanes which entred into Bains, the want of muni-  
tion and victuals (the Daulphin having brought but for two daies) the enemies which as-  
sembled at Monts, and at *Quefnoy le Comte*, the danger the King did foresee, in keeping  
his troupes diuided, the feare that going in person to ioyne with his sonne (with whom  
were his chiefe forces, hee should bee constrained to leaue the fortifications of Landrecy  
imperfect: his Maiesty drawes the Daulphin vnto him, hee causeth him to beate downe the  
defences of *Maubeuge* in his passage: and (for that the Emperour was wont to assemble C  
his forces there that came out of Germany and the Low-countries) to fire the towne.  
*Trelon* and *Glavon*, places betwixt Auennes and Simay, did greatly annoy the frontiers of  
*Tierasse* and *Champagne*. *Bonnenall* and *Stenay*, Lieutenant to the duke of Anguien (who  
was in Prouence, as wee shall shortly see) had commission to preuent it. Being come to  
*Trelon*, with two thousand French, and foure thousand Lansquenets, those within at the  
first sight of the Canon yielded to haue their liues sau'd. Glavon afterwards submitted  
with the like facility. Both being burnt, but their fortifications not ruined, shall serue againe  
to lodge the Imperials.

Emery remained still whole, but it might not bee made fit to endure the attempts of a  
mighty army in twelue daies. Moreouer it must bee furnished with victuals. Two riuers D  
not to be waded through, betwixt Landrecy, and Emery, made the victualing difficult. A-  
uennes did cut it off, and the Commissaries of the victuals reported, that to put victuals in-  
to Emery, were in time to famish the army, and to take away the meanes to victual Land-  
recy, for the want of carriage, which was greatly hindred by a continual raine three weekes  
together. And that which did most import, newes comes to the King, that the Emperour  
armes, and approached neere the countries of the duke of Cleues, whom hee might not a-  
bandon to the pawes of a roring Lion, who had long time vowed his ruine. So the Towers  
of the Dungeon of Emery, and the portall of the walles flying into the ayre by mine, and  
other meanes, serued to fill vp the trenches.

Hitherto wee haue made warre with small resistance, hereafter wee shall haue a stronger E  
party, and by consequence more glory to crosse the Emperours attempts, whilest that the  
famine, and the winter driues him from before Landrecy. In the end of Iuly, Landrecy  
was in such estate, as without any support of an army, the fortifications might well bee con-  
tinued, leauing some troupes at Guise, and the duke of Cleues (against whom the Empe-  
rour banded all his power) appealed to the King for succours. The King therefore to diuert  
the Emperours forces, to draw him to battaile, and to trie if he were accompanied with the  
like happinesse, leading his forces, in person, as he had beene by his Deputies, or at the least  
by the taking of Luxembourg, to make the way easie to succour his ally, he sent the duke of  
Vendosme to encounter the enemies attempts, vpon the frontiers of base Picardy, and to  
fauour the necessary victualing of Landrecy: and for the execution of his enterprife, F  
hee appointed the Duke of Orleans, vnder the conduct of the Admirall of Anne-  
bault. The Prince of Melphes, whom the King had left in Guise, with three hundred  
men at armes, and *Brissac*, Collonell of fiftene hundred light-horse, assembled to goe  
and ioyne with him about Rheimes. And the Eatles of Reux and Roquendolfe, with  
the forces of the Low-country, came from a skirmish at Landrecy, which they did hope to  
surprise,

A surprise, being vnfurnished of victuals. As they trouped together with a desseigne to at-  
tempt the castle of Bohain, newes comes that *La Hunauday* and *Theau de Bedaigne* an Al-  
banois, (either of them being Captain of two hundred horse) were lodged neere vnto the  
castle of Bouhourie, making account to dislodge so earely, as they might come in time to  
part with the General. To surprise them, the Lord of Liques, Lieutenant to the Duke of  
Ascots companie, drawes eight hundred choice Bourguignon horses out of the Imperiall  
troupes, two hundred Englishmen, (the King of England being then fauoured by the Em-  
perour, pretended to invade vs, as we shall hereafter see) and foure ensignes of foot-men.  
But lest he should come too late, he leaues them behind him, and marcheth before with his  
horsemen. At the first they charge *Bedaignes* lodging, who whilest the enemy was breaking  
open the gate, had leysure to put on his Cuirasse: he goes to horse-backe with his Lance in  
his hand, forceth furiously through them, ouerthrowes them: he meetes, and ioynes his  
troupe with *La Hunauday*, who was likewise on horse-backe. *Aché* and *Bertrand* of Foissy,  
Lord of Crené, Captaines of two hundred Harguebuziers on horsebacke, being lodged  
at the same Abbey, post to their succours: they force the bridg which the Imperials kept,  
and ioyntly with the light-horsemen repulse the enemy.

The Imperi-  
als charge the  
French in their  
lodging, and  
are repulsed,

The alarme is giuen at Guise. *Theau de Mares* arriues with his two hundred light-horse,  
to second his companions: and *Brissac* borrowing about three-score horse of the Prince of  
Melphes (his troupes had already taken the way to Marle) goes to their ayde: hee is aduerti-  
C sed by *Bedaigne*, that the enemy (feare to haue the whole army vpon them) began to wa-  
uer: all the troupes ioyne and charge them suddenly: they ouerthrow their horsemen vpon  
their foot, which aduanced and put them to rout: they pursue them speedily, leaue three  
hundred dead vpon the place, carrie away sixe hundred prisoners, and winne foure ensigs  
and two cornets. The rest of the Imperiall armie going to assaile Bohain, hearing of this  
defeat, and doubting they should be forced to fight with the whole army, grew amazed, and  
retired to *Quefnoy le Comte*. The Duke of Orleans having already by the taking of Saint-  
*Mary* (for Montmedy and Yuoy were vnder the Kings obedience, since the first conquest  
made by the said Duke) Danuilliers, Vireton, Arlon, and other places, made his approaches  
to Luxembourg: he prest it with two batteries at a corner of the high towne towards France,  
D the one crossing the other: the one was committed to the Duke of Aumale, the other to  
*Peter Stroffy* a Florentine, kinsman to Pope *Clement* deceased: who (being lately come out  
of Italy) had brought three hundred Tuscan souldiers, all men of note and commande-  
ment: two parts armed with pikes, the third with Harguebuzes all with gile corselets. The  
towne was defended by foure hundred horse well appointed, and three thousand sixe hun-  
dred foote well armed, vnder the command of *Gyles* of Leuant, a man well esteemed by the  
Imperials, and *John de Hen* one of the Lords of Metz: yet at the fifth or sixth volley of the  
Canon, hauing demanded composition, they departed with their baggage.

*Longueuill* entred as Gouvernour with his company of men at armes. *Anglure* with a thou-  
sand of the Legion of Champagne: *Haraourt* a Lorrain, and the Vicount of Riuiere, com-  
E manding either of them sixe hundred men: and *Ierom Marin* a Boulenois, sixe-score Ita-  
lians. The King hauing passed the Feast of Saint *Michael* there, and performed the cere-  
monies of the order, he disposed of the fortifications of the towne: then he prepared him-  
selfe to succour Landrecy, which the Imperials beleeged, leauing the legionaries of Cham-  
pagne and Normandy vnder the Cont *Burienné*, to fauour the victualing of his new con-  
quest, the which he had committed to the Prince of Melphes, being assisted with the com-  
panies of men at armes of the Lords of Sedan, Lametz, Brienne, Langey, Estauges, La  
Mailleray: two thousand Lansquenets led by *Fresnay*, and ten thousand Legionaries.

The munition was prepared at Stenay and Mouzon: and for want of carriages which they  
had purposely stayed on all sides, the campe was so oppressed with famine, as the Captains  
F themselves had no bread to eate. So the souldiers being impatient and ill-affected: disdai-  
ning moreouer to see themselves disappointed of the sack and spoile of Luxembourg, wher-  
of they were in hope, they mutine and returne home to their houses: so as of ten thousand  
about three hundred remained vnder their ensignes: and Captaine *Tauernier* (whome the  
Duke of Orleans had left in Arlon) hauing spoiled the towne, tooke the same way with  
his company. Without doubt these poore townsmen newly conquered, shewed them-  
selves



1543.

selues more faithfull then this wretch, who was appointed to defend them. They giue notice, that they had shut their gates against the Imperials that were come to ceaze on their towne: and that hauing taken their oath of fidelicy vnto the King, they were resolu'd to keepe their faith, so as they might be releued. Ten or twelue thousand Lansquenets were assembled vpon Mozell to hinder this victualling. Notwithstanding through the helpe of the men at armes, and the Lansquenets of Freinay, Luxemburg was victualled for three moneths, in despite of the enemy, and Arlon supplied with fixe hundred men, and such a quantitie of munition as the time would permit. The taking of Luxemburg had giuen the King meanes, to lend the Admirall with foure hundred men at armes, and ten thousand foote, to succour the Duke of Cleues, in whose fauour this warre was chiefly attempted. But the Duke after the taking of the towne of Dure, hauing no meanes to auoide the storm which threatned him with apparent ruine, nor long to withstand so great a power, made his peace with the Emperour, yeelded vnto him the Duchie of Gueldres, the County of Zutphen, and the forts of Heusberg and Sittart, to dispose thereof at his pleasure. At the same time *Don Fernand* of Gonzagua, Licutenant generall for the Emperour, beseege'd Guise: but being aduertised of the Kings arriuall at Coucy, who marched with great speed to incounter the Emperour, he resolu'd to make his retreat to Landrecy. *Brissac* with a number of men at armes, and harguebuziers on horse-backe, lies in ambush in a wood, to surprize them in their dislodging, and sends *Theau de Bedaigne* with his band, to enter skirmish with the Imperiall light horse-men, and to draw them (if it were possible) into the ambush. But *Bedaigne* not able by skirmish to make them abandon the body of their army which marched towards Landrecy, *Brissac* puts forth fixe hundred horse, to giue a furious charge, and he followes with his whole troupe to second them. Our men making a gallant charge, ouerthrow all they incounter: they kill and take prisoners, amongst others *Don Francis* of Esté, brother to the Duke of Ferrara, Capitaine Generall of all the Imperiall horsemen: and they presse the rest so hotly, as *Gonzagua* gathering together all his battalions, is forced to turne head to saue the rest. So *Brissac* suffered him to go on his pretended way, to ioyne with the Earle of Roux, who had long time before possessed the Fort of Landrecy.

Landrecy besieged.

Now are all the Imperiall forces before Landrecy, eightene thousand Germans, tenne thousand Spaniards of the old band, fixe thousand Wallons, ten thousand English, thirteene thousand horse, of the ordinarie bands of the Low-countries, Cleuois and high Germans. The campe being lodged, and the artillerie planted, the Emperour makes three batteries of fixe and fortie peeces against the bulwarke of Orleance, against the Castle, and against the bulwarke of Vendosme: and to keepe the defendants from making of any rampar, or comming to the defences, the bulwarkes and Courtins being not yet halfe finished, they plant a long Culuerin vpon a little hill towards the Forreft of Mormaut. This peece did wonderfully annoy them, and they had no ineanes to charge the Lansquenets which did guard it but on the one side. The river that passed by the trench of the base town, which they had abandoned, ranne betwixt them. *Ricarnulle* with forty horse, and *Saint Simon* with thirtie foote and some pioners, vndertake to seaze vpon this peece. They passe the water, surprize the Lansquenets, put them to route, draw the Culuerin by maine strength to the bulwarke of Orleance, turne the mouth of it against the enemy, and from the rampar kill many Bourguignons with their small shot, being come to the trench to rescue it. The King aduanced, but the Emperour (to do some notable exploit before his arriuall) ouerthrow a great part of the wall, making it very easie to assaile, and to take from the beseege'd all meanes to defend this breach, he put them into a portall of the base Towne which was abandoned: and about it he plants certaine field-peece, which commanded the breach. The souldiars were now brought to halfe a lose of prouant-bread a day, and to drinke faire water. So whilest they were well-affected, and had some courage (for men ill fed, and tyred with continuall labour faint soone) they must take his lodging from the Imperialls. Three hundred men appointed by *La Lande* and *Esse*, assaile them one morning at the breake of day, and before they could come from the Campe to succour them, they dislodge them. The breach inuities them to the assault: but the Emperour considering the valour of the defendants, fore-seeing that he should hardly take it by force, without the losse of many of his men,

1543.

A men, he makes his accompt that famine, and the continuall toyle of warre would in the end vanquish them.

The want of victuals, the weakenesse of the place, and the insupportable trauell which they must necessarily endure day and night, made the beseege'd to hazard *Ruelle* a Normand Capitaine of fixe hundred men in Landrecy, to aduertise the King, that extreme necessity would soone constraineth them to yeeld, but no force, whilest they had a man liuing. The King assembles his campe at La Fere vpon Oise: and knowing the resolution of these braue men, he went to lodge at Chateau Cambresys, holding it more honorable to turn head to the enemy, then by delays to make them thinke he would not fight: hee gaue charge to *Landrecy* to gather together all the fat Cattell, all the meale, and all the horses of labour hee could, that whilest the King should feede the Emperour with the hope of a battaile, they might refresh the beseege'd. The 29. of October he had drawne into Capelle twelue hundred sheepe, nine score cattell, fixe hundred sackes of meale, with so many horses and men: euery one carrying a sacke vpon his horse. The enemy scoured the countrie with a thousand or twelue hundred horse. Notwithstanding *Landrecy* hauing ioyned with *Sansfear* troupe, being resolute to passe on; or to sell their liues dearely, he causeth his peasants to march in battaile like to men of warre, to the end the enemy discouering them afarre off, should hold them to be men of another qualitie. Thus they brought their victuals safely to Landrecy, and then retiring a contrarie way, to that where the Imperials attend them, they returned safely to la Capelle. Our men are now victualled for fifteene dayes, but they haue need of rest, and the place to be refreshed with men.

Landrecy victualled.

The Emperour finding the King to approach, retired on this side the water, gathering together all his forces, which were before diuided; and his Maiestie embracing this occasion, sends the Earle of *Saint Paul* and the Admirall of Annebault, to retire them out of Landrecy, who had suffered much for his seruice, and to supply the place with fresh souldiers. They left the Lord of Veruein for the Kings Lieutenant, commanding a thousand men of the Legion of Picardie, and *Rochbaron* fixe hundred. *La Lande* and *La Chapelle Rainsonin*, in recompence of their good seruices, were made Stewards of the Kings house, and *Esse* a Gentleman of his chamber. The Dukes of Neuers and Aumale, the two brothers of *Rochefoucault*, the Lords of Andelot, Brest, Creuecœur, Bonniuet his brother, *S. Laurent* of Brittany, *Mouy*, *S. Phale*, and many other young Gentlemen, (who, to winne honour by some worthy exploits, had voluntarily entred into it) were rewarded according to their qualities. The souldiers were made Gentlemen during their liues, and such as had offended the law pardoned. The King had now put in execution one of his chiefe desseignes, in view of a great Emperour. Winter was comming, the continuall raine had made frustrate all their attempts of warre: and the long aboad of the two armies, had broken the wayes fixe leagues about. The Emperour camped high with aduantage, hauing a valley and a small brooke not easie to be passed betwixt both the armies. There was no reason to passe the water, and mounting to fight with the enemy. The Emperour likewise would not passe, to giue the first charge. So his Maiestie giuing the enemy hope by fires and great noyse, that he would fight, made his retreat towards Guise. The Emperour aduertised in the morning that the army was dislodged, he commanded *Fernand* of Gonzagua to follow, who (the better to discouer them) intended to put some men into a wood where they must passe, but it was too late: the wood was full of French Harguebuziers, who receiued these aduenturers so gallantly, as few escaped to carrie newes vnto their companions, of the manner of their retreat.

A braue retreat made by the French.

The Emperour followed with the rest of his forces, whilest the skirmish was maintained in the wood. *Gonzagua* seeing himselfe seconded by his chiefe Commander, drew forth a thousand or twelue hundred horse, with a good number of shot, and English light horsemen, on the right hand towards Bohain. But all in vaine, the Canon and baggage (hauing passed the wood) followed the King in safety who marched before, and the Dauphin holding the middle, with eight hundred men at armes, and fourteene thousand Suisses, hauing left *Brissac* with his light horse-men, and foure hundred men at armes to second him: moreouer the Suisses were behind in the battaile, and himselfe on the wing to support them, with an intent to fight with the Emperour if he passed the wood: but hee forced the enemy to retire,

1543. retire, not daring any more to appeare: many of his men were slaine, many taken, and few A  
of ours. The season was not fit to campe: so the King, to refresh his army, sent the Marshall  
of Biez to S. *Quenin* with foure hundred men at armes, and foure thousand foote to op-  
pose against the Emperours desseignes vpon that frontier. The Lansquenets to Crecy vnder  
*Cere*, the Suisses to Assy: and he lodged the rest of his army along the river of Oise. And the  
Emperour seeing that he had lost his labour before Landrecy: and that hee had with losse  
and dishonour followed the French-army, he retired to Cambrai, winning much more  
with the Foxes skin, then he had done with the Lions: for by meanes of their bishop, who  
was of the house of Croy, perswading the light-beleeuing Cittizens, that the King meant  
to seaze vpon their towne, to spoile them of that ancient right of neutrality, and to incor-  
porate them to the Crowne, hee made them yeeld to the building of a cittadell, by the B  
which of Free-men they are now become slaues; and this cittadell shall hereafter serue as a  
buckler against Landrecy. We haue here omitted, to describe the exploits of the Duke of  
Anguien in Prouence. The King had sent him to receiue the army by sea, which *Barberousse*  
brought to his succour. Being at *Marceilles*, *Grignau* Gouvernor of the towne, did acquaint  
him with an intelligence which he had with three souldiars of the garrisons of the castell of  
Nice, who promised to deliuer him the said castle. The Duke well informed of the Kings  
pleasure, beeing loth to commit himselfe rashly to the discretion of traitors, who might as  
well sell the stranger, as their owne countrie, armed foure Gallies, and sent them before vnder C  
the command of capitaine *Magdelon*, brother to the Baron of S. *Blancart*, himselfe with  
eleuen other Gallies, tooke the sea, and the aduantage of the wind, either to second his  
men, or to retire at need. When as *Magdelon* approached to Nice, fixe Gallies issue forth  
to inuest him, and fiftene more led by *Ianetin Doria*, chase him vnto the port of Antibio.  
*Magdelon* hurt with a cannon-shot, died soone after: the Gallies beeing abandoned were a  
prey for *Ianetin*, and the Duke discouering by Moone-light, that *Ianetin* came to surpris  
him, retired speedily to Toulon without any losse.

A false pre-  
dise vpon the  
castle of Nice.

Hereupon *Barberousse* arriues at *Marceilles* with an hundred and ten Gallies. The King  
pretends Nice to be his, and heretofore engaged by the Earles of Prouence, to the Duke of  
Sauoy for a summe of money. They assaile it, and within few dayes bring it to composi-  
tion. But without the castle, this victorie was fruitlesse: the castle seated vpon a high and D  
steepe rocke is hard to batter, and more vncasie to vndermine. So *Barberousse* seeing the  
time spent in vaine, and winter approaching, retired his Gallies to Toulon: and the Duke  
vpon hope of a battaile, came to the King to Cambresie.

The taking of Nice drew the Marquis of Guast to succour the castle: but aduertised of  
their liberty, he employed his forces else-where. Montdeuis was the first place of the kings  
obedience in Piedmont, which made head in his returne: and *Boutiers* hauing few French-  
foot to man it, he was forced to put in Suisses. The Suisses are more fit for the field, yet are  
they commended to haue done their duties. But after many assaults, and royles, want of vi-  
tualls, & despaire of succors, made them enter into capitulation: the which was il-observed E  
by the Spaniards: for they were stript, and many put to the sword. A wound which shall  
prooue bloudie to the Spaniards at the battaile of Serisoles. This victorie caused the  
Marquis to passe the Po, and to take from our men the commoditie of all the plaine of  
Piedmont on this side the water, (for that which they held on the other side, as Sauilan,  
Beine, Roque de Bau, and Cental, were without hope of succour) hee turnes head towards  
Carignan, whether the Lord of Auffun, and *Francis Bernardin* of Vimarcat (hauing no for-  
ces to make head against eightene thousand men, and to take from the enemy all meanes  
to make vse thereof) they razed the fortifications which were made the yeare before by  
*Langer*. But they had no meanes to finish their enterprife, nor leysure to recouer Moncal-  
lier, for the enemy meeting them at the passage of a riuer, slue many, and tooke the greatest F  
part of them prisoners.

This losse was readie to be seconded by that of Luxemburg which the Earle of Furstem-  
berg (a man variable in his parties) beseegeed in the Emperours name, with twelue thou-  
sand Lansquenets, and a good number of horse. The beseegeed wanted victualles, and the  
winter had not bene so violent in twenty yeares. They diuided the prouant-wine with bat-  
chets, and it was sold by weight, and then the souldiers carried it away in baskets. The King  
being

The Capitu-  
lation broken.

A beeing loth to loose any part of his conquests, sent the Prince of Melphe, with about foure  
hundred men at armes, *Brissac* Colonnell of the light horse, and some foot. The Earle see-  
ing that the extreame frosts did kindle the courage of the Commanders and souldiers, who  
marched with an intent to fight with him, raised his campe & tooke his way to Germanie.  
The Prince retired *Longueval* and his troupes, hauing bene long kept in, to enioy the li-  
bertye of the fields, leauing the Vicount of Eustauges, surnamed *Anglure*, with his compa-  
ny of men at armes, and fiftene hundred foot in it: then he disperfed his armie into Garri-  
sons in Champagne and Picardy, to make head against the enemye the rest of the winter,  
and to preserue the last conquests. On the other side, his Maiestie knowing that the Imperi-  
als army was master of the field, he supplied *Boutieres* his Lieutenant in Piedmont, with  
B foure thousand French foote, leuied by the Lord of Tais in Prouence, Daulphiné, and ther-  
abouts, and fise thousand Gruyers (to ioine with the fise thousand Suisses, entertained in  
Piedmont) with some three hundred men at armes. With this supply he recouered the  
field which he had long before lost, tooke many small places betwixt Verceil and Yureé,  
forced Saint *Germaine* (a towne vpon the way from Chiuas to Verceil, where the coun-  
ter-scarfe of the trenches is as high as the wall, so as the Cannon cannot beate at the foote  
thereof) to plant the ensignes of France, and then he marched before Yureé, and beseegeed  
it on all parts. But he had small credit with the souldiers: and the King was discontent with  
him, for that he had so lightly suffered the Marquis to fortifie at Carignan, and to victuall  
C it without any resistance. He therefore sends *Francis* of Bourbon, Duke of Anguien in *Bou-  
tieres* place, to be Lieutenant generall in Piedmont.

The Kings ar-  
my in Pied-  
mont.

The Duke hauing taken charge of the army, he marched downe the Po, and at the first  
subdued Palezol, Cressentin, Defanne, and other places thereabouts, to make the way ca-  
sie to Carignan, the which kept all the plaine of Piedmont in subiection, which the King de-  
sired infinitely to haue in his power. But the meanes to force it: It is a place in a plain coun-  
trie, it was fortified with fise goodly bastions of earth, courtins, & a great trench, defended  
by foure thousand the best souldiers of all the Imperiall army, so as their onely hope to re-  
couer it was to famish them. To this end he burnt the bridge they had vpon the Po, where-  
by they might daily haue refreshing from Quiers, Ast, and other places vnder their com-  
mand; and to cut off the victualles they had on this side the Po, hee went to campe D  
at Vimeux two miles beneath Carignan. They receiued also many commodities  
from Pancellier vp the riuer: a fort built vpon the said way a quarter of a mile from Carig-  
nan, cuts off all: and to enioy the riuer of Po freely, he builds a bridge of boates two miles  
beneath Carignan, with a fort at either end, manned with foure ensignes of Italians. Then  
passing the water, he went to campe at Villedestelon betwixt Carignan and Quiers. The  
Marquis made hast to assemble his forces to succour the beseegeed, and came to lodge at  
Carmagnole. Holding this lodging he might fortifie himselfe, and suffering our men to die  
for hunger in a country already wasted on that side Po, he found the Marquisate of Saluf-  
ses full of all commodities, wherewith he might without danger refresh Carignan. The  
E Duke prevents him, and lodging at Carmagnole, driues the beseegeed to that extremity, as  
within few weekes they were drawne to the Kings obedience. Carignan was the chiefe tro-  
phée of the Marquis victories: he was loth to loose it without some blowes, and the Duke  
as loth to loose a prey which was readie to fall into his hands.

So the Court filled with the hope of an approaching battaile, that gallant nobility which  
had alwaies so willingly gone to horse-backe at the first bruite of a battaile, would now haue  
bene loth to haue lost the sport. All post thither, some with leaue, others without. *Gaspard*  
Lord of Chastillon, *Francis* of Vendosme Vidame of Chartres: the Lords of Saint *Anaré*,  
*Dampierre* of the house of Clermont in Daulphiné, *Iarnac*, the three brothers of *Bonniuet*,  
*Bourdillon*, *Escar*, the two breethren of *Genly*, *Asier* master of the Ordinance, *la Hunauday*  
the onely sonne of the Admirall *Annebault*, *Rochfort*, *Lusarche*, *Wartis*, *La Signy*: to con-  
clude, the Court was left in a manner naked: namely of those, which as the Sunne-rising,  
F followed the Daulphin, and he was not held an honest man that would not haue a share  
in it.

A happie arriual: they were all men of accompt, they had by this voyage emptied their  
owne, or their fathers coffers, and the Dukes treasure was so wasted, as both He, his Treasu-  
rers,

1544 rers, and all the rest of the campe had emptied their purses, and for want of money the souldiers would haue bene lesse courageous in this occasion that was offered. But what would not these braue Noblemen do for the Kings seruice, and the authoritie of so gallant a prince that commanded: With their voluntarie lendings, the Duke contents his troupes, attending forty thousand crownes which *Langoy* brought. This was the fourth part of that which was owing to the strangers: but they must seeke it elfewhere. The Emperour leuied a mighty army in Germany, to inuade the frontiers: moreover, a great storme threatned vs from beyond the seas, which soone after fell vpon Boulen and Montreuill.

They had no meanes to content the souldiers, if they had not presently found out the want of their numbers: they therefore resolute on Easter euen the seuenth of April, to make a priuate muster of euery company apart, and giue them hope to recieue money the next day. But they did fore-see, that Easter day would not passe (the armies beeing so neere without some blowes) and by consequence the enemies presence and the necessitie of fighting would easily make them deferre the souldiers pay. And so it proued. The Marquis set forward with an intent to passe on this side the riuer of Po, to keepe our men on that side the water, without victuals and without money, and to recouer the Marquisate of Salusses: being assured to find corne and meale there to victuall his campe, and the towne besieged, forcing the French army in the end to seeke their retreat. Without doubt this had bene there ruine, for the souldiers beeing vn timer, what meanes was there to keepe the field? and retiring into townes the Marquis would haue spoiled Piedmont, burnt the country, driuen away their cattell and ruined the countri-man. This was his desseigne, and to recieue ten thousand men at Yuree, which the Earle of Challan brought, and with this supply to passe by the valley of Aoult, into Sauoy and Bresse, whilest the Emperour shold make some great attempt vpon the frontiers of Champagne.

But he reckoned without his host. The Duke takes counsell, and resolues to fight with him on the way before he should recouer a country of strength, and to that end giues the foreward to *Bontieres*, (who vpon the newes of this bataille was returned from his house) takes the bataille to himselfe, and commits the rerward to *Dampierre*. On Easter day euery man is vnder his ensigne, they discover the Imperials marching from Serifolles to Sommeriue, and the Duke to diuert them, sends forth *Aussun* with his troupe and some shot vnto a high ground of aduantage, who placing his harguebuziers in a little groue, seeks to draw the enemy by skirmishes into the ambush. But the Marquis dares not charge home, he feares some disorder before he had discovered his aduersarie. The Duke marcheth with about three hundred horse, and the rest of his shot, and going to the hill, puts all his horse in bataille vpon the side, and in the midst plants three mynions, which shooting against a battalion of the enemies, standing in the valley, kills some men, and giues a shew of bataille. So the Marquis fearing to be fought withall as he lodged, retired to Serifolles from whence he parted. Night approached, and the Duke seeing the Marquis returne to Serifolles, retired to Carmagnole, leauing two hundred horse to obserue the enemies countenance in the night, then an houre after mid-night he goes to field.

The Marquis seeing this retreat, perswaded himselfe, the French would passe on the other side of Po, and leaue him the passage: so as changing his desseigne, he parts an houre before day, to ouertake him before he should passe the riuer. To returne to the fort which they had left, had bene (by some signe of flight) to daunt our men, and to giue courage to the enemy, necessitie therefore presseth both the one and the other to fight. The Imperials had ten thousand men more, and the aduantage of the place: they had recouered that high ground from whence our men were parted the night before: they should haue kept it, seeing their meaning was to returne. On the right hand of our men marched the Prince of Salerne with tenne thousand Italians, seconded by eight hundred horse sent by the Duke of Ferrara, to succour the Imperials. In the midst *Aisprand* of Madruce with many other Germaine Colonells and Captaines, who commanded tenne thousand Lansquenets all in white armour: and on the left, (right against our Gruyens) *Don Raimond* of Cardone with a battalion of fixe thousand men old souldiers, halfe Spaniards, the rest Germans: betwixt these two nations the Marquis of Guast with the like number of horse: on the other side of the Spaniards the Prince of Sulmona, sonne to the deceased *Don Charles de*

The forme of  
two armies.

*Langoy*

A *Langoy* Viceroy of Naples, Colonel of all the horse, with the like number of horse: tenne peeces of Cannons by the Germans, and as many by the Spaniards, placed with such aduantage as our French could not march against them, but they shot into the midst of their battalions. Thus they marched in forme of three great battalions of foote, either hauing a wing of horsemen. Their order being viewed, the Duke brings his army into the like forme: on the right hand a battalion of the old French bands, beeing about three thousand besides the shot, led by the Lord of *Tais* their Generall, hauing on the right hand the light horsemen vnder the Lord of *Fermes*: on the left hand *Bontieres* with fourescore men at armes: then on his left hand a battalion of Swisses, of about three thousand men, supported on their left hand by the Duke of Anguien with a great troupe of horse: and on the Dukes left hand foure thousand Italians, and Gruyens hauing on their left *Dampierre*, with all the Guidons and archers of the men at armes. The troupes thus disposed and ordered, he sent forth before the batailles about eight hundred shot, for a forelorne hope, led by capitaine *Montluc*: eight peeces of artillerie before the battalion of the Swisses, and the like number before the Gruyens.

At the Sunne-rising the two armies stand one against another: the skirmish begins, and whilest that either army seeks to get the flanke of his enemy, they continue vntill eleuen of the clocke. In the end, the enemy finding himselfe too strong by a third part, hee comes to the charge. *Tais* aduanceth to fight with the Prince of Salerne, but he was commanded by the Marquis, not to stirre before he gaue him charge. So *Tais* seeing the Prince make no shew to march, and that our Swisses being weake in number could not withstand the shock of the Imperiall Lansquenets, which came to charge them: he turnes the head of his battalion, and comes neere to the Swisses, *Bontieres* beeing betwixt both. The Imperials likewise change their desseigne, and of their great Squadron make two, one against the Swisses, the other against the French.

At the same instant the horsemen of Ferrara approached to charge the French battalion in flanke when as the armies should ioyne. *Termes* with his light horsemen beeing loth to attend this hazard, chargeth them furiously, breaks and ouerthrowes them vpon the prince of Salerne: and thinking to be well followed, chargeth into the midst of the Princes battalion: but his horse was slaine and himselfe taken. A happy charge, for without it, it was likely the Prince of Salerne had marched vpon the flanks of the French battalion, and whilst that he was couered with the Ferrarois that were driuen vpon him, the French and Swisses had leysure to deale with their Lansquenets: Who falling vpon the Swisses and French, fought long with the like armes and a doubtfull euent, till that by the ayde of the Frenchmen at armes led by *Bontieres*, all the Imperiall Germans were broken. The Marquis seeing his Germaines in rout, vpon whom he had anchored his chiefe hope, retires apart without striking stroke, and by this meanes makes the victorie easie for *Dampierre* vpon the enemies horsemen who supported the Spaniards. But this old battalion of Spaniards and Germans incounter our Italians and Gruyens with great aduantage: at the first charge they are surprised with feare, and all but the Captaines, which fought in the foremost ranks, flie.

Without doubt it was wisely aduised of the Duke to leaue the Swisses whome he promised to assist, to second these poore amazed foules, for without him not one had escaped. He suddenly chargeth these old souldiers, and taking one corner of their battalion, forceth through them, and leaues not any ensigne of the whole battalion standing: yet not without great slaughter of his men. The Lord of *Affier*, the Baron of *Oyn*, Lieutenant to the Earle of *Monttrauel*, *Montsaillais* ensigne to the Baron of *Curfoll*, *de Glaine*, *Gouernour* of *Ca-hors*, *Cornille* and the Dukes two Squires ended their dayes there. Saint *Amand* (otherwise called *Rochesmart*) and *Fernaques* were found among the dead carcases languishing of their wounds: yet they were afterwards cured: many others were slaine or hurt, whereof foure- teene or fiftene were Captaines or men of account, but he that feares leaues, must not go into the wood.

But this is not all, for the front of the Spaniards (who by the voluntarie route of our men that ranne away, had no foote-men to encounter them) come furiously and charge the Duke, who hauing no foot-men to second him, loofeth more at this second charge then at the first: and to increase the danger (which had bene sufficient to daunt a mind inclining

N n n

ning

1544

The bataille  
of Serifolles.

1544. ning to feare) he had no newes of his Frenchmen nor Suiffes: a little hill kept them from the knowledge one of another: but he had rather die then retire: He chargeth and rechargeth, and still a number of the enemies shot pel-mel with him, and a battalion of their pikes follow him without breaking their ranks, and his troupe beeing greatly wasted, was not now about an hundred horse: an vnequal force to fight with foure thousand men. We may truly say, hee is well kept whome God keeps. The Duke was readie to bee swallowed vp, when as retiring on the right hand, to free himselfe from the Imperials shot, which compassed him in on all sides, the Spaniards had newes of the defeat of the rest of their men. They see at the same instant some troupes rally themselves vnder the Cornet of their enemies Generall. So their first heate grew some-what cold, and they beginne their retreat, but they had no time to finish it. The Duke appoints *Aussun* with about fiftie horse to charge them vpon the flanke, and himselfe with those that came vnto him, followed them in the tayle. All giue way, all flie, euery man seekes to saue himselfe, some in the wood, some in cottages: they beate downe and kill, all are taken or slaine, few escape.

He wins the battaile.

The French pursuing the victorie a mile, and especially the Suiffes, incensed with the foule warre the Imperials had made at Montdeuis, and crying in reuenge of that day, Montdeuis, Montdeuis, put all they encountered to the sword without mercie. In the meane time the Prince of Saleme, seeing the whole defeat of the Germaines and of their horsemen, made his retreat without any great losse. And the Marquis of Guast posted away to Ast: but at his departure he had said vnto the Citizens: *That if hee returned not a Conquerour, they should shutte their gates against him.* They take him now at his word. Without the cowardie of the Gruyens, the battalion of Spaniards had in shew beene defeated at the first charge: the Duke of Anguien had not receiued so fatall a checke in his troupe, the retreat of the Prince of Salerne had not beene so easie: and pursuing the Marquis, they might haue ouertaken him, before he had recovered Milan or any place of safety. But the necessitie this braue Duke had to be succoured at need, made this happie victorie vnperfect in that respect. There were slaine of the enemies about fifteene thousand of all nations, in lesse then a quarter of a league.

Number of the dead and prisoners.

Of Germaine prisoners there were two thousand, siue hundred and twenty: *Alsprand* of Madruce their Colonnell, was found among the dead bodies maymed in many parts of his bodie: Spaniards sixe hundred and thirtie, amongst them *Don Raymond* of Cardone and *Mendoza*, with seuen or eight other Spanish Captaines. *Don Charles* of Gonsagua and many other Italians. The spoile was great and rich, an hundred thousand Crownes in mony, & plate, 15 peeces of artillerie, all the bridges they had brought to passe the Po, much munition, meale, and other victuals wherewith they presumed to releue Carignan, about eight thousand corcelets of Milan, and moueables of diuers sorts of great value. Of the French two hundred slaine and of men of name, besides the aboue-mentioned the Ensigne-bearer to *Aussun* and his Nephew: *Charles* of Dros Gouvernor of Montdeuis, *Desero* of the Countie of Nice, Colonnell of sixe ensignes of Italians, the Colonnell of the Gruyens a Dauphinois, in the absence of their Earle: *la Melle* a Prouençall, Captaine *Passin* a Dauphinois: *Barberan* and *Montault* Gascons, and few others: of the Suiffes, the Baron of Saxe was hurt in the throat with a pike, and none else of accompt.

If the Duke of Anguiens arriual had beene pleasing to the army, farre greater was the reputation which he got by this famous victorie with al the nations of Europe, and the credit he purchased with men of warre, commending his wisdome in so young yeares, admiring his valour, and louing his courtesie and bounty, vertues worthy of a great Prince and Generall of an army. This bloody victorie had terrified the whole country, and amazed Milan. The Marquis of Guast stricke vp the drumme, and twenty dayes were spent before that any man came to his colours. Moreouer, the King had made a new leuie of fixe thousand Grisons: the Duke of Somme, the Earles of Petillane, Mirandola, Martinengue, *Peter Stroffy*, *Valerio Vrsin*, *Robert Malatesta*, and many others leuied an army to ioine with the Duke of Anguien.

There was some likelihood after so furious a battaile, to deprive the Emperour of the estate of Milan. But he armed vpon the Rhine, his troupes were ready to invade the frontier.

The

A The English were at sea, and the King had rather need to draw forces out of Italy, then to supply them. The Duke therefore to draw them speedily to the Kings deuotion, sends the Lords of Tais with the French bands, two hundred men at armes, sixe great Cannons with some other peeces, to force some places vnder the Emperours obedience. Saint *Damian* a place of Montferrat, had not plantd the French nor the Spanish ensignes: notwithstanding beeing without hope of succours, they yeilded to the yoke, vpon condition that they should haue none but a French garrison. Montcallier followed, beeing a strong place: Vigon, Pont d'Eure, S. *Saluador*, Fresenet of Pau: to conclude, all Montferrat, except Casal, Trin and Alba yeilded their neckes to the French obedience. And the Duke going to campe at Carignan, did by many forts so restrain the sallies of the beseged, and the entrie of victuals, as extreame necessitie hauing forced them to demand composition, they departed with their armes only, without ensignes or drums, taking an oath not to carry arms for fixe moneths against the King nor his allies. This done, the Duke sent vnto the King, six thousand French souldiars of the old bands, and six thousand Italians to oppose against the Emperours inuasions.

Effects following the victorie.

On the other side the Duke of Somme, with the other of the French faction, hauing leuied ten thousand foot, but few or no horse, came to ioine with the Duke of Anguien: and the Princes of Salerne and Sulmona attended with a number of horse and foote, to fight with them at the passage of a riuier. They send to the Lord of Tais to demand a conuoy of horse. He promiseth but performs nothing. And they (not able to retire without shame) charge the foot which were farre from their horsemen, and put them to route: but they consider not, that leauing a place of strength, they giue the enemy the aduantage they had of them. The horsemen come and charge them in flanke, as they had broken their ranks, thinking to haue gotten the victorie, and put them to flight, they take many prisoners of qualitie, kill few, and no man of marke except *Vakrius Vrsine*, the rest saued themselves at Quieras and Carignan. We commonly say, that a small ayde doth a great good. The footemen beeing overcome, an hundred men at armes had made the victorie absolute.

This checke doth not daunt them. The Duke of Somme beeing newly deliuered from prison, (the Prince of Salerne his Kinsman had freed him, fearing lest the Emperour should do him some disgrace) and *Peter Stroffy* gathering together sixe thousand men of this shipwracke at Mirandole, meaning to ioine with the Duke of Anguien at what price fouer, he beeing vnfurnished of forces, for besides the twelue thousand men he had sent vnto the King, all his Suiffes (except two thousand) had beene for want of pay dismissed. They giue ouer the playne, and passe out of Parmesan with much toyle, by the mountaines of Genoa.

The Marquis aduertised of this new leuy, gathers together what forces he could of horse and foot, drawes forth his garrisons, and to stop their passage attends them at the foot of the mountains. They aduertise the Duke: who hauing no men, but for the guard of his places, resolues notwithstanding to effect two things at once, and both to surpriue Alba where they had left no men but for the gards of the gates, and to succor *Stroffy*, and finding means to aduertise him, that he should march towards Alba, whereof the enemy was left in doubt. The Duke comes thither on the one side, and *Stroffy* on the other: he makes a hole in the gate towards the mountaine, on the other side of the water, about ten foot long: prepares to giue an assault, and *Stroffy* the scalado, which the beseged seeing, they grow so amazed, as they yeeld the place, and depart without carrying away of any thing.

The Marquis makes haft to succour them, but knowing the Towne to be lost, frustrate of his hope, he retired, and the Duke hauing taken many places thereabout, returned to Carnagnole. Within few daies after the Marquis practised a suspension of armes, which beeing confirmed by their two Maiesties, there followed a truce for three moneths. Let vs now see the enemies attempt inuading the realme. The Emperour had no sooner found the King of Englands discontent, (whereof the marriage of the King of Scotland had bene the chiefe motiue) but forgetting, or rather dissembling the iniuries he had receiued, he winns him to his deuotion, although he had assured the Pope neuer to treat any alliance with him, vntill he had repayed the offence done vnto the sea of Rome, intitling himselfe supreme head, vnder God, of the Church of England, and punishing them which maintained the authority of the Pope and the Church of Rome.

Truce in Piedmont.



1544.

Warre in Picardy.

Saint Disier befeeged.

The death of the Prince of Orange.

Thus two grey-hounds tearing one another in peeces, lay aside their choller to runne after the wolfe their common enemy. And for that, during the warre of the Dukes of Wirtemberg, by the bond of the Princes of Germany with the King, the Emperours desseignes had bene greatly crost, now perswading them (and aboue all the Protestants) that he hath done more then his duty to the French King, for the calling of a Councell, to call backe them that were strayed from the vnion of the Church, and to resotme the Pope and his Ministers (but the King onely had hindred this assembly) to gve him prouision of men and money, and ioyntly to band with him to the destruction of this realme. So hee sends the Earle of Furtemberg with an army before Luxemburg, which hauing maintained the sege to the extremitie for want of victuals, the Vicont of Estauges was forced to capitulate, and to depart with baggage. Commerce was the second triumph of his victories, Ligny in Barrois the third, being the way for victuals which came to him from Metz and Lorraine. The castell is commanded by two or three mountaines, and the beseegeed not able to stand to their defences, came to parle, when as the Imperials entring behind, compassed them in, that were come to the breach, attending the assault: and take them prisoners with small slaughter. Without doubt the place was not to withstand the force of an Emperour, beeing in person: neither was it so contemptible, but it deserued an honest composition. But the Earle of Brienne Lord of the place, and *Rouffy* his brother, *Eschemais* and *Gonzalles*, who commanded about an hundred men at armes, and fiftene hundred foote, won small reputation. Doubtlesse the Earle of Sancerre will winne farre more honour in the defence of Saint Disier, a place ill flanked, ill rampared, and vnworthy to oppose against an Imperiall army. Whilest the King assembled his forces, beeing tenthousand Suisses, sixe thousand Grisons, sixe thousand Lanquenets (whereof the Duke of Nevers was generall) and the twelue thousand men which came out of Piedmont: he sent the Earle of Sancerre, to Saint Disier (whither the Emperour turned the head of his victorious army without contradiction) with the Duke of Orleans company, of an hundred men at armes, whereof hee was Lieutenant, and some other troupes of horse: *La Lande* and the Vicont of Riuere either of them with a thousand foote. The Emperour beeing come before the towne, hastens his approaches and trenches, makes two batteries, and plants sixe great Culuerins towards the castell, to beate into the towne, and to hinder their ordinarie sallies, he turned the water out of the ditch, and brought them to the vse of three wels onely, which hardly could furnish the souldiers: and by a continuall battery makes them carefull to repaire it. *La Lande* was tyred with this toyle, and retiring at night to his lodging to refresh himselfe, a Cannon-shot passing by the breach through the Towne, takes off his head, whose losse was much lamented beeing a valiant Gentleman and a good souldier. In exchange, about the same time the Prince of Orange going to visit the Emperour in the trenches, a Culuerin shot into a heape of stones, hurt him in such sort as he died, to the great greefe of the Emperour and his whole army.

The breach was reasonable, and they come to the assault. Eightene ensignes of Spaniards go to it and fight hand to hand with them which were beseegeed, for an houres space. The Emperour causeth nine or tenthousand Germans, to aduance speedily to succour them: but if the assault was fierce, the defence was no lesse valiant. Our men ouerthrew the Spaniards from the breach into the ditch by maine force. The Emperour sends about eight hundred men with veluet cassocks, and bourguinets on their heads: they turne them likewise downe. Eight ensignes of Germans renew the assault with many small barrells of powder and wild-fire. They are likewise repulsed with such shame and losse, as all their engines and deuises remaine in the ditches at the defendants discretion: (and very happily, for they wanted powder) and seuen or eight hundred slaine in three assaults, gaue a certaine testimony of the valour of the beseegeed. A Cannon shot did miraculously take away the Earles sword which he held in his hand without hurting him, but lightly in the face.

This braue defence made the Emperour thinke, that the beseegeed would accept of an honorable composition. He sends a trumpet to trie their minds, but hee had no audience. So the Emperour ceaseth his batterie to come to the mine. The beseegeed discouer it, and in the night send forth *Limieres* a Norman Captaine, who force the Spaniards to abandon the trenches, which they had brought to the bulwarke of victory: they bring some pioneers into

1544.

A into the Towne to tell newes, and cuts the rest in peeces. Moreouer, the Duke of Aumale beeing at Stenay vpon Meuze, did greatly annoy the Imperials campe, and cut off their victuals from Bar-le-Duke. They must therefore seeke to win by policie, what they could not get by force. The Lord of Granuelle had surprisid a packer, wherein he found the Alphabet of the Ciphre, whereby the Duke of Guise did communicate with the Earle of Sancerre. By this meanes he counterfeits a letter in the Dukes name, and makes an vnknowne man to giue it secretly to a French drumme, returning from the enemies armie for some prisoners, that he should deliuer it to the Earle. The contents were, that the King knowing in what want of victuals and powder they were ready to fall, commanded them to make so favourable a composition, as their men might be saued, hauing yet no meanes to succour them. They had endured fixe weekes sege, their victuals and munition grew short, and their powder was not sufficient to indure another assault. So they obtaine twelue dayes truce, during the which, they should vnderstand from the King, if he had meanes to succour them: or if he would be pleased, that for want of succours within the time, the horsemen should depart with their armes and horses, their Cornets displayed, and caskes on their heads: their footmen with their armes marching in battaile, ensignes displayed, and drums sounding, carrying with them all their iewels, and foure peeces of artilerie furnished, at the choice of the beseegeed. This treaty pleased the king, and they departed according to the capitulation. As honorable a composition as cuer was read of, for men beseegeed by so great an Emperour, with all the forces of the western Empire, in a bad place which had no better esteeme then a Country towne.

But what was the moriue of this easie accord? The Emperour was not ignorant of the small hope they had of succours, and that within few dayes famine would bring them to his subiection. But he would take from the King of England, (who camped before Boulon and Montreuil) all colour of excuse, and let him know that the fault was not in him, if the treatie were not fulfilled, according to the which, without any stay elswhere, they should ioyne their forces neere vnto Paris, (the which vnited together, would haue made threescore and tenne, or foure-score thousand foote, and eightene or twenty thousand horse) and to force the King to fight with disadvantage, or to suffer his country and subiects to be ruined before his face. Moreouer, he did foresee, that the Daulphin camping vpon the riuier of Marne, with the bands come out of Piedmont in good order, and well armed, would make him consume his army, whilest the king made a bodie of forty thousand men, the which confronting him beeing fresh, lustie, and resolute, might cause him more losse and dishonour then he had receiued in Prouence.

And therefore the Emperour, to proceed in his conquests and desseignes, which he had with *Henry* King of England, came to lodge at Vitry in Parthois. Here he learns that the King of England is not resolu'd to passe on, before he had reduced Boulon and Montreuil to his obedience: the first dislike which shall soone draw the Emperour to Bruxelles. Hee considers, that the trauels past at Saint Disier, and want had greatly wasted his souldiers: that to proceed, were to ingage both his men and his person in a Labyrinth, from whence hee should not easily free himselfe with honour: that hauing in front a mighty army, still prospering, hunger (besides the Kings power) would be sufficient to force him to make a shamefull retreat: that if the English take Boulon and Montreuil, he will impart nothing to him of his conquests; that beeing strong on this side the sea, he will be more obstinate when there shall be any question to treat with him. So as he begins to tast of some proposition of peace, mooued before Saint Disier by the Lord of Granuelle, and his Confessor a Spanish Monke, of the Order of Saint *Dominick*, and of the house of *Gasmans*. A day is appointed for the meeting of the Deputies at La Chaussée, betwixt Challons and Vitry. For the King there came the Admirall of Annebault, and *Chemans*, Keeper of the Seale of France: for the Emperour, *Fernand* of Gonzagua: and to know if the King of England would enter into it, they sent the Cardinall of Bellay, *Raymond* chiefe President of Rouan, and *Anbspine* Secretarie of the State and Treasurer.

As the Emperour camped towards the riuier of Marne, a league beneath Challons, and within two leagues of the French armie, a riuier beeing betwixt both, *William* Earle of Furtemberg, parted about mid-night with a guide only, to view a foard which he had in former

N n n 3

times

Saint Disier yielded.

A treatie of peace.

1544. times passed, when as he came into France for the Kings service. Being come to the foard A he leaues his guide vpon a banke: fownds it, finds it easie and passeth the riuier. But he discovered not some Gentlemen of the Kings house, and part of the Admirals company, who had the guard that night, who without giuing any alarme, put themselves betwixt the riuier and him, take him without resistance, lead him to the Campe, know him, and send him to the Bastille at Paris, from whence he shall not depart, vntill he hath payed thirty thousand Crownes for his ranfome. In the meane time the Emperour sees his army readie to breake for hunger: they cut off his victuals behind and on either side. And if that goodly Capitaine whom the Daulphin had sent to draw into Espernay the victuals thereabouts, to breake the bridge vpon the riuier, and to spoile the corne, wine, and other prouisions, which could not be faued, had carefully executed his commission, the Emperour (disappointed of the munition and victuals which he found in Espernay, and hauing no meanes to passe B the riuier) had not in the end enioyed those commodities, which hee found in Chasteau Thierry, another store-house of the French campe, whereby his troupes languishing for hungar, recovered some strength.

In the end the Daulphin being come to campe at La Ferté vpon Iouarre, and hauing sent a good number of men to Meaux, to hinder the Emperours passage, who deuising to make his retreat by Soissons, he takes his way by Villiers-coste-Retz, and vnder-hand resumes the proposition of peace with the King. The King knowing that a bataille could not be giuen in the heart of his realme, so neere vnto his capitall city, without a very doubtful and dangerous consequence, and the losse of men, and in case he should vanquish, the King of England, and the Earle of Bures would encounter him with as mighty an army as his owne: that by the losse of one, and (perchance) two batailles, his realme were in danger: that winning them he should get little, especially vpon England being an Iland: Moreouer, the Marshall of Biez was almost forced to yeeld vpon Montreuil to the English, for want of victuals and succours: the sufficiency of the Lord of Veruein Gouverneur of Boullen, as we shall shortly see, was not without cause suspected: and without a conclusion with the Emperour, hardly could these two important townes be releued.

The King therefore sent the Admirall of Annebault againe to the Emperour, being in the Abby of S. John des Vignes in the suburbs of Soissons, where in the end was concluded: D That Charles Duke of Orleans should within two yeares after, marry with the Emperours daughter or his neece, daughter to Ferdinand King of Romanes, and at the consumation of the said marriage, the Emperour should inuest the said Duke of Orleans in the Duchy of Milan, or in the Earldome of Flanders, and the Low-countries, at the choice of the said Emperour. And in exchange, this done, the King promised to renounce all his rights pretended to the said Duchie, and the Kingdom of Naples, and to restore the Duke of Sauoy to the possession of his countries, when as the Duke his son should enioy the said Duchy of Milan or the Earldome of Flanders: and all things during the terme of 2. yeares, as well on this, as on the other side of the Alpes should remaine in the same estate, as they were at the truce made at Nice. So the Emperour deliuered vnto the King on this side the E mountains, S. Disier, Ligny, Commercy: and the King Yuoy, Montmedy & Landrecy. Steynay was deliuered into the duke of Lorrains hands, & the fortifications razed. On the other side the Alps, the Emperour had nothing to yeeld but Montdeuis, & the King, Alba, Quieras, Antignan, S. Damian, Palezol, Cresentin, Verruë, Montcal, Barges, Pont d'Esture, Lans, Vigon, S. Saluadour, S. Germaine, and many other places which he possessed.

These treaties thus concluded and proclaimed beyond the Alpes, the Duke of Angien returned into France, with as great glory and honour, as a wife and valiant Prince could desire: and the Emperour retired his army (which the Earles of Reux and Bures led ioynly with that of England:) he dismissed his owne, and parting from Soissons, tooke his way to Bruxelles, accompanied beyond the frontiers by the duke of Orleans, the Cardinals of F Lorrain and Meudon, the Earle of Laual, la Hunauday and others. The Emperour is now out of the realme: let vs also seek to send the King of England beyond the seas. Henry the 8. King of England, according to the league he had with the Emperour, landing at Calais, with an army of thirty thousand men, fortified with ten thousand Lansquenets, and three thousand Reistres, which the Earle of Bures led, & the troupes of the Earle of Reux, chiefe of the army of

A of the Low-countries for the Emperour, he found Picardie very much vnfurnished of men, the King had with-drawne his forces towards Champagne, to oppose them against the Emperour: and the duke of Vendosme being weake in men, had fve places of importance to furnish, Ardre, Boullen, Therouenne, Montrueil, Hedin, all equally exposed to the inuasion of the English.

Henry therefore seeing no army to withstand him, making his account to carry a legge or an arme of the body of this realme, sent the duke of Norfolk and the Earles of Reux and Bures to besiege Montrueil, and himselfe went and camped before Boullen. The Marshall of Biez was gouernour, but when hee saw the enemy turne the point of his army towards Montrueil, hee left the Lord of Veruein his sonne in law, to command in Boullen: B (from which hee was dissuaded by some, to whom his sufficiency was well knowne) assisted by Philip Corse a capitaine very well experienced in armes, the Lords of Lignon and Aix, otherwise called Renty, young, and without experience, with their regiments, and halfe the company of a hundred men at armes, of the sayd Marshall: and hee put himselfe into Montrueil, with the Constables company of a hundred men at armes, lead by la Guiche his Lieutenant (a man of great experience in the Arte of warre:) Genly, capitaine of foure enignes of French foote, the Earle Brenger and Francis of Chiaramont, Neapolitans, either commanding a thousand men.

C At the beginning of the siege of Montrueil, the duke of Vendosme aduertised of a conuoy of victuals, which came from Aire and Saint Omer to the enemies campe, garded by eight hundred horse, and twelue hundred Lansquenets, with foure meane Culuerins, to fortifie themselves, if they were charged: hee sent the Lords of Villebon, Estree and Eguyly, with their companies of men at armes, to busie the enemy, vntill that hee might come with his company of a hundred men at armes. Chastaigneray, with fifty of the Daulphins, and Senerpont with the like charge, who arriuing in troupe, charge the enemy, breake them, put them in rout, and besides the dead, carry eight hundred prisoners to Therouenne, winne two Culuerines (the other two remaying, for that their carriages were broken) and foure enignes of Lansquenets.

D On the other side, the Kings prefence before Boullen, kindled the courage of the besiegers, and daunted Veruein, the head of the defendants, a man of no worth. The first approach of the Canon killed his heart: and amazed with the furious battery of the enemy, after he had endured a kinde of an assault (but whilest that Philip Corse stood by him, who being slaine with a Canon shot) hee sends presently to sound the intent of the King of England, and yeelds him the towne by composition: that the men of war, and citizens, should depart with their baggage: and thus hee deliuered him the place, with all the artillery, munition, and victuals, whereof there was great store. The inhabitants refuse this bad composition: the Maior offers, with the townes-men, and those that were well affected, to keepe the towne. A shew of loue very commendable in this people, but in such an action hee should haue proceeded farther, and haue lodged the capitaine, where he might haue yeelded E a good account to the King, and by the effect, haue performed what was offered. Without doubt, his Maiesty would haue allowed the enterprize, as done for the good of his service: for the capitulation was no sooner concluded, and hostages not yet giuen, but a horrible tempest of wind and raine, ouerthrowes all the enemies tents, and leaues not one standing, and the soyle being fat and slippery, they had no meanes to mount to the assault. An vndoubted signe of the present assistance of heaven. Moreouer the Daulphin marched with speed to succour them: who by his approach, had made the King of England to change his designe. But, sayd Veruein, I will not breake my word with the King of England. A foolish, and impertinent scruple, to continue constant in a treacherous promise to the enemy, and to make no conscience to breake his faith to his natural and Soueraigne Prince. A scruple F which shall soone make him iustly to loose his head on a scaffold at Paris.

This peace with the Emperour, had greatly impayred the King of Englands forces. To surprise their campe before Montrueil, and to take Boullen from them, before they had fortified it, the King causeth his army to march with speed. But the duke of Norfolk, fearing least the French army would come betwixt Boullen and him, and cut off his retreat, he raysed his campe, and went to ioyne with the King of England: who knowing his forces, being

The King of England besiegeth Boullen and Montrueil.

Boullen yeilded.

Siege of Montrueil.

1545. being diuided from the Emperours, would be vnable to incounter the Kings army, hee im-  
barked a part of his great artillerie for England, and leauing the duke of Somerset for the  
gard of his new conquest, he retired to Calais.

The haste he had to dislodge, caused him to leaue part of his artillery, victuals, and muni-  
tion, in base Boullen, being fortified onely with some small trenches: for the surprising  
whereof, the Daulphin sent in the night, two troupes, led by *Fouquerolles* and *Tais*, and to  
second them, hee leaues fixe thousand Grisons in a valley. *Fouquerolles* and *Tais* enter the  
place, cut all in peeces they meet, winne both the artillery, and munition, and thinke to haue  
gotten an absolute victory: but for want of making a stand, of ten or twelue ensignes be-  
twixt base Boullen, and the high towne, to hinder their sallies, and to leaue some troupe in  
battaile in the market place of the base towne: five or fixe ensignes issue forth from the  
high towne, and finding souldiars in disorder, busied at the spoile, they put them in rout.  
*Fouquerolles* was slaine, *Tais* hurt, and no perswasions of the captaines could euer stay the  
rest, but they cast themselues confusedly among the Grisons, to saue their liues: yet were  
they (saith the Originall) as good souldiars, as any were that day in Europe: but in matter  
of enterprises, if all accidents be not foreseene, it is too late to repaire them, when the dis-  
order is happened.

The French  
defeated.

Day being come, and the raine falling in such abundance, as the most part of our shot  
had no fire: the victuals by reason of the bad way could not follow, all the country of Boul-  
lenois was wasted, spoiled, and burnt, euen vnto Montrueil, and from Montrueil to Abbe.  
ville (which were feuteene Leagues) no grasse, nor forrage for their horses. So the Daul-  
phin hauing receiued newes from the King, dismissed his Suisses and Grisons, leauing the  
Marshall of Biez in Montrueil, with the French and Italian bands, which came out of Pied-  
mont, and retired to the King his father, at Saint Germaine in Laye. Then died *James* King  
of Scotland, leauing by his death, his Realme in prey to his neereft neighbour. To saue it  
from oppreffion, and keepe the people in the obedience of the Queene Dowager (hee had  
taken to his second wife the daughter of the duke of Guise) the King sent (with a good num-  
ber of men, and money) the Earle of Lenox of the house of Steward, Nephew to the de-  
ceased Marshall of Aubigny. The Earle being young, and ill-aduised, hauing in his vaine  
and riotous expences imployed the Kings money, and fearing to be accused of theft, re-  
tyred to the King of England, who desiring to vse his seruice, and to tie him by some nota-  
ble bond, caused him to marry a Neece of his, daughter to his sister, mother to the de-  
ceased King of Scots. The King aduertised of this reuolt, sent *la Broche* a Gentleman of Bour-  
bonnois, wife and well aduised, to giue counsell and comfort to the widowe, and soone  
after, the Lord of Lorges Earle of Montgomery, to crosse the King of Englands attempts  
against the Scots.

Boullen besie-  
ged by the  
King.

But in caring for the affaires of an other, should hee neglect his owne? Boullen posses-  
sed by the English, was too great a beame in his eye; it was an open port for the enemy to  
take footing daily, and to fortifie himselfe within the realme. They therefore make great  
preparations by sea and land, to dislodge them. By sea hee sends capitaine *Paulin* (hereafter  
Baron of la Garde) into Prouence, to bring five and twenty gallies out off the East seas, in-  
to the Ocean, by the straight of Gibraltar, and eight, or ten Carracks of Genoa: but they  
came so late, as they serued to no vse: most part of them perished at the mouth of Seine,  
for want of expert Pilots. By land hee raiseth a mighty army, vnder the command of the  
Marshall of Biez, to campe before Boullen, the riuer betwixt both, attending his army by  
sea, and there building a good fort vpon the point of the tower of Ordre, to keepe the ene-  
my within their walles with the Canon, and to cut off all meanes for the ships to enter into  
the haven, to succour the towne: making account to goe afterwards in person, to besiege  
Guines, and there to fortifie: to keepe Calais, and the land of Oye in subiection, and by that  
meanes to famish Boullen. But man purposeth, and God disposeth: we shall see both Boul-  
len and Calais, by other meanes, and at diuers seasons, reduced to the obedience of this  
crown. According to these designs, the King sent Cont *Reingrane*, the Colonells *Rei-  
chbroc* and *Lodowike* to fill vp their regiments of Lansquenets, to the number of foure or  
five thousand a peece, and to ioine with ten thousand men, which hee leauied in Gascony  
and Languedoc. This done, his Maiesty tooke his way to Normandy, to embarke his army  
at

A at Newhauen, and being at Touques about Midfomer, hee discovered his army out of the  
Leuant seas, then vpon the assurance which the Marshall of Biez (hauing receiued the Lanf-  
quenets, and fixe or seuen thousand pioners) gaue him, that by the midst of August the  
fort of Boullen would be in defence, he caused his navy to set saile, wherein the Admirall of  
Annebault commanded. But behold a pittifull beginning. As they come to weigh anchor  
in the Carraquon (which was the goodliest ship of the western sea, and the best sayler be-  
ing of eight hundred tunnes burthen, in the which the Admirall should fight) fire takes the  
gunners roome, and consumes it to ashes. Many, to auoyde the fury of the fire, leaped into  
the sea: the galleies saued many, and many were cast away, the fire takes the artillery (there  
were a hundred great peeces of brasse) which sinking all that was before them, behind or on  
the sides, forced the other ships to goe roomer. A hundred and fifty great ships, three-score  
barkes, and five and twenty gallies set saile, the sixth of Iuly, and bent their course towards  
the Isle of Wight, and the haven of Portsmouth in England, where the English had three-  
score ships, well appointed for warre.

The King of  
France his ar-  
my against  
England.

The Admirall resolved to fight with them, made choise of thirty ships, to accompany  
that wherein he would fight: *Boutieres* coasting this squadron on the right wing, with thirty  
six ships, and the baron of Curton on the left, with the like number: The aduantage of  
the place where the enemy lay, defended one the on side by some forts, and on the other  
with rocks, bankes and sands couered with water, which lie in the midst of the way, and  
make a narrow and crooked entry, disswaded him. To draw them to sea, the gallies ad-  
uance, skirmishing with their Canon, and fighting, they retire towards their squadrons. The  
calmness of the sea, without any winde, or great current, shewed it selfe fauourable to our  
men, for the space of a whole houre in the morning, hauing meanes to gouerne their gal-  
lies at pleasure, and to annoy the enemy, who for want of winde lay open to the French ar-  
tillery. So the *Mary-rose* one of the best ships of their fleete, was sonke with the Canon, and  
off five or sixe hundred men, onely five and thirty escaped: the great *Henry* which carried  
their Admirall had made the like end, if the neere ships had not succoured it. And greater  
losses threatened them, when as the wind changed, and became good for them, preferred  
them from perill, and serued them to charge our ships with full sayles: which change was  
so sodaine, as the English ships pursuing our gallies, were ready to ouer-run them, if by a  
great assurance of the Commanders, and expetience of the saylers, and rowers, hauing no  
Canon in their poupes, they had not speedily turned their prowes, who (being without the  
reach of the Canon) slacke their course, seeking to draw the enemy out of the rockes and  
bankes, as they had beene directed.

Some English pinaces (these bee ships more long in forme then round, more narrow  
then our gallies, swift, and easie to gouerne, and which better command the currants in  
that sea) followed with an incredible swiftnesse, and with their artillery, did wonderfully an-  
noy our gallies, when as the Prior of Capua, brother to *Peter Stroffy*, impatient of this bra-  
uadoe, turnes his gally against a Pinace, which aduancing his companions, was ready to  
grapple with one of our gallies in poupe, and forceth him to retire to the body of the bat-  
taile. And our Admirall hauing now put his ships in order, and ready to giue the signe of  
battaile, he sees the enemy retire from the chase, and returne to their hold. In this confli-  
ct, they loose some slaues, few souldiars and no men of account.

They must now prepare an other baite. The King of England was at Portsmouth, and the  
Admirall (burning his country, and killing his men in his sight) imagined that the indigna-  
tion of this wrong, the compassion of his subiects blood spilt, the sacke and burning of his  
country, would force him to send forth his ships, to succour them (being not about two  
Canon shot off,) or else the subiects wrongs, being no way releued by the presense of  
their Prince, would breed some sedition, and mutiny in the country. Hee therefore makes  
three sundry landings, to diuide the enemies forces. The one by *Stroffy*, vpon a little fort,  
furnished with artillery, which did beate our gallies in flanke, and manned by the country-  
men, who seeing the resolution of our men, abandon their fort, and fle to a wood nere by,  
some behind were slaine; and the houses about it burnt. The Lord of Tais, and the Baron  
of la Garde, both Generals, the first of the foot, the other of the gallies, land in another  
place, they incounter some squadrons of foote, who by couert waies in the woods, were  
gathered

1545. gathered together, to fight at their aduantage: they make head against our men, and hurt A some, but the rest of the troupes marching in bataille, make them abandon the place, and flie to recouer their straights, where they could not follow but in disorder.

*Marfy* and *Pierrebon* capitaines of gallies, were hurt in their landing, at an incounter of the English, but to draw them in grosse to fight, it was not possible, and lesse meanes to charge them on their owne ground. Neither capitaines nor souldiars wanted will, but the danger was too apparent. They must slip downe a narrow channell, where but foure ships could goe in front, and the like number of the enemies ships might easily defend it. They could not enter, but with the tide and winde, and the foure first ships repulsed, had fallen backe vpon the rest of the fleet, and disordered them. They must of necessity fight nere vnto B their land: and fauoured by their forts and Canon, had they not meanes to hinder the approach, to the great preiudice of our fleet? and our ships bording and grappling, the force of the current had driuen them on ground one vpon another. There was as little reason to fight at anchor, the cables might be cut, & this inconuenience auoided, the danger was not lesse, for the nature of the current is to turne the prow, so as our ships in steed of the prow or the broad-side, must haue presented their poupe to the enemy. Moreouer, their anchors not able to stay the ships sodenly, by reason of the violent turning of the streame, either the anchor or cable might breake, and by consequence cast the ships on ground.

The French  
consule to take  
the Isle of  
Wight and  
to fortifie it.

They therefore propound two things in counsell, either to saile into Picardy, to fortifie the Kings army, and to cut off all succours from Boullen, or to fortifie the Isle of Wight. C Many reasons perswaded the most part to the last opinion: for hauing the Isle at their deuotion, they might easily become Lords of Portsmouth, one of the goodliest ports of England: and forcing the enemy to maintaine a continual army both by land and sea, to crosse the Conquerours designes, it would consume them in exceeding expences. Moreouer, they kept the passage of Spaine and Flanders: and might in time till the Island, and make it yeeld victuals sufficient to maintaine men for the garde thereof.

Without doubt this was an oportunity which hath not since happened, to oppose a strong barre betwixt both the realmes. But let vs say, that hee which holds both land and sea, within the palme of his hand, would leaue this Island in the power of her ancient and lawfull Lord. But howsoeuer, the Admirall might easily haue left foure thousand men, and D 4 thousand Pioners, for the defence of the Island, as he did to fortifie the Kings army before Boullen, after the ouerthrow of the Cheualier d' *Aux*, a Prouencall and capitaine of the gallies of Normandy, leauing his fleet well manned. As the Admirall lay at anchor before Boullen a Westerne winde ariseth, and makes him to seeke harbour vpon the coast of England. Beeing at the Perrais, and there kept by force of winde, and a swolne sea, the English fleet thinking to haue the aduantage, imbarke speedily, beeing a hundred good ships, and come with full sailes against our men, hauing the winde in poupe. The violence of the windes, and the greatnesse of the seas, which might haue taken from our men the vse and seruice of their gallies, gaue them hope of victory. On the other side, the Admirall feared that the tempest would driue him to shoare, or force him to weigh anchor in disorder (for E that the bad weather would not suffer them to keepe together) and with great danger to passe the Straite at Calais, or else to take his course towards Flanders, and so they might stop his passage in his returne, moreouer foule weather might stay him so long, as hee should want victuals, and in the meane time, the enemy (who to attend him at the passage, would come to Boullen) would disturbe the Kings forts that hee pretended to make, the which hee desired by all meanes to preuent.

And therefore following the aduice of his capitaines, he attends at anchor the change of the tide. The next day the winde and tide fauours him, so as hee desires to incounter the enemy. The night passeth, and at the breake of day, the English army appeares. Hee followes them, but was so becalmed, as hee could not aduance but with the tide. Either seeke F to get the winde, and coasting neere, salute one another with the Canon. Some ships are funke, and some men perish in the sea. In the end, the enemy seeing our men to haue gotten the wind, set saile, and take their course to the Isle of Wight, hauing both wind & tide, which carried them without disorder to their Port, and the night approaching ended the combat. The enemy hauing recouered a safe Port, the Admirall tooke his course towards New-

hauen,

A hauen, to refresh his army, and to land many sicke men languishing in the ships. This was about the middest of August. 1545.

In the middest of August, the King meant to execute his enterprife vpon Guines, where- of we haue spoken. His army was of twelue thousand French, twelue thousand Lanque- nets, fixe thousand Italians, and foure thousand Legionaries, a thousand or twelue hundred men at armes, and seuen or eight hundred light-horse. But the fort before Boullen was no more defensible then eight daies after it was begun: First not built vpon the point, as it was appointed, right against the Tower of Ordre, but against base Boullen, so as it could no way stop the entry of the ships into the hauen. The Marshall of Biez excused himselfe, that they had giuen him to vnderstand he should find no water there, and that the souldiars could not B lodge, for the violence of the winds. Secondly, hee relied vpon this Ingenor, *Anthony Mellon* an Italian capitaine, who was held to bee a man of experience, and a good souldiar, who being ignorant of his measures, made the worke fruitlesse for two moneths.

The Marshall notwithstanding assures the King, that within eight daies, the fort would be defensible, but it was no more forward, then at the first day. And to couer this defect, he lets the capitaines vnderstand, that he is aduertised, how the enemy assembled at Calais, to come and succour Boullen by land, holding it in danger to bee famished: hee was therefore resolved to passe the riuer, and to abandon the fort. And without imparting of any thing to the Lord of Estrée, Marshall of the campe, who contradicted this designe, hee C leaues three or foure thousand men in the fort, and goes to lodge at Mont-Lambert, within Canon-shot of the towne, to make head against the enemy, and to fight with him, if hee came to succour the towne. But what likely-hood was there, that the English beeing weaker in force and numbers, would hazard a bataille, and by land (seeing that one ship would carry more victuals then a thousand carts) come and victual a towne, which daily hee might refresh by sea, without danger, in sight of the enemy. But in effect, it was a great honour for the Marshall of Biez, to see so many yong Princes subiect to his command: and if Boullen had bene recouered, hee had lost the authoritie to command so goodly, and mighty an army. The hope of a bataille made all the youth in Court post to Mont-Lambert, the dukes of Anguien, Neuers, Aumale, Thouars Lord of Tremouille, the D Earle of Laual and others, who by continuall skirmishes, sometimes with gaine, sometimes with losse, did trie their valours with the besieged. And the King relying vpon the assurance hee had of the Marshall of Biez, aduanced, hoping that the Bul-warkes, and the Courtines of the fort, had bene in such defence, as hee might haue employed his army else-where. But there are two reasons which diuert him: The one priuate, which was the death of the duke of Orleans his youngest sonne, who surprised with a Quoridian feuer, which they held to bee pestilentiall, died the eight day of September, in the Abbey of Forest Moustier, betwixt Abbeuille and Montrueil, being three and twenty yeeres old, leauing a second griefe to the father, to haue lost two sonnes at such times as they grew capable to ease his decaying age: and without doubt, the waywardnesse which made this Prince melancholike and difficult, will hasten the course of his life, to bring him to his graue. The other was publike: the Prince of Melphe beeing sent to visit the fort, hauing considered the time of the foundation, and the terme it required to come to the perfection, reported, that winter would bee well passed, before it should be made fit for seruice, without the assistance of an army.

Death of the  
duke of Or-  
leans.

So the King seeing his hopes lost, and the season spent, for the effecting of his designes, he retired towards Amiens, to the Abbey of Saint Fuscien. In the meane time the nere- nesse of the Kings campe at Mont-Lambert, did inuite both nations, daily to make great skirmishes. One day amongst the rest, the duke of Aumale, seeing our men withstand a charge of the enemies but faintly, and were ready to be ouerthrowne: making a count he should bee F seconded by his troupe, hee fals vpon a company of English, which went to charge our French vpon the flanke, and at the first approach staies them, but being stroken with a lance, betwixt the nose and the eye, it breakes in peeces, and left the tronchion halfe a foot within his head: without doubt, we may admire the generosity of this young Nobleman, who for so rough a charge, lost neither stirops, nor vnderstanding, to free himselfe from those which had compassed him in, and his admirable patience in induring the paine, when they came to draw

Skirmishes be-  
fore Boullen,



1545. draw forth the three square head, as constantly, as if they had pulled but a haire from his A head. Winter approached, and the King considering that his enterprise vpon Guines was frustrate: aduertised moreover, that the English made a new leauy in Germany of tenne thousand Lansquenets, and foure thousand horse, to come with this supply and raise the siege at Boullen, hee fortified all the approaches in the country of Tierache, and about Aubenton, Veruein and Guise, to stop their passage. He sent the Marshall of Biez to invade, ruine and burne the land of Oye (for that Calais, Guines and Hames, which the English held vpon the maine land, had no other reliefe but out of that county:) and to dispose of the affaires as occasion should serue, he marched towards la Fere vpon Oize.

Decription  
and sack of  
the land of  
Oye.

The land of Oye contains about foure leagues in length, and three in breadth: a maiish very fertill in pasture, hauing on the one side the sea, and at the one end towards the sea B Calais: at the other end Grauelin, of the county of Flanders: towards the land, and along the bankes of the Marish, is the towne of Guines, and the castle of Hames, and at the end towards Arthois stands Ardres. For the safety of this county, the English had made great trenches towards the firme land, the which were commonly full of water, and fortified with Rampars: and to flanke them, forts and bastions well manned to defend the entrie into the country. The affection which euery one bare vnto the Kings seruice, made them to passe the channels which flowed into the country, directly against the forts: They assaile them, force them, and put all to the sword they finde. Two thousand English come to their succours, the French-men at armes, charge and defeate them, and kill the most part: the rest cast C themselves into the trenches, where the horsemen could not follow: foure score or a hundred of our horse, with many men at armes, testified by their deaths or wounds, the fury of this encounter. The English were strong, both in high and base Boullen, and in the Tower of Ordre (this Tower was built by *Iulius Cesar*, the second time hee passed into England, to haue a Lampe vpon the top of it, to direct his ships, if they should be diuided by any storme at sea, as in his first voyage) and the retiring of our troupes, made them to enterprise vpon our fort, which was made on the other side of the water, right against base Boullen. Seuen D or eight thousand choise men, come an houre before day, and mount foderly to the top of the rampar, where they might easily enter in many places without any ladders. *Thibault Rouhaux* Lord of Riou, Lieutenant for the King within the fort, finding his succours farre off (saies the originall) watched in the night, and rested the day. If the enemy charged furiously, hee repels him with no lesse assurance, kills all them that mounted, ouerthrowes the rest, and puts them in rout, so as by this gallant repulse, he was afterwards freed from the attempts of the English.

A leuuy of  
Lansquenets  
for the Eng-  
lish made  
fruitlesse.

We must now plant strong barres against the Lansquenets, which come to succour the King of England. They were lodged at Fleurines, a great vilage in the cuntry of Liege, ten leagues from Mezieres. Mezieres was of great importance, if the enemy had surprised it. And the Emperour fearing that this great swarme of men, finding his countries vnfortified of souldiars, would doe some harme, had hindred their passage through his territories. This refusall might haue made the Germanes to haue sought a passage by force E through the realme. So the King to crosse them, sent *Languey* into Mezieres with a thousand foot, and the horsemen of Bourgongne, and part of Champagne: hee sent *Longueuil* his Lieutenant into Champagne, to muster the Legion of the country, and manned the passages where hee thought the enemy would attempt. Hee sent the duke of Anguien into Guise with three hundred men at armes, and a number of foot. In the end the Lansquenets hauing staid three weekes at Fleurines, doubtfull where they should make their passage: the day of their pay being come, and the money yet in England, they turne their ensignes, and returne home the same way, leading with them the King of Englands Treasurers for assurance of their entertainment. Our *Francis* is now freed of a great care. By the death of the duke of Orlance, the chiefe conditions of peace made with the Emperour were void: so his F Maiestie sent from Folambray nere to Couffy, the Admirall *Annebault*, and the Chancellor *Oliuer* to enter into a new treaty. The Emperour was at Bruges, and determined to send an army against the Protestants and commonalties of Germany, who yeelded him no such obedience as he required of his subiects, and with this designe hee went to Antwerp, to receiue money by imposition and loane. This voiage is a cloake to delay our Ambassadors. But

A But in effect hee ment to know the mindes of them of Antwerp, that according to the course of affaires, he might be more milde or sharpe in his answers. And the the sayd Ambassadors discovering his ordinary delaies and dissimulations, in the end tooke their leaue, returning with no other assurance, but if the King began no warre against him, he was not resolu'd to make any. A word serues to a man of Iudgement. What might the King conceiue of this cold entertainment? but that the Emperour sought an oportunity to begin a new warre with aduantage: and if hee had forced them to obedience whom he threatened the frontiers of this realme. To auoide a sodaine surprise, hee giues the gouernment of Languedoc to the duke of Anguien: that of Piedmont to the Prince of Melphie, lately created B Marshal of France, hee sent to fortifie the weake places of Picardy, hee made a fort aboue Maubert-Fontaine, seuen leagues from Veruein, and siue from Mezieres, at the going out of the wood, & for that the frontier of Champagne, lay most open to the Germanes, he fortified Mezieres and Mouzon, built a fort vpon Meuze on this side the riuer within the realm, betwixt Stenay and Dun-le-Chateau, the which he called Villefranche, he fortified the castle of Saint Menchoult, Saint-Desier, Chaumont in Bassigny, Coissy & Ligny: and made Bourg in Bresse able to make head against a mighty army. Thus the King provided for his frontiers and places subiect to the enemies inuasions. But the plague had so diminished the number of souldiars that were in the fort, right against Boullen, as of twenty ensignes not C about eight or nine hundred men escaped this mortality. The souldiars notwithstanding are commended for their fidelity, constancy and patience in the gard thereof. The raine, snow, and other iniuries of the aire, the moistnesse of their lodgings (becing but hoales in the ground, couered with a pentise of straw, and when a whole house-hold was dead, the ruines serued to bury their carcases) had bred these diseases. But the spring time hauing tempered the season, and staid the plague, the Lords of Esse and Riou, being refreshed and supplied with men, returned to their ordinary skirmishes, to the enemies losse. The fort wanted victuals, *Senepont* Lieutenant to the Marshall of Biez, was appoynted for this execution. Three hundred English horse come to hinder this victualing. He meetes them the day after Easter day nere to the bridge of bricke, beneath mount Saint Stephen: the skirmish begins on D either side: the Lord of Tais and the Conte *Reingraue* arise either of them, with sixe or seuen score gentlemen: the alarm comes to Boullen, and the English supply their men with seuen hundred horse, and foure hundred Harguebuziers: *Senepont* charge the horsemen before they had ioyned with their shot: the *Reingraue* is hurt at the first charge and ouerthrowne, and on the other side the Marshall of Calais, being chiefe of the enterprise is slaine with a hundred or six score English, about two hundred horse on either side, and threescore, and fiftene English prisoners, all in cassaks of veluet garnished with gold and siluer.

A great  
plague in the  
fort before  
Boullen.

A while after the Marshall of Biez parted from his campe, for the same effect accompanied with fifty men: at armes, the *Reingraue* with his regiment of foure thousand Lansquenets, and two hundred French shot, hee encountered the Earle of Surrey followed by sixe E thousand English-men, with an intent to take from our men the meanes to refresh the fort with victuals, and necessary munition. Here the combate was long and furious: in the end the English being ouerthrowne, retire to a little fort, where they force them. Seuen or eight hundred of their men are slaine. *Surrey* saues himselfe by flight, and leaues seuen or eight score prisoners. Boullen was but a Church-yard for the English, and a waiting for their treasure. The King of England considering how obstinate the King was in the recovery of his town, that moreover the Emperour (what league soeuer they had together) had his priuat designs, & regarded nothing but his own interest, he lets the King vnderstand, that he is resolu'd to haue him for his friend, and to end all controuerfies. So the deputies for their maisters meet betwixt Ardres & Guines. For the King came, the Admirall *Annebault*, and *Raymond*, F the first president of Rouan: for the English, *Dudley* Admirall of England (& afterwards duke of Northumberland) & finally, after many consultations, a peace was made with these conditions: That the King within eight daies should pay 800000. crownes, to the King of England, as well for the arrearages of his pension, as for many other expenses made by the sayd King in the fortification of Boullen, and of the country: And in regard of the said summe, the King of England should deliuer vnto the King, Boullen, & all the country belonging vnto it, with the ancients places

1547. or newly edified by him, *Mont-Lambert, the Tower of Ordre, Ambleteuil, Blacquenay, and others, with all the artillery, victuals, and munition in the said places.*

The death of  
the duke of  
Anguieu.

This yeere is famous by the death of *Anguieu*. In the moneth of February, the snow was very great, and the Court beeing at *Roche-guion*, some young Noblemen attending the *Daulphin*, made a challeng, some to defend a house, others to assaile it with snow-bals: but this pastime ended soone, with a pittifull, and fatall spectacle. As the duke came out of this house, a cofer full of linnen, cast out of the window, falls vpon his head, and within few houres, sends him to rest in the graue with his ancestors, leauing a suspition of some great men, being enuious, and iealous of his vertue, reputation, and fauour, which he had gotten with the King, the people, and men of warre, of whom hee was more then any other of his age esteemed, beloued, and respected.

The death of  
the King of  
England.

The beginning of this yeere is likewise remarkable, by the decease of *Henry* the 8. King of England, leauing for his successor his son *Edward*, 8. yeeres of age. This death bred a great alteration and change, in the health of *Francis*: they were almost of one age, conformable in complexions. And our King taking this for a presage, or fore-telling, that his turne should soone follow after, grew then more melancholy, and silent then before. He falls sick of a feuer, for auoyding whereof, hauing passed many places fit for the pleasure of hunting, of *la Muette*, *Saint Germain* in *Lay*, *Villepreux*, *Dampierre* neere vnto *Cheureuse*, *Limours* and *Rochefort*, he came to lodge at *Rambouillet*, and as the pleasure he tooke both in hunting, and hauking, staied him there some time, his Feuer increased, and grew to a Quotidian.

The death of  
Francis the  
first.

So finding his houre come, he disposed of his conscience, and of his house: hee greatly recommended his subiects and seruants to the *Daulphin* his successor: and the last day of March, in the yeere 1547. beeing fifty and three yeeres old, he changed the painefull, and continuall toyles of this mortall life, with the eternall rest, which the happie inioy for euer. A Prince wonderfully lamented, both of his subiects, and strangers, whose vertues deserue to be placed among the most famous. Hee was valiant, courteous, bountifull, iudicious, of a great spirit, and an excellent memory. A lover of learning, and men of merit, to whom arts and sciences owe the perfections they haue gotten at this day, hauing by his bringing vp of youth, founded Colledges in *Paris*, in the *Hebrew*, *Greeke* and *Latine* tongues, assembled from all parts of the world, learned men, and of good life, and by this meanes cleered the darkenesse of Ignorance, wherewith the world had beene so obscured; by the mallice of time, and negligence of former ages. A Prince fauoured with many good, yet crost with as many bad, and sinister fortunes. Happy notwithstanding, that no aduersity could euer make him degenerate from a noble and royall minde, nor from the true beleefe of a good and faithfull Christian. Happy and blessed in his end, to haue pacified all forraigne confusions, which had so long troubled his estates, and his subiects quiet. But without doubt, hee had beene farre more happie, if hee could haue left his realme free from those fatall diuisions, which euen in his raigne had so miserably diuided his subiects, and shall cause hereafter strange combustions: the first consideration whereof, makes my haire to stand vp right, and my heart to tremble at that which is to come.

HENRY

F

## HENRY the Second, the 59. French King.



**N**ature, his age, and the good education hee had receiued vnder his father, in the government of the Estate, did countenance him in this succession: the which hee receiued on the same day that he was borne, and hee confirmed it in *Saint Germain* in *Laie*, by the restitution of the Constable of *Montmorency*: by the publication of many goodly ordinances, for the reformation of apparell, ordering of the treasure; providing for the poore, suppression of new erected offices: government of the riuers and forrests: maintenance of Iustice, and releueing of his subiects: but aboue all that necessarie law against blasphemers, as we may see in the Originall. Doublelesse this was a commendable beginning, and worthy the homage hee did owe to the Soueraigne Lord, as an acknowledgement of the fee, whereof he tooke possession, if he had not polluted it with the mournfull spectacle of that bloody and fatall combate, betwixt *Jarnac* and *Chastaignery*, Gentlemen of Noble families, hauing taxed one an other with iniurious words, & the Lye past, to the preiudice of one of their honours, the King in steed of reconciling them by the aduice of his Councell, and to haue forced the culpable to doe right to the intercessed; hee granted them the combat, and on the sixteenth day of Iuly they came to the place appointed at *Saint Germain* in *Lay*, where in the presence of the King, Princes, Noble-men and all the Court they entred the Liftes. *Jarnac* who was held the weaker, beeing newly recovered from sicknesse, contemned and disgraced, overthrew the other (who before the combat was held a conquerour) and wounded him in such sort as within few daies after he died; whereat the King was much greeued, and herevpon did forbid all combats. He begun his Reigne by a bloody Tragedy and ended in like manner, whereby we may see, that God doth punish him that thirsteth after an other mans blood, with the losse of his owne.

The restoring of the Constable, disapointed the Cardinall of *Tournon*, & the Admirall of *Annebault*, touching the chiefe government of the State, and the Lords of *Longueual*, *Escar*, *Boncour*, *Framezels*, *Antibo*, *Grignan*, the baron of *la Garde*, the Generall *Bayard* and

The Constable restored.

1548. and many others, accused some for theft, some for other disorders in their charges, did some what trouble the Court. It was an old saying: that hee which eates the Kings Goose, will cast vp the feathers a hundred yeeres after: but since they haue turned this saying into a Prouerbe; Hee that steales a hundred thousand crownes from the King, is quit if he restore ten thousand. So some preuailed by this expedient, others escaped rigorous punishments through fauour.

Henry the 2.  
crowned.

An army in  
Scotland.

In the meane time, the ceremonies of the Kings Coronation were prepared at Rheims, and hauing receiued it the feuen and twenty day of Iuly, by the hands of *Charles* of Lorraine, Archbishop of Rheims, hee made a voyage into Picardie, and did visit the forts which were made about Boullen: then did he prepare an army to succor Scotland, against whom the English made war, for that the Lords of the country had refused to giue their Princeesse *Mary Steward* in marriage to young King *Edward*, hoping by this bond to vnite the two realmes of England and Scotland, to the preiudice of the French, and of the common alliance betwixt France and Scotland. The Lord of *Esse* was chiefe of the army, *Peter Stroffy* generall of the Italian bands, & *Andelot* Colonnell of the French foot, the *Reingraue* chiefe of the Lanquenets, marching by land against the English forces: and *Leon Stroffy* Prior of Capoua, by sea spoiled the English of the greatest part of their conquests: but the confirmation of the peace lately concluded betwixt the deceased Kings of France and England ended this warre; and brought backe our aduenturers into France.

*Francis* at the end of his daies, had well foreseene the leuaine, which should soone breed new combustions with the Emperour. *Henry* must bee heire to his quarrell, as well as to his crowne, and knowing that the Pope had a fresh and iust cause of indignation for the murder of *Peter Lewis* duke of Parma and Placentia, his sonne, and for the inuasion of Placentia, by *Ferdinand Gonzagua*, Lieutenant for the Emperour in Italie: hee sent *Charles* of Lorraine, lately honoured with a Cardinals-hat (this is hee that shall minister so much matter to talke of him, vnder the successors of *Henry*) to draw the Pope from the Emperors partie, to the Kings alliance: but death shall frustrate the Pope of his intended reuenge. Commonly men fith best in a troubled streame: and many knowing this new King to bee of a mild spirit, addited to the delights of Court, and little practised in affaires, they kindled a desire in his minde to reuenge the wrongs the Emperour had done to France, whereof they vrged for a testimony the death of *Vogelsberg* beheaded in Ausbourg, at his returne from the Scottish warres for the Kings seruice. On the other side, the Emperour grew not a little ialous of the progresse the King made into Bourgongne, Bresse, Sauoy and Piedmont, as if hee had carried with him an alarum bell to stirre vp the people to the following warre. And it may be it had then been kindled, but an home-bred mutiny staied it for a time. During the Kings voiage, into Sauoy and Piedmont the extorsions of the tol-gatherers and farmers of Salt, caused the commons of Guienne, Xaintonge, and Angoulmois to rebell. In few weekes forty thousand men goe to field armed with all kind of weapons, the Islanders ioyne with them, and with a common consent fall vpon the tol-gatheres. The people of Galcony doe presently follow this pernicious example. The commons of Bourdeaux rise, & finding *La Vergne*, *Esbonnac*, *Marquanan* & others, (Tribunes fit for their humors) they expell the customers, sack many good houses, vnder colour to seeke for these exactors: the commons search throughout the towne, whence followed many Massacres in diuers places, and many of the Kings officers were slaine, who abusing their charges had bene the cause of this mutiny. The Maior, Iurats and other Magistrates of the Citie of Bourdeaux, and the Court of Parliament, with the Seigneur of Monneins who commaunded there as the Kings Lieutenant, in steed of remedying these tumults in the beginning, temporized to much, namely *Monneins*, who for that he did not surppresse the insolency of *La Vergne* one of the heads of these mutins, hee made him dare to raise vp the people by the sound of a bell.

Sedition for  
the customers.

An other errour of his was, that hee sent forth a number of shotte out of the castle of Ha, thinking to terrifie this intraged multitude. But this increased their popular furie. They forced the Councillors of the Parliament, to laie aside their gownes, to put on Mariners cappes, to carry pikes, and to follow their Ensignes, and the maisters of Saulx bretheren, the one captaine of the towne, the other of castle Trompeté, to be their

A their leaders, to assist at the sacking of many houses, and to see their friends and fellow citizens massacred before their eyes. They spoile the towne-house, a goodly store-house for armes: and to increase their villanies, they murder *Monneins* most cruelly, beeing come amongst them, thinking with courteous words to pacifie the furie of these mutines. Hauing wrought their wils, and being laden with booty, they disband, some one way, some another: the Parliament fortified with men of honor, and reluming their authority, punish by exemplary iustice *La Vergne*, one of the chiefe Tribunes of this rebellion, and some other of the most apparent. The King was no lesse ready to reuenge this outrageous and rash rebellion, then the commons were actiue in the execution. The Constable had the commission for Guienne. *Francis* of Lorraine duke of Aumale (whom we shal afterwards see duke of Guise, so famous vnder *Francis* the second, and *Charles* the ninth) that of Xaintonge with foure thousand Lanquenets and many French horse. This man seeking to win the reputation of a mild and mercifull Prince, pacified the country without punishment of what had passed. The other marched after an other manner, for ioyning both armies together, he entered into Bourdeaux, disarmed the people, tooke and burnt all the records, registers, rights and priuiledges of the citizens, and of all the country of Bourdelois: hee caused the Court of Parliament to cease: beates downe their bells, forced feuen-score of the chiefe to goe vnto the Carmes (who had three daies after the mutiny, in the night taken vp his poore disinembred carcase with a gentleman of his called *Montelieu*) to fetch the body of *Monneins*, and to conduct it in mournful sort vnto Saint Andrews Church, and by the punishment of the two Saulx, Estonnac (an other Tribune who had seized vpon the castle Trompeté) and many others, hee purged their offence. *Talemagne* and *Galeffie* Colonnells of the commons, were afterwards broken vpon the wheele, either of them carrying a crowne of burning iron for a marke of the souerainty, which they had vsurped. The end of this yeere was more comical. *Anthony* of Bourbon duke of Vendosme married *Joane* of Albret daughter to *Henry* of Albret King of Nauarre, and of *Marguerite* sister to King *Francis* the first, and the duke of Aumale, the daughter of *Hercules* of Esté duke of Ferrara and of *Renée* of France daughter to King *Lewis* the twelfth. And during these sports in Court, that extraordinary chamber, against them whom they call Lutherans, was erected, who persisting constantly in the profession of their faith, suffered their bodies to bee consumed to ashes. The birth of *Lewis* the Kings yonger sonne, the third of February, at Saint Germaine in Laye, his baptisme the nineteenth of May, the coronation of Queene *Katherine* at Saint Denis the tenth of Iune, the stately entry of their Maiesties at Paris the sixth of the same moneth, and the great tourney at the Tournels, made in fauor of the Ladies, continued the sports in Court: which finished, the King sitting in his seat of Iustice the second of Iuly, would giue sentence in his Court of Parliament at Paris, according to the ancient custome of his predecessors. The presence of the Prince giues authority to the Magistrate, and the eye of the King (saith the wise-man) scatters il counsels. At that time the nobility of England were at iarre with the commons. During the which, the King sent *Paul* Lord of Termes to continue the warre in Scotland begon by *Esse*, who hauing lately defeated the English before Hedington, and taken the Isle of hofes, resigned his charge to his successor. After much sport at the Queenes coronation, the King caused a generall Procession to bee made in Iuly, where hee assisted with the Queene, the Princes of the blood, Cardinals, and all the Orders and Estates of Paris, and at his returne from the bishops-lodging, where hee had dined, he would see certaine Christians burnt detesting the errors and abuses maintained by the Church of Rome. Among the which there was a Taylor, who some few daies before had made answer of his beliefe before the King and many Courtiers, and spoken boldly to the Duchesse of valentinois, telling her that shee should rest satisfied to haue infected France, and not seeke to pollure so holy and sacred a thing as the true religion, and the truth of the sonne of God with her filthinesse: & that it was to be feared that God for this cause wold send som great plague both vpon the King and realme. But the King being incensed and not amended (being carried away by the alurements of her that did bewitch him) hauing commanded that his Proceffe should be dispatched, he would bee a spectator of this Taylors execution, standing in the Lord of Rochpots lodging in Saint *Anthoines* street right against the scaffold, whereas the Taylor shewed a wonderfull constancy and patience.

1548.

*La Vergne*  
drawne with  
fourte horses.

Troubles in  
England.

Execution of  
some of the  
religion.

1548.

Having discovered the King, hee began to behold him, so constantly, as nothing could diuert him, yea the fire beeing kindled, hee had alwaies his eyes so fixt vpon that object, as the King was forced to retire himselfe, yea hee was so troubled, as hee confest that hee thought this mans shadowe did still follow him, and that for manie nights this spectacle did present it selfe vnto him, wherevpon hee protested that hee would neuer see nor heare any such people: But forgetting his protestation, tenne yeere after he heard things which hee should haue giuen attentiu care vnto, and pretending to see a great personage burnt, whose words did merit credit, he lost both sight and life.

In the moneth of Iune past James of Coucy Lord of Veruein was beheaded at Paris, and Oudard of Biez Marshall of France degraded, after a long imprisonment, the one for that he had inconsiderately committed the gard of Boullen to his sonne-in-law, the other for that hee had so lightly yeelded vp a strong and well fortified place vnto the enemy. There were witnesses and Comissioners found out for the purpose by them that were in credit: so as soone after it appeared that the innocency of these Noblemen had been suppressed by the enuy of Courtiers, which possesse the King, who acknowledged the error hee had committed, but hee could not helpe it, but this processe laie dead with Veruins vntill the yeere of our Lord 1575. that his sonne and heire by an expresse declaration of King Henry the third, caused the memory of his father and grandfather by the mother side to be restored to their former honour and fame, one of the heralds beeing commanded to assist at the funerals of these two Noblemen, the which were solemnly made at Boloine in the yeere 1577.

This yeere was pleaded in the Parliament at Paris the cause of Merindol; since the yeere 1540. the Parliament of Prouence, had for matter of religion condemned seuentene persons of Merindol to be burnt, the village to be razed, and the trees to be cut downe within two hundred paces. The Clergy pursued it: but some gentlemen and others lesse bloody, staied the execution of this decree, and King Francis five monethes after sent a pardon to these Vaudois of Merindol, and other places, vpon condition that within three monethes they should abiure their errors. They appeere in Court, and protest that they haue not maintayned nor published any erroneous thing, offering to yeeld, if by the word of God they can shew them any sounder doctrine: they giue a confession of their faith in writing, with an answer to the reproches wherewith they were taxed, and require to be allowed, or iudicially heard in their defences.

Four yeeres passe away, during the which, being onely threatned with words, they submit. But the President Chassani being dead, John Menier his successor, a violent man became a mortall enemy to those of Cabrieres, and Merindol, amongst whom there dwelt certaine subiects of his of Oppede, whose lands hee possessed, to ioine them to his owne. Through the perswasions of Menier, the Cardinall of Tournon, obtaines letters patents from King Francis, to the Court of Parliament, for the execution of the first sentence, according to the which, Menier terming himselfe Lieutenant of the Lord of Grignan, gouernor of Prouence, accompanied with the Baron of la Garde, and a great troupe of others, in the moneth of Aprill 1545. fired many villages neere vnto Merindol, put many of the Countreymen into the gallies, spoiled, razed, and burnt Merindol beeing vnpeopled, tooke Cabrieres by composition, and against his faith, in cold blood, he cut in peeces five and twenty or thirty men, chosen at his pleasure, rauished wiues, and yong virgins, burnt about forty in a barme, wherof the most part were with child: put aboue eight hundred to the sword, and carried away many prisoners to Marfeilles, Aix and Auignon.

This did too farre exceed a decree giuen against seuentene persons, abusing the Kings authority, with too great violence: who in his latter age, toucht with a remorse of conscience, by reason of this horrible proceeding against his subiects, whom hee had too lightly abandoned to these butchers, greued that hee could not before his death, punish the authors of these murders exemplarily: lying in the bed of death, hee commanded Henry his sonne expressly, not to make his memory hatefull vnto strangers, nor subiect to the wrath of God, in not punishing of this guilt. Euen so, that great King David, amongst other dispositions of his last will: *Thou knowest* (said hee to him that should sit on the throne after him) *what Isab the sonne of Tseruia hath done vnto mee, and what he hath done to the two Commanders of the armies of Israel, Abner the sonne of Ner, and Amasa the sonne of Iether, whom he*

King Francis  
touched in  
conscience.

1549.

A hee hath slaine, hauing shed blood in time of peace: Thou shalt not suffer his white heires to descend with peace into the graue. But Salomon performed his fathers will more religiously. The King granted an euocation of the cause to the Court of Parliament at Paris, where it was solemnly pleaded aboue fifty times in the great Chamber. There was great expectation of seuerer punishments for these horrible murders: but these great mountaines prooued Mole-hilles, and in the end it did euaporate into smoake. Yet one at the least must suffer for many: the chance fell vpon one that was least guilty, named *Guerin*, an aduocate by profession, who was hanged at Paris. The Cardinall of Tournon, *Grignan*, and *la Garde* were in some trouble, but more feared then hurt. *Menier* escaped, but he died after, being tragically possessed with a furie, and a secret fire which consumed his bowels. The yeere ended with the death of two famous personages: Pope *Paul* the ninth of Nouember, to whom succeeded Cardinall *Iohn Maria* Bishop of Mantoua: and the vertuous Princeesse *Marguerite* of Valois, sister to King *Francis* deceased, and wife to *Henry* of Albre King of Nauarre, the fourteenth of December. They say commonly, that for all offences there needs but one satisfaction. Seeing then, that by the punishment of the chiefe authors of the sedition in Guienne, the King had pardoned the commons, he was not so inexorable, but for a small satisfaction they were easily admitted to fauour: so as in October past, they of Bourdeaux had obtained a remission, binding themselves perpetually to his Maiestie: *To entertaine at sea for ever (as well they as their descendants) two ships furnished for the warre: to visit the castle Trompet, and du Ha, and to renew the victuals euery yeere.* By this meanes, their Parliament was restored in Ianuarie, and all things settled in their former estate. By their example the three estates of Poictou, Xaintonge, Angoulmois, Perigort, Limosin, and la Marche, in the beginning of this yeere, obtained abolition of the custome vpon salt in Guienne, paying foure hundred and fiftie thousand frankes, and five and twenty thousand for the satisfaction of the Kings officers of the said custome. Then sprung there many and sundrie fire-brands of warre.

Gods iudge:  
ments vpon  
murder.

At the same time three Presidents of Paris, not pleasing to the house of Guise (who were then in credit) were dismissed from their charges. Soone after *S. Andre* and *Minard* hauing promised to be good seruants, were restored: *Liset* was made Abbot of *S. Victor*, to giue place to one that was not so cunning as himselfe. In this solitarie kind of life, he would be dealing with Diuinity, wherein he was no apt scholler: for of a good practitioner he became an ignorant Sophister, and was scorned, so as he died for griefe. He had shewed himselfe a sworne enemy to them of the religion, thinking to aduance himselfe by his cruell inuentions: but he was ouerthrown in his course, to serue as an example for them that are more sufficient then he, not to attempt against him who surprizeth the most cunning in their deuises, and against whose wisdom humane force is but foolerie and vanitie. And this yeere, for that the coynes were found for the most part clipt, the King commanded by his Edict that all clipt money should be new mynted, whereupon many masters of this art, and counterfeit coyners were punished with death.

Presidents at  
Paris displaced

Edict against  
disorders in  
mony.

E But before we quarrell with the Emperour, the English must yeeld vs Boullen. The fort which the Lord of Chastillon had built in the yeere 1548. annoyed them much, and the recouerie of the forts of Selaque, Blaconnet, and Bonlamberg, and so many men defeated by the surprize of them, gaue the Duke of Somerset and the Earle of Warwike to vnderstand, that there was nothing but blowes to be gotten in maintaining the warres of Boullen: moreouer, the diuisions of England and the war of Scotland, called home their troupes. So as for the summe before specified, payable at two termes, a peace was againe concluded with the English, and Boullen restored to the King, into the which his Maiestie made his entire the 5. of May, and did his homage, whereunto the Kings of France are bound by the institution of *Lewis* the xi. as we haue else-where obserued. Hereafter those small sparkles, which began to appeare, after the murder of *Peter Lewis*, sonne to Pope *Paul Farnese* deceased, slaine by his household seruants, by the perswasion of *Andrew Doria*, and *Ferdinand Gonzagua*, with the priuaty and consent of the Emperour, to seaze vpon the city of Placentia, with the more facility, haue kindled so great fires, as we shall see France, Germany, and Italy in combustion. *Paul* had giuen Parma to *Ottanio Farnese* sonne to the said *Peter Lewis*, whereof he had institution of *Iulio* his successor. This *Peter Lewis* inclined much to the

Peace with the  
English.



1550. the French party. He had giuen ayde to *Peter Stroffy*, when as he came into the countrie of A Placentia, with some forces for the seruice of the most Christian King, and that which more incensed the Imperials, he was suspected to haue assisted the Count of Fiesque in an enterprize made vpon Genoua for the kings seruice, the yeare 1547. in the which *Iacotin Doria* was slaine, and *Andrew Doria* expelled. This caused the death of *Peter Lewis Farnese*. *Octauio* his sonne had married the Emperours bastard daughter. But they say that charity begins by it selfe. The Emperour did labour him much: he would gladly ioyn Parma to Placentia, and that by lawfull meanes, letting the Pope to vnderstand, that Parma beeing of the patrimonie of the Church, the which was in his protection, he ought to be preferred before *Farnese*, seeing that *Farnese* could not keepe it, but with the men and mony of his Holines. B The Pope beeing of a bale mettall, and fearing the touch, tempted with the Emperours practises, sends to Duke *Octauio*, that hee could no more furnish the extraordinary charges, wherewith he had promised to assist him: and *Farnese* finding, that the Emperour laid this plot to dispossesse him of his inheritance, he seekes a strong support in France against his Father-in-lawes practises. The King who had not renounced the ancient pretensions of the house of Orleans, to the Duchy of Milan, declares himselfe (but with the Popes good liking) Protector of the patrimonie of the Church, and of the *Farneses*. The Emperour is in a rage, who with his violent exclamations so terrifies the Pope, as hee abandons his vassall *Octauio*.

The Pope on the other side, (nothing well affected to the French) grew bitter against the C King: he commanded him to renounce this protection: and for not obeying, he threatens to curse both him and his realme. Thus *Julio* the second not able to satisfie his greedy desire with the Keyes of Saint *Peter*, he vnscathes the sword of *S. Paul*, kindling by his madraie these deadly diuisions throughout all Christendome, as if the Bishop carried the spirituall sword in his hand, to draw it for vnlawfull things, at the first impression of his fantasie. To crosse the Pope, the King forbids expressly, to carry or send any gold or siluer to Rome, for any dispatches, Bulls, Annats, Dispensations, or any other things, commanding the Metropolitans of the Realme to prouide according to the ancient priuiledges and liberties of the French Church. And for that *Gonzagua* beleegged Parma, (to giue both the Emperour and the Court of Rome a blow) he commanded *Charles* of Cossé, Lord of Brissac, and Marshall of France, his Lieutenant generall in Piedmont by the death of the Prince of Melphe, to fortifie and furnish Mirandola. *Brissac* sends some souldiars: *Gonzagua* surprizeth them, and puts them secretly to death, and suddenly doth beleaguer Mirandola. Warre is now begunne on all sides, and for light occasions, he that seekes a quarrell, wants no apparent shewes to colour it. Both these Princes expected some worthy occasion: but let vs raise vp our thoughts, and say, That G O D had now powred out all his iudgements against Christendome, beeing full of excesse, and worthy of sharpe punishment.

The King sends new forces into Piedmont, and commands the Marshall to succour Parma and Mirandola. He effects it, and by the taking of *Quiers*, *S. Damian* and other places, he forceth *Gonzagua* to abandon the country of Parmesan, to succour Montferrat, and to defend the estate of Milan. On the other side, *Mary* Queene of Hongarie, and Gouvernesse of the Low-countries for the Emperour, armed in fauour of her brother both by sea and land, And vnderstanding that for a greater confirmation of loue, the Marshall *S. Andre*, carried in the kings name the order of France, to young *Edward* King of England: she caused certaine ships to lye betwixt Calais and Douer, to seaze on him in his passage. But to prevent her policie, the Marshall caused some Flemish ships to be stayed, which lay at anchor in the roade of Deepe, vntill they were assured of his arriual in England. And *Mary* likewise arrested all the French ships, that were within her government. Thus heart burning grew on all sides, which burst out into open warre: euery one calls home his Ambassadors, and assures the places nearest to the enemy: the King especially of Lorraine, hauing some ialousie of *Christinne* the Dowager, and neere allyed to the Emperour: who to free her selfe from that imputation, did put her selfe with her Sonne *Charles* into the Kings protection: who caused him to be brought vp with the Dauphin *Francis*, and afterwards hee married one of his Maiesties daughters.

Before we proceed to open acts of hostility, the King excused himselfe vnto the Pope by the

A the Lord of Termes, for that which he did in fauour of *Octavian Farnese*, and by the Abbot of Bellofanne, he protested against the decrees of the Assenby which was held at Trent: the which (considering the Popes and the Emperours spleene against France) he could not hold, to be a lawfull and holy Generall Councell: *Not that I pretend* (said he) *to withdraw my selfe from the obedience of the Church: but onely to auoyd the surpises of such, as vnder color of reformation, seeke to disgrace both my person and realme.*

After this protestation the King published an Edict made the yeare before, touching imprecation of benefices, and against the fraudes and abuses of the Court of Rome: and also vpon the ancient Edicts and Decrees against Annates, and the abuse of reservations and exactions inuented by the Popes: forbidding all his subiects to go any more to Rome for B Annates, nor for any other occasion concerning benefices: commanding the Ordinaries to dispose thereof, publishing to all men the wrong which *Julio* did to him and to *Octauio* Duke of Parma, who was deuiued of that whereof he had beene sollemnely inuested. The Cardinals and other the Popes creatures in France, fearing that this Edict (vpon the which *Charles* of Moulin a famous Lawyer did write a learned Commentarie, wherein he discovered many terrible practises of Rome) should shake the Popes authoritie. They did very carefully procure the King to publish very seuered Edicts against them of the Religion, to the end that *Julio* and the Cardinals at Rome should assure themselves of his friendship, whensoever they would adhere vnto him. These Edicts were followed by cruell executions C in diuers parts of the realme against many of the Religion who were burnt alieue, for that they had constantly maintained the truth of the Gospel, and reiected the Traditions of men established in the place of Gods diuine seruice. Those that were at Trent did write vnto the King to induce him to receiue the decrees of their Councell, and to send the Bishops of his Realme thither: moreouer, to intreat him to be a meanes that the Suiffes should send thither: but the warre beeing now begunne in all places, and the Emperour hauing called the Spaniards which were in Germany to come into Italy to the warre of Parma, the pursuite of them of Trent was suspended.

The warre beeing kindled, the King resolved to assure himselfe towards Lorraine, hauing some distrust of the Duchesse Dowager; whereupon he caused some troupes to march towards the Frontiers, and the Emperour did also man all his places, the one looking vpon the other with diuers desseignes whereof the effects did soone after appeare. Whilest that the King persecuted them of the Religion in France, he treated secretly with the Protestant Princes of Germany, and generally with all the Electors and free Citties of the Empire: who saw their liberties and freedoms in a maner ruined, if they did not oppose some mightie aduersarie against the Emperour, who by maine force might stay the course of his vnmeasurable couetousnesse. The Emperour (contrary to his oath) detained *John* duke of Saxony, and *Philip* Landgraue of Hesse in miserable captiuitie. He had vanquished most of the other Princes in warre, and fearing lest the French should in the end demand the right vsurped in old time by the Saxons vpon the heires of *Charlemagne*, when the Empire was hereditarie: he pretended to transport the Imperiall Crowne into his house for euer; and now he thought to haue a fit opportunity. He had suppressed his enemies in Germany: he had a Pope at his deuotion, and he was armed. The most part of the Cardinals who assisted at the Councell, were either naturall Spaniards, or of the Spanish faction: and by consequence, might easily by a decree of this Councell, giue authority to what he intended. With this desseigne he had caused his sonne Prince *Philip* to come out of Spaine, (who died King of Spaine in the yeare 1598.) to haue him declared his successor, or at least his associate in the Empire: oppressing the people of Germany by insolent and tyrannicall exactions. The Electors not accustomed to seruitude, and lesse to the slauerie of Spaine, not able with their owne forces to shake off the yoke, which they saw ready to be laid vpon them: they repaire F vnto the King, and shew him the wrongs and outrages done vnto them: that they pretended the ouerthrow of the whole Empire, and the abolishment of the rights and priuiledges of the Electors, Commonalties, and Lords of the same: they beseech him, that in regard of the ancient league betwixt the Empire and the Crowne of France, he would take their iust cause in hand, and maintaine the common liberty of Germany. The King resolves to enter into league with them, according to the which in the beginning of the yeare hee sent the

Edict against the abuses of the Court of Rome.

Bishop

1552.  
Letters from  
the King to  
the Protestant  
Princes.

Bishop of Baione for his Ambassador vnto the Princes Electors, with letters full of protestations and offers of friendship, and an ample declaration of the wrongs done by the Emperour vnto the Princes and Citties of Germanie: adding, that he was resolved to employ both his person and forces for the defence of the rights and Liberties of all Germanie, without respecting any other recompence then the honour to haue done his dutie, and to haue bound so mightie a Nation vnto him: Giuing moreover assurance by oath of this his affection and intention, taking God vnto witnesse, and swearing by the faith of a Prince, that his desseigne was to free all the Estates of Germanie from the oppression of the Emperour and his ministers. The which he also pretended to do particularly in fauour of his most deare and welbeloued Cousins *John Duke of Saxonie*, and *Philip Landgrau* of Hesse detayned in miserable captiuitie by the Emperour, notwithstanding hee had promised and sworne the contrarie. In the end of his Letter hee added these words: Wee promise you also by the Almighty God, before all the Kings, Princes, and Potentates of Christendome, that wee will not suffer with our priuie, any wrong or iniurie to be done to you all in generall, nor to any one in particular, of what estate or condition soeuer he bee: And much lesse will wee (who carrie the Title of most Christian) indure that any harme shall bee done vnto the goods or persons of your most reuerend Prelates, Abbottes, and other Clergie-men, as hath beene wrongfully giuen out by our aduersaries: Nay rather we are resolved to take you into our protection, so as you declare your selues for vs and our Allies, and giue vs sufficient assurance of your willes: Hoping the re-vnion of the Church, the which is respected, by the recouerie of the publike Libertie; for the which (with the helpe of God) wee will employ all our forces. The which wee haue thought good (most Reuerend Prelates, most famous Princes, and other the Estates of the sacred Empire) to let you vnderstand, to the end you may not be ignorant of the true cause of this warre, by the which wee pretend to pursue the Emperour with all violence, and (to our great greefe) cutte him off as a putrified member from the bodie of the Common-wealth: or at the least force and constrain him to cease from oppressing you.

The King  
makes a league  
with the Prin-  
ces of Germa-  
ny against the  
Emperour.

The Kings  
army.

Hereupon they giue him this honourable Title, *Defender of the Germanes, protector of the nation, and of the holy Empire*. Hee armes thirty thousand men, and desirous to countenance his forces with his owne presence, he appoints Queene *Katherine* his wife, Regent in France: he makes many goodly Edicts for the gouernement of the state, for the ordering of his men at armes, and for the obseruation of militarie discipline: he reformes the abuses of Commanders, suppresseth the insolencie of souldiers, (a commendable institution in comparison of that which hath beene seene in the raignes of his children) and giues the Rendezuous for his armie at Vitry. He was accompanied with *Anthony Duke of Vendosm* (whom we shall shortly see King of Navarre, by the decease of *Henry of Albret* his Father-in-law) *John Duke of Anguien*, *Lewis Prince of Conde*, all brethren: *Lewis Duke of Montpensier*, *Charles Prince of Roch-sur-yon*, all of the royall family of Bourbon: the Dukes of Neuers, Nemours, Guise, Aumale, Elbeuf: the Lords of Rohan, Rochefaucault, Castillon, E d'Andelot, and others in great numbers, in very good order.

The Constable of Montmorencie was made Generall of the armie (a house which shall hereafter be made a Duchie, and Peere of France) *Claude of Lorraine Duke of Aumale*, a younger brother of the house of Guise was Generall of the horse, consisting of fifteen hundred men at armes, every one hauing two archers: two thousand light horse, as many argoletiers, besides an infinit number of voluntarie French Nobility, marching vnder the fauour of their Prince, and desirous to make their valour apparent by good and faithfull seruices. *Caspar Lord of Chastillon*, afterwards Admirall, was Colonnell of the foot, consisting (besides the new and the ordinarie companies, which were twenty ensignes of the old bands of *Piedmont*, and fiew and thirty Ensignes of Gascons and Prouencals (they note the two companies of the Lord of Duras to be compounded for the most part of Gentlemen and old souldiers, worthy of command) of ten thousand Lanquenets in two Regiments, commanded by the Reingraue and *Reichbroc*. To these bands the Protestant Princes ioyned a battalion of horse, vnder the command of the Colonnell *Charrel*. But let vs now see their exploit.

The

1552.

A The City of Thoul at the first abord, puts it selfe into the Kings protection, but this was not the chiefe point of his desseigne. The Emperour passing into France, had the passage of Metz at his deuotion, and had victuals and other necessaries out of that cuntry. The king now requires the like from them: they offer victuals for money, and consent to admitte his Maiestie into their citie, with the Constable, followed with some Princes and Noblemen: but as for any passage of the army, they excuse themselves, and pretend neutrality. The Constable departs, and protests, that he will haue free passage, free entrie, and free issue at discretion, without any limitation, and partly by promises, partly by threats, he winnes the inhabitants. The citizens had not foreseene this storme, and lesse provided any remedy to auoid it. Thus beeing forced to bid their liberty adue, they agree with the Lord of Bourdillon afterwards Marshall of France: That the Constable accompanied with some Princes and Noblemen, should enter with two companies of foot: the companies were six hundred men strong: they increase them with halfe as many more, all chosen men of account, the which beeing entred, repelled the people, become masters, and draw after them so long a traine, as the Metzins had no meanes to resist.

This was the tenth of Aprill on Palme-Sunday: nine dayes after the King made his entry in armes, beeing followed with all his forces put in bataille: he receiued the oath of the Citizens, and sware solemnely to them in the porch of S. Stephens Church. As hee had done to them of Thoul, which was to defend them against all men, and to maintaine them in their freedoms, rights, priuiledges, and liberties: moreover, to prouide for the fortification of the place, which he pretended to make one of the Bulwarkes of France. He left *Gommar* brother to the Marshall of Brissac for Gouverneur, and with him the company of the Earle of Nantueil, two hundred light horse, two hundred harguebuziers on horsebacke, and twelue ensignes of foot. Thus the famous citie of Metz was brought vnder the obedience of this crowne: a portion of the ancient patrimonie of the Kings of France, and in former times vsurped by the Emperours.

The Constable would gladly haue vsed the like stratageme to Strasbourg: but hee found more assurance and resolution then at Metz. They put a strong garrison into their citie, and prepared for defence against any that should seeke to make them subiect: so as seeing that neither reproches, threats, nor bitter words, could draw any thing from the Inhabitants, but victuals and necessaries for the campe, the army tooke the way of Haguenau and Wisbourg. Thither came Deputies from the Count Pallarine, the Arch-bishops of Mentz and Treues, and from the Dukes of Cleues and Wittenberg, who were then assembled at Wormes for the good of the Common-wealth. They make petition vnto the King, that he would not spoile the champion cuntry, but take pity of the poore Commons: and seeing that he had protested to make this warre for the libertie of Germanie, that he would stay his army: for if he aduanced, it would be very preiudiciall to the Empire. They also besought him that he would hearken vnto a peace, whereof they had spoken vnto the Emperour, and were in good hope thereof. As touching any particular alliance, they desired him not to presse them, but to haue regard vnto their honors, and to the faith which they ought vnto the Empire. At the same time beeing the eleuenth of May, Duke *Maurice* Elector of Saxonie sent letters vnto the King, containing al that had beene done at Lintz, where the confederate Princes of Germanie had treated of a peace with king *Ferdinand*, who negotiated the same for the Emperour, in whose name he promised a speedie resolution to the good and quiet of Germanie. He also desired the King (in case he would be comprehended in the Treatie) to declare with what conditions he meant to compound with the Emperour. Having receiued these letters contrarie to his expectation, and hearing that the Queene of Hongarie had taken Stenay vpon Meuse, and spoiled the cuntry beeing without defence, he resolved vpon his returne: but before his departure he made answer to the Princes Deputies: that he was well satisfied, that the captiue Princes should be soone deliuered, and that Germany should be in quiet: That if at any time he should haue need of his assistance, he would employ all his meanes to succour it.

Deputies  
from the Prin-  
ces of Germa-  
ny to the king

The Kings an-  
swer to the  
Princes De-  
puties.

As touching a peace with the Emperour, he referred himselfe vnto them, hauing by his trauell, charge, and valour freed Germany from those miseries which did oppress it, whereof they must now be carefull, and not basely loose that liberty, which he so honorably had

reco-

1552. recovered for them. Notwithstanding to entertaine his Confederates, and to haue one alwaies in Germanie, which might aduertise him truly how matters passed betwixt the Confederates and the Imperials, and the better to be informed of the Emperours desseignes, he left *Du Fre* (the Bishop of Baionne his Ambassadour with duke *Maurice*, who in an assembly held at Passau, to aduise what was to be done for the restoring of Germany to her beautie and ancient liberalitie, in the presence of the Emperours Ambassador, and of the Electors, and many Princes of the Empire, hee made a long and eloquent speech the third of Iune, propounding the ancient coniunction of Germanie and France. The great affection which the King bare vnto the Empire, beeing very ill gouerned by Spaniards and their adherents: he also held it fit, that the Protestant Princes should make an accord with the Emperour, so as the prisoners might be released, and the auncient alliances of France with the Empire, and the last league made with the Princes ratified for euer: That the Emperour should doe him right for his pretensions: That he desired to satisfie them all, and especially duke *Maurice*. The Princes answer consisted chiefly of thanks, and declarations, so deliuered, as neither the Emperour nor the King could pretend any cause of dislike. As touching the renewing of the ancient Alliances, they said that a matter of so great weight required a greater assembly. In the meane time they desired, that the amitie so long continued betwixt these two nations might remaine firme, and that the differences which the King had against the Emperour might be pacified: promising therein to employ all their meanes: In the meane time they intreated the King to declare what wrongs he pretended to haue bene done him by the Emperour, to whom they would write, to aduance the busines, to some good peace.

Assembly at  
Passau.

Answer of the  
Princes.

In the meane time the King leauing Germany, brought backe his army into France: as he aduanced, the Marshall of Cleues, who led the Queene of Hongaries forces retired, and his troupes dis-banded: which made the Kings Councell resolute to vndertake the conquest of the Duchy of Luxemburg. They first attempted a strong Castle called Reck-de-Mars, the which was presently taken and spoiled: the like was done to Mount Saint-John, Solieure and other places, the which were ruined whilst the Kings and Emperours forces skirmished before Thionuille. The armie hauing passed neere it, they approached to Danuilliers, the which beeing battered, yielded to the Kings discretion, the Captaines were detained prisoners, and the souldiers sent away with white wands. Yuoy beeing battered, yielded in like manner, and the Gouverneur was sent to Paris. All the goods were giuen to the Constable, who distributed the greatest part vnto his Companie, and to that of his eldest sonne, where at the old Bands did mutine, and beguane to dis-band. Mommedy followed Yuoy. During these prises the Marshall of La Marke obtained some troupes of the King, with the which he recovered the Towne and castell of Bouillon, with all the other places depending of that Duchie. After which the Castles of Trelon, Glaion, and others were ruined. To content the old Bands they gaue them the sacke of Cimay, a towne and castell belonging to the Duke of Arscor. The beseegeed retiring into the Castle, and offering to parley: they were forced by the portall and other places, by the furie of the assault, being greedie of spoile. They ran thither with such violence, as a match falling into certaine powder, there were about 120. of the forwardest burnt and slaine. The fury of the war consumed townes and castles to ashes. But forasmuch as the Army began to decrease, some dis-banding being laden with spoiles, but the most part sicke and diseased, in the end of Iuly they put the rest into Garrisons, to see what the Emperour would do, who hauing to do with the Protestant Princes and the King, he resolved to make an accord with the Princes, that he might be assisted with their meanes against the King. The last of Iuly he granted a peace to Germany, that he might make violent wars in France. The King was much discontented with this accord: notwithstanding he sent backe the hostages to duke *Maurice*, who also released his, which were the Earls of Nantueil and of Lamets. After this accord with the Germans, the Emperour preuailed so, as the Princes and townes granted by little and little to furnish him with men, mony, and artillery, to chase the King out of Metz, Thoul, and Verdun, Imperiall Townes. Thereupon hee leaueth an armie of 50000. foote, and 20000. horse with much artillerie. Whilst he prepares, *Albert* Marquis of Brandeburg, who had in the Kings name made cruel wars against some towns and Bishops of Germany now seeks vnder-hand to be reconciled vnto the Emperour as well as the rest, but he will insinuate himselfe by some notable

Peace in Ger-  
many.

Emperours  
desseigne  
against Metz.

A notable seruice: beeing followed by 2000. horse, and 8000. foote, and drawing after him some artillerie, he approached the frontiers of Luxembourge and Lorraine, where for a long time he entertained the King with hope to carrie armes for him, during the which hee did wonderfully spoile the champion country. In the end the Marquis retired himself from the French army, and hauing cutt off the victuals from them of Metz, he went and carried arms for the Emperour. Winter approaching many thought the Emperour would not hazard so mightie an army, to encounter (without any profit) the cold, frosts, and discommodities of the season. But the hope he had to take Metz in the which there were many Princes, Noblemen, and Gentlemen, made him reiect all other apprehensions, so as his forces beganne to aduance towards Lorraine, and comes to Sarbruch seuene leagues from whence he sends the Dukes of Alua his Lieutenant Generall, and the Marquis of Marignan with foureteene thousand foote, foure thousand horse, and fixe field peeces to view the cittie, and to choose a conuenient place to lodge his army, attending his comming with the rest of his forces. The Duke of Guise Lieutenant generall for the King, sends forth some troupes to skirmish, where he looeth *Marigni* a Gentleman of Picardie, two Captaines and fure souldiers: and the enemy, about an hundred and fiftie men. But the Marquis of Brandebourg reuengeth this disgrace vpon the Duke of Aumale, and by a second stratageme, hee giues the King an assured testimonie of his defection, and to the Emperour, the effects of the seruice which he had vowed vnto him. The Duke costed the Marquis his retreat, and cuts the heauiest of his troupes in peeces, when as the Marquis (turning head) ouerthrowes a great troupe of seruants mustred together to make a shew: and chargeth a squadron of light horse: who making but a weake resistance, leaue the place. So all fall vpon the men at armes, who were ill furnished to withstand the shooke of the Reistres pistoles. The Duke seeing his men at armes broken, and seeking to saue themselves, rallies a small troupe, and returns to the charge. The multitude inuiron him, and doth oppresse his best men: some are wounded, and others taken: two hundred Gentlemen, by their death, and the taking of many others, made the Marquis valour famous. The Duke beeing ouerthrowne, remained as a pawne of an assured victorie, and shall not bee deliuered vntill the King hath payed fiftie thousand Crownes for him. This chanced in the end of October: but we shall see this losse recompensed with a happy successe against the Emperours attempts.

Difficulty of  
the siege of  
Metz.

Metz beseg-  
ged by the  
Emperour.

The Duke of  
Aumale de-  
feated.

The Earle of Reux entred Picardy at the same time, with the desolation thereof, and the burning of Noyon, Nesle, Chauny, Roye, Folembray and about eight hundred Villages: a testimony of the Emperours spleene. Then hauing beseegeed Hesdin, and filled vpp the trench with the ruines of a wall which they had vnder-myned: the towne was very lightly yielded by the Lord of Raffe, who was in danger to haue bene made a publike spectacle vpon a scaffold, if the Constables fauour had not protected him. The reason was, for that hee had not endured any force, nor made any resistance, and had a little before sent the King word, that there was no feare of the Castle.

This second losse made them to apprehend a third. The Emperour incamped before Metz: and the King desirous to vnderstand in what estate the beseegeed were, as the Duke of Guise, *John* and *Lewis* of Bourbon (the one was Duke of Anguien, the last was Prince of Conde) breethren to the Duke of Vendosme, *Charles* of Bourbon, Prince of Roch-sur-yon, *Francis* and *René* of Lorraine, (the first Grand Prior of France, the last Marquis of Elbeuf) breethren to the Duke of Guise: the Lords of Rochefoucault, and *Randan* breethren: *Peter Strossy*, *la Brosse*, *Briou*, *Gonnor*, *Parroy*, with an infinit number of others, who had voluntarily thrust themselves within the wals, to eternize the memorie of so generous a preservation of their new conquest against the Imperiall forces: they all with one consent and resolution, free the king of this suspence, and the effects second their promises. They toyle the enemy with continuall sallies both of horse and foot: they come vp to the cannon, ouerthrow their tents, force their quarters, put the whole campe in alarm, & performe more then hath bene heard of in any former siege. The place did well deserue it, and their vertue was the more admirable, for that the time was so vnseasonable both for the one and the other, beeing in the cold of winter: But the constancie of the beseegeed, and the obstinacie of the besiegers, encountered the rigour of raine, snow, cold, and ice. The 26. of Nouember they batter the wall with fortie Canons, without any intermission, but to coole them: and the beseegeed,

1552.

1552. both Princes Noblemen, and souldiers carry earth indifferently to rampar vppe the breach, making the Imperials admire their diligence and valor. The King resting assured, leaues the Duke of Neuers to command his army in Lorraine, and gaue commiſſion to the Lord of Chastillon, then Admirall of France (*Annebaule* beeing lately dead at la Fere, to go into Picardy, as Lieutenant to the Duke of Vendosme.

The Duke of Neuers employes all his cares to cut off the Emperours victuals: and the Admirals approach chafeth the Earle of Reux from Hedin, leauing his sonne with a strong garrison in the castle. Having spent foure thousand and threescore Cannon shot, he makes a breach the 16. of December, but yet not reasonable: notwithstanding the beſeeged being amazed, yeeld it, to haue their liues and goods ſaued; And the Duke of Neuers did still molest the Emperours army, and at one time cut off a great conuoy of all sorts of victualles and munition by Monsieur de *Mouy*, without the losse of any one Frenchman: wherein hee got great honour, hauing aduanced himselfe farre, and retired discretely from among many of the enemies troupes, leauing not any one ingaged behind him. This blow troubled the Emperour: the iniuries of the ayre molested his men before Metz: extreme hunger made them weak, the continuall fallies of the beſeeged diminished them, his treasure grew short, his reputation decayed, his mynes were blowne vp, and all his attempts were made fruitlesse: to conclude, all went against the haire. So the Emperour giuing charge to the Duke of Alua, to order the retreat, he left the Empire deſeeged of the Country of Metz, and the Crowne of France assured of this new conquest, by the Conſtables industrie, and happily preferred by the valour of the beſeeged.

But there followed rough encounters. *Hedin* and *Therouenne* had till now bene the instruments of warre. It is better (saith the Prouerbe) to stumble once, then to stagger alwaies. The Emperour to be reuenged for some part of his losses, sends the Lord of Binécourt with a mighty army to beſeege *Therouenne*. The Lord of Eſſé and *Francis* of Montmorency defended it. The place is furiously battered, the beſeeged sustaine a most violent assault of three charges, and many die on either side. The chiefe among the French, were the Lords of Eſſé, of Vienna, of Beaudisne, of Rochepoſay, of Blandy, Captaine *Ferrieres*, with many Gentlemen and souldiers. They vndermine, they myne, and with the ruines of the wall fill vp the trenches, which caused the beſeeged to demand a composition. But whileſt they are buſie in parle, (an error which often chancing should make a Commander wiſe) the Germanes and Bourguignons enter at diuers places, and kill all they encounter. The Spaniards louing money at that time more then bloud, ſaued many. The Signeur of Ouarti, to ſaue the life of *Montmorency* his Generall, was fore wounded, whereof he died ſoone after. And the Emperour cauſing the towne to be razed and ſpoiled, ſhall ſaue many ſoules which should be loſt in the defence and winning thereof.

Hedin affayled, battered, and vndermined more then a Foxes burrow, had like ſucceſſe vnder *Emanuel Philibert*, sonne to the duke of Sauoy, and Lieutenant Generall for the Emperour, his vnclé by the mothers ſide. The Duke of Bouillon, and *Horatio Farnese* newly married to *Diana* the Emperours baſtard-daughter, had taken the gard thereof, and had prepared great ſtore of wild-fire at the breach to defend the assault. A Priest, either through malice or negligence ſets it on fire, and conſumes many ſouldiers ready for the defence. The Imperials on the other ſide, blow vp their mynes, and bury a great number of men in the ruines thereof: they enter pel-mel, and ſo become maſters of the place. *Farnese*, the Vicont of Martigues, the Seneshall of Caſtres, with many other Gentlemen, were ſlaine there. The Duke of Bouillon with many others, had a long and hard imprifonment.

Let vs take our reuenge. The French army aſſembled about Amiens and Piquigny: the Prince of Conde led the light-horſe, who in the middeſt of Auguſt incountred with ſome troupes, led by the duke of Arſcot: hee charged them, defeated them, and followed them about a league: he ſlue ſeuén or eight hundred men, took about 5. hundred priſoners, and amongſt the reſt, the Duke himſelfe with ſeuén enſignes. The Kings armie conſiſted of about ſeuén thouſand horſemen, ſiue and twentie thouſand foote, with an hundred peeces of artillerie, great and ſmall, deſiring nothing more, then to make his valour admirable, by the iſſue of ſome happie battaile. Beeing and abiding in the enemies Countrey, the Conſtable went to Bapaulme two Leagues from Marie-mont, a place well fortified, and alſo strong

The Duke of  
Arſcot ſlaine.

1553. A strong by nature, with 5000. French horſe, and as many foote: In the which *Hautſimont* (a knight much eſteemed among the Burgonians) was Gouverneur, hauing twelue companies of foote, and three or foure hundred horſe, who at their firſt approach ſpared not his Cannon, and entertained them with a hote skirmiſh, the which continued foure houres: during the which the Admirall with a ſmall troupe viewed the Towne, and found it pregnable, the Rampar beeing made of a crumbling ſand, but the difficultie was to haue water, whereof they could find no laſting ſprings, which made them change their reſolution for the ſeige. At their departure they burnt all villages and places belonging to the enemy euen to the gates of Bapaulme. The Imperiall armie coaſted them in their retreat, keeping ſtill a riuer betwixt them. The King finding that the enemy ſought nothing but to temporize, vntill that winter came on, whereby his army might be weakened by cold and diſeaſes, and then to fight with him vpon aduantage. The King reſolued with his Councell to draw him to battaile if it were poſſible, or to take the firſt place hee ſhould attempt, and to ruine the whole countrey in view of the Emperour, and ſo to returne in triumph, as hauing braued him in his own dominions. He therfore means to ſound Cambray, both for that the taking thereof would be an example to other great townes, as alſo thinking the Imperiall army would rather hazard a battell then loſſe ſuch a place, where the inhabitants would willingly ſhake off the yoke, which not long before had bin laid vpon them, yet being a neutrall towne. The French were incamped two litle leagues from Cambray: by the breake of day the king cauſed his army to be put in battel, and ſent an Herald to ſummon the towne, letting them vnderſtand, that he was not come to oppreſſe them, but to reſtore them to their ancient Liberties, whereof they were deſeeged by the Emperour: if they were deſirous to ſhake off that bondage, they could haue no better meanes then by his coming, beeing there in perſon ready to fight for their Liberties: but if they did otherwiſe, they would be the cauſe of their owne ruines, in looſing the priuiledge of Neuter-townes, which affect neither quarrell, and whereby they had liberty to traffick in both their countries. Beſides, their country ſhould be freed from the miſeries of warre, and from all manner of exactions and ſpoiles. But they demanded 48. houres reſpite of the King, to aduſe thereon, and to yeeld him an answer: whereupon the King cauſed his army to retire a league backe, making a Proclamation, vpon corporall puniſhment, that no man ſhould take any thing within the territory of Cambray without paying for the ſame. In the meane time the Emperour is aduerted of this ſummons, beeing then at Bruſels, who ſent them diuers inſtructions. Among others, that they depended of the Empire, and that he was Emperour to protect them, not the French king, who ſought nothing but their ruine: ſo hauing ſet before their eyes the example of Metz, he promiſed if they were beſeeged to ſuccor them by all meanes whatſoever: and then he gaue order to the Prince of Piedmont (who was gone with his army towards Valenciennes) to yeeld them what ſuccors they ſhould demand, appointing the Earles of Borſu and Brabançon for gouernors. The time limited being expired, the King ſent to know their reſolution: who answered, that if it pleaſed his Maieſty they would remaine his humble neighbors and friends, offering to furniſh the army with victuals, but it was not in their power to diſpoſe any further of themſelues, the Emperour hauing put a great gariſon into their towne. Vpon this answer the towne was adiudged for enemy, and the ſame day beeing the 8. of September, the Conſtable with two Regiments of men at armes, and three or foure hundred light horſe, beeing followed with the Admirall with ten enſignes on foote, went to view the towne, where the cannon played on them from all parts, and the ſoldiers ſallied forth gallantly to skirmiſh, the which the French continued ſix daies together, making a ſhew as if they would beſeege the towne: but the weather growing very rainy, they diſlodged to the caſtle of Cambreſy, from whence they marcht within 2. leagues of Valenciennes, whereas the Imperiall army was lodged in a fort which they had made about a Culuerin ſhot from Valenciennes vpon the riuer of Eſcau. And on the 17. of September the French hauing left their baggage in their lodging with a good guard, the reſt of the army aduanced to ſeeke out the Imperials, & to preſent them battel. The Auant-currers going before, found many of their horſemen in battel, vpon a litle hil ready to fight: and hard by they took one on horſeback, in habit of a merchant, as a ſpie, who gaue intelligence, that the Imperiall foreward had paſſed the riuer to come to fight with them, ſo beeing brought vnto the Conſtable,

Cambray is  
ſummoned  
by the French  
king.

Answer of  
them of Cam-  
bray.

French ſeeke  
the Imperiall  
armie.



1552. and sent by him vnto the King, he was the cause that the army aduanced with all the speed A that might be, and was put in battaile: in the meane time the skirmish grew hote, many of the Imperiall army sallied forth, which did greatly annoy the forlorne hopes. During this skirmish the Imperiall army was put in battaile within their fort. The Kings army beeing likewise in battaile, and the skirmish growing still hote on either side, the Imperiall horsemen stood still vpon a little hill aboue three howers, as it seemes. expecting some aduantage: which the Constable foreseeing, he commanded the light horse-men to charge them, which they did with such resolution as they forced them to retire vnto their trenches, which done the French army seeing they could not draw the Imperials out of their fort, retired backe againe vnto their lodging from whence they came, and from thence it marched within two leagues of Saint *Quentins*, where it was dissolved the 20. of September, which B done the King sent the Marshall of S. *Andrew* to spoile the Countie of S. *Pol*: then in the end of October, he puts part of his forces into garrison, the rest hee dismisseth and sendeth away. Now our armes are laied aside vntill the next spring.

At the Spring the King diuided his forces into three armies. The first was commanded by the Prince of La Roche-sur-yon in Vermandois, beeing compounded of tenne thousand foote, three hundred men at armes, and fiftie or sixe hundred Argoletiers. The Constable had the charge of the second towards Crecy, containing fiftie and twentie Ensignes of French, as many Suisses, two Regiments of Lansquenets, two thousand horse, some of them light horse, and some Argoletiers, with some English and Scottish horsemen. The C third (led by the Duke of Neuers) had twentie Ensignes of English and Scots, two Regiments of Lansquenets, three hundred men at armes, eight hundred light horse, and shotte on horsebacke, with two hundred Reisters, pistoliars: and all three breathed nothing but reuenge, and desire to requite those confusions in Picardie.

New exploits

The Prince enters into Arthois: he spoyle, burnes, and defeats two Cornets of horse, he killeth two hundred vpon the place, and sends their colours to the King. The Constable takes Mariembourg, fortifies Rocroy, ruines the forts of Trelon, Glaion, Simay, and others built within two yeares. The Duke batters and takes the Castels of Orcimont and Beaurin by composition, ruines and burnes a great number of villages: then hauing (by the taking of some strong places seated vpon the Meuz) opened the passage of the riuier, hee enters D Liege and takes Agimont and Bouuines by assault, putting almost all the Inhabitants to death, either by the sword or by the hand of iustice, for that they presumed to stand against an army Royall, and for their outrageous speeches: and to increase their punishment hee burnt the town: he assured himself of Casteltiery & Valuin being abandoned he took and spoiled Dinan, but he preferred the female sexe from the violence of the Germanes, being fled into a Church. *Emanuel Philibert* Duke of Sauoy, by the death of his father *Charles* lately deceased, assembled his army with an intent (said he) to fight with the French, if they aduanced. We must trie this braue resolution.

The King passeth the riuier of Sambre the 25. of Iuly, beeing followed by the Duke of Neuers: he enters the country of Hainalt, spoiling, burning, and making all desolate, seeking to draw the enemy to fight. Some troupes charge euen vnto the suburbs of Ninelle, the first towne of Brabant, and for a note of their passage, they fire the sayd suburbs and villages thereabouts, so as many pleasant dwellings were consumed vnto ashes. The Duke of Sauoy flies the lists: and the army marching towards Bains, (one of the chiefe townes of Hainalt) left nothing behind it but teares, sighes, desolation, fire, smoke, and ashes: and to conclude, a mournfull scaffold whereon two great Princes played a horrible Tragedie, being cruelly incensed one against another. The castles and pleasant dwellings of the Gentlemen of the country, yea Bains it selfe and Mary-mont that stately house, and others belonging to *Mary* Queene of Hongary, sister to the Emperour, Tragny that goodly and proud castle, Reux, Bauets, with an infinit number of others, were (in reuenge of that goodly place of Folembray reduced to that estate, as they might well say, Here was Bains, here was Mary-mont, here was Tragny, Reux, and Bauets.

In the end the French (hauing spoiled the whole countrey) drew the Prince of Piedmont to fight: the two armies incounter about the midst of August neere vnto Renty, where there was a sharpe incounter: the Imperial for-ward chargeth the duke of Guise his troupes, but

A but to their confusion: he defeats them with the helpe of those succours that came speedily vnto him, he kils eight or nine hundred men, and strikes such a terror into the rest of the Imperiall army, as they retire hastily into their campe, as hauing no more desire to fight. So the winter approaching, and want of forrage troubling the men at armes, the King dismissed the Suisses and his Nobility: then leauing the Duke of Vendosme Generall of the rest of the army, hee tooke from the enemy all meanes to endamage the Realme, but by sacking and burning of the country about Hesdin. The thirteenth day of March Pope *Inbas* the third died, *Marcel Cereuin* borne in Tuscane succeeded him: but soone after his election, death buried both his name and memorie. *John Peter Caraffe* a Neapolitan, called Cardinal *Thestin*, the chiefe author of the Iesuits sect, held the Romane sea, and called himselfe *Paule* B the 4. We shall this yeare quench the fires of the yeare past, but it shall kindle new combustions, both on this side and beyond the Alpes. So as no affection to the publike good, but the only indisposition of the aire, hath made vs till now surcease our armes.

*Philip* sonne to the Emperour *Charles* had the yeare past married with *Mary* Queene of England, by the decease of *Edward* the 6. and whilest that England did flame on all sides, by reason of the burning fires against such as had shaken off the yoke of the Romish obedience, they did solicit our two warriours to pacifie their mutuall hatred by some firme and durable peace. Cardinall *Poole* an Englishman was employed therein, but without effect: for the soe was not yet ripe. The courses of the Imperials made the French to attempt vpon castle Cambresis, the which was taken by scalado, and faire warres made vnto the Spaniards, and to victuall Mariembourg at diuers times, by *Bourdillon* Lieutenant to the Duke of Neuers, while on the other side *Francis* of Cleues Duke of Neuers, with the Admirall of Chastillon, Gouvernor in the absence of the duke of Vendosme (who was gone to take possession of his new estates, fallen to him in right of his wife, by the death of *Henry* of Albret, and shall hereafter be King of Nauarre, and Soueraigne of Bearne) gaue order for the defence of the frontier.

But behold one of the trickes of our ordinarie confidence. Fiftene hundred of the Arriaban, and foure hundred foote with some garrisons of Picardie, returned home laden with spoile, *without soutes* (saith the Originall) *without order, without feare of the enemy, and without courage.* *Hansmont* Gouverneur of Bapaulme, beeing more vigilant, incounters them betwixt a wood, a village, and a riuier: chargeth them, and in a moment takes from them both their boote and their liues at his discretion. The Hannuyers and Arresians made a leaue, that they had taken the Nobles of France without weight. The Imperials seeing Mariembourg victuallled, opposed a Fort called Guiers whence forraging at the neighbour-country, they did starue Mariembourg. Twenty thousand foote, some ensignes of the old Spanish bands, and fiftie or sixe thousand Reisters, vnder the command of Count *Barlemont*, camped about this fort, to hinder another victualling, conducted by the duke of Neuers, the Admirall *Sanjac*, *Bourdillon*, and others, with eight hundred men at armes, eight hundred light horse, and some eight thousand foot.

E The 26. of Iuly, the French horse charge the Reisters, and driue them into their fort: then seeing the Imperials loth to make any farther aduerture, the time beeing very rainie and vnseasonable, want of forrage, cold, hunger, and many other discomforts caused them to found a retreat, and to leaue the third victualling of Mariembourg, to *Sanjac* and *Bourdillon*: after the which the rigour of the season, and the iniuries of the aire, forced both parties to liue in rest. The King hauing then gotten from *John* of Brosse duke of Estampes the rights which he pretended to the Duchie of Brittanie in right of the house of Blois, he gaue him in exchange the Earldome of Ponthieure. Whilest they remaine quiet vpon the frontier, let vs visit them beyond the mountains. The Marshall of Brissach had the winter past, seized vpon Yureé and Bielle: in the Spring he had fortified S. *Iaco*, taken Crepacuore, surprized (by the industry of Captaine *Saluoison* Gouverneur of Verrue) Caza, the storehouse of victuall and munition, prepared by the Imperials for the recouerie of Piedmont, ruined Poman, Saint *Saluador*, and other small places not to be held, and vnusually fortified in any short time. About the end of Iuly, the Duke of Alua, successour to *Gonzaga* in the gouernement of Lombardie, went to field with twentie thousand foote, foure thousand horse, and fortie Cannons, who at the first besieged Saint *Iaco*: but hee

War beyond the Alpes.

1555.

found good resistance, *Biraque* and *Vimerca* commanding in the place, forced him to retire, and to fortifie at the bridge of Sture, hoping to vanquish those by famine, who had repulsed his attempts by force. The Marshall being fortified from the King, with foure thousand horse, and foureteene thousand foot, led by the Duke of Anguien, Prince of Conde, the Dukes of Aumale and Nemours, the Vidame of Chartres, *Aubigni*, *Gannoy*, *Antador*, *d'Ysè*, *la Chastre* and *Lude*, with a great number of voluntarie Gentlemen, besieged Vulpian, defeated the succors which the Duke of Alua sent, tooke the high and the low towne by force, and the castle by composition. Montcaluo both towne and castle (after the dismantling of Vulpian) followed the Conquerors fortune: the French made these conquests in September and October, some dayes after the Dukes troupes had by meanes of an Ambush layed neere vnto Incise (where some French were slaine and others taken) a small reuenge for their losses at Vulpian and Montcaluo: the remainder of the yeare was more quiet. But before we proceed, let vs speake something of the warres of Siena, which beginning long before, were ended this yeare.

The insupportable behaviour of *Don Diego* of Mendosa, Gouvernor of Siena for the Emperour, had driuen the Citizens to put themselves into the Kings protection, and to bring into their city foure thousand men, vnder the command of the Earle of Petillano, who being entred, force the Spaniards, kill some, and expell the rest by composition. These men chased from Siena, seaze vpon Orbitello and fortifie it. After the seaze of Metz, the Emperour sent *Don Garfe* of Toledo Viceroy of Naples, with fiftene hundred horse, and twelue thousand foote, to spoyle the Countrie of Siena: and the King to crosse him, sends the Lord of Termes with twelue thousand foot, besides the Inhabitants of the country, all hauiug vowed to roote out the gouernment of the Spaniards. *Termes* being entred, he provided for the fortification of the city, and assured himselfe of Montselice, Montelle, and Montalcin against the threatens of the Viceroy, and of *Ascanius de la Corne*, attending the arriual of *Peter Stroffy* who came with the title of Lieutenant Generall for the King, with a good troupe of men at armes.

*Stroffy* being arriued, he makes new leuies in Italy. *Cosmo* Duke of Florence giues intelligence to the Pope and Emperour, and all ioyne together to send home the French, giuing the charge of their common army to *James de Medeis* Marquis of Marignan. The Marquis besiegeth Siena, and at his first approach had almost surpris'd it by night, the fortifications being not yet finished. The Sienois withstand him, giue him the repulse, and kill many of his men. He then incampes before the towne, spoyles the country, and had alreadie reduced them to want, while that *Stroffy* was busied to provide for the other places within the estate of Siena. *Stroffy* comes into the towne, and goes presently to field againe with sixe hundred men; he surpriseth *Ralph Baillon* and *Ascanius de la Corne*, who had an enterprise vpon Chiusti: he defeats their troupes, kills *Baillon*, and sends *Ascanius* prisoner to the king.

The King releued him with new supplies in Tuscane, and likewise in the Ile of Corfica, where the Lord of Termes had taken from the Genouois (partisans to the Emperour) the Townes of Saint Florent, and Saint Boniface a port of the sea. These last succours consisted of siue thousand Suisses and Galscons, with some light horse. And whilest they take breath in Siena, *Stroffy* makes a second salley, with siue hundred good horse, and sixe thousand choice foote, takes Montcalin and Montcarlo from the Duke of Florence, and by this stratageme he forceth the Marquis to leaue Sienna, for to succour the Florentin: then seeing the Marquis fortified with new troupes, he returns with his men to Siena. Moreouer, *Leo* brother to *Peter Stroffy* ranne along the coast of Tuscane, and spoiled the ports belonging to the Duke of Florence. But as he approached too neere to Scarlin, to discouer the place, he was slaine with a shot. *Stroffy* to reuenge this death, comes to continue the seaze, attending the succors which the Lord of Montluc brought. *Montluc* being arriued, *Stroffy* makes an army compounded of 600. Italians, two thousand Galscons, two thousand Suisses, two thousand siue hundred Lansquenets, and about a thousand horse, with which troupes hee resolved to fight with the enemy, if he presented himselfe: hauiug left the guard of Siena to *Montluc*, he went to batter Ciuitelle in the territorie of Florence.

The Marquis goes to succour it, and at his arriual chargeth *Stroffy*, who makes head against him, and both the one & the other bath the field with a great effusion of blood. *Stroffy* leaues

1555.

A leaues Ciuitelle, to set vpon Foian, a strong and a rich place: he batters it, and the first day takes it by assault, cutting *Charles Vrsin* in peeces with all those that kept it, spoiles it, and abandons all to fire and sword. But see a troublesome Catastrophe. The Marquis approacheth better furnished with artillery, and *Stroffy* marcheth towards Montpulcian, fauouring the retreat of his men, with many and rough skirmishes, then the Italians, beeing the chiefe strength of his army, slip from him, and leaue him much inferior to the Marquis: who following with speed, ouertooke him betwixt Martian, Lucignan and Foyan, and giues him bataille. *Stroffy* entertaines it, and with a bloody fight giues testimony of his valour. But *Bighet* an Italian, being ensigne Colonnell of the army, turns his backe cowardly: and the French sauuing their liues after him by the nimbleness of their legges, leaue the horse, the Galscons and the Suisses to endure the charge, who had rather die with their armes in their hands, then turne their backs. *Bighet* and the Earle of Alte were afterwards beheaded, the first as beeing the principall cause of this defeat: the other for that hee had cowardly yeelded Lucignan, a place impregnable. They reckon two thousand siue hundred slaine (some say foure thousand) besides a great number wounded to the death, and siue or fixe hundred prisoners. *Stroffy* saued himselfe in Montalcin, and the Marquis recouered Foyan, Martian, Lucignan and some other places, which euen then began to force the Sienois to obey the Conquerours command, who camped before their towne with all his forces. *Montluc* comforts them, and confirms their resolutions: but the coming of *Stroffy* with two ensignes of foot, and two companies of men at armes, saued in this shipwrecke, reuiued them more: the which hee did hazard in fauour of the besieged vpon a report of the death of *Montluc*. *Montluc* foreseeing, that bread would sooner faile the besieged, then courage, had already set an order for euery mans diet. The Marquis repulsed by the losse of six hundred men, at a scalado giuen in the night to the Cittadell, and the fort of Camollia: and finding that by skirmishes, batteries, assaults, intelligences, nor other stratagems, hee should neuer be maister of Siena: hee resolves vpon the longer, but the more easie expedient: so as the watches, the toyles, the diseases, and worst of ail, famine and dispaire of succor, forced *Montluc* the twenty one of Aprill this yeere, to saue the rest of his men by an honorable composition, which is read at large, in the history of the warres of Italy. Siena fell afterwards into the hands of the duke of Florence, and the Marquis, for that he had prolonged the warre of Siena, contrary to the Emperours liking, and wasted a mighty army before it, died in disgrace, in the end of the same yeere.

Now the Emperour (whose humour wee haue sufficiently learned by the discourse of the History) shrinking vnder the burthen of the affaires of this world, wearied with the toyles of warre, toucht with some remorse for the blood spilt, in those long and mournfull warres of Christendome, beeing perswaded, that his discord with our King, had made the Turke to preuaile much in diuers parts of Europe, his coming of late in fauour of the French, to the Isle of Corse, to assist them at the siege of Caluis, and Saint Boniface: to aide them to conquer the Islands; then in their retreat to spoyle the coast of Tuscane, to besiege Plombin, and the Isle of Elbe, of the territorie of Florence: to afflict the estates of Naples, Sicilia and Calabria, with infinite miseries, and beeing laden with great spoiles, to carrie away without controule, and to sell infinite numbers of Christian soules at Constantinople and other places.

These considerations caused him to call *Philip* his sonne from England to Bruxelles, where by autentike letters, of the siue and twentieth day of October, hee resigned all his Realmes vnto him: commanding all his estates and subiects, to acknowledge him as their true and lawfull King, aduising him particularly, amongst other exhortations, to make a peace, and entertaine loue with the French King, vniting their common forces, rather for the defence, then oppression of Christendome. King *Philip* following his fathers aduice, and beeing sollicit by *Mary* Queene of England his wife, was inclined to a peace: for the effecting whereof, after many voyages, a truce was concluded for siue yeeres. The Earle of Lalaine came to Blois to see the King sweare the truce, and the Admirall of Chastillon went to Bruxelles to the Emperour and King *Philip*, but this truce was as soone broken as made. During the continuance of this truce, one called *Villegagnon* a Knight of Malta armed certaine shippes and made a voiage to America, promising to doe wonders

The Emperour  
resignes his  
Kingdome to  
his sonne.

A truce for  
siue yeeres.

1557. wonders for the King in this new world But his vnstedd spirit and his vnjust dealing expelled A him, so as hee performed nothing of worth. If this enterprife had incountr'd a discreet commander, there had bene a port open for the execution of great matters, but the gouernor of the world had otherwise disposed.

Duke of Guise comes into Piedmont.

Valencia taken.

Paul the fourth was enemy to the Spaniards: and the *Colonnas* suspecting him to bee of the French faction (as in trueth the house of *Caraffes* had of old time fauoured the title of our Kings, to the realme of Naples) sought to assure their estates and persons. To his end they held some secret assemblies within Rome, in the houses of *Marc Anthony Colonne*, and the Cardinall of Saint Fiore, enemies to the house of France. The Pope to crosse them, imprisons this Cardinall in the castle of Saint Angelo, with *Camillo Colonne*, *Iulian Cesarin*, B and the Abbot of Bresque: hee summons *Marc Anthony*, and plants gards and sentinels throughout all the city. The *Colonnas* and their adherents, flie to the Castilian. Hee commands the duke of Alua to succour them. The duke marcheth with that designe, and takes from the Pope about Rome Anagnio, Pilastine, Segne, Tiouli, and by the siege and taking of Ostia, cuts off the victuals from Rome, and the *Colonnas* fortifying themselues about Rome, kept the Pope mew'd vp within compasse of his wals.

The Pope appeales to the King for aide, and sends him by his nephew the Cardinall *Caraffe*, a triumphant hat with a statelie sword. Our two Kings did not greatly loue: their ancient hatred and discontents were yet fresh, and their house-hold flatterers (to whom common confusions did serue as a ladder to aduance their estates and to enrich their houses, whereas peace sends the most of them home to liue priuately) were glad that Rome kindled the coales of new quarrels betwixt their maisters. So the French (meaning to crosse the Castilian, in fauour of the Pope) sent *Strossy* (Marshall of France in the place of the Lord of Sedan, lately deceased after his returne from prison out of the Low-countries) to oppose against the Spaniards, attending the succours led by the duke of Guise. The duke of Guise arriued at Turin, with about fifteene thousand foote, eight hundred men at armes, and twelue hundred light-horse, being assured of supplies as soone as the warres should beginne: hauing ioyned his forces with those of the Marshall of Brissac, he marcheth directly to Valencia, making this his colour, that the garrison had shot at the French going to succour the Pope: and for that it was secretly giuen out that the French had taken Paui, hee D amazeth *Spoluerin*, who kept the towne with two thousand men: summons him to yeeld, threatening him to put all to fire and sword, if he enter by force. Thus *Spoluerin* being terrified, departs with bagge and baggage, and loofeth his head at Paui for a reward of his base cowardise.

The duke of Guise beeing come to Thurin in January 1557. the cheefe towne in Piedmont, the Spaniards fortified Milan, and refest the garrisons of all places of importance in Italy. The duke of Florence armed, and lodged troupes vpon the frontiers of Ferrara, manning Florence and other townes of his obedience, especially towards Bologna. The duke of Alua fortified the townes in the Realme of Naples, and along the sea-coast in Calabria. So as all Italy was in alarum, and stood vpon their gards. On the other side *Strossy*, *Montlus*, and others which were in Rome, issue forth with fixe hundred horse and fife thousand foot, recouer Ostia by composition, and expell the Spaniards from Velitres, Tusculum, Marin, Grotteferrate, Palefan, Saint Angelo, Saint Paul, Vico, Valerio and other small places in the territories of Rome. The duke of Aluaes retreat had opened the way to Rome for the duke of Guise, presuming vpon the conuention lately made betwixt the King, the Pope and the duke of Ferrara: whereby the Pope should furnish twenty thousand foote, a thousand horse, and the charge of the army: the King the like number of foote, and two thousand horse: the duke fixe thousand foote, two hundred men at armes, fixe hundred light-horse, and twenty peeces of battery. But the Popes haue commonly aduanced their affaires at their costs that haue beleueed them, and then haue abandoned them very lightly that haue E assisted them at their need. The duke of Guise comming to Bologna, findes no men in field, neither were the Popes cofers open, and it may bee, if they had not toucht this string, the expedition had bene more succesfull.

In the meane time the French army decreased for want of pay, the Spaniards increased, and the Ferrarois in steed of assisting, craued aide of the duke of Guise his sonne-in-law. What

A What could our men doe, but studie of their returne into France? but the Pope had not yet firmly seled his affaires: and if he had long remained a lone betwixt two stooles, without doubt the Spaniard would haue ouer-ruled him. And therefore, to stay the duke of Guise, hee sweares, *Not to treat any accord without the Kings consent, and that for assurance thereof he would send his sonne the duke of Palliane for hostage into France.* But it was rather to attend the successe of the affaires of Picardy, where they prepared a Theater to play a bloody Tragedy, then with any intent to discharge his oth. The Admirall hauing, by the taking and spoile of Lens in Artois, begun the warre in Picardie, the prince of Piedmont accompanied with *Ernest* and *Henry* dukes of Brunswike, the duke of Arscot (newly come out of prison) the Earles of Mansfield, Aiguemont, Meigue and Barlement, leading fortie thousand foote, and fifteene thousand horse: ten thousand English foot and fifteene hundred horse, came soone after that to his succour. The prince of Piedmont, hauing newly proclaimed war against the King, came & threatned Guise, but in effect it was to besiege Saint Quentin being vnfurnished of men.

The Admirall resolued to enter it, and parted from Pierrepont the second of August, with foure companies of men at armes and three of light-horse. Being at Han, he was forced (by reason of the hast of his voyage) to content himselfe with two companies of foote-men: the third part whereof entred with him into Saint Quentin, the rest remained behind and were forced to retire, for that the towne was in a manner all inuested. The Constable C bein aduertized what past within the towne, hee sent the Prince of Condé generall of the light-horse, the Marshall of Saint Andrew with foure hundred men at armes, and the Lord of Andelot with ten companies on foote, to put themselues into Han, aswell to anyoie the enemy, as to refresh Saint Quentin if they could: *Andelot* offered to enter with two hundred men, whilst that a generall alarum should be giuen vnto the enemy, but the enterprife being discovered by some prisoners, hee could not effect it, but with a small number.

In the meane time the Spanish army was fortified with ten thousand English foote and about fifteene hundred horse. The Constable desirous to saue them that were within Saint Quentin, caused his army to passe the riuier beneath La Fere, and on the tenth day of August being Saint *Lawrence* day marched towards Saint Quentin, where they arriued about nine of the clocke in the morning, and put themselues in battaile, at the suburbs off Isle, which the Spaniards had won, whom they chased away. In the meane time the artillery plaied vpon the prince of Piedmonts campe, and caused great disorder, during the which the Constable put what succours he could into the towne. The Spanish army resolued suddenly to ioyne with the Constable, and to force him to fight, wherevpon the prince of Piedmont and the Earle of Egmont ioyned. The Constable making his retreat, without any intent to fight, hee ioyned with the prience of Conde, who made a stand, with the light-horse-men nere vnto a Wind-mill, and they two together without losse, ioyned with the body of the army. The enemy followed them close with eight great battalions of horse: the Earle of Egmont (who that daie did great seruice vnto his maister) was the first E which charged the French on the one side with two thousand horse: *Ernest*, and *Henry*, dukes of Brunswic, seconded by the Earle of Horne, with two thousand Reistres and one thousand men at armes fell vpon the other side: The Earle of Mansfield with other Commanders, forced the midst with such violence, as the French were ouerthrowne: for though the partie were very vnequall, yet they did fight, whereas the Constable was wounded and taken prisoner, with the dukes of Montpensier, and Longueville, the prince of Mantoua, the Marshall of Saint Andrew, with many other Noble-men, and Gentlemen of marke. The chiefe of them that were slaine, were *John* of Bourbon duke of Anguien, the Vicount of Turenne (the Constables sonne-in-law) the elder brother of *Roche-du-Maine*, the Lords of Chandenier, Pontdormy, with very many others, and in a manner all the foote captaines, who seeing the horse-men put themselues into a square battalio, but they were presently broken; part of them were cut in peeces, and the rest taken prisoners. This bloody battaile lasted foure or fife houres, the victors pursued them within a league of Lafern, and it hath bene since held strange how so great a number escaped, seeing their amazement. The prince of Condé, the duke of Neuers, the Earle of Sancerre, and the Lords of Bourdillon, Grammont, Creuescœur, Piennes, Descars and others escaped. *Montmorancy* the Constables eldest

1557.

The Admiral puts himselfe into Saint Quentin.

Constable leads his army to Saint Quentin.

Constable charged in hand retreat.

1557. eldest sonne tooke another way. There was a great amazement at Paris by reason of this A  
defeat, where they had lost a number of men, whereof writers speake diuersly, some say  
foue thousand, others report eight thousand, slaine vpon the place. The King retired from  
Compiene to Paris, assured his capitall city, and drew from them a Subsidy of 30000.  
pounds starting to supply his vrgent affaires: whilst that King *Philip* receiuing the ensignes  
taken from the French, and seeing the prisoners led before his lodging as it were in tri-  
umph, hee contented himselfe with his victory, not entring any farther into France, the  
which many townes did apprehend.

Saint Quentin  
taken by as-  
sault.

As for the besieged in Saint Quentin, King *Philip* comming to the campe, the battery  
was furious, and the besieged could not bee releued, but with three hundred men, whereof  
two third parts were slaine seeking to enter. Their towers and defences were beaten B  
downe with the Canon, and the Spaniards were become Maisters of the ditch, on the se-  
uenth day of August, the besieged (who were not aboue eight hundred men) distributed in-  
to eleuen breaches) endured a generall assault, and could not bee forced: But the towne  
was taken, by a Tower which no man garded. The French souldiers were in a manner all  
slaine. The Admirall, his brother (who escaped soone after) *Jarnac*, *Saint Remy*, *Humes*  
with many other gentlemen of marke were taken prisoners: The sonne of the Lord of Fay-  
ette, with the captaine *Saluvert*, *Ogier*, *Vicques*, *La Barre*, *Esfang* and *Gourdes* were slaine.

The Pope re-  
conciles him-  
selfe to the  
Spaniards.

After the taking of Saint Quentin, the Earle of Aremberg with twelue hundred horse  
and three Regiments of Lanquenets, besieged Castelet, and made a furious battery. The C  
Barron of Solignac commanded there, seeing himselfe destitute of suckers that were pro-  
mised, that the place was not to bee defended against an assault, hauing not three hundred  
men, and those not very resolute, he yeelded vp the place without fighting, for the which he  
was carried captiue to Paris, and had lost his life if he had not escaped out of prison, for that  
he had promised (as they said) not to leaue the place without an assault. After which the  
Spaniards taking Han, Chauny and al other places, that might annoy them in Picardy, made  
their victory absolute. Thus the Spanish forces, had a happy season: and the Pope resol-  
ued to leane to the stronger. These losses make him easily forget the speedy succors hee had  
found in France: so as at the first approach of the duke of Alua, hee sends him a blanke, by  
the Cardinall *Caraffe*, and renouncing in September following the league made with the D  
King, he made frustrate all his desseignes against Italy. Doubtlesse the counsell of the Con-  
stable, the Admirall and many others, aduising to maintaine the truce, was farre more ex-  
pedient, then this light and painefull enterprise in fauour of a Pope, who was content to  
haue imbarcked vs in a new Labirinth of confusions, whereof we shall not be freed, without  
a mournfull and exemplary spectacle. To teach princes: that an accord confirmed by a re-  
ciprocall oath, ought to be holy and inuiolable. So this reconciliation was made famous by a  
strange wonder. The same day, and the day after this peace was concluded, almost a third  
part of the buildings of Rome, and a great number of Christians perished, by a sodaine and  
violent inundation of Tiber.

A great inun-  
dation at  
Rome.

The King beeing at Paris during these tempests, as hee went to heare masse a yong man E  
named *Caboche*, borne at Meaux, who had long followed the Court and serued the Secre-  
taries of State, by reason of his faire writing, whether that hee were distract of his wits, or  
thrust on for some other consideration, hee came and presented himselfe before the King,  
with a naked sword in his hand, and cried out aloud, *Stay King, God hath commanded mee to  
kill thee*. Wherevpon the Suisses of the Kings gard apprehended him presently, whom the  
King caused to bee deliuered into the hands of Iustice to determine of his offence: where-  
vpon the Court of parliament caused *Caboche* to be hanged for this attempt.

There was some likelihood, that *Philip* after his victory at Saint Quentin would haue en-  
tered further into the realme with his army: but vnderstanding that the King expected a  
supply of foureteene thousand Suisses, and prepared his campe at Laon, he was content to F  
fortifie his last conquests: and so gaue the King meanes to stay the troupes, which the  
dukes of Guise and Aumale brought out off Italy to chase the Baron of Polleuille from  
Bourg in Bresse, the which hee besieged in the duke of Sauois name, with twelue hundred  
horse, and twelue thousand foote. The duke of Guise being come with his army out of I-  
taly to the King beeing at Saint Germaine in Lay, hee was by reason of the Constables  
imprison-

A imprisonment declared his Lieutenant generall. Should the King then suffer the courage  
of these forces newly arrived to quaille, with idleness, when as he might profitably employ  
them? The English had held Calais from vs, two hundred and ten yeeres: the Constables  
imprisonment had hindered the execution of a desseigne which he and the Admirall his Ne-  
pew had vpon this towne, by the meanes of *Senarpont* Gouvernour of Boullen. But now  
they winne that by force, which they could neuer get by policy or indoltry. His Maiesty  
declares the duke of Guise his Lieutenant Generall, in all his countries: he leaues two ar-  
mies, the one hee giues to the duke of Guise: the other, to the duke of Neuers. The first  
aduanceth vnder colour to hinder the victualing of Saint Quentin. The other turning  
towards Luxembourg, drawes the Spaniards and Wallons to the defence thereof: then A  
suddenly hee sends his forces to the duke of Guise, who marcheth with all speed against Calais.  
In this army, among many others, were the Princes of Conde and Roche-sur-yon, the  
duke of Aumale and the Marquis of Elbeuf brethren, the Marshall *Stroffsy*, *Montmorency*, eld-  
est sonne to the Constable, the Lords of Andelot, Termes, Grandmont, Creuecoeur, Pien-  
nes, Randan, Allegre, Sansac, Tauanes, Senarpont, *Esfree* maister of the Ordinance, and  
*Gourdan*, who lost a legge in this action.

1555.

The French army appeared the first day of Ianuary, and at the first arriual takes the fort  
of Nieulay: and the next day, that of Risban. Thus the way to the towne being opened,  
and the besieged suddenly surprisid, without hope of speedy succours, first the castle, and then  
the towne returned to the obedience of this crowne, as gladly, as wee haue seene her C  
ancient Burgeses bid their poore and desolate country mournfully farewell, in the yeere  
1347. The county of Oye, and all the forts the English held there, returned likewise to the  
subiection of their first and lawfull Lord. Guines, and other places dismantled, spare the cost  
which should be consumed in the defence thereof. The same month the King called a ge-  
nerall Parliament at Paris, where he had a grant of three millions of gold for the warre, and  
then he went to visit Calais, and gaue the gouernment to *Mon: de Termes*. On the other  
side, the duke of Neuers did take for the King, the castle of Herbemont: the forts of I-  
moigne, Chigny, Rossignol and Villeneuve. Thus their sorrow was turned into ioy, their  
hearts panting yet with that bloody battaile of Saint Laurence. The Court was partaker of D  
this ioy, celebrating the 28. day of Aprill, in the midst of these prosperities, the marriage of  
*Francis* Daulphin of Viennois, with *Mary Steward* Queene of Scotland, daughter to *James*  
the fifth, and *Mary* of Lorraine, daughter of *Claude* duke of Guise, and widow before to the  
duke of Longueuille.

The Daul-  
phin married  
to Mary  
queene of Scot-  
land.

During these happy victories, and coniunctions of alliances: the Dutchesse Dowager of  
Lorraine, laboured to increafe these solemne and publike ioyes, by the conclusion of a  
peace betwixt the two Kings. The Cardinall brother to the duke of Guise, met with her at  
Peronne to that intent: but this parle without effect, hastened the execution of an enter-  
prise vpon Thecouille, the which being battered from the fifth, to the 21. day of Iune with  
fue and thirty Canons, and the mines ready to play, receiued an honourable composition.  
E The proiect of this prize is giuen to the duke of Neuers, the glory of the execution, to the  
duke of Guise: and the duke of Nemours, the Marshall of Stroffsy (who was slaine there, with  
a shot vnder his left pap, the duke of Guise leaning on his shoulder, as they caused a plat-  
forme to be vndermined) the Lords of Montluc, Vielleuille, and Bourdillon, had the honor  
to haue giuen good testimonies of their valours in this prize. Chigny taken afterwards  
from the Wallons, was fortified: Arlon, Villemont, and Rossignol, burnt and made vnpro-  
fitable for the warre.

The English in the meane time, spoiled the coasts of Normandy and Picardy: and the  
King to stop their courses, prepares two small armies, one at la Fere vnder the duke of Au-  
male: the other at Calais, vnder the Marshall of Termes, who succeeded *Stroffsy*. The Mar-  
shall attempts Berghes (they feared not the French there, and the townes which the Spa-  
niards held vpon that coast were ill furnished) he takes it, sacks it, and by that meanes opens  
the way to Dunkerk. Dunkerke beeing taken and spoiled in foure daies, enriched both the  
souldiers, and boies of the army.

But the Flemings force them to make restitution: the Marshall camped before Graue-  
line: and the Cont *Aiguemont* Lieutenant for the King of Spaine, in the Low-countries,  
hauing



1558. hauing spendly assembled out off the neighbour garrisons, and of other forces, about sixteene thousand foote, a thousand or twelue hundred Reistres and two thousand horse, cuts off his way vpon the riuier of A, which comes from Saint Omer, and forceth him to fight. At the first charge, the French army ouerthrowes some squadrons of horse: but at the second shock, the Marshall is hurt and taken, with *Villebon, Senarpont, Moruilliers* and *Chau-ne*, a great number of captaines and souldiers are slaine vpon the place, and all the troupes so discomfited, as of all the companies of men at armes, of three cornets of light-horse Scottishmen, foureteene ensignes of French foote, and eightene of Lansquenets, few escaped death or imprisonment: a wound which reuiued the scarre of Saint *Laurence*, and did frustrate the duke of Guise his enterprise vpon Luxembourg: but it was partly recompensed by the Lord of Kerfimon, vpon fixe or seuen thousand English and Flemings which landed at the hauen of Conquet, spoyling, and burning the weakest parts of the coast of Britan. This was in the end of Iuly. The duke of Guise sayling of Luxembourg, came to lodge at Pierrepont in Tirasche, and there fortified with seuen cornets of Reistres, brought by *William*, younger sonne to *Iohn Frederick* Elektor of Saxony, and a new regiment of Lansquenets, led by *Jacob* of Ausbourg, made the French army as strong, as the yeere before. About all others, were most apparant the companies of the duke of Guise, Lieutenant generall, of the dukes of Montpensier, Neuers, Aumale, Bouillon, Nemours, Saxony, Lunembourg, of the Prince of Roche-sur-yon, of the Prince of Salerne, of the Count *Charny*, the Marshall Saint *Andre*, the Marquis of Elbeuf, and of the Lords of Roche-foucault, *Randam*, *Curton*, *Montmorency* (the Constables eldest sonne) *Eschenets*, *Roche-du-Maine*, *Jenlu*, *La Vauguion*, *Bourdillon*, *Tauanes* and *Beauuais*. The light-horse of the Earles of Eu and Roissy, of the Lords of Valette, Bueil, Laigny, Rottigotty, Lombay and others, whereof the duke of Nemours was generall, and so great a number of Germaines, Swisses, and Frenchmen, as this flourishing army (lodging neere to Amiens, along the riuier of Somme) preuailed much for the treaty of peace, which followed soone after.

*Philip* had his army likewise vpon the riuier of Anthy, both intrenched and fortified with artillery, as if they meant to continue there, and in time to tire one another. Some moneths passe without any other exploit then in-roades and light-skirmishes. In the end, the eternal God of armes, who from his heauenly throne beheld the feate of these two mighty armies, changed the bitterneffe of former warre into a pleasing peace, confirmed by alliances the yeare following. The Abbey of Cercamp vpon the confines of Arthois and Picardy, gaue the first entry. And as the Constable (being freed from prison) the Marshall of Saint *Andrew*, the Cardinall of Lorraine, *Moruilliers* bishop of Orleance, and *Aubspine* Secretary of State, assembled for the King, treated with the duke of Alua, the Prince of Orange, *Regomes de Silues*, cup-bearer to King *Philip*, *Granduelle* bishop of Arras, and *Vilge*, of Zuichem, president of the counsell of State for the Low-countries: behold the death of *Charles* the fifth Emperour, chancing in September, and that of *Mary* Queene of England, in the midst of Nouember, changed both the place and the time of this conclusion.

Castile-Cambresis had the honour to finish it at the second conference, the which was confirmed by the marriages, of *Philip* with *Elizabeth*, eldest daughter to King *Henry*: of *Phillibert Emanuel* duke of Sauoy, with *Marguerite* the Kings onely sister: and of *Charles* duke of Lorraine, with *Claude* a younger daughter of France. The King yeilded to the Castilian all that hee had taken from him, as well on this side, as beyond the mountaines. To the Sauoyard, he restored Bresse, Sauoy and Piedmont: to the Genouois, the Isle of Corse, and about foure hundred places more conquered, during these fatal and pernicious warres, which had made so many Prouinces desolate, ruined so many castles, villages and townes, drunke so much Christian blood, and slaine so many millions of men of all qualities, reteining nothing but the territories of Boullen and Calais. Thus the winde doth fodenly drinke vp, all the toile, all the trauels, all the sweat of many ages. And the Lord faith vnto man: *Thou foote, this night will I take thy soule from thee, and who shall haue the things which thou hast prepared?* And, *All men are vaine, doubtlesse man labours for a shadow, he troubleth himselfe for nothing.*

The King being at peace with his foraine enemies, with whom euery man thought their should be eternal alliances, he was counceled to continu his seuer proceedings against his

The Marshall  
of Termes de-  
feated.

B

C

D

E

F

A subjects of the religion, the which had increased much during the troubles, for the redressing whereof there needed no violent but spirituall remedies, many ill aduised counsellors to this prince (who of himselfe was of a mild and temperat disposition) made him conceiue a wonderfull hatred against them of the said religion, filling his eares with vnworthy reports. The Lord of Andelot was the first that smarted, being sent prisoner to Melun for his religion. This caused many discontents and ieaiousies amongst great houses, which was the cause of great mischief after the death of *Henry*.

The prisons were full of such as they called Lutherans, and euen then many noble families were toucht with that cause. Moreover, many officers of the Parliament, wished a milder proceeding against those prisoners. This diuersity caused an assembly, which they called *B Mercuriale*, to heare the opinion of presidents and counsellors vpon this controuersie, the which the King was required to countenance with his presence. *Anne du Bourg* vsed a great liberty of speech: some others did second his opinion. This freedome transported the King into choller: hee commands the Constable to put them in prison, and vowes to see them burnt within few daies, if they persist. But oh prince! *The yeeres of thy account are come, and thou entrest into a path from the which thou shalt no more returne.* The Constable deli- uers them to the Count *Montgomery*, captaine of his Maiesties gardes, who leads *Bourg* to the Bastille, and the rest to diuerse other prisons. Let vs not iudge hereby, but admire how soe- uer, the iudgements of God: in that wee shall see these three personages, euery one in his

C ranke, die an extraordinary and tragicall death.

In the meane time the Courtiers made all the inuentions that might bee for sports and delights, to solemnize the marriage of the Kings daughters and sister, the which in outward apparence seemed to bring a great happinesse to France: But the sighes of prisoners for matter of religion, the horrible punishments and executions of other, the earnest praiers of infinite families threatened, who found by experience that this peace was concluded betwixt the French and the Spaniard, to make an irreconcilable warre against them, were the windes which drew from aboue these wonderfull alterations, which the wise prouidence of God did let them see soone after. *Elizabeth* of France, hauing beene conducted by the King her father, to our Ladies Church at Paris, was there married with great state and triumph, by the duke of Alua, who had procuracion from the King of Spaine his master, the ceremony was done by the Cardinall of Bourbon, where there assisted many Princes, Noble-men, Cardinals, and Prelates, from all parts of the realme, with an infinite number of the Kings officers and household seruants, there also assisted the duke of Sauoy, the prince of Orange, the Earle of Egmont, and a great number of other noble men of the Low-countries: after all their sumptuous banquets, sportes, masks and daunsing, followed the last act which changed all these pleasing Comedies and sports, into a bloody and mournfull tragedie, whereof the King was the lamentable prologue, for hauing published a solemne running at the Tilte, the King (contrary to the aduise of many who besought him to leaue that exercise, to others who would giue him content) would needs be one of the Chal- lengers, being seconded by the dukes of Guise, and Ferrara: but the second day of this Tour- ny, after that hee had runne well, being intreated by the Queene to retire, wherein the duke of Sauoy laboured also, he sent her word by the Marshall of Montmorency that hee would runne but once, and that for her sake, hee sent a Lance to the Earle of Montgomery. The Earle excuseth himselfe to runne against his Maiesty: the day before hee could not hit any one, and it may be now hee feared a second shame. But hauing a second charge from the King to enter the Lists, hee runnes, and breakes his Lance vpon the Kings cuirasse, and with a splinter thereof (his beauer being some-what open) strikes him so deepe into the eye, as the tenth of Iuly his soule left his body, in his house of Tournelles, the foure and fortieth yeere of his age.

F The day before his death hee would haue the marriage of the duke of Sauoy and of the Lady *Marguerite* his sister celebrated in his Chamber, and that whatsoeuer had beene accorded vnto the duke by the Treaty of peace should bee fully performed: His heart was interred in the Celestines Church in the dukes of Orleance Chapell. His royall obsequy was celebrated one the thirteenth day of August, and his body was laied at Saint Dennis in the common Tombe of the French Kings: during this princes raigne, there were two

Counsellors  
of the Parlia-  
ment impriso-  
ned.

The death of  
King Henry.

1559. great sins crept into France, Atheism and Magick, wherunto was ioyned the corruption of A all good learning: for the knowledge thereof being brought in by King Francis the first, was in many curious and malicious spirits an occasion of all wickednesse, especially in that multitude of French Poets, who by their impure rimes, full of blasphemies, ouerthrew a number of foules.

He had by *Katherine de Medici* his wife, five sonnes and five daughters. *Francis* his successor, of the age of sixteene or seuentene yeares, *Lewis* Duke of Orleans, who lived few moneths: *Charles-Maximilian*, *Edward-Alexander*, afterwards named *Henry* the third, and *Hercules* afterwards called *Francis*. *Elizabeth* married to *Philip* King of Spaine, *Claude* to *Charles* Duke of Lorraine, *Marguerite* to *Henry* of Bourbon, then King of Navarre, *Jane* and *Victoria* twins, who died soone after their birth. He was a religious Prince, goodly, of a mild disposition, peaceable, affable, not greatly subiect to passions, generous, louing his seruants and men of merit: but voluptuous, and not able to discouer in due time the ambition and couetousnesse of such as possessing him, made sale of lawes, iustice, offices, and spirituall livings, emptied the subiects purses, and nourished the warres which wee haue before obserued, namely, since the breach of the truce: finding such sweetnesse, profit, and honor, in the managing of the treasure, and commanding of the Kings armies in the voyage of Italy, and especially in this last Lieutenancie in Picardie, as hereafter we shall see a young Prince raigne like a shadow, and they being ceazed of the gouernement, both of his person and of his Realme, shall dispossesse the chiefe Officers of the Crowne, keepe back the princes of the blood, the true and lawfull Gouernors of the State, the King being in his minority: and to plot the meanes to raise their race to the Royall throne.

### Francis the second, the sixtith French King.



This

A



His raigne is short, but very memorable. Wee see a Theater, whereon is acted a horrible tragedie, a King young of yeeres, and of iudgement, governed by his mother, and his wiues vncles, and a new forme to neglect both the publike and priuate interest. The Courtiers stand at a gaze, and for the most part stoupe to the stronger. The Clergie shield themselves vnder those that kindle these fires in France. The Nobility wearied with former toyles, doe not yet wipe off the dust and sweat from their armes.

The people diuided for matter of religion, and oppressed with the burthen of former warres, desires to breath. The Constable holds his place: yet is hee not so surely seated, but they will displace him. There are two factions in Court: the Constable holdeth the plyable. The Queene-mother ioynes with the last. The King of Navarre might crosse and pensioners about him. The princes of the blood, the Constable, the Marshals, the Admirall, and many other Noblemen, prepared for the funerals of the deceased King, when as Queenes to the Louvre, begin a strange alteration; a true patterne of the inconstancy of this world. The Duchesse of Valentinois had quietly gouerned the deceased King, and by her practises, had caused *Francis Oliver*, a man of a singular reputation, and Chancellor of France, to be dismissed. At the first entry, she is spoiled of her precious Jewels, which witnessed the Kings loue vnto her, to adorne the Queene that raigned: and by her disgrace, leaves the place to *Catherine*, to rule hereafter without companion.

Two factions in Court.

Alterations in Court.

The Duchesse of Valentinois is disgraced.

The Queene-mother (who hated her extremely) was glad to see her thus disgraced, for that she would not loose the fauour of the house of Guise, who although they had beene aduanced by the Duchesse, yet seeing her to bee a weake support, they abandoned her and ioyned with the other, who assisted them no lesse then the first. They tooke the scales from cardinall *Bertrand*, and sent him to Rome: and from *Auançon* the superintendence of the treasure, yet he remained still in court, for that it was not yet necessary to force him to seeke a new party.

The Marshall of Saint *Andrew* aduanced by the fauours of the deceased King, and made far by the confiscations of them of the religion, and by borrowing, which hee neuer paid againe, hauing made offer of all that hee had vnto them of Guise, hee is receiued into their band, and *Oliuer* restored to his Chancelourship.

The Constable seeing the King had made a declaration, that his meaning was they should adresse themselves for all matters concerning the Estate of the crowne and of his house, vnto his two Vncles, the duke of Guise and the Cardinall of Lorraine: And by consequence his mortall enemy seated in his place, and executing that, which belonged to his Office of Constable and Lord Steward of France, yea in the presence of Spaniards and strangers, who before had so much respected him, and within fewe daies after the death of *Henrie*, hee goes to the new King, and deliueis vp the Signet (which his deceased Maister had committed vnto him) who tould him that the charge of the Treasure and of the affaires of State was giuen vnto the Cardinall, and the commandement of all that concerned the warre vnto the duke: telling him withall that hee would retaine him still of his counsell, and that hee should bee welcome when hee came to Court. He thanked the King for giuing him leaue to retire himselfe, beseeching him to excuse him for not comming to counsell, for two reasons: The one for that hee could not serue them whom hee had alwaies commanded: The other, that being held an old dotard his counsell was not necessary. Then offering his life and goods vnto the King, hee went to visit the Queene-mother, who intreated him roughly, reproching him that hee had tould the deceased King, in iesting wife, that he had not any child like him but his base daughter, who was married to the Marshall of Montmorency. Shee added withall that for the loue of the deceased, she would forget her priuate Iniury: And that

The Constable sent one to his house.

1559.

without this respect shee had meanes to cut off his head. In the end shee perswaded him A not wholly to abandon the Court, but to come some-time. He maintained that he was fallly accused with that speech of the Kings children, intreating Her to remember the seruices which hee had done to her, and to the realme, and not beleue the reports of his enemies, who should not doe him so much harme, as they pretended. So hauing taken his leaue, and conducted his maister to his graue, he retired to his house.

The two brethren to play their parts absolutely without controule, send the Prince of Conde into Flanders, vnder colour to confirme the peace, and him of Roche-sur-yon, to carry the Order of France to the king of Spaine: then at his returne they depute him with the Cardinal of Bourbon, to conduct *Elizabeth* to *Philip* her husband. In the meane-time, the B Guisians call the Cardinall of Tournon from Rome: a man fit for their humors, an inueterat enemy to the Constable and to them of the religion. They displace part of the ancient officers of the Kings house, and place new at their deuotion: they furnish prouinces, and frontier townes with gouernours of their owne choise: they obtaine a declaration from the King sitting in parliament, whereby he made it knowne, that touching all affaires which concerned the estate of his crowne and house, his pleasure was, they should hereafter re- C paire to his two vncles. The first Edicts were against the carrying of pistols and Hargue- buzes, and then against long clokes, and great hofe. It was a common saying that the Car- dinall (as fearefull a man as euer was) hauing vnderstood from a Magitian at Rome, that C through enuy, and when he was in his greatest dignity, his enemies should cause him to bee flaine with a peece, had procured these defences, beeing wonderfully disquieted, euen then when as all yeelded vnto him, they doe and vndoe, place and displace, in Parliament and priuy counsell, like to a King of absolute power. And the Queene mother challenge the gift of money growing of the confirmation of offices and priuiledges of townes and com- monalties, the which by right cannot be exacted, but when the realme falls into a collateral line. Now are they settled in this vsurped gouernment: they haue officers at their pleasure. But there is yet a moate in their eye. Those of the religion, who then were called *Reformed* (let vs hereafter call them protestants) for their common cause (with the protestants of Ger- many) multiplied infinitely. Some princes, and many Noblemen did countenance them, and were ready to take their protection. To weaken them, nay rather to ruine them quite: D the Kings letters patentes are granted, the 14. of Iuly, with a Commission to certaine lud- ges, for the triall of *Anne du Bourg*, and foure of his companions prisoners. It was to be fea- red, their proceeding against these fiue counsellors, it would preiudice the whole party. They beseech the Queene by their letters (who had made shew to incline to their doctrine, when as she was barren) to vse her authority in the restraint of these rigorous pursutes. She passeth her word to the prince of Condé and Admirall, so as they wil liue secretly and with- out any scandale.

Shee had bene importuned by letters, from one named *Villemadon* who knew much of her secrets, and put her in minde of her affection to *Pietie*, at such time as shee was barren, exhorted her not to reiect the princes of the bloud, from the managing of the affaires of E State, to aduance them of Guise, and to make them petty Kings. These letters were written the fixe and twentieth day of August and wrought this effect, that the Queene seemed to be inclined for some daies, to ease them of the religion.

In the meane time they of Guise to make their gouernment more pleasing vnto the peo- ple, and not to loose any thing, published in the Kings name letters of reuocation of all alienations made, as well for life as for yeeres in recompence of any seruices, except sales whereof the money had bene imploied for the Kings great and vrgent affaires, the por- tions of the daughters of France, and the dowry of the deceased Queene *Elenor*, which the Infanta of Portugall did inioy, the rest to bee reunited to the Kings demaies and ordinarie receites. This reuocation was a fore blowe to some Princes and great per- F nages, who were disappointed of the fruites of their seruice and of the deceased Kings bountie. On the other side the fauorites of the house of Guise obtained other letters of exemption, and so they stript some, whilst that others remained in possession, or got for no new purchase.

The Constable seeing *Henries* death approach, had sent to sollicite the King of Nauarre to

Alienations made by the deceased King, reuoca- ed.

1559.

A to come with all speed to Court, and to seize vpon the Gouernment before any other. This Prince was not desirous to manage the affaires, & was somewhat ialous of the Constable, which made him to sit still, giuing them of Guise time to seize vpon his place. Some Princes and Noblemen hauing prest him, hee gaue eare, and imparted this businesse to his foure chiefe counsellors, which were *Jarnac*, the bishop of Maude president of his counsell, *Descars* his Chamberlaine, and *Bouchart* his Chancellour who were of opinion that hee should goe presently to Court.

They of Guise are aduertized hereof, who promise wonders to *Maude*, and *Descars*, if they can frustrate this resolution, who did worse: for suffering their master to goe to horse- backe, beeing farre aduanced, they beginne to put water in his wine, and forge ineuitable B dangers, he stood to strictly vpon his ranke: that hee must proceed mildly in this businesse, and entertaine all men politikely. Being come to Poictiers where as many princes and no- ble men met him, he shewed much resolution and gaue good hope to the ministers of the Churches assembled, especially at Paris, Orleans and Towers; intreating them to beare a little in that which concerns the open profession of religion: Being come to Court, which was at Saint Germain in Laye, what entertainment doe they giue to this first prince of the bloud of France? his harbingers find no lodging for him within the castle. *It shall cost mee my life, and ten thousand more with me* (said the duke of Guise to his harbinger) before he take C from me the place and lodging, which the King hath giuen me nere vnto his person. No man goes to meet him: those of Guise looke that hee should goe to salute them: and which is worse, the next day he hath no place in counsell. After some daies, the King saies vnto him, that his vncles hauing the charge of affaires, hee desired them that would haue his fauor, to obey them in all things. So hauing obtained confirmation of his offices and pensions, hee approved by his silence the vsurpation of the house of Guise, who lead the King to Rheims, where hee was triumphantly annointed the eighteenth of September, by the Cardinall of Lorraine, Archbishop of that place. Soone after the coronation, the Queene mother gets a resignation from the Constable, of the office of Lord *Steward*, in fauor of the duke of Guise, and in recompence, made his sonne Marshall of France. The Admirall foreseeing that they would dispossesse him of the gouernment of Picardie: he first gaue the King to vnderstand, D that it belonged to the prince of Condé, for that his predecessors had long enioyed it. His resignation was willingly accepted, but not the condition. It was better to purchase a good seruant and partisan, which was the Marshal of Brissac. Thus the princes and chiefe officers of the crowne were disgraced, but those that were least passionat amongst the people, were not mure. They had a good share in the priuate discontent of these great personages, fore- seeing the disorders that might ensue, and require a Parliament, as the soueraigne cure for such diseases, whereby the Queene-mother might be excluded from the regency, and those of Guise put from the Kings person. To please the King, they perswade him, that they sought to bridle him and to make him a ward; that hee should hold them enemies to his authority, and guilty of high treason that talke of a Parliament. The King of Spaine cross- E feth them, and by letters written to the King his brother-in-law (the which were read in counsell in the presence of the King of Nauarre) hee declares himselfe (saith he for the good affection hee did beare) *Tutor and Protector of him, his realme and his affaires, against those that would change the gouernment of the estate; as if the King were not capable of the gouernment*. Pleasant people, which reiect so much the word of lawfull Tutelage, and yet they v- surpe it against the lawes and orders of the realme, holding it onely by tyranie. This other affront sent the King of Nauarre home into Bearne whence he came.

They continued their pursutes against the counsellour *du Bourg*, which moued them of the religion at Paris to send a supplication to the Queene-mother exhorting her to her duty, and denouncing the vengeance of God, and the danger of future troubles, by rea- F son of these great Rigours: But shee gaue them no pleasant answer; Besides *du Bourg*, towards the end of this yeere, there were many imprisoned at Paris for Religion, and their houses sackt, as in a towne taken by assault: There were witnesses suborned to depose that in a certaine assemblie made one Thursday before Easter day, in an Aduocates house, at the place Maubert, a great number of Lutherans, Men, Wo- men and Maydens, after the Preaching, hauing receiued the Communion, and eaten a

The Princes and chiefe officers of the crowne dis- graced.

Supplications to the Queene and what fol- lowed.

1559.

Slanders and  
false witnesses  
against them  
or their religi-  
on.

Pigge, instead of the pascall-lambe, the candles beeing put out, they went and lay together. A The Cardinall moued the whole Court with these informations: but the Queene mother hauing vpon this occasion spoken against some of her maides that were of the religion, they wrought so as the two chiefe witnesses were heard in her presence, beeing two yong boies, who had maintained that then and at many other times, they had carnally knowne the daughters of this Aduocate, they then began to wauer, and covertly to deny it. Notwithstanding the accusation and suite continued: and for that in the apprehension of prisoners there was some resistance made in the suburbs of Saint Germaine, they sent vnto all their houses to take away their armes, yea their kniues, the which was brought vnto the Hostell of Guise. The Aduocate thus slanderously charged, did constitute himselfe prisoner, with his wife and daughters, where the maidens were found Virgins, and yet the false witnesses, nor their suborners were not punished, notwithstanding their complaints, and they by vertue of an Edi&t, which set all prisoners at liberty for matter of religion, were in a manner forced to goe out of prison. B

All this did but increase the hatred both of great and small against the Guisians. Many treaties are published, written and printed, and all tend to prouoe, that it belongs to the Estates, to provide gouernours for Kings in their minorities: that these two brethren are incapable of the gouernment, being both strangers: the one a priest, the other presuming to say in the life of the deceased King, that the Realme belonged to the house of Lorraine, as issued from *Charlemagne*, from whom *Hugh Capet* had vsurped it. A proposition which they haue presumed to publish in these latter times: but so often confuted, as it needs no further discourse. They had made open pretensions to some members of the crowne, as to the County of Provence and the Duchy of Aniou: they propounded the lamentable effects of their ambition, in the breach of the truce and the last voyage into Italy, the cause of the losse of the battaile of Saint Laurence, and the danger of the whole Realme, to prevent the which they were forced to yeeld vp all the conquests which *Francis* the first, and *Henry* had made. They did not forget their exactions, the managing of the treasor, and the Kings great debts. The King beganne to grow, and euen now he complained, that they kept him from hearing of his subiects complaints, but he was so sickly as there was no hope of long life. To get sure footing in the gouernment of estate, they resolute to purchase many seruants in the Courts of Parliament, to winne the affections of Courtiers and men of warre, and by a burning zeale, to the rooting out of Protestants, to purchase the loue of the Clergy and people. C

Anne de Bourg  
executed.Minard a Pre-  
sident slaine.

They publish sundry Edi&ts against them, they promise great recompences to them that discouer their assemblies: many townes fill their prisons: they imploy aire, fire and water to ruine them, and yet it seemes that the more they kill the more they increase. The eight and twenty of December, *Anthony Minard* president of the Parliament at Paris, was slaine with a pistoll in the Euening, coming from the palace to his house, and yet it could neuer bee knowne whence it came, no more then the death of *Iulian Ferme*, agent for the house of Guise, slaine neere vnto Chambourg, where the Kings was, and stript of certaine instructions of importance, against the life of some great personage. Some were imprisoned and in great danger for *Minard*: Amongst others *Steward* a Scottisshman (who although hee were allied to the Queene reigning) was cruelly tortured, yet could they draw nothing from him, that might prejudice himselfe or any other. About this time the Electour *Pallatine*, hauing sent his Ambassadors to the King, to demande *du Bourg*, whose seruice hee would vse at Heidelberg, but the Cardinall, being incensed for the death of *Minard*, wrote vnto the Parliament, that they should execute the sentence giuen against *Anne du Bourg*, who (persisting in the confession of his faith vpon the points of religion in controuersie) was on the twentieth of Decemb<sup>r</sup> hanged at the Greue, and his body then burnt to ashes. The counsellors. *La Porte*, *Foix*, *Faux* and *Fumée* imprisoned for the same causes, F escaped with some sharpe admonitions.

Many could not beare this oppression. The princes were kept backe: the greatest of the realme out of credit, threatened, and secretly pursued to the death: the conuocation of the Estates refused: the Parliaments corrupted, the Iudges for the most part at the Guisians deuotion: and the publike Treasore, Offices and Benefices giuen to whom they

1559.

A they pleaded. Their violent gouernment, and against the lawes and orders of the Realme, purchased wonderfull hatred against the Duke of Guise, and the Cardinall of Lorraine, and caused many which could no longer indure these oppressions, to consult vpon some iust defence, to the end they might restore the ancient and lawfull gouernment of the Realme. They demanded aduise, touching lawe and conscience, of many learned Lawyers and Divines, who resolu'd that they might lawfully oppose themselves against the gouernment which the house of Guise had vsurped, and at need take armes to repulse their violence, so as the Princes who in that case are borne Magistrates, or some one of them would vnder- take it, being required thereunto by the Estates of the Realme, or by the founder part of them. They which first thought of this act of consequence, had feuerall considerations. B Some moued with a true zeale to serue God, the King, and Realme, thought they could not do a worke of greater pietie, then to abolish Tyrannie, and to restore the State; and withall to find some meanes to ease them of the religion.

Vsurgions  
of the house  
of Guise in-  
cense the  
French.

There were others desirous of change: & some were thrust on with hatred, for the wrongs which the house of Guise had done to them, their kinsmen and friends: to conclude, all had one desseigne to suppress this vnlawfull gouernment. But for that in this generall, lawfull, and commendable desseigne, there were priuate considerations which were wonderfull defective, it is no wonder if there were confusion in the pursuite, and that the euent was so farall vnto the vndertakers: namely, for those which did mixe their priuate passions with the consideration of the publike. As for the rest, who had no other end but to free France from the yoke of strangers, although that most of them be dead, in the pursuite aswell then as since vnder the reignes of the two succeeding Kings: yet are they departed this world with this singular content, to haue courageously sacrificed their liues for their countie libery. In these consultations it was held necessarie, to ceaze vpon the Duke of Guise, and the Cardinall his brother, beeing aduowed by some one of the chiefe members of the State, and then to require an assembly of the three Estates, to the end they might yeeld an accompt of their gouernment, and to provide for the King and Realme. Some haue rashly thought and written, that all this proceeding (which afterwatd was called *The tumult of Amboise*) was an enterprize of rash seditious men, enemies to God and the State, thrust on by despair and furie: in like manner there were others which ill-affected to the house and memorie of the Prince of Conde, (who was prest to vndertake this charge) haue presumed to charge him, that he was thrust on by priuate passions in these intelligences, and that hee sought to end a quarrell against the house of Guise by this meanes, and afterwards to cause greater troubles. But the truth of his intent is well knowne to some yet liuing, and future ages will reiect their testimonies and writings as full of passion, and repugnant to truth: and will aduow that the Prince did herein shew himselfe a true Frenchman, and well-affected to the King and Realme. The Prince of Conde then beeing instantly required to accept of this charge, he examines the consequence of the fact, and hauing imparted it to some persons, louing the good of the Realme, hee giues commission to informe secretly of the crimes, E wherewith the house of Guise was charged, to provide for the same, as conscience and the common good should require. They find by informations, and certaine personages well qualified, beeing priue to their seeret desseignes, did witnesse, that their intention was, (the King beeing vnable, by the iudgement of the Physicians, to liue long, nor to haue any issue) first to roote out all Lutherans in France, then to murder all the Princes of the blood, and to seaze vpon the Realme. Moreouer, they were charged with many thefts, robberies, and extortions, and by consequence, were in many things found guiltie of high treason. The difficultie was how to seaze vpon these two persons. *Godfrey* of Barri, Lord of Renaudie, a Baron of Perigord, accepts the managing of this action, and the Prince promiseth to assist him with his authoritie. So as nothing be said or done against God, the King, his brethren, the F Princes, nor the Estate: protesting to oppose himselfe first against any one that should attempt the contrarie. All that were in the action, bind themselves to the same oath, yea to aduertise the King, if any thing were pretended against his Maie<sup>tie</sup>: they appoint the tenth of March, hoping to find the Court still at Blois. Fiue hundred French Gentlemen with other troupes vnder the command of the Baron of Castelnau, should accompany *Renaudie*, followed by a thousand others, besides their troupes on foote. But it is almost impossible to



1559. to keepe secret an enterprife imparted to so many diuers humors, but some one will discouer it. *Renaudie* lodged at Paris in the suburbs of Saint *Germaine*, in an Aduocates house, called *Auenelles*, a Protestant by profession, who hauing discovered somewhat of this enterprife, vnder colour to employ himselfe for the aduantage thereof, he learned all that passed. But hoping of some notable recompence, he suddenly went and discovered it to *Almand*, Master of Requests, a fauorite to the Cardinal, and to *Miles* Secretarie to the Duke of Guise. And *Lignieres* one of the Captaines of the enterprife, did afterwards bewray the names of the Commanders, the Rendezuous for their troupes, with other circumstances, to the Queene-mother, to saue (said he) the honour and life of the Prince of Condé, whom they accused of high treason.

To assure their persons, they transport the King to *Amboise*, they send letters from the King, and his mother, to call the Admirall and his breethren to Court, they dispatch many letters-Patents to Bayliffes, and Seneschall, against all such as should be found carrying of armes vpon the way to Amboise. The Admirall being arriued makes great complaints to the Queene mother, in presence of the Chancellor, of the extreame violences and pursuits made against the Protestants: and the Chancellor hauing freely propounded the Admirals aduice in council, there followed an Edict for the abolishing of that was past for matters of religion. But this pardon excluded all Ministers, and such as should be found to haue conspired against the King, his mother, his wife, or the Princeesse, his chiefe Officers, or the Estate, and all other culpable of like crimes.

Notwithstanding this Edict, *Renaudie* proceeds, and the Prince goes to Court to present these informations to the King against the house of Guise, when as they should bee seized on. The execution was put off to the sixteenth, by reason of the change of the place. In the meane time the Guisians had assembled men from all parts, so as the troupes arriuing one after one to the appointed places, were presently surprized. The Baron of Castelnau, and the chiefe of the faction, are at the Castle of Noisay: the Guisians aduertised thereof, perswade the King, that there are rebels assembled to murder him: The King sends the Duke of Nemours with a troupe, who at the first surprizeth Captaine *Mazeres* and *Ranney*, walking without the Castle, and then hauing set strong guards about it, he carried thence two to Amboise, returning after dinner with fure or sixe hundred horse. The Baron had sent to *Renaudie*, that he would come speedily to vngage him, being loth to abandon the place, where there was armes, powder, and munition: but seeing himselfe inuested, and the Duke returned, he entred into parle, vpon the instance that was made vnto him: and hauing related at large the causes of this enterprife, the Duke intreated him often to lay downe arms, and to go and speake with the King, binding himselfe by the faith of a Prince, that not any harme should be done vnto him, nor to any of his companions, but should all bee set at libertie. The Baron relying vpon the word of a Prince, obeyed, with the rest that were with him: but being come to Amboise, they spake not with any man but with Commissioners, that were sent for their triall by them of Guise.

*Renaudie* caused his troupes to aduance couertly through the woods: but they had walked vp the gate, by the which they should enter, and the horsemen sent by the Guisians compassing them in, many were led away, and presently hanged, and afterwards drawne to the fiuer. And as he laboured to rally his dispersed troupe, the Lord of Pardillon encounters him in the forest of Chasteau-regnard, and passing by, dischargeth his pistoll, the which not taking fire, *Renaudie* had his sword first drawne, and as he was about to kill him, one of *Pardillons* seruants ouerthrew him with a harguebuze-shot: beeing slaine, his bodie was straight way carried and hanged on the bridge at Amboise, with this inscription: *Renaudie, call'd du Forest, chiefe of the rebels*. Among other prisoners was *La Bigne* who had serued *Renaudie* as a Secretarie and was found seized of a paper in cipher: to saue his life he deciphered this paper, the which contained nothing else but what had bene concluded by all the associates, and their expresse protestation not to attempt any thing against the Kings Maiestie: nor against the Princes of his blood, or the estate of the Realme: And the articles tended to no other end, but to take the gouernement of the Realme from them of Guise, and to cause the ancient orders of France to be obserued by a lawfull assembly of the Estates. Hee was also found seized of an Admonition vnto the King from them of the religion, whereas the

Baron of Castelnau taken.

Bigne Secretarie to Renaudie.

A Cardinals vniust proceedings against the Parlement of Paris, and against *Du Bourg* among other things were discovered. At the first they of Guise would not haue had one prisoner escaped: but afterwards considering that the multitude would make them more odious, they let the souldiers goe, to euery of which they gaue eightene pence to beare their charges.

Captaine *La Motte*, *Coqueuille*, and some others did not yet faint, but gaue a hot alarme to the Courtiers at Amboise, and without some error in the intelligence, which caused them to retire without losse of any one horse man, the enterprize (yea after the death of *Renaudie*) had bene executed. But this did but incense the furie of them of Guise, who caused all the footmen they could get at this time to be hanged. It was then very dangerous for any man whatsoeuer, to be found alone about Amboise, the least harme that could happen vnto him, was to be stripped into his shirt, and then did the souldiers of the Kings Guard commit strange thefts and extortions. Those of Guise being assured of their enemies, and their troupe disperfed, they giue commandement to the Prince of Condé, in the Kings name, not to depart without leaue. They begin to cut off heads, to hang and to drown their prisoners, tyed to long poles, fixe, eight, tenne, twelue, and fiftene in a companie: and although there were herein more question of estate then religion, yet they giue out, that the Lutherans would maintaine themselves by the sword, and as such men, they caused many to be executed, who by their examinations, and impertinent answers touching matters of conscience, did witnesse that they were not yet seasoned with any other doctrine, then that of their Fathers.

C This alarme had put the young King in feare: but more the impresson of his Vncles perswading him that they sought his person: *And what haue I done, said he often? what haue I done? that my subiects should attempt thus against me? I will heare their complaints, and do them right.* And sometimes to those of Guise: *I know not what it is, but I vnderstand, it is you only that they seeke: I would gladly you would absent your selues for a time, to see if they would attempt against you or me.* Amongst all the prisoners, foure are especially noted, *Castelnau*, *Villemon-gis*, *Champagnac*, and *le Picard*, for that with an admirable constancie and resolution, they had blamed the Chancellor, who against his conscience, had signed the sentence of their deaths: which so terrified him, as he suddenly fell sicke of greefe and melancholy, and soone after left this world, murmuring, sighing, and sorrowing for the Councillor *du Bourg*, and crying out some houres before his death, the Cardinal of Lorraine comming to visit him, *O Cardinal! thou hast damned vs all.* *Michell Hospital*, then Chancellor to the Duchesse of Sauoy, was called from Nice, and substituted in his place.

The Prince of Conde was at Amboise during these horrible combustions, who carried himselfe like a man without feare, and that had an innocent soule. They of Guise incensed the King against him, and suborned men to obserue his words and actions, whereof the Cardinall held a register, especially of some words which the Prince vsed, being much gregued, to see some prisoners (looking out at a window of the Castle) executed: which were, that the King was ill counselled, to put Noblemen and Gentlemen to death, which were honest men, and so well borne, considering the great seruice they had done vnto the deceased King and Realme: That beeing thus deprived of them, it was to be feared that strangers during these great troubles, would make some enterprife: and that if they were supported by any Prince, they would easily make a prey of the Realme. Soone after they caused *de Vaux*, Gentleman of his horse to be apprehended, and the King sent for the Prince into his chamber, to tell him that he had vnderstood by informations, that he was charged to bee the chiefe of the conspiracy, adding withall some threats. The Prince in his answer besought the King to assemble all the Princes, Knights of the Order, and priuy Councill which were then at Amboise, to the end that he might heare his answer in that honorable assembly. The company was presently called into the Kings presence, whereas the Prince recited the kings speech, and what had followed: adding, that the Kings person excepted, with his brethren and the Queenes, they which had reported vnto the King that he was the head and conductor of certaine seditious men, who (they said) had conspired against the King and State, had falsly and traitorously lyed. That to prooue his innocencie, he would (for this regard onely) quite abandon his ranke and dignitie of Prince of the blood, and make them confesse with his sword or lance, that they were villaines, and that they themselves sought the ruine

Prince of Conde justified his innocency against all men.

1560. of the State, name, and blood Royall: for the preservation whereof, he would employ both a life and goods, as he had alwaies given good proofe, and also for his owne interest to the Crowne and house of France, the maintenance whereof he should procure with a better title then his accusers: pressing the company, that if there were any one that had made this report, or that would maintaine it, he should presently declare himselfe. But no man presenting himselfe, he besought the King to hold him for an honest man, and not to give care to such slanderers and abusers, but reiect them as enemies to his person, and to the publike quiet. Having spoken this he went out of the Councell, to leaue them to their consultation. But the Cardinall making a certaine signe, the King brake off the assembly, without demanding their aduice, whereas there might haue been somewhat concluded to the prejudice of the house of Guise.

Admiral  
shewes him-  
selfe a traitor  
servant to the  
King and  
Realme.

The Queene-mother was much troubled during these broyles, yet leaning still to the stronger (according to the world) she sent the Admirall into Normandy, to learne the cause of these troubles, intreating him earnestly to aduertise her without dissembling, promising to requite him, and to hold his aduertisements secret. He performed his commission speedily and exactly, and soone after without feare of any, sent a Gentleman vnto the Queene, signifying that they of Guise were the true cause of the troubles happened within the Realme, by reason of their violent and vnlawfull gouernement. He gaue proofes thereof, adding that the faithfull seruants of the Crowne, held it for certaine, that these calamities would not cease, so long as strangers gouerned the King and State. Whereupon he exhorted her to take the affaires in hand, and to giue some rest to them of the religion, causing the Edicts made to that end to be obserued. These aduertisements produced letters to all the Parlements and other Iudges, to release all prisoners detained for matter of religion, the execution whereof notwithstanding was somewhat long and difficult. There was another thing which helped it forward: some prisoners at Blois and Tours, for the enterprise of Amboise, hauing found meanes to escape out of prison, wrote a iesting letter vnto the Cardinall, yet full of threats, that they would come and see him with the rest that he held not, and that they were resolved to spoile him. This man being timorous, grew more calme whereoffollowed the enlargement of many prisoners throughout the Realme. Finally, they of Guise seeing themselves assaulted from diuers parts by writings, (which were as it were) the fore-runners of a new charge, the last of March they caused the Kings letters to be dispatched to all Parlements, and other inferior Iudges, and to all forraigne Princes, intimating, that all they of the enterprise of Amboise, especially the heades, were accused of high treason, wherein they of the religion and the Ministers were disgraced with all manner of reproches: and withall they promised to make goodly reformations both of the State and Church. An ample answer was made vnto these letters, and directed to the Parlements, the which painted out them of Guise in all their colours, and required that in a lawfull assembly of the Estates they should yeeld an account of their gouernement. The Parlement of Paris sent this answer vnto the Cardinall by an vsher. But that of Roane thinking to doe more, the Deputies which were sent to the King, were forced to retire with all speed, and did not any thing.

Letters to the  
King of Na-  
uare.

The ninth of April there were letters written in the Kings name, of the same tenor: moreouer he was intreated to cease vpon certaine men which were about him, being accused to be of the enterprise of Amboise. There was also a relation of the charge imposed vpon the Prince of Conde, and how he had iustified himselfe. The Prince on the other side sent a Secretarie of his vnto his brother, to aduertise what had past, to aske his aduice, and to vnderstand his mind. This was discovered to them of Guise, who wrote a letter to the Prince, full of excuses, to the end they might lull him asleepe, the which hee sent also vnto his brother, who made answer in general tearmes, for that he would not be discovered. The Protestants during these combustions, which concerned both the State and religion, increased in multitude, and in many places they could not containe nor content themselves with secret assemblies. An vndiscreet zeale transported them of Valence, Montlimart and Romans, to exercise their religion in ordinarie Churches at noone-day. The Lord of Clairmont, Lieutenant for the Duke of Guise in Dauphiné, was of too mild an humor: and Maugiron more violent. The Duke giues him commission to suppress them, and to vse his authoritie in the Parla-

Parliament of Grenoble. Maugiron enters Valence with sixteene companies of the old bands of Piedmont, and some other troupes of men at armes: hee makes the streetes flow with blood, sacks the houses, and intreats the inhabitants as in a towne which is taken by assault. Montlimart also followed the like fortune. 1560. Cause of the troubles.

Moreover, the president Truchon, and some Councillors of Grenoble, imprison 60. of the chiefe of Romancé: they hang 2. whip 1. and then send him to the gallies: & at Valence, they beheaded two ministers, and hang three of the chiefe men in the towne, the rest escaped, some by abjuring, some by whipping, some by banishment, and some by a fine. At the same time Paulon of Richiend Lord of Mouuans, one of the chiefe of the enterprise of Amboise, hauing failed to surprize Aix, ouer-ran Prouence with two thousand men armed at their owne charge, & a great number of gentlemen, and other voluntaries. But their armes were no otherwise imploied but to conuert the Images, reliques & ornaments of the Church into gold and silver, the which with some respect to warlike discipline, and more commendably then in the following age, they left in the magistrats hands of the place. This was to summon the neighbour Prouinces to like reuolts: but the Earle of Tande hauing stayed the fury of this flying army, they sheath their swords, and vnheath their pens, only by supplications, to the Kings Maiesty, and to his mother, protesting of their sincerity; they discovered the ground of their griefes against the Guisians, and propounded remedies to auoide ciuill warres. Their admonitions contained three chiefe heads: That order might be taken for the government of the realme, offering the King a Councell, according to the ancient constitutions of France. That to pacifie contumacies touching religion, a free and holy Councell should be held. That those of the religion in the meane time might quietly, and with liberty of their consciences live in their houses, following that which is contained in the confession of their Churches. The two brethren seeing themselves directly charged by the Protestants, thunder out against them: they write to the King of Spaine, and to the Catholike princes: that the Lutherans and Caluinists are the onely authors of the troubles of France, and of the tumult of Amboise. And to the Protestants; that such as were executed in diuers parts of the realme, are onely certaine Sacramentaries, enemies to the confession of Ausbourg. A bare shift and weake remedy to quench the fire which beganne to consume a part of the world. Hereupon Philip aduiseeth them, to bring the inquisition of Spaine into France. The priuy Councell yeelds to it, and the parliaments allow thereof: but the Chancellor Hospital was too wise a politician: hee would not see France disguised after the Spanish manner. Katherine was much troubled, not knowing how to faile amidst so many stormes. The conuocation of the Estates might eclipse her authority, the restoring of the princes of France, incompatible with a Florentin humour: the restitution of the Constable, whom she hated to the death, accusing him to haue sayd to King Henry, That no one of his Children, did resemble him, but his bastard, whom his Sonne Montmorency had married. These things did wonderfully afflict her. Yet would shee gouerne and rule, foreseeing that she could not better maintaine her greatnesse, then by the discord of the two houses of Bourbon and Lorraine.

The prote-  
stants petition  
to the King.

She relies vpon the last, and arming them with her authority, she puts the King her sonne, and her selfe into the protection of the duke of Guise, and the Cardinal of Lorraine. This makes them swell both in heart and speech: but there must be a meanes found to pacifie this quarrell which concerned the estate, that vnder the cloake of religion (a goodly and ordinary pretext for great personages) the people might forget the vnlawfull vsurpation wherewith they were charged: They protest therefore to imploy all their meanes, and their friends to suppress those that sought any alteration in religion: hoping that when they had cut this sinew from the princes of the blood, they should be more easily reuenged, both of them and of the Constables faction.

As for them of the religion, some gentlemen which made open profession, although they had no part in the enterprise of Amboise, were accused, & sent for, to come & iustifie themselves before the King. They seeing that their ruine was intended, assemble together, and conclude some to goe to the prince, to encourage him, & others throughout all the Churches, to let them vnderstand that their ruine approached, if they did not provide for their fasties. It had bin propounded in councell, to seize vpon the prince of Conde, & to draw him in question for his life: the Cardinall was wholly of this opinion, but the duke of Guise did oppose, and

Resolution of  
some of the  
Nobility.

1560. and by a long speech did shew, that it was not fit, and that it should be against his consent. A Some at the first were amazed to see these two heads in one hood thus disagree: but finding afterwards that they omitted no means to take the Prince, they saw that this contrariety was but counterfeit, to draw a consent from the whole Councell, to the end they might fortifie themselves against all euents. This irresolution was auaylable to the Prince, who with great dexteritie escaped their snares, and got into Bearn to the King of Nauarre his brother. They who were accustomed (as they say) to make bread of stones, and to turgie all things to their owne aduantage, began to assure the King and Queene, that without doubt the Princes retreat did argue that he was guiltie: whereupon new Commissions were giuen forth to leaue men, to make warre in Gasconie, whether the Marshall of Saint Andrew (vnder colour to go visit his breethren) was sent to discouer, which made these two Princes to stand vpon their guard. B

Prince of  
Conde escapes  
from Amboise

La Planch dis-  
cours them  
of Guise.

They had yet another taske in hand, to see if the Constable were engaged in the Princes counsels, whom they thought they had already entrapt. To this end they procured the Queene-mother to send secretly for Lewis Regnier, Seigneur of La Planch, one of the Marshall of Montmorencies Councell, who being brought into her cabinet, (the Cardinall being hidden behind the hangings) she prest him to declare what he thought of the causes and remedies of the present troubles, whereof he made an ample discourse, shewing, that they of Guise being strangers, should not haue the gouernment of the State, vnlesse they gaue them naturall French-men, for a counterpeaze and bridle. Hee also answered at large C to the accusation made against the Prince of Conde, shewing, that it was a meere abuse, to thinke that the enterprize of Amboise was attempted against the Kings person, or to trouble the State. He then deciphered the beginning of the house of Guise, and carried himselfe so politickly in all his answers, as he escaped from the Court, and there was no hold to be taken of the Constable nor of his house.

They of the  
religion put  
themselues vn-  
der the protec-  
tion of the  
princes.

They of the religion apprehending by the aduice of many of the Nobilitie, that their ruine approached, if they did not prouide speedily for their affaires, after they had recommended themselves humbly vnto God, they resolved to cast themselves into the armes of the Princes of the blood, as fathers, tutors and defenders of the innocencie of the poore afflicted, being called by the lawes of the countrie to those charges, during the minority of D Kings. For this effect certaine speciall men were deputed, to go to the King of Nauarre, and Prince of Conde being at Nerac, to whom they presented (with all their means) an ample declaration of the wrongs done by the house of Guise to the King and Realme, beseeching the said Princes, to take some lawfull course to deliuer the King, and to maintaine the State. Being hereby much confirmed in their resolution, to acquit themselves of their duties for the releefe of France, they begun to set hand to worke. Among other Agents the Prince of Conde, sent a Basque called Sagne, to many Noble-men, to intreate them not to faile him at need. He receiued answer from the Constable, and the Vidam of Chartres, and came to Court where he deliuered some letters. Attending his dispatch, hee bewrayed his charge vnto one Captaine Bomual, who hauing discovered him to them of Guise, pursued E him and brought him backe prisoner to Fontainebleau, where the Vidames letters being read, whereby he promised the Prince, to maintaine his iust quarrell against all men, except the King, his breethren, and the Queenes, whom they sent to apprehend him at Paris, and committed him to the Bastile, where he continued with great rigours vntill his death. They found no great matter against the Constable, or at the least they made no shew of it, fearing to haue too many yrons in the fire at once. Sagne payed for his prating, and they drew from him all that he knew and more too. His confession vpon the racke made them of Guise to hasten their desseignes: who prouided for the frontiers of Lorraine, and caused the old bands to come out of Piedmont and Daulphiné, to march downe the riuer of Loyre, writing to F all them of their faction.

Proposition  
to call a gene-  
ral assembly.

The Queene-mother who feared much to be supplanted in her authoritie: by the aduice of the Chancelor and Admirall (whom she seemed to heare willingly) resolved to propound vnto the Councell, that it was necessarie the King should call an assembly of all the Princes, Noblemen, Knights of the Order and men of authoritie of his Realme, to prouide some means to pacifie the troubles which they did hold to grow especially by reason of the persecution

A persecution for religion. They of Guise were wel pleased with this resolution, thinking they had found a snare to entrappe the King of Nauarre and his brother: and hoping also (for that most of them which should be of this assembly were of their faction) there should bee nothing concluded to their prejudice: and finally, that this expedient should breake off the conuocation of the Estates, and settle their affaires. They begun to write letters in the kings name, intreating them all to make their apparence at Fontainebleau the 15. of August, to that effect. They of Guise did also write their letters full of good hopes and promises. The King did write particularly to the King of Nauarre, intreating him to assist, with his brother, and those Noble-men that were about him. But vnder-hand they of Guise by the means of some secret seruants, stayed the King of Nauarres iourney, contrarie to the aduice of the B Constable, and many Noble-men, who sayed, that there was then good means offered to expell them of Guise, and to restore the lawfull gouernement of the Realme.

The Constable better resolved, thinking the Princes would assist, arriues with eight hundred horse, and by this troupe makes the Lorraines to shew him a good countenance. At the opening of the Assembly, the Admirall presents a petition to the King for the Protestants, who required to haue Temples granted them, and free exercise of Religion, throughout the whole Realme. Thereupon Charles of Marillac, Arch-bishoppe of Vienna, shewed with so great libertie of speech, the necessitie to assemble a nationall Councell, to remedie these controuersies growne for Religion: and a Parliament to order the gouernement of C France, as hee suruiued but few dayes after his Oration. The Admirall touched the cause of Religion and State more vehemently, taxing by inuectiues such, as giuing the King guards vpon guards, entertained him in distrust of his subiects, and his subiects in hatred of their owne King.

As they had made shew to like of this assembly, so they seemed to allow of a Parliament. They apoynt it first at Meaux, and afterward at Orleans the tenth of December, and the Synode for the Clergie at Paris the twentieth of Ianuarie following, to determine of what should be expedient to be treated of in a generall Councell, whereof they gaue them hope. But as they had vnder-hand with-drawne the Princes from coming to this Assembly, so must they make them vnwilling to bee present at the Parliament. To this intent those of D Guise, in the Kings name, command the companies of ordinarie souldiers to be readie the twentieth of September: they lodge them in such sort as those whom they suspected, had them in front, in flanke and behind them, and spies likewise to discouer them: and they giue charge to the Commanders, to cut all them in peeces they shold find marching to ioyne with the Princes. If their forces were not sufficient to diuert the Prince of Condé, whome they knew to bee more actiue, and to endure lesse: they do also procure Letters from the King, to the King of Nauarre, whereby he doth charge the Prince to haue attempted against the estate of France, and to haue sought to seaze vpon some of the good townes of the Realme. He desires him therefore to send him his brother with a good and sure guard: if not, he himselfe will fetch him well accompanied.

E The answer made by the King of Nauarre and his brother, incountring the Lorraines with their owne armes, holding them guiltie of the same crimes wherewith they charged them, made them to change their note. They send a second commandement, whereby the King giues his word to the Princes to come in safetie, he promiseth to heare all mens admonitions and iustifications willingly: to receiue them according to their estates and dignities: not to disturbe any Prince in his religion, whereof he now made open profession: and that they should returne when they pleased, free from iniurie or violence.

In the beginning the King of Nauarre shewed much courage: but hearing that the affaires of Lionois and Daulphiné, had not succeeded so well as they expected, he beganne to grow cold, and yet the Deputies of the Prouinces, did offer to send their troupes for F his preservation, before the men at armes of France should seaze vpon the passages: or if that were not held expedient, they promised to rise in all parts to fortifie him, at the assembly of the estates. Hee had about him a Chancelour called Amaury Bouchart, who was Master of Requests to the King. This man in the beginning had solicited him much, to giue care to the admonitions and complaints which were made vnto him from diuers parts of the Realme, but hearing that the enterprize made vpon Lyons, by young Matigny had

Police to  
buse the prin-  
ces.

King of Na-  
uarre bewrayed  
by his Chan-  
celor,

1560.

had not benee successfull, he wrote secretly vnto the King, beseeching him to call the Prince of Conde away from the King of Nauarre his brother, for that hee did daily importune him to attempt many things against his Maiesties Ministers, and to trouble the realme at the instigation of Lutherans, and Preachers come from Geneua, whereunto hee added, that as yet his master had not giuen eare vnto them: but it was to bee feared that by long importunitie hee might be wonne: whereof hee would not faile to aduertise the King, being his naturall subiect and most humble seruant, and one of his ministers of Iustice. Hee did also write vnto the Cardinall, promising to tell him one day many things of great consequence, which might not be written. Finally, hee promised to giue him meanes to arraigne the Princes, and the greatest Noble-men of the Realme. Some thought that *Iarnac* B who had quite forsaken the Princes, with *Saincte-foy* his brother (before Lieutenant of the Prince of Condes company of men at arms) had practised *Bouchart* to write thus much.

And to draw the King of Nauarre his brother on, the Cardinall of Bourbon, (a Prince not well able to discouer the cunning practises of the enemies of his house) is expressly sent vnto them. They march, and are no sooner come to Limoges, but seven or eight hundred Gentlemen well appointed, do visit them. The Deputies of Prouinces offer them sixe thousand foot, Gascons and Poiteuins: foure thousand horse and soote out of Languedoc: as many or more out of Normandie, and the other Prouinces promise to rise on all sides, to fortifie them at his assembly of States: so as it will please the King of Nauarre to declare himselfe Protector of the King and Realme, against them of Guise. But the Cardinall of C Armagnac, *Efcars*, *Iarnac*, and some other Councillors of the same mold, had seruants to their master, propounded so many dangers, so many inconueniencies vpon their coming to Court with force, (and why should they not resist their enemies force) as he sent backe al his companie, and countermanded such as came, promising notwithstanding to employ himselfe courageously in the Parliament for the good of all France. Having therupon made them great Declarations, and intreated him that at least the Prince of Conde might remain behind, to hold their enemies in suspence, but they answered their innocency should suffice, and that it was no easie matter to put Princes of the blood to death: which if they did they wold take it in good part: that God had many other means to deliuer France, & not to make them the occasion of the ruine of so many good men, which desired to ioy with them. The D Noble-men, and Gentlemen which did accompany the Princes, being ready to retire, protested that being thus abandoned of their heads, they hoped that God would raise them vpon others, to free them from the oppression of tyrants: these words were spoken in the presence of some secret seruants, who aduertised them of Guise. In the meane time hearing that the Princes were vpon the way, they sent the L. of Monpesat, one of their confident seruants, to forbid the Princes in the Kings name, that coming to the Court, they should not enter into any walled towne belonging to the King, vpon paine of rebellion, and to bee held guilty of high treason. They were now compass in by their enemies forces, led vnder the command of the Marshall of Termes. The Cardinall of Armagnac, *Descars*, and such other bad seruants, made the K. of Nauarre beleue, that this verball defence of *Monpesat*, was but a brauado of E them of Guise, the which the King and his mother would disauow. The Princes hauing past Chastelleraut, they were more certain of the future danger, and perswaded to keep the high waies for feare of ambushes which were laid to kil them. They had also means offered them to recover Angiers, and then Normandy, where they shold want nothing: yet they continued constant in their first resolution, marching by small iournies, and it seemed that one of the brethren was a Prouost to lead the other prisoner. They aduertise the King, that the Lutherans of Orleans practised to subuert his estate, as they had of late attempted at Lyons. To assure the selues of the town, & to punish some which were noted in the book of death, whose confiscation was good, the Guisens first send *Spierre*, Lieutenant to the Prince of Roch-sur-yon, gouernor of Orleans, to disarme the people, & to fill the houses suspected with men of F war: they cal together the Nobility and men at armes of France: then they conduct the king thither, to make his entry with the Queene the 17. of October. The Princes armed by their innocency, arriue on Al-Saints Eue, and passe from the Portereau to the Kings lodging vpon the Estappe, betwixt two ranks of armed men. The Cardinall of Bourbon, and the Prince of Roch-sur-yon receiue them. Not a Courtier nor a Bourgeois meetes them: and for

Pollie to  
buse the Prin-  
ces.

1560.

A for their first affront, when as they sought to enter on horse-back according to the vsuall custome, they were answered with a brauado: *The great gates do not open.* The King attended them, hauing done their duties to his Maiestie, and no man aduancing to bid them welcom. I am (said he to the Prince of Conde) aduertised from diuers places, that you haue made many enterprises against me and the Estate of my Realme, and therefore I haue sent for you, to know the truth from your owne mouth.

Lewis iustifies himselfe so plainly, and doth charge his enemies so directly, as the King himselfe could not impute these accusations, but to the wilfulnesse of his Vncles against his owne blood. But he was possessed by them, and suffered himselfe to be easily abused. So hee commands *Chauigny*, captain of his Guard (sent by them of Guise) to seaze vpon the prince. B *Chauigny* shuts him vp in a house hard by, before the which they make a fort of Bricke, flanked with canoniers, and furnished with field-peeces to defend the approaches. The King of Nauarre desired to haue the keeping of his brother, and that he would answer for him life for life, the which was refused, and withall they tooke his Guard from him, and set watches ouer him continually. The Laie of Roy his mother-in-law, was likewise carried from Anici, a house of hers in Picardie, prisoner to S. *Germaine* in Lay, by *Renouart* and *Carrouges*. *Jerome Groslos* Bayliffe of Orleans, (vnder color that his father had bene Chancellor to the deceased King of Nauarre, and he an affectionate seruant to the Princes, accused also to bee the protector of the Lutherans in Orleans) was likewise imprisoned two dayes after the princes arriual. C *La Haye* Councillor in the court of Parlement at Paris, who did solicit the Princes affaires, was also in trouble. *Amanry Bouchart*, Master of Requests vnto the King, and Chancellor to the Nauarrois, was sent prisoner to Melun, with others brought from Lyons, to haue proofes against the Prince, whose triall they did hasten with all speed. But they meant no harme to *Bouchart*, he had already retired himselfe, and blabbed by his letters to the Cardinall of Lorraine, to the preiudice of his master.

Neither the informations taken at Lyons by the Marshall *S. André*, nor the prisoners at Melun, were sufficient to make the Prince a spectacle vpon a scaffold. They send for the president of Thou, *Bartholomeu Fay*, and *James Fiole*, Councillors of the Parlement at Paris, to examine the Prince vpon the point of high treason: and if this peece of batterie were not D of force, then to touch him vpon the point of religion, and to condemne him for heresie: the Prince propounds diuers causes of recusation, and appeals from them to the King. The priue Council reiects his appeale, and decrees, that vpon paine of high treason, the Prince shold answer before these Commissioners: he answers, purgeth himselfe clearly of all crime, & aduowes his religion freely. By this confession, iudgement was giuen against him, and hee condemned to die: a day appointed the tenth of December, to countenance the beginning E of the Parliament. They only note the Earle of Sancerre, the Chancellor, and the Councillor *Mortier*, which did not pollute their soules with the approbation of this vniust sentence. This sentence shold in the end cause the ruine of all that were accused or suspected, as well for matter of State, as religion. And for the execution of this desseigne, the forces of the Realme diuided into foure, marched already into diuers Prouinces vnder the command of the duke of Aumale, and the Marshals of S. *André*, of Brissac, and of Termes. And with the same furie the King of Nauarre shold be confined into the Castle of Loches: the Constable and his children to the great tower at Bourges: the Admirall and some principals, into one at Orleans, the which was afterwards called the *Admirale*, neare to that of S. *Aignan*. But behold, there are two more violent and more brutish Councillors, *Brissac* and Saint *André*, they hold opinion, that to auoid all trouble, in giuing the King of Nauarre any gards they shold put him to death. They seeke to poyson him at a banquet: then they resolute to kill him coming from the King: but neither succeeding, they perswade the King to stab him and to spill his owne blood, the which God would not permit: for the King hauing a dagger F vnder his gowne, and growing into bitter termes against the King of Nauarre, he answered so discreetly in the presence of them of Guise, as he escaped. There was another desseigne to kill him going a hunting. The Constable had not yet fallen into their snares, yet they had sent out commissions to seaze vpon the Lord of Danuille his second sonne. As for the Admirall and his two brethren, (namely, the Admirall and *D'Andelos* their Declaration) to be of the Religion, was sufficient to condemne them, for the effectual accomplishing whereof,

Rrr 2



1560. whereof, the King commanded a generall assembly of his order, to be held (all excuses set A apart) vpon Christmas day following. During the which there was a confession of the faith set downe by the Doctōrs of Sorbonne, which no man that had any feeling of religion would haue signed. The day beeing come, this confession should be presented by the King himselfe, who should signe it first, requiring euery one to doe the like, with an oath to obserue all the Articles inuolubly, and to oppose themselues against al them that should contradict them without any exception: And whosouer should refuse, he should bee presently degraded from his Order, and from all his Estates, dignities, and honors, and should bee burnt the next day. The like should be done among the Cardinals by a generall assembly B the same day, to entrappe the Cardinall of Chastillon. After which all the Princes and Noble-men of the Realme should signe this confession, and then all the Gentlemen and Officers of the Kings house. The Chancellor had commandement to do the like to all the masters of Requests, Secretaries, and other Officers following the Court. The Queen-mother undertook to cause all her Ladies and waiting-women to signe it. After which they should send to all the Parliaments, and other iurisdiccions to require the like confession of faith, and if any one did refuse, to be burnt without any other proceeding. The 10. of December approched and the Deputies for the Estates arrive by degrees. They presently forbid them in the Kings name, vpon paine of death, not to moue any thing concerning religion, his Maiesty hauing referred this controuersie to the Councell: which the Pope (being then *Pius* the 4. successor to *Theatin* lately deceased) appointed to begin at Trent, at Easter following. These of Languedoc amongst the rest, came furnished with ample instructions, both for the State and religion: but they found means to stop their mouths, seizing both on their persons & instructions. The 9. day of the moneth, they giue commandement to the K. of Nauarre, to be ready to go to hors-backe: their meaning was to carry him to Loches, whilest they should present the prince his brother vpon a mournfull scaffold, to the people of Orleans. But O God! we haue heard with our eares, and our Fathers haue declared, the worke which thou hast done in their time, and in the old time before them. Behold the King is taken during Evening with a great fainting, continued with a paine in his head at the left eare, accompanied with a feuer. The Guisens notwithstanding, sent forth many commissions to leuie men, and command the Marshall of Termes to ioyne with the Spaniard, who tooke the way of Bayonne to spoile the country of Berne, and then to assaile all those whom he should find to haue fauored the King of Nauarre, and the enterprise of Amboise.

A miraculous deliuerie.

It may be they would haue sold their liues dearely. Seuen or eight hundred Gentlemen go speedily to horse, followed with fise or sixe thousand foot, resolute, when the Marshall should passe Limoges, to hem him in betwixt two riuers. He hath some intelligence thereof, and retires to Poitiers. This desseign being made frustrate, the Kings sicknesse increasing, those of Guise meane to proceed with violence, and to murder the King of Nauarre. God raised vp the Cardinall of Tournon (who thinking to do a greater act) preuents it. He aduise to attend the Constables comming, with his children and Nephewes, to the end (said he) that killing one, we saue not the rest, who afterwards may do more harme then the Princes. E The despaire of the Kings health, made them of Guise to set a good countenance on a bad cause. And the Queen-mother seeking to hold her authoritie by supporting them of Guise, calls the King of Nauarre into her closet: as he was entring, a Ladie of the Court said to him in his eare: *My Lord, deny the Queene-mother nothing that she shall demand, else you are dead.* So he signed what she desired: A grant of the right which he might pretend to the government of the King and regencie of the Realme, and his reconciliation with them of Guise. Vpon this grant, she promiseth to make him the Kings Lieutenant in France, both for peace and warre, and nothing should passe but by his aduice, and of the other Princes, who should be respected according to the degree they held in France.

In the meane time death presseth the King: and those of the house of Guise shut vpe in F their lodging, and hauing possession of three or foure-score thousand frankes which remained yet of the treasor, came not forth in two daies, vntill they were assured of the King of Nauarre, who hauing embraced one another, all quarrels seemed to be layed vnder foote. In the end this Catarre with a feuer brought the King to his graue, the fourteenth of December, hauing giuen no time, by reason of his yong age and the shortnesse of his raigne, to

The death of Francis the 2.

A to discover any thing in him, but onely some shewes of courtesie, continency and modesty: vertues which his Vncles had easily corrupted by the tast of cruelty, which began to take an impression in his soule, as they did in his successors: little lamented for his person, but of such as possessing him in his nonage, grounded the greatnesse of their vsurped estates vpon his life, to ouerthrow the fundamentall lawes of the Realme, whatsoeuer some wretched writers doe babble, whose soules haue beene as vendible, as the Guisens armes were then new in our France. This death gaue life to the prince of Condé, opened the prisons for such as had beene committed for his cause, reuiued an infinit number, whom the princes condemnation had drawne into danger, countermanded the troupes of Spaine, which advanced towards Bearn, disapointed *Montluc* of the Earldome of Armagnac: the which he had deuoured in hope, by the promises of the house of Guise, and brought many of their most secret seruants to the King of Nauarres deuotion.

1560.

### CHARLES the ninth, the 61. French King.



Now we fall from a feuer into a frensie. We shall see vnder an other pupill King, ofeleuen yeers of age, raigning in the wrath of God, the heauens to powre vpon this Realme, all the curses, diuinely promised against a nation, whose iniquities he will punish in his displeasure. A raigne cursed in the city, and cursed in the field, cursed in the beginning and cursed in the ending. Mortality, sword and famine haue followed it euen vnto the end.

The heauens about are of brasse, and the earth vnder it of iron: the carcases are a prey to the birds of the aire and to the beasts of the field, and no man troubles them. They suffer nothing but wrongs and robberies, and no man releues them. Men marry wiues but others sleepe with them. They sow and plant, but the nations whom they haue not knowne, deuoure the fruit. To conclude, there is nothing but cursing, terror, and desolation.

The 23. of December the parliament began, and that which the Queene-mother most desired, the confirmation of her Regency, allowed by the Chancellor, and afterwards by those that were the speakers. *John Quintin* of Autun a doctōr of the Canon-law at Paris,

A Parliament held at Orleans.

1560. for the Clergie: the Lord of Rochfort, *Dammosseil* of Commercy, for the Nobilitie. *Angelo* A then Aduocate of the Parliament at Bourdeaux, and afterwards Councillor there for the people. The Chancellor propounded many articles touching the meanes to pacifie the troubles, and the remedies for that which concerned the estate and religion, and to discharge the Kings debts. *Quintin* would haue the Ministers of the Church enforced to discharge their duties, not altering any thing in the reformation thereof, the which cannot erre: not to suffer any other then the Catholike, Apostolike, and Romish religion. Against such as demanded Temples, and against the deliuerer of their petition (meaning the Admirall) (said hee) they should declare him an hereticke, and proceed according to the Canon and ciuill constitutions, for the prohibiting of such bookes as were not allowed by the Doctors of Sorbonne, and for the rooting out of *Lutherans* and *Caluinists*. *Rochfort* did speake against the iurisdictions vsurped by the Clergie, against the disorders growne among the Nobles, against the wrong done to the true Nobilitie, against the confiscations growne by confiscations for matter of religion, against seditions, of the meanes to order the Clergie, and to containe them in their vocation: for the releefe of the people, especially in matters of Iustice, the which should be reduced to a certaine number of Officers. *Ange* insisted much vpon the ignorance, couetousnesse, and dissolution of the Clergie, whence proceeded the greatest part of these present scandals.

*Quintin* excuseth himselfe to the Admirall.

The next day, vpon the Admirals complaint to the Queene-mother, *Quintin* excused himselfe vpon the instructions which were given him in writing, and in his second speech he did moderate his plea to the Admirals content. The Estates continued their conferences, and made the beginning of this yeare famous, by some prouision for matters of religion, whereby it was forbidden vpon paine of death, not to reproch religion one to another, and commandement given to all Iudges and Officers, to set at libertie all such as had beene imprisoned for the said religion. Many other good and necessarie lawes were published, but with more confusion then profit. And in truth a number of lawes ill obserued, peruert Iustice, and giues the people occasion not to regard them. But when they come seriously to handle the discharge of the Kings debts, and that the Nauarrois submits himselfe to restitution. If it be found that he hath receiued any extraordinary gifts: those of Guise and others, which could not make the like offer, found meanes to frustrate this proposition, by the referring of the Estates to Pontoise, hoping hereafter to find some deuise to preuent their yeelding vp of any accompt. And in truth all these assemblies vanished away like smoke, without any other resolution, then to lay the paiement of the kings debts vpon the Clergie. The King of Nauarre, the other Princes of the blood, and the Constable, seeing themselves held to no end in Court, and that for matters of State, they had but the leauings of them of Guise, it made them trusse vp their baggage to retire, with an intent to crosse the regencie of the Queene-mother, and the Guisens authoritie. To frustrate this desseigne, she makes a new accord with the Nauarrois, she doth associat him in the gouernement of the realme, and concludes with him, that leauing the title of Regent, he should be called Lieutenant generall to his Maiestie, in all his countries and dominions. But this was but a gouernement in paper: these strong factions of two parties, shall briefly assaile one another, causing great wounds within this realme, from whence we haue seene the blood flow euen to these latter dayes. Soone after the Prince of Conde being called to Court, he came from La Fere in Picardie to Fontainebleau, and the day after his arriual being the 13. of March he came into the Councell, where the King in the presence of them all declared, that hee had done him right for his innocencie, suffering him to pursue a second declaration to the same effect, in the Court of Parlement at Paris, whether the Prince went within few dayes.

This treatie did preiudice them of Guise, and in the end, peace must needs send them from Court, to liue at home like priuate men. They had in their conceits, the argument of a new Tragedy, the which wee shall shortly see played vpon this Theater. The Protestants multiplied, and the King of Nauarre supported them openly. The prince of Conde (who pursued the sentence of his iustification in the parliament) and the Admirall, had preaching in their chambers. This string is strained too high. They publish generally, that these preachings will be the ouerthrow of the ancient religion within this realme: and particularly among the duke of Guises partisans. That vnder colour of rendring accounts, and of extraordinary gifts,

1560. A gifts, they would displace them, hauing managed the most important affaires of the realme, for the space of tortie yeares. The Constable holding for a Maxime, That the change of religion brings an alteration in the State, begins to applaud them: The Duke of Montpensier, and the Prince of Roch-sur yon, Princes of the blood of Bourbon, vpon this nice point of new religion, ioyne willingly with them. The people conforme themselves commonly after the patterne of great men. Great personages frowne one of another, so do the people: one beares the name of *Hugonot* impatiently: an other cannot indure that of papist in truth turbulent and factions names. From hence sprong diuerse mutinies, at Beauvais, Amiens, Pontoise, and else-where, where the weaker was forced to yeeld to the stronger.

B These new broyles caused an Edict to bee made at Fontainebleau (where the Court remained; attending the renewing of the estates intermitted) prohibiting these mutual reproches of papist and Huguenot: to search no man in his house, not to retaine any one in prison for his religion. From thence the King made his voiage to Reims, and was solemnly crowned by the Cardinall of Lorraine. The parliament at Paris (not able to digest this last Edict) informes the King, that diuersity of religion was incompatible in an estate: reiects this pretended liberty of conscience, and beseecheth his Maieity to force his subiects to make open profession of the Catholike, Apostolike and Romish religion, vpon such paines as should bee aduised on in councell. Now blowes a contrary wind, the which assembles (in the parliament at Paris) all the princes, noblemen, and others of the priuy councell, with all the Chambers, to the end they might freely, and with all purity of conscience deliberate, aduise and conclude vpon a matter so much importing the good and quiet of the Realme. This assembly brought forth the Edict, which they called of Iuly, an edict confirming the decrees of former Kings, commanding his subiects vpon paine of death, to liue hereafter in peace, without iniuries, without reproaches for any respect of religion, and beleefe. But see the fire-brand of ciuill warres, which now wee handle. All religion, faith or doctrine, other then that of the Church of Rome, was banished the realme: assemblies of Protestants forbidden, and they condemned to seeke their abroad elsewhere.

C Some-what to temper this bitternesse, they lymit their exile, by the determination of a D generall councell, or to the next assembly of the Prelats of the Realme, at Poissy. And at the same instant the sentence of the prince of Condes innocency was pronounced in parliament, by the president *Baillet*, sitting in their scarlet gownes, the doores open, and all the chambers assembled, the King of Nauarre being present, with the duke of Montpensier, the prince of Roche-sur-yon: the dukes of Guise, Neuers and Montmorency, the Cardinals of Bourbon, Lorraine, Guise, Chastillon and other noblemen: his remedy referued against whom it should appertaine, as the reputation and quality of his person and dignity should require. The King calling the princes and noblemen to Saint Germaine in Laye, he caused the prince of Conde, and the duke of Guise to embrace each other, promising to continue good friends. The Estates remitted to Pontoise, hauing produced no other effect E but a new approbation of the Regency for the Queene-mother (in whose fauour the Admirall laboured to the Estates, relying vpon the great assurances shee had giuen him, to procure much good for them of his party. And the King of Nauarre, by reason of the refusals which the Deputies made to passe this article, declared vnto them by mouth, that hee had renounced his right, and some meanes to open the cofers of the Clergy for the payment of the Kings debts: they began to proceed to the conference of Poissy. For the Catholikes came, the Cardinals of Bourbon, Lorraine, Armagnac, Guise, Chastillon and Tournon, assisted by a great number Prelats and Doctors of Diuinity, and Canon law. The Pope doubting least they should make some conclusions preiudiciall to his authority, sent the Cardinall of the Ferrara his Legat into France, to oppose himselfe against any alteration in religion, and to haue the cause referred to the councell of Trente, the which hee had published.

*Theodore Beza*, *Peter Martir* a Florentin, *Augustin Marlorat*, *Francis* of Saint Paul, *Raimond*, *John Virel*, and others to the number of twelue ministers, and two and twenty Deputies of the Protestant Churches, offer a petition vnto the King, at his first entry, beseeching him, that the Prelats might examine the confession of their faith, whereof they had had confe-

The Kings coronation.

Edicts of Italy

Conference of Poissy.

1360.

conference, since the moneth of Iune, to impugne it if they thought good at their first assembly, and vpon their obiections, to heare the defences of the said Churches, by the mouthes of their Deputies. That the King should be president in this conference with his Councell, and that the Clergie, (for that they are parties) should not take vpon them the authoritie of Iudges. That all controuersies might be determined by the Word of God. That two Secretaries chosen on either side, might examine the disputations that were daily written, and that they should not be received but signed by either partie.

Before they entred into open conference, the Cardinall of Lorraine would treat priuately with Beza before the Queen-mother: and having heard him especially vpon the Lords supper. *I am greatly contented (said he) with that I vnderstand: and hope assuredly that the issue of this Conference will be happie, proceeding with mildnesse and reason.* It beganne the 9. of September. The King did briefly touch the causes of this assembly, causing his Chancelour to deliuer them more at large. The Cardinall of Tournon in the behalfe of the Prelates, demands the Chancelors proposition in writing, and leysure to consider thereof: the which is refused. Beza with his companions brought in by the Duke of Guise, appointed to that charge with the Lord of la Ferté Vlleau capitaine of the Guard, makes an ample collection of all the articles of the Christian doctrine, expounds those which are in controuersie, toucheth by the way the discipline of the Church, protests, that both he, his companions, and all those that aduow them, desire nothing but the reformation of the church: that they will liue and die in the Kings protection; detest those that seek to sequester themselves, and pray to God for the prosperitie of his Maiestie, of his mother, his Councell and his Estate: then he presents vnto the King the confession of the Protestant churches, and desires the conference may be made concerning it. The King hauing receiued it by the said capitaine of his Guard, deliuered it vnto the Prelates. The point vpon the Reall presence in the Sacrament had troubled them. They conclude, that the Cardinall of Lorraine assisted by *Claude Espereus*, and some other Doctors, not by way of disputation, but not to faile of a reply, should answer to two points only, *of the Church, and the Lords Supper.* And the 16. of the said moneth he makes his oration, and discourseth at large of these two points, and then he intreats the King to continue constant in the religion of his Predecessors, and to summon the Ministers to subscribe to that which he had deliuered, before they passed to the other Articles: otherwise to deny them audience, and to send them out of the realme, which could allow but of one faith, one law, and one King.

The foure and twentieth day Beza made answer to the Cardinall, disputed with the Doctors *Espereus* and *Saintes*, and the 26. day, hee treated with him againe touching the Lords Supper: the other Ministers replied likewise to some obiections of other Doctors of Sorbonne, and finally all was contented into priuat conferences, without any resolution or conclusion that might end these troubles. The Prelats sent backe their Doctors in October, and referre all reformation to the Councell at Trent, whether the Cardinall of Lorraine and Doctor *Saintes* went: of whom we will speake a word by the way, seeing it suites with the matter. We find by a fragment originall, drawne out of the writings of a Chanoin of Reims, and published in the year 1598. by the meanes of *Perrequin Maior* of Langres: That the Kings Ambassadors at the Councell of Trent were (amongst other instructions, signed *Charles, Katherine, Alexander*, which was *Henry* the third, *Anthony* and vnderneath it, *Charles* of Bourbon, *Francis* of Lorraine, *Montmorency*, *M. Hospital*, *S. André* and *Francis* of Montmorency) charged to demand, "To haue the ceremonies corrected and all other things whereby the people might be abused, vnder a shew of pietie. That the cuppe might be restored in all Communions, within his Realme and all his dominions. That all administrations of Sacraments to the Laity, might be done in the French tongue. That in the parish churches, and not collegiall, cathedrall, or monacall, the vse of the Profine should be instituted according to the first & holy institution: that during the high Masse in parish churches, the word of God should be read & interpreted at the houre accustomed, with the catechizing of youth, to the end that all might be instructed, of that which they should beleue, & how they should liue according to God, & that in stead of the Profine, publik praiers should be made in the French tongue: that without changing any thing of the seruice of the church, in the Lat. tongue some hours should be appointed, as wel at Masse, as at Euen-song, whereby it might

A might be lawfull to sing psalmes in the open Church, perused first and corrected by the Bishops & ordinary superiours, and approued by famous vniuersities or prouincial councels. And also to complaine of the vitchast life of Clergy men, which breed so many disorders and corruptions among the people. These articles concluded, had without doubt made the way to reduce many realmes and prouinces to the Vnion of the Church, appeased the troubles of this realme, satisfied many troubled-consciencs, and preuented a greater schisme. But hatred and humane passions makes vs yet to attend a stroake from heauen to draw vs ioynly into the fold of one vniuersal bishop. Thus the conference at Poissy hauing not yeelded that remedy, which was expected, for the common mischief, now diuers factions grow in France. The Protestants, which before had by many petitions required Temples for the exercise of their religion, they now take them by force in many places, and without further attending the approbation of their demands, they assemble at diuers times. The Catholikes mutine, especially at Paris, and pursue them with stones, swords, staues and fire, in their returne from Cerysay (a garden without the Temple-gate) and in the suburbs of Saint Marceau: they ring the alarum bell at Saint Medard, they wound, kill, take and hang many. *Gabaston* amongst others, Knight of the watch, to appease the people, lost his head. To make some Edict for the pacesing of these broiles, the Queene-mother assembles the chiefe of the parliament, with the princes of the blood, Noblemen, Councillors of the priuy Councell, Maisters of Requests and other men of authority, and to giue some contentment to those that with vehemency required places and Temples for their assemblies with liberty.

The chiefe Catholikes, especially those of Guise, disallow of this course, they accuse the Queenes facility, and murmure openly against the King of Nauarre, the prince of Condé, the Admiral and his bretheren. These crosse them with an enterprize, made to carry the duke of Orleance (the Kings younger brother) into Lorraine, so as they retire from Court: the duke of Nemours, who had plaied the principall part in this tragedy, saues himselfe, and returns not before the ciuill warres haue fired all France. This new change, seemes to draw the Regent to the protestants party, she desires to know their forces, and their means. They giue her a list of two thousand an hundred and fifty protestant churches, the deputies whereof offered their goods and persons to the King to withstand the forces of them of Guise, who called the Spaniard into France.

The Guisians absence made easie the grant of that famous Edict, which beares vnto this day the name of Ianuary: the which disanulling that of Iuly, gaue liberty to the protestants the seuenteenth of the sayd moneth, to assemble without the townes, and provided that all men might liue in peace one with an other. But alas! in stead of peace it shall breed horrible confusions. The difficulty was in the execution. The parliaments publish it as slowly as may be, and that of Dijon, neuer. Those of Guise and the Constable ioyned with them, and diuered them by their authority. But they had an other string to their bow, which preuailed according to their desires. They imploy the Ambassador of Spaine, the Cardinall of Tournon, *Esears*, and some other house-hold flatterers to the King of Nauarre, to perswade him, that carrying himselfe a Neuter, and causing the prince his sonne to goe once to the Masse, the King of Spaine would giue him the realme of Sardenia, in recompence of that of Nauarre. The Pope likewise confirms him in this hope. This was properly to conceiue a mountaine and to bring forth a mouse, and to take from him all means to recouer his realme of Nauarre, when he should attempt it. So as being drawne by those Spanish and Lorraine practises, hee estrangeth himselfe by little and little from the protestants, solicits the Queene his wife to returne into the bosome of the Romish Church, and so to instruct her children. Vpon her refusall, there growes a breach betwixt them, and hee falls in loue with one of the Queene-mothers maides. In the meane time, she entertained the prince of Condé and the Admiral, whom shee knew to be yet strong within the realme, maintained the protestants in their peaceable exercise, and for the end commanded euery gouernor to retire to his gouernment. She would haue sent the prince of Condé into Guenne (whose presence without doubt had stayed that horrible and cruel shedding of blood) whereby *Montluc* vpon his refusall opened the veines of a body wonderfully afflicted. But so passeth the world, euery one would gouerne the King in his turne, and the Regent by little and

1561.

Edict of Ianuary.

The King of Nauarre takes the Protestants.

1562. and little did vndermine the foundation of the Edict, to ouerthrow the whole body. Moreouer those of Guise were desirous to returne to their places, neither had they retired but to get better footing. They are now strong inough, hauing drawne the King of Nauarre from the protestant part. They march towards Paris, and passing from Iainuille to Vassy, they dispersed about twelue hundred persons, which were assembled for their exercise: murder two and forty, wound many to the death, lead away prisoners, and sacke the towne.

The massacre  
at Vassy.

This was the first fire-band of the ciuill wars which were now a breeding. This act puts the protestants in alarum, & makes them to leaue the trowel and the hammer, which they imployed in many places, to build their Temples, euery one skowres his harnesse, euery one provides him armes and horses. Their Churches and Nobility complaine, and demand iustice of the King. The Regent giues them good words: and the King of Nauarre rebukes them, and chargeth them to bee the first motiues of this trouble. *They haue* (saith he) *cast stones against my brother the duke Guise, he could not retaine the fury of his followers. And who sooner shall touch the end of my brothers finger, shall touch my whole body.* The arrivall of the duke of Guise, the Constable, the Marshall of Brissac, Montmorency. Termes, and afterwards of the King of Nauarre to Paris, drawes the prince of Condé and the three brethren of Coligny likewise thither. But the stronger carries it. They were too weake to incounter the counceils which were held daily at the Constables house. To vnderstand what forces the prince had within the city, they make a proclamation. *That all men, of what quality soeuer, should depart within foure and twenty houres.* So the prince retires to Meaux, and calls together such as might by their armes force his enemies to some agreement. The Queene-mother (seeing the Guisians fortified within Paris, and seized vpon the Kings person, whom they caused to come from Fontainebleau to Paris) writes vnto the prince, and recommends vnto him, both the mother, and the children.

Orleanse taken by the  
protestants.

The princes intention was to come to Court, when as newes is brought him, that they possesse the King, and bring him to Paris. He therefore leaues Meaux to goe and seize vpon Orleanse, and at the same instant either faction assures it selfe by diuerse surprises of places, exposed to their wils, the Constable causeth the houses of *Ierusalem* vpon Saint Iames his ditch, and of Pepincourt without Saint *Anthones* gate, to bee beaten downe, where the protestants did assemble for their exercise, and in all other places, the people transported with the like humour, vse extreame violence. The protestants grow bitter, and in all places where they had might, reuenge themselves on the Churches, images, priests, and religious houses. To conclude euery towne thus diuided, prepares a wretched Theater, to act a mournful and bloody Tragedy. Yet euery one iustifies his cause. Without the realme the prince produceth the Regents letters in an open assembly of the princes of Germany. Within the realme, he exhorts them of his party to prouide men and money, and by an association made with the Noblemen, and gentlemen of his party, he promisseth to imploy himselfe, for the deliury of the King, and Queene, and for the maintenance of the Edicts, and the Estate of the realme.

On the other side, the King declares by his letters patentes: that both he, his mother, and his brethren, are at liberty, forbids all his subiects to arme vnder that pretext: commands them that are armed to surcease, and to retire home to their houses: and by an other Edict he commands the execution of the Edict of Ianuary, but within the city of Paris and suburbs thereof. But to quite abolish it, he calls the Nobility the eight and twenty day of Aprill, and declares by proclamation, the prince and his adherents to be seditious and bad Christians, and that the prince made prouision of forraigne forces to disturbe the quiet of France. It is an example of dangerous consequence, when a people armes vnder colour to set their prince at liberty, for often times in stead of liberty, they make him captiue. The Queene-mother did easily arme that party which she ment to imploy: but great men, who commonly maintaine their authority by armes, doe more willingly take them, then lay them downe. She cannot now cause them to surcease, whom she had armed for this deliuerance: the confusion is too great, their courages are too much incensed, and their hearts puffed vp with many hopes: they must come to blowes, their fingers itched on either side. In the meane-time the heads being gone, and perswaded to preferre the publike before all priuate respects, they offer in shew, to lay downe their armes, and to retire home to their houses,

1562.

A houses, so as their aduersaries will submit themselves to the like. But to conclude, the companies of men at armes being for the most part arrived at Paris, with part of the old bands, the King of Nauarre, the duke of Guise, the Constable, and the Marshall of Saint André (the Protestants called the three last Triumvirs, and in truth they were but three heads in one hood) hauing by an Edict banished the Calvinists out of Paris, take the way of Chasteaudun with twelue thousand foot, and three thousand horse. The prince was as strong, and euen then would haue ioyned with them: *D'Andelot* and *Boucari* about all others urged it, but the Regent abused them with friuolous hopes of an accord, whilst the Kings army grew stronger, both with French and forraigne forces.

B Hauing thus lost the opportunity of a battaile, the prince maintaines his army about two moneths, with a commenable discipline, without blaspheming, whoring, robbing, or theft. In the end they loose all patience. Baugency taken by assault, opens the gates to disorders: for this first heate soone past with the French growes cold, money for their pay growes short, and the nobility could not frame themselves to this strict discipline of warre, which the Admiral did practise, being a great enemy to robbing. In many Prouinces, matters went indifferently betwixt the Catholikes, and Protestants: and to giue two strokes with one stone, to stay the dissipation of this army, and to releue them that might in the end fall, the prince sent the Earle of Rochefoucault, with some troupes into Poitou: Xaintonge and Angoulmois: *Soubize* to Lions: *Tuoy* brother to *Genlis*, to Bourges: *Montgomery* into Normandy: *D'Andelot*, to hasten the succours of Germany, and *Briquemaunt* into England. These troupes from the month of Aprill, vntill the midst of August, did possesse Orleanse, Baugency, Vendosme, Blois, Tours, Poitiers, Mans, Angers, Bourges, Angoulême, Rouan, Chalon vpon Soan, Mafcon, Lion and the most part of Dauphiné, with many others, not without effusion of blood, spoyleing of Churches, and such insolencies, as the warre doth cause in a country of conquest.

Orleanse and Bourges held by the prince, did much helpe their affaires, but Bourges might be easily surprised before it were fortified. The King then (whom the Commanders had drawne into the army) marcheth thither, and the composition which *Tuoy* made with his Maiesty, put him for a time in disgrace with the prince. This arme cut off (as the Guisians said) from the Huguenots, invited the Kings army to the siege of Orleanse, where the prince and the Admiral were. But the resolution of these two Commanders, and the feare to receiue shame and losse, made them passe on to Rouen, where *Montgomery* commanded with seuen or eight hundred souldiers of the old bands, and two companies of English. The end of September, was the beginning of this siege: a famous siege, by the hurting of the King of Nauarre in the shoulder, as hee suruaied the weakest part of the city: whereof he died the seuentene day of Nouember, three weekes after it was taken by assault, and spoiled. *Montgomery* saued himselfe in a gally, but many of the chiefe passed through the executioners hands. On the other side, *Lewis* of Bourbon, duke of Montpensier, reduced to the Kings obedience, the townes of Angers, Mans and Tours: the Marshall Saint André E tooke Poitiers from the Lord of Saint Gemme; and *Henry* of Montmorency, Lord of Damuile, incountred the protestants forces in Languedoc, whilst the Earles of Tende and Suze, by the defeat of Mombrun, tooke Cisteron for the King, and *Montluc* with *Bury* gouernours of Guienne, put to rout the troupes of Gascons which *Duras* led to the Earle of Rochefoucault, besieging Saint Iean d'Angeli. The ouerthrow of *Duras* brought the Earle with 300. gentlemen, & the remainder of the defeated army, on this side Loyre, to ioine the prince with the Reistres whom *d'Andelot* brought. This supply made the prince resolute to go to Paris, & by anoying it, to encrease the feare wherwith they were possessed. He marcheth, forceth *Pluuiers*, takes *Estampes*, and besiegeth *Corbeil*: but finding it better furnished with men then he expected, he approacheth to Paris, makes a great skirmish, and beats backe F the troups that were come out off their trenches. So he camped at Gentilly, Arcueil, Montrouge, and other neighbour villages, the Queene-mother busies him 7. or 8. daies with diuers parles, during the which foure and twenty Ensignes of Gascons, and Spaniards arriving, were lodged within the suburbs of Saint Iames. The prince then seeing his enemies forces to encrease, resolues to fight with them, before they were all vnited, so as all hope of peace being conuerted into smoake, hee riseth the tenth of December, takes the way to

Bourges recovered.

Death of the  
King of Na-  
uarre.

The Protestants  
beaten  
in diuerse places.



1562. to Chartres, and resolves to goe into Normandy, to receiue the men and money which A came out of England, and by that meanes to diuert the siege of Orleance. The Constable and duke of Guise march after him.

A notable  
drame.

Dreames are lies, as wee commonly say: yet haue wee often tried those which present themselves in the morning (the spirit hauing taken sufficient rest) to bring certaine aduertisements of that which is to come. The night before the eue of the battaile, the prince dreames that hee had giuen three battailes one after another, obtained the victory, overthrowne his three principall enemies, and finally himselfe wounded to the death, hauing layed one vpon another, and he about them all, yeelding in that sort, his soule to God. And to say the truth, haue we not scene this vision verified by the death of the Marshall of Saint André, which is at hand: by that of the duke of Guise before Orleance the yeere following: and by that of the Constable at the battaile of Saint Denis, and of the prince himselfe in that of Bassac.

The battaile  
of Dreux.

In the Kings army, they numbred two thousand horse, and nineteene thousand foot. In that of the prince, foure thousand horse, and twelue thousand foot. They ioyned the nineteenth of December, and without any skirmishes, chargèd with all their forces. The princes Suisse loose feuentene captaines, with three parts of their troupes, which were about three thousand, and endure three charges before they could be broken. On the other side, the taking of the Constable, the death of the Marshall Saint André, the defeat of their troupes, caused a generall confusion in the Kings army, if the duke of Guise, charging the white cassaks, and the Reisters with fury (whose pistols had made a great slaughter of his men) had not forced through the princes horse, who straying too much from the battaile, fell prisoner into the hands of the Lord of Danuille, the which made the victory doubtful, seeming before to incline to his side. The conflict continued from ten of the clocke in the morning, vntill night, with many charges, there were feuen thousand men slaine vpon the place, on both sides, many hurt, and in a manner, all died, and a great number of prisoners. The King lost (besides his Suisse) the most part of his horse, and a great number of foote. There were slaine of men of marke, the duke of Nevers, killed by one of his household servants, either by hazard, or of purpose, the Lords of Montbrun (the Constables sonne) d'Annebault, Guiry, la Brosse and his sonne: there were hurt, the duke of Aumale, brother to the duke of Guise, Rochefort and Beauvais. A usun a Nobleman of Gascony, whom feare made flie to Paris, and there hee died of grieue. The Prince lost about two thousand two hundred foote, and a hundred and fifty horse, French and Reisters.

Both Generals  
taken.

This battaile is famous, by the taking of two Generals, the one in the beginning, the other in the end of the battaile, so as the field was left by both parties: but after the retreat, it was viewed, and taken againe by the Duke of Guise, and the next day, as it were, recovered by the Admirall, who presented himselfe in battaile. So the prince had the aduantage ouer the dead, and the honour to haue made his retreat with order: but the duke had the aduantage of the victory, for that he lodged vpon the place of battaile, spoiled the dead, and won the princes artillery, who (a strange matter considering their hatred) supped, and lay all night with the duke of Guise. Doubtlesse, it was a curtesie in the one, and a resolution in the other. By the taking of the two Commanders, the duke of Guise was declared the Kings Lieutenant Generall in the army, and the Admirall tooke the command for the protestants. Either had sundry desseignes. The duke to recouer the places held from the King: the Admirall to preferre Orleance with more facility, by the conquest of some places about it: and then to finish his voiage into Normandy, whether the treasor of England called him. So hauing taken Selles in Berry, Saint Aignan, Montrichard, and Sully vpon Loire, he deliuered the gard of Orleance to his brother d'Andelot, with foureteene ensignes of French and Lansquenets, foure of the inhabitants of the towne, and a great number of the Nobility vnder the conduct of Duras, Bouchanues, Buffy, Saint Cyr, Auaret and other voluntaries: F and tooke the way to Normandy, thinking by this meanes to diuide the enemies forces, who had Orleance for the chiefe object of their armes. The first day of February, hee campt before it, and the next day he winnes the Portereau, with the slaughter of foure hundred good French souldiars, being abandoned by the Lansquenets, who cowardly left the place they had in charge.

The

A The 18. of this month, hee was ready to giue an assault: and making his reckoning to winne the towne, hee writes to the Queene-mother, that within 24. houres hee would send her newes of the taking thereof, and would make the day very memorable, sparing neither sexe nor age: that after he had shroued there, he would extinguish the remembrance of the towne. But man knoweth not his destiny, nor what shall happen vnto him. The same day as he returned towards night, vpon a little moile, from the campe to the castle of Cortey, his ordinary lodging, John Polaron, Seigneur of Mercy, a gentleman of Angoulmois mounted vpon a Spanish horse, by his owne proper and priuate motion, shoots him into the shoulidar with a pistoll charged with three bullets, and saues himselfe by flight: but hauing wandered all night, he was taken the next day: soone after, hee was pinchd with hot irons, and so drawne in peeces with horses at Paris. The duke of Guise died the 24. of the said month, and was interred at Paris, with pompe like vnto a King. Henry his sonne being yong of age, was preferred to the place of great Chamberlaine, and Lord Steward of France.

1562.  
82  
63.

The duke of  
Guise slaine.

The Admirall in the meane time, runnes ouer Normandy without opposition, and followed by foure thousand horse; he coopt vp them into their forts, who had had free scope, since the taking of Rouen: namely the Marquis of Elbeuf, and Renouart a new Knight of the order, molested by the protestants of Caen, tooke some, and slue others. The money, artillery, powder, with fise companies of English, and two of French, which he newly received, came very fitly to reduce the towne, and the strong castle thereof, to his deuotion, C Monty conquered Honfleur: and the Lord of Colombieres, Bayeux: and by this prize, hee so amazed the garrison of Saint Lo, as they left the place. The Admirall sent Montgomery thither, who was receiued into Auranches without contradiction. Viré being taken by assault, endured the ordinary rigour of the warre. The Earle went on with his forces, euen as the packet of peace arriued, the which called the Admirall to Orleance. So the 14. of March, he marcheth thitherward: the 18. he entreth into Bernay by force, and causeth some priests to bee hanged being found in armes perswading the people to resist in a paltry dog-hole. Two daies after the Vicont of Dreux takes Aigle, and puts all to the sword that hee finds armed. Falaise compounds: Argenton redeemes it selfe for ten thousand francs. Mortagne a great village in Perche (seduced by some indiscreet priests) makes D resistance. They force it, and the most malicious pay for their folly with the price of their liues. The monkes of Saint Calais had receiued garrison, and ill intreated some of the household seruants of the Lord of Coignee: but now hee takes a sharpe reuenge, and Ceruoys surprizing the castle of Mezieres nere vnto Dreux, makes the garrison for euer after vnable to beare armes. So the Admirall re-enters into Orleance the three and twentieth day of March.

At the beginning of the siege of Orleance, the King, his mother, the priuy Councell, and certaine deputies of the Court of parliament at Paris, were come to Chartres, to arraigne (said they) the prince of Condé. The duke of Guise had by this meanes giuen two stroakes with one stone: for the losse of the prince of Condes head, had strooke off the E Constables. But Damuille hauing the honour to haue taken the Prince in battaile, had likewise the honour to preferre his life, by the dispersing of this assembly. Now that the Queene-mother stands no more in feare of the duke of Guises authority, shee reuiues the treaty of peace begun before his death. For the effecting whereof she holds an assembly in the life of Oxen, where the prince and the Constable assist being yet prisoners. The Constable protests at the beginning, that he will not suffer any peace made with the conditions of the Edict of Ianuary. The Prince craues leaue to confer with his councell in Orleance. His councell giues him to vnderstand, that neither the Queene, nor hee, can derogate from the Edict so solemnly made, confirmed, and sworne, at the instance of the Estates, and so notable an assembly of all the parliaments of the realme.

F But the prince was grieved to see himselfe garded by a company of horse, and three ensignes of foote, and many Gentlemen had not of long time seene their families. Moreouer, they gaue the prince to vnderstand, that the articles of the Edict of Ianuary were not altered, but onely to content the Catholikes: that armes being laide aside, they should by little and little obtaine free liberty. So the articles of peace drawn in forme of an Edict, were concluded the twelfth of March, and all confirmed in the Kings councell at Amboise, the

A peace con-  
cluded at  
Orleance.

Stt

the

1562.  
&  
63.

the nineteenth following, verified in parliament the twenty seven, and the same day proclaimed throughout the towne by the sound of Trumpet. The executions qualified with the name of Iustice, the robberies, generall and priuate massacres, committed on the persons of the protestants at Paris, Senlis, Amiens, Abbeville, Meaux, Chaalons, Troyes, Bar vpon Seine, Espernay, Sens, Auxerre, Neuers, Corbigny, Aurillac, Moulins, Issoudun, Mans, Vendosme, Angers, Craon, Blois, Mer, Tours, Bourgueil, and places thereabout, Poitiers: Rouen, Valongnes, Vire, Saint Lo, Bourdeaux, Agen, and generally in al parts of the realm, are read at large in the Originals, and would augment this volume beyond the iust proportion. Time and leisure may hereafter giue all this discourse specified more particularly. Let vs onely obserue the most memorable exploits chanced during these first troubles, from the moneth of Aprill, in the yeere 1562. vnto the publication of the peace.

Particulare  
troubles at  
Meaux.

The protestants of Meaux exceeding the Catholikes in number, had vntill the end of Iune, continued the exercise of their religion, without any disturbance: then transported with an indiscreet zeale, and ill-advised presumption, grounded vpon their numbers, they flie to the Churches, beate downe Images, and make the priests retire. This insolency made the Court of parliament at Paris to censure them, and to abandon them to any that could spoile or kill them, without any forme of processe. Therevpon *Liboux* brother to *Montluc*, comes to Meaux, and with the consent of the protestants, restores the exercise of the Catholike religion, and then giues commandement to the inhabitants, to bring their armes into the towne-house. Some obey, others to the number of foure hundred, march to ioyne with the prince *Portian*: they charge them, and kill them all but forty, which recouer Orleance with much adoe, leauing their wiues to the mercy of the stronger, whereof many were forced to goe to the masse with blowes, many marriages solemnized a new, many children (but without order) baptized againe. The 13. of February 1563. some fugitiues tried to recouer the place, but this caused a totall ruine of their companions, who remained within the towne, they were massacred, drowned, and hanged, their wiues and children rauished, their goods spoiled, and their houses made inhabitable.

At Chaalons.

At Bar.

At Chaalons, *des Bordes* Lieutenant to the duke of Neuers, gouernor of Champagne, slue many men and women, imprisoned handicrafts-men, spoiled their houses, caused marriages to be re-solemnized, & children to be re-baptized. Those of Bar vpon Seine became the stronger, but rashly in a place easie to be forced. Some Canons planted onely against the castle, scattered all within it like vnto partridges. So the besiegers entring, finding few men to execute their reuenge on, they fall vpon the women, maidens and children, open some of their stomakes, pull out their hearts, and with a fury vnworthy doubleesse of one created after the same Image and likeneffe) teare them with their teeth. *Ralet* a yong aduocate, son to the Kings proctor, was (a prodigious thing) hanged by his fathers procurement. In the moneth of Ianuary following, some fifty horse of the garrison of Antrain, surprized the towne at the breake of day: and at the first tied this *Ralet* to the top of his house, then with their pistols caused him to expiate the death of his sonne. The other murderers were murdered, and their spoile spoiled by other spoilers. So the Lord requires the bloud of man by the hand of man himselfe.

Sainte Estienne

At Sens.

At Neuers.

At Corbigny.

Saint *Estienne* being returned from Orleance, with two of his brethren and some others to refresh himselfe, in a house of his neere vnto Reims, was beset, besieged and battered with the Canon, by a troupe of fiftene or sixteene hundred men, who going forth vpon their word to speake with the duke of Neuers, who (they sayd) asked for him, was murdered there by his owne cousin germaine the baron of Cerny, and his two brethren with sixteene others stable.

A hundred persons of all qualities were miserably slaine at Sens, their bodies cast naked into Seine, their houses spoiled, and (as if it had beene no sufficient reuenge) their vignes were pulled vp. The eleuend of May 1562. the Catholikes of Neuers called in many gentlemen of the country, seized vpon the gates, and three daies after fell vpon the protestants. *Fayette* arriues, ransackes their houses, re-baptizeth the children, expels whom hee pleased, and so laden with boory, worth fifty thousand crownes, hee retires to his house in Auvergne. *Noisat* Marshall of the company of *Fayette*, intreated them of Corbigny in the like sort. Capitaine *Blany* surprized the towne few daies after, and restored the Protestants to the

A the publike exercise of their religion. Capitaine *Blasse* surprising the towne of Antrain, staied the Catholikes from committing the like excesse, as they had done at Auxerre. *Stephen Blondel* a priest, and an other called the *Dangerous* were hanged and shot. *Issertieux* (called in by the protestants of la Charité to take the charge of the towne) was set vpon by *Cheuenan*, *Achon*, and other troupes, and finally (being besieged by *Fayette*) hee yielded vp the towne vpon an honest composition for his party. This was the tenth of Iune, but the *Grand Prior* entring, hee pulled the capitulation (being signed) out of *Issertieux* hand, and afterwards *la Fayette* abandons these poore protestants, to spoile and ransome, like to them of Neuers. The third of March following, the capitaines *du Bois*, *Bloisset* and *Blany*, re-enter by escaladoc. Leauing it afterwards in gard to *du Boisc*, who defended it with three-score and seven souldiars, and some inhabitants, against an army of foure thousand foote and horse; slue about foure score of them, and forced them to raise the siege.

Those of Chastillon vpon Loire, standing amidst many difficulties, and in the end spoiled of all their commodities, fortified their little towne, and the fifth of Ianuary endure an assault against the Lord of Erié, kill seven or eight of his men, and hurt many others, the men defending themselves with stones, and the women powring boyling water vpon the assailants. In the end, *Montenud* gouernour of Berry besieged it, battered it, and tooke it by force, killed men and women, young and old, spoiled the towne, euen to the hingels of C doores, glasse and barres of windowes.

Gyen maintaines it selfe long, the protestants were the stronger, but the insolency of captaines and soldiars, whom the prince of Condé sent thether from Orleance to refresh themselves one after an other, forced many of the inhabitants to retire to Orleance. So the towne remainyng at the deuotion of the Kings army, who camped before it, was subiect to the violence of the stronger, where the Italians, amongst other insolencies, cut a yong childe beeing aliue in two peeces, and with a horrible fury eate his liuer. Montargis was the Sanctuary of many protestant families, vnder the countenance of *René* of France daughter to King *Lewis* the twelfth, and Duchesse dowager of Ferrara. The duke of Guise her sonne-in-law sends *Malicorne* thether with foure companies of men at armes, but the prey he sought was safe within the castle: his fury fell vpon an old man met by chance, who was slaine and cast into the riuier. *Malicorne* threatens the Duchesse to bring the Canon to force her to yeeld the castle and the protestants that were in it. But the generous resolution of this Duchesse, and the death of the duke of Guise, staied the execution of his threats.

*Bersons*, according to the Commission hee had from the duke of Guise to seize vpon the forts of high Auvergne, enters into Aurillac, murders eight men, spoiles the towne and that of Argentat, with some castles, rauisheth wiues and maidens, making his account to roote out all the protestants in the country, if the Edict of pacification had not forced him to surcease. *Montare* comes to Moulins with like Commission, hee expelled out of the towne whom hee doubted, then giuing liberty to his troupes, they spoiled the houses and E farmes thereabouts: he caused six men to be hanged, and slue others to be drowned, returning from Orleance with 3. marchants of Daulphiné, suffring the hangman to execute them without any forme of processe, whom the multitude deliuered vnto him to be put to death. Thirtene yong men of Issoudun were beaten down in the water the 8. of May at S. Laisine, a village two leagues from the town, and the 9. of Iuly following, *Sarzas* seized vpon Issoudun, armed the Catholike inhabitants, drew malefactors out of prison, & filled it with protestants, who for the most part died, beeing smothered vnder the ruines of a tower, of sixteen that escaped, ten saued themselves at Bourges. Vntil the Edict of peace, hee spoiled both the towne and country, ransomming some, deliuering others to the hangman, which had not means to redeeme themselves: he rauished wiues and maidens: and to conclude, exposed these poore creatures to al the insolencies of soldiars. The 3. of April 1562. those of Mans became masters of the towne. But violence neuer continued long, and soldiars led by a Commander of small credit and little authority, did neuer see their armes prosper.

These men are no sooner armed, but they imploy themselves to the beating downe of Images, lacking of Churches: and from the towne they run to the villages nere. The commons assemble, kill such as they meete, and reskue the boory. In the end an apple of discord diuides

1562. diuides them of the towne and the castle: the insolencies of the captaines and souldiers 2. A  
 maze the protestants: the duke of Montpensier prepares to assaile them, and of three cap-  
 taines which command within the towne, two haue intelligence with him. This being dis-  
 couered, the towne being also ill furnished, *La Mothe Tibergeau* drawes forth tumultuously  
 eight hundred men carrying armes, leading them through many difficulties into Alanson,  
 who then tooke sundry parties: some not practised in armes remained there: others put  
 themselues into the troupes of the Conte *Montgomery*, others of the duke of Bouillon, and  
 the other two captaines submitted to those to whom they had giuen their words. Thus  
 the Catholikes haue their turne, they were driuen out of the towne, and now they re-enter,  
 and full of spleene they spoile the protestants houses, both within the towne and abroad, B  
 eight leagues compasse: and without respect of kindred, kill, spoile and ransome men, wo-  
 men and children. Some women of good account, some simple people, seruants and  
 chamber-maides retired to their farmes, or to their friends in the coutry, remaine at the de-  
 uotion of five hundred *Harguebuziers*, leauied for the gard of the town and country there-  
 abouts, who forbear no kind of reuenge and rigour. The prisons are filled, they forbid by  
 any meanes to sollicite for them: the accused are not admitted to except against any wit-  
 nesse, and for the last act of this Tragedy, about two hundred persons of all qualities and  
 sexes, purge by their mournful deaths the insolencies of these first furies. The absent were  
 executed in picture, their goods confiscate that were dead carrying armes: their children  
 degraded from all Offices, and declared incapable to succeed. In villages nere and far- C  
 ther of, about sixscore persons yeelded their throats to the reuenging swords of them, to  
 whom the change of armes had now giuen the aduantage. One captaine *Champagne*, to  
 glut the pikerils in a poole, which he had, doth gorge them with about fifty persons: *Blais-  
 Jarden* his Lieutenant fills two trenches nere vnto his house, with fifty or three score carcasses.  
*La Ferté-Bernard*, *Sablé*, *Maine*, *Loire-Castle*, *Memers*, *Belesme* and *Martigne*, had the fields  
 there about white with the bones of such as were slaine, whose flesh was deuoured with birds  
 At Vendosme the Images ouerthrowne at Vendosme, the altars beaten downe; yea the monu-  
 ments of the house of Vendosme, too insolently broken, might not these stirre vp some re-  
 uenge? *You beat downe* (say the Catholikes) *the Images and destroy the relics of the dead: but  
 we will beate downe as many lying Images as shall fall into our hands.* The Monkes of Saint D  
*Calais* second them, & of many protestants which held their Abbay, they massacre five and  
 twenty, or thirty. Some troupes which kept the fields, kil the first that passe, stone them and  
 cast them into wels. The Lord of Congnee ioyning with some gentlemen, comes to charge  
 them, kils the murtherers, and (except a few which fled betimes) puts them all to the sword:  
 then he dischargeth the rest of his fury vpon the priests and monkes, and causeth two of the  
 most insolent to be hanged in their Church, yea where the alarum had rung to assaile the  
 protestants.

Cruelties  
committed in  
Maine.

At Vendosme

At Angers.

Those of Angers become the stronger, yet without any offence to their fellow-citizens,  
 and make an agreement within themselves: *To liue peaceably one with an other, vnder the  
 Kings obedience, with obseruation of the Edict of January.* This modesty continued from the 5. E  
 of Aprill to the 22. Then they loose all patience, ouerthrowing the Images and re-  
 likes of Saint *Samson*. The Catholikes rest patient, but they could well choose the time of  
 their aduantage. It chanced that the Prince of Condé, required a supply of men and mo-  
 ney from the protestants of Angers. Many Gentlemen and souldiers march, and by this  
 meanes make their party weake. *Puygaillard*, a Galcon captaine, sent by the duke of Mont-  
 pensier, enters the castle the fifth of May, and the next day wins a part of the towne: then  
 to lull the protestants a sleepe, and to haue them in the end at his deuotion, he grants them  
 free liberty of religion. But two daies after, vnder colour of disarming them, they enter  
 their houses. A receiuer of subsidies and some others barre vp their gates. They found  
 the alarum, their houses are spoiled, and the prisons filled with men and women: and after F  
 the eleuenth of the said month vnto the end of yeere, about foure-score men were execu-  
 ted after diuers manners. Many women of all qualities, were put into sacks, drawne through  
 the dirt, and their bodies cast into the riuer, and their daughters rauished: some making  
 strong resistance were stabbed with their daggers. And the duke of Montpensier, hauing  
 published the Edict of the parliament of Paris, *To pursue all them that should bee any way  
 suspected*

A *(suspected of the Protestant religion, many Gentlemen and others about Angers during thele  
 furies lost both life and goods.* 1562.

At Blois they were maisters both of the towne and castle, but being too weake to incoun- At Blois.  
 ter the forces of the duke of Guise, all the men of warre retired to Orleans. Those which  
 remained in the towne, paid for their companions: for besides them that were beaten  
 downe in the streetes at the duke of Guises entry, many tyed to the stakes, were cast into the  
 riuer, wiues and maides were rauished, houses spoyled, and as it often chanceth in these in-  
 ciuill tumults, many Catholikes were slaine in these confusions, as liberty giues euery man  
 meanes to reuenge his priuate quarrels. They complaine to the duke. *There is no remedy  
 (saith he) we haue too much people in France. I will deale so, as victuals shall be good cheape.* As  
 B if the disposition of seasons, were in thy power oh duke! or if the earth should desire to bee  
 watered with mans blood, to become fertill.

The towne of Mer was spoyled ten daies together. *Beaupas* a minister of the Church At Mer.  
 hanged, some men slaine, some women beeing rauished died, some of them in the hands of  
 them that rauished them, others of griefe soone after. The foresayd decree was published  
 euery Sunday in places depending on the parliament. It was a meanes to arme theeues,  
 vagabonds, villaines, leud and idle persons: it made the plough-man to leaue the plough,  
 and the crafts-man to shut vp his shop: to conclude, it did change the multitude into Ty-  
 gers, and Lyons, and feshed them against their owne countymen. A troupe of these rascalls  
 C fall vpon Ligneul, hang some men, pull out a ministers eyes, and then burne him. Another  
 company runs vpon the marches of Comeri, l'Isle-bouchart, Loches, Azé they burnt, and  
 neighbour places, beating downe, and murthuring men, women and children.

Those of Tours were seized of the towne, but hauing spared the Images no more then At Tours.  
 the rest, the duke of Montpensier comes in Iuly, and summons them to yeeld. They had no  
 meanes to keepe the towne, nor the prince of Condé to succour them. So they make three  
 Ensignes of foote, and two cornets of horse, and ioyned with them of Chinon, and Chastel-  
 leraud, making a troupe of a thousand men of warre. This was but a fire of straw: seuen or  
 eight companies of men at armes, and some cornets of light horse of the Earle of Villars,  
 charge and ouerthrow them, kil some, and carry others prisoners to Chastelleraud: some re-  
 couer Poitiers, others which had yeelded themselues at the first in this defeat, being sent  
 D back to Tours with passports, fell out of Scilla into Caribdis. The multitude receiues them  
 disarmed, and beates them downe. About three hundred recouer the gates of Tours with  
 running, hoping to finde a Sanctuary at their houses. But the people arme, and murther  
 most of these amazed men, cast their bodies into Loire, massacre their companions remain-  
 ing within the towne, sacke their lodgings, and in this furious liberty, die the riuer with the  
 blood of their fellow-citizens, men, women and children. *Chauigny* armes, and by his pre-  
 sence doth countenance this popular insolvency. *Bourgeau* President of Tours, no Pro-  
 testant, but onely suspected to fauour their party, had redeemed his life out of the hands  
 of *Clerusaux*, Lieutenant to *Chauigny*, for three hundred crownes, and a basin of siluer, but  
 E in the end, beeing murthered with stauces and swords, hanged by the secte, his head in the  
 water vnto the brest, they open his belly, teare out his bowels, and cast them into the riuer,  
 and placing his heart vpon the top of a Lance, they carry it through the towne, crying: *Be-  
 hold the President of the Huguenots heart.* The duke *Montpensier* arriues, and by gibbets,  
 wheelles, and other tortures, plaies the last act of this inciuill Tragedy. The Protestants of  
 Poitiers, being maisters of the towne, did not forget to beate downe Images.

A horrible  
cruelty.

The Earle of Villars, and the Marshal Saint *André* besiege them. Saint *Gemme* command- Poitiers.  
 ing there for the prince of Condé, sustaines a furious assault, making the assailants to deter-  
 mine of a retreat, when as *Pineau* captaine of the castle, practised by the assailants, giues  
 them a signe to returne: hee shoots against them that were at the gate, & forced them to  
 F leaue the defence. The gate being thus won, they come to fight for the market places. The  
 Protestants began now to yeeld to the victors force, when as *Mangot* a captaine of Lodun  
 breaking the locks of Saint *Cyprians* gate, makes a way for the citizens & soldiars to saue  
 themselues, leauing the towne and country about subiect to al the insolencies incident to a  
 country of conquest. *Corneillis* a Scottish captaine, escapes from Poitiers with his troupe,  
 & to suppress the peasants fury, greedy of blood and spoile, he laies an Ambush, and then  
 he

1562. he cunningly ioynes with them, and by this stratagem, takes from them all desire to assemble together againe for the like effect. The vnrestrained liberty of armes, made the strongest of all sides to seize vpon their townes, thinking delays to breed danger. But alas, how many pittifull catastrophes grew by these inciull and fatall tumults? Rouen was not the last to make triall thereof.

The fifteenth of April 1562. the protestants seize vpon the towne, enter the Churches tumultuously, beat downe and ruine reliques, images and altars, in about fifty parishes, abbeis and religious houses: the exercise of the Catholike religion surceased, and the court of parliament retired to Louviers. During these broiles, the duke of Aumale comes, as the Kings Lieutenant generall. *Villebon* bailiffe of Rouen, seizeth vpon *Pont de Larche*: the baron of Clere, on *Candebee*: and so block vp Rouen both aboue and beneath the riuier: the Magistrate ceaseth to administer iustice, the marchant his trafficke, and the handicrafts-man shuts vp his shop: heavy fore-tellings of a horrible confusion to come. Many difficulties did now presse them of Rouen, when as *Moruelliers* comming from the prince of Condé, and slipping cunningly by water into the towne, prouides for the souldiars disorders, and for the gard of Saint Katherine's fort, prolonging the hope of the besieged. The duke of Aumale assailes the fort, and tires them with daily skirmishes, but most fatall for himselfe: hee looseth at the first charge an 100. men, and the besieged *Saint Agnan* and *Languetot* braue captaines, at the second a great number of men, and two Ensignes carried into the towne. The eleuenth of Iuly, the Duke giues a generall assault, and so furious, as three ensignes of the enemies planted vpon the rampart, did so inflame the courage of the besieged, as they ouerthrow both ensignes and men, pursued them to their campe, and forced them to dislodge the night following, in confusion, with losse of their victuals, munition and baggage, to go and reuenge the dishonor lately receiued at Rouen, by the taking of *Ponteau de Mer* & *Honfleur*. *Moruelliers* content to haue preferred Rouen, at this time, retires to his house, and leaues the charge to the Earle of Montgomery, called by them of Rouen out of base Normandy. About the end of September the King, the Queene, and the King of Nauarre come to the army, consisting of sixteene thousand foot, and two thousand horse, besides Reistres and Lansquenets: siue daies are spent in skirmishes, but with most aduantage to the besieged. The sixth day, most part of the soldiars goe to refresh themselves within the town. A captaine named *Lewis*, who had intelligence with the enemy, giues them aduice. They run hotly to the assault (during these skirmishes, they had made a breach in the wall with siue or six hundred canon shot) they kill many good souldiars, many pioners, eight and twenty women, and take the place: but with the losse of *Lewis* his life, slaine by one of his souldiars, as he did helpe the assailants to mount. A worthy reward for so notable a treachery. Three hundred Burgeses did run to the defence: but the fury of the assault, carried some to their graue, and others to prison, and made the way easie for the taking of the Bulwarke of *Martinville*, and the fort of *Montgomery*. The thirteenth of October a hot assault was ginen against the towne, from the morning vntil night, and many men on both sides slaine. The next day, about eleuen of the clocke, they renew the assault, and plant three ensignes vpon the rampart of Saint Hilary. *Montgomery* repells them, and driues them back beyond the trench, killing of his enemies about eight hundred men, and loosing of his party, foure or five hundred men, women, and children.

The first siege of Rouen.

The second siege.

The fort taken.

The King of Nauarre slaine.

Rouen taken.

The next day was fatall to the King of Nauarre. *If I may* (said he to a Nobleman) *escape from this siege, I will neuer carry armes more for this quarrell.* A certaine fore-telling of the mischief that followes vs, doth commonly touch our hearts. Hauing visited the trenches, and dined nere vnto the wall without the battery, he was shot in the shoulder as hee made water: the bullet beeing drawne out too late by the Surgions, and his wound inflamed by his voluptuousnesse, accompanied with a feuer, he gaue his soule to God, the seuenteenth day of Nouember following, as we haue said before. In the meane-time, the battery continues, many thousands of shot beat downe diuers towers, many mines play without effect. The fourth assault, was more auailable, the 26. of October. Thereby the assailants win the breach at the port Saint Hilary, they enter in troupe, and kil al they encounter, force houses, rauish wiues and maidens, and commit all acts ordinary in the like accidents, *Montgomery* vnable to withstand this last violence, saues himselfe in a galley with such as could get in, the

A the rest remaining in prey were spoyled, slaine, drowned and made prisoners. The Parliament returns three dayes after the taking of the towne, and at their first sitting, the President of Mandreuil lost his head: *Sequence* and *Berthenouille* Councillors, and *Marloras* a Minitter were hanged, and the next day siue Captaines, and diuers Burgeses of the towne. Morcour, enuie and hatred amidst these popular furies brought in question the Seigneur of Anthor, chiefe President, and *Boisroger* the Kings Aduocate, beeing Catholikes, but enemies to sedition and wise politicians. In ciuill tumults, the vulgar doth commonly take for essentiall markes of Religion, the insolencies and excesse; which fury and the sufferance of the magistrate doth suggest.

Diepe serued for a retreat to many Protestant families, but the ouerthrow of some B troupes which *Briquemaunt* sent to *Montgomery* for a supply, and the taking of Rouen terrified the most part of the inhabitants, who beeing pressed by *Aumale* and *Villebon*, were content to yeeld, and to cease the exercise of their religion. *Ricarville* and *Bacqueville* had the government, the former of the Castle, the other of the towne. But how many Captaines by indiscretion haue lost both liues and places? *Ricarville* going out of the castle to see his horses, is slaine, and suddenly the castle is seized on by *Catenille* and Captaine *Gascon*, who going from thence into the towne takes *Bacqueville*, and restore the exercise of the Protestants religion vnder the government of *La Curee*.

*Montgomery* labored with all his power to maintaine the Protestants in base Normandy, but he had the Duke of Estampes and *Matignon* to incounter him. In May, he had taken *Vire*, beaten downe the Images, and carried away the reliques. The last of Iuly, the Catholikes awaked at this first rumor, surprize the Protestants comming from the preaching, reuenge their losses by the death of some, and hurting of others. About the end of August *La Motte*, *Tibergeau*, *Auaines* and *Deschamps*, sent by *Montgomery* with sixe-score horse, surprize the towne, and spoyle both it and the country. The 4. of September the Duke of Estampes comes with eleuen cornets of horse, they force the towne, kill *Auaines*, take the castle, stab two hundred men that were fled into it, rauish and kill women and children. *Tibergeau*, and many others ransomed their liues: so as generally there was nothing but taking and re-taking of townes, with most cruell and inciull stratagemes.

D The Vidam of Chartres, and *Beauuoir la Noelle* his brother-in-law, hauing assured themselves of New-hauen, the Vidam going into England, treated with the Queen to succor the Protestants: and for assurance of her men and money, deliuered the said place into her hands, with protestation, as well by him, as by the Queene, no way to preiudice the Kings soueraine authoritie, nor the estate of the Realme. And she shall shortly yeeld it without any difficulty. According to the treatie, there arriues sixe thousand English in Normandy, vnder the Earle of Warwicke, and are dispersed in Rouen, Diepe, and New-hauen. After the taking of Rouen, the Reingraue brought his Reistres before New-hauen: but his violence preuailed as little, as fifty thousand Crownes did, with a collar of the Order, and a company of men at armes intertained, which the Queen-mother promised to *Beauuoir*, to corrupt him to yeeld vp the towne. Brittainie continued vnder the moderate gouernement of the Duke of Estampes, both for that the Queene-mother liued in suspence, and entertained both parties, as also for that the factions of Normandy had drawn away the worst-affected. Those of Guienne, Languedoc, and other places made warre against the Images and Altars, ministring occasion to shed the blood of liuely Images at Grenade, Castelnau darry and Cahors, where about sixe-score Protestants assembled to heare the preaching, were slaine. On the other side, *Bury* and *Montluc* (scourges to the Protestants) reuenged the beating downe of Images throughout all Guienne, with infinite murders, and lamentable spoiles, *Duras* hauing abandoned the protection thereof, vpon a commandement which he had receiued from the Prince of Condé, to bring him forces to Orleance, which succeeded fill for him, as we shall see.

*Bury* and *Montluc* did run vp and downe the country to crosse the Protestants desseigns: and those of Bourdeaux (hauing too slackly proceeded in an enterprise made against the towne and castles) caused the Parliament to search their houses, and to put them to death, who had not in time retired themselves vnder *Duras* Ensignes. *Montluc* incensed especially against them of Agen, tryed all his wits, to bring them vnder his power and command. He.

1562.  
&c  
63.

Diepe yeelded

And taken againe.

New-hauen deliuered to the English.

Brittainie.



1562.  
&  
63.

He had againſt him the Lord of Memy, Generall of the warre for the Proteſtants in Guienne, and the neighbor-countrie, a ſickly man, and not greatly practiſed in ſuch affaires: for if he had made benefit of the great forces, which he had at his command, and would haue beleued *Arpaion* and *Marchaſtell*, he might in ſhew haue cut *Montluc* in peeces, being much weaker of men, who knowing the carriage of his aduerſarie, wearied him with dayly courſes and alarmes, to the contempt of the Proteſtants, which fell into his hands, as hee himſelfe doth vant in his Commentaries, a true portrait and table where wee may reade at large the horrible deſolations chanced in thoſe countries during the firſt troubles. In the end thoſe of Agen ſeeing their towne vnable to reſiſt the Cannon, make a troupe of about fixe hundred men, and retire for the moſt part, to the caſtle of Penne committed by *Duras* to captaine *Lionran*. The next day, the common people of Agen troupe together, ſpoyle and kill all they meete: *Bury* and *Montluc* flie thither, they execute many priſoners, and ſuch as were abſent they hang in picture. *Duras* not able to diuert this heauie accident, takes the way of Quercy, wins Lauſette by force, kills fixe hundred threeſcore and ſeuene men, amongſt the which, nineſcore and fourteene Priests were found ſlaine, without any reſpect of their Order, through this deteſtable warlike inſolencie. For a counter-change, *Montluc* comes to beſegee the caſtle of Penne, forceth the place after the death of *Lionran*, puts man woman and child to the ſword, and (continuing the courſe of his proſperitie) takes and ſackes Caſtel-laloux, Marmande, S. Macaire, Bazas, Toneins, Port S. Mary, Villeneufue of Agenois, the caſtle of *Duras*, and Montſegur, leauing bloudy trophies of an vnciuill and pitifull victorie.

Leſtoure.

Leſtoure the chiefe towne of Armagnac, was at the Prince of Condes deuotion. *Bugole* a captaine of Bearne and a Catholike commanded there: who by the taking of Sauuetat of Gaure, of Larromien, and of Tarraube, had aſſured the Proteſtants of his conſtant affection to their party. *Montluc* ſends captaine *Peirot* his ſonne to ſuppreſſe *Bugole*. *Peirot* treats with *Bugole*, and reapes the fruites which follow by his parle. Captaine *Mefmes* led two hundred ſouldiers to fortiſie Leſtoure: *Bugole* cauſeth them to ſtay vpon the way, vnder colour to ſend them a gard to make their paſſage eaſie. And to this intent he ſpeedily ſends to field three hundred men at armes, and fixe and fortie Argoleters, and himſelfe leads other troups of foote to Tarraube, that by the weakening of Leſtoure, *Peirot* might haue meanes with his men at armes to ſtoppe the returne of the troups of Tarraube to Leſtoure, and by the ſame ſtratageme cuts off the paſſage for captaine *Mefme*, leauing him in prey at Roquebrune a poore village, from whence he paſſed through his enemies, being foure or fixe to one, and retired into Bearn. Moreouer, although Tarraube were vnſupplied of meale and water, yet he kept his foot-men therein, that being beſeaged, they might more eaſily bee at *Peirot*'s mercy, as it afterwards fell out. And to fill vp the meaſure of his trecheries, ſoone after the yeelding vp of Tarraube, he with a brother of his followed *Peirot*'s enſignes, and againſt his plighte faith, he beheld him to cut in peeces 231. priſoners at Tarraube, hang ſome, and ranſome many. *Montluc* aduerted hereof, aſſembles the commons with fix companies of foot, beſegeth Leſtoure, makes a breach, giues an aſſault in foure places. *Briemont* giues him the repulſe, hauing not with him about an 100. ſouldiers, a weak number, the which induced him in the end (together with the Queene of Nauarres intreatie, to whome the towne belonged) to depart by compoſition.

Now we muſt perſorme our promiſe touching the exploits of *Duras* in Guienne: with the firſt forces he had gathered together, he tried to aſſure Bourdeaux: but hauing failed of his deſſeigne, he choſe the countrie betwixt the riuer of Garonne and Dordonne, to reuiſe his troups. S. Macaire gaue him bullets as he paſſed in ſtead of victuals, and killes ſome of his men. He is offended therewith, aſſaults the towne, forceth it, and takes his reuenge of the former outrage. *Burie* and *Montluc* purſue him, (they knew well that hauing ſlaine him all Guienne vnſupplied of a commander, would be at their diſcretion:) they ouertooke him neere to Rozan, and charge him at their aduantage, being abandoned by the moſt part of his company, which were vn-warlike, and not capable of diſcipline. This firſt checke was ſufficient to abandon all: yet the cauſe whereof he had taken the defence, did ſummon him once more to trie the hazard of armes. He gathers together what he can, aſſembles new forces, takes the way of Agenois and of Quercy, helps them of Agen, reuengeth his iniuries

1562.  
&  
63.

ries vpon Lauſette, as we haue heard, marcheth towards S. Antonin, and there fortiſies himſelfe with two companies of foot, led by *Marchaſtel*. His meaning was to go into Languedoc, and to ioine with the Lord of Crufol: but the Earle of Rochfoucault inuites him to the ſuccour of Orleans, and for a guard, ſends him *Bordet*, a valiant gentleman of Xaintonge, with ſixtie horſe, two hundred Argoletiers, and two Enſignes of foot. Theſe troups conſiſting of about fixe thouſand men, horſe and foot, march to Montauban, there they receiue men, munition, and artillery, and ſo turne to Xaintonge: in the way they force the caſtle of Marcues, take the Biſhop of Cahors, there threaten to hang him, as the author of a maſſacre made of the Proteſtants within his Dioceſſe: fixe or ſix ſouldiers made ſatisfaction for this offence by their deaths.

*Bordet* had a ſpleene againſt them of Sarlat: they had in this paſſage ſlaine two of his gentlemen. So at his perſwaſion *Duras* incampes before it the firſt of October. *Bury* and *Montluc* flie to ſuccour it with a great number of horſe, and ſome eight thouſand foote. *Duras* raiſeth the ſeige, and to lodge at eaſe, diuides his men into Heudreux, Ver, and other places neere: the rainie-wether gaue them likewise ſome impreſſion and confidence of the enemies temporizing. But they were vigilant, and ſearing leſſe the iniurie of the ayre then *Duras*, they came thundring vpon him. Without doubt when two armies are neere together, the firſt that makes his retreat, giues the other an aduantage. *Duras* who ſuppoſed they had bene but the enemies ſcouts, determined to retire ſoftly, and to lodge his men in ſafety: when as *Bury* and *Montluc* ſeeing him retire, charge him behind, and finding very ſmall reſiſtance, kill fixe or ſixe hundred of his ſouldiers, charge home to the artillerie and baggage, kill fiftene hundred ſeruants, and hang ſome priſoners, eſpecially Miniſters that followed the troups. But the bootie qualifying the victors heate, gaue leſſure to the firſt that fled, to ſet wings to their ſeete, and by a ſodaine flight to prolong their liues for ſome dayes: for the moſt part of them which eſcaped, were taken againe, and led to Agen, and there hanged on a gybbet ſet vp expreſſly, which they called the Conſiſtorie.

A great error.

The battell of Ver, and the ſecond deſeate of *Duras*.

Battailes are variable, and he is no merchant that wins alwaies, ſaith the Prouerbe. *Duras* gathers together ſome remainders of this ſhipwracke, and aduerted that *Lamoignon* a Captaine ſent by *Sanſac* to ouerthrow him quite, did attend him at Emborn, with fixe hundred men, he marcheth directly againſt his enemy, ſurprizeth him at the breake of day, cuts in peeces both the Captaine and his ſouldiers, reſeruing three onely to carrie newes vnto *Sanſac*, and by this ſoule ſlaughter, reuengeth the diſgrace which he had lately receiued: then moſt of his troups being gone, ſome to Rochel, ſome elſe-where, and hauing no man of command remaining, but his eldeſt ſonne, *Bordet*, *Puch*, and his brother, with about fortie Carbines, and eighreen hundred ſoldiers half diſ-armed (his horſemen being gone before, and ioyned with *Rochfoucault*) he recouered Orleance and there died, vpon the conclusion of the peace. Through the abſence of *Duras*, the Proteſtants eſtate in Guyenne was very lamentable, their bodies and goods left to the diſcretion of their enemies. *Piles* a gentleman of Gaſconie, hearing of the outrages which *Bury* and *Montluc* committed without controule, parts from Orleance (he came with the troups which *Grandmont* brought out of Gaſconie) and ſurmouting a world of difficulties, in the end he recouers his houſe neere vnto Bergerac, and notwithstanding the garriſon which the Duke of Montpenſier had left there, he opens the priſons, and ſets all them at libertie that were committed for matter of religion, and then retires to his houſe.

Exploits of *Piles*, and

This new and bold attempt puts the countrie into armes: all riſe againſt *Piles*, who forced to yeeld to violence, withdraws himſelfe, being followed by fiftene horſe, and fiftene Harguebuziers on foote: at Montagnac he ſurprizeth a Cornet of fixeſcore light horſe, commanded by *Montcaſſin*, he kills their Leader, with fourteene others, and puts the reſt to route, and by meanes of the horſe which he recouered there, of good ſouldiers hee made profitable men at armes. *Piles* had left *la Riviere* about Bergerac, a young gentleman, who (wedding the praſtiſe of armes to the ſtudie of the Lawes, from which he was newly returned) became as ſoone a braue Captaine, as a reſolute ſouldier: for his firſt ſtratageme, hauing ſuddenly trouped together ſome twentie ſouldiers, and a good number of peſants with ſtaues, he ſurprizeth Sainte Foy vpon Dordonne by ſcalado, cuts the corps de gard in peeces, that was ſet in the market place, and commanding in the ſtreets many and ſundry things,

Riviere.

1562. things, as if he had been followed by seven or eight hundred men, hee slue *Rexas* one of A  
8c. *Montluc* Captaine, his Lieutenant, his Prouost with foure-score of his souldiers, and be-  
63. came absolute master of the place. *Bury* and *Montluc* chafing at this disgrace, receiued by  
an appentise in warre, lodge many troupes betwixt *Bergerac* and *Saincte Foy*. But *la Rini-*  
*ere* hauing forced through the troupe of *Captaine Sale*, and a Squadron of horse, made his  
retreate, passed the riuer of *Dordonne* in safetie, and went with his troupe to ioyne with  
*Captaine Piles*. Vpon the way, behold a band of souldiers encounter him beeing farre from  
his men, and as he inquired newes of *Piles*, they ouerthrow, hurt and take him. But passing  
ouer a bridge he casts himselfe into the water, recouers the contrarie banke, and so saues  
himselfe at *Hymet*, a towne of *Aginois*, whereas *Piles* prepared for the surprize of *Muci-*  
*Ban*, the which *Montluc* thinking to take from him about the end of *January 1563*, by means  
of the *Seneshall* of *Perigord*, he left the vndertaker confounded in his desseigne, and his  
troupes put to flight. This successe giues courage to *Piles*: he attempts against *Bergerac*,  
and at the second charge enters it the 12. of *March*, putting three corps de gard to the sword,  
and all such as could not in time recouer the castle. The next day a tower beeing vnder-  
mined, hauing smothered them that were within it, the castle vnurnished of munition, yeelds  
at the victors discretion, who puts them all to the sword. A cruell and more then inciuill  
warrel What worse vsage could we expect of strangers and barbarous people, whose inhu-  
manitie we willingly abhorre: and do we not tremble at the effusion of our Counti-mens  
bloud? In the countries of *Angoulmois* and *Coignac*, the *Seigneur* of *Martron*, by many  
murthers, ranfomings, and robberies, rauishing of wiues and maidens, and other oppressions  
which the war doth vsually bring forth, reuenged the excesse the Protestants had commit-  
ted, in beating downe the images at *Angoulesme*.

In *Xaintonge*, Count *Rochefoucault* maintained their affaires, but the taking of *Poitiers*  
before described, and the defeat of *Duras*, caused the Protestants to be spoiled at *Xaintes*  
by *Captaine Mogeret*, and the exercise of their religion to be abolished at *Rochel*, and the  
neighbour lands, by the Duke of *Montpensier*. But alas, all these disorders and bloudie con-  
fusions do not counteruaile the horrible furies of *Tholoufa*, and other places of the *Parla-*  
*ment* of *Languedoc*. *Tholoufa* is one of the greatest and best peopled cities of the Realm,  
and at that time the Protestants numbred aboute five and twenty thousand persons of their  
Religion, of all qualities, ages, and sexes. After the publication of the *Edict* of *January*, mat-  
ters passed with great moderation vntill *Aprill*. A little sparkle doth soone kinde a fire of  
sedition: and a small cause thrusts the seditious into furie, especially if the *Magistrate* (ordai-  
ned rather to restrain the bloudie-minded) doth countenance their insolencies. The buriall  
of a dead bodie was the Prologue to a horrible Tragedie, whereof the first act was played in  
the suburbs of *S. Mich-l*, *S. Streuen*, and *S. Saluador*: and so passed the wals, and put all the  
cittie into a mournfull confusion. The *Parlament* did winke at it, but the *Capitols* beeing  
more modest, employed their authoritie to quench these first flames, which must needs put  
all their state in combustion: foure of the most seditious beeing hanged, and two whipt, did  
make some satisfaction for the bloud and death of such as were wounded, slaine, and cast in-  
to wels. This pursuite makes the people mad. The Protestants, to warrant their liues, and  
to saue themselves by some good Capitulation, seaze on a gate, and vpon the town-house.  
The *Parlament* stormes, calls in the Nobilitie, assembles the commons, giues authority to  
their furious armies, and by a generall proclamation, both within the citie and abroad, com-  
mands them to arme, and to fall vpon the Huguenots, with warrant from the Pope, the  
King, and the Court of *Parlament*. Then they kill, they fill the prisons, they massacre many.  
When they find no holes to hold them, the riuer is heaped vp with carcases: they cast them  
aliue out of the windowes, and if they labour to recouer the bankes, they beate them downe  
with stones and stauces.

The Protestants shut vp in the towne-house, and hauing no other hope but to despaire  
of health, they resolute to sell their liues dearely. They had Canon, and with the thunder  
thereof do amaze their enemies, they make many sallies with great effusion of bloud on ei-  
ther side. They treat an accord with them: they demand an assurance of their liues & goods,  
with the obseruation of the *Edict*. It is reiected: and so this vnciuill and fatal combat, con-  
tinues many daies. In the end, the 16. of *May*, they graunt them, *To retire in safety, leaving*  
their

A their armes in the towne house. They go forth towards night. But oh confusion! it is the  
best expedient to disarme an enemy with dispensation of conscience, with whom they will  
keepe no faith. At their going forth, they imprison such as they can lay hand on, the rest  
escape by the gate which they held: some recouer *Montauban*, or other places of their par-  
tie, others are subiect to the mercie of the peasants and souldiers lying in the fields. So as a-  
bout three thousand five hundred persons (saith the Originall) lost their liues in this mu-  
tine.

The Catholikes are now absolute masters of the cittie: they beate downe the Protestants  
Temple, and foure dayes together they kill, imprison, and spoyle. These broyles and popu-  
lar tumults haue oftentimes confounded the authours themselves, and the spoile of rich  
B houses is a very dangerous and attractiue bayte. The *Parlament* knowes it well, and begins  
now to feare, lest the insolencie of such, to whom they had giuen libertie, should fall vpon  
themselves. They therefore leuie a summe of money to content the companies, and to void  
the towne of them. So *Montluc* and *Terrides* march against *Montauban*, *Fontgraneux* a-  
gainst *Beziers*, *Mirepoix* the younger against *Limoux*. The Court hauing the gouerne-  
ment without controule, displace two and twenty Councillors that were least partiall, and  
most suspected with some chiefe men: condemne prisoners, and from the end of *May* vnto  
*Februarie* following, they execute, by diuers manners, foure hundred persons.

This massacre of *Toulouse*, that of *Gaillac* in *Albigeois* against eight-score persons, and  
C the approach of *Bury* and *Montluc* had so amazed the Inhabitants of *Montauban*, as they a-  
bandon the towne: but the taking of *Agen*, and the troubled estate of *Bordeaux* (as wee  
haue heard) called away both of them for this time. In the meane time, *Arpajan* and *Mar-*  
*chastell* putting two thousand men into *Montauban*, had put new courage into them, when  
as newes comes, that *Montluc* and *Terrides* came to beseege them with a thousand horse,  
and five thousand foote: the which made the Captaine take a new resolution to go to *Or-*  
*leans*: the people are amazed, feare driues many out in confusion, the drum sounds, they  
issue forth tumultuously, forsake the towne and abandon the gates. But which was the bet-  
ter expedient, either to die in defence of their houses and families, or to fall into the hands  
of the enemy, from whom they might expect no mercy? The most part beeing surprized  
D in the fields, were forced to yeeld their throates to their swords that pursued them, others  
brought to *Toulouse* ended their liues vpon sundry gybbets: the Captaine and some few o-  
thers recouered the towne. The 24. of *May*, *Montluc*'s armie arriues, but beeing content  
with some skirmishes, and to haue wasted the corne, he retired to make a greater leape. He  
retournes in *September* following, with nine companies of men at armes, a great number  
of voluntarie gentlemen, five and twenty ensignes of foot, foure companies of *Argoletiets*  
and three of *Spaniards*, which made twelue hundred men, and thirteene peeces of artillery.  
The partie was stronger on either side then at the first, for *Duras* and *Marchestel* were en-  
tered, vnder hope to leade both the companies and Canon to *Orleans*. So as *Montluc* ha-  
uing lost some sixe hundred men in diuers skirmishes, and refused to fight with *Duras*, who  
E offered him bataille, he retired the second time.

Then *Duras* and *Marchestel* leading away the troupes, vnurnished the towne of two  
great Canons, and two field peeces, the which were afterwards lost in the battell of *Ver-*  
*montluc* aduertised of the estate of *Montauban* by *Fontgrane*, one of the Captaine of the  
towne, hastens thither, offers a scalado, and giues the alarme in three parts. Two hundred  
recouer the first courtin, beeing followed by the two ensignes of *Bazourdan*. *Laboria* born  
in the towne and a Captaine there, beates them backe, and with the slaughter of two hun-  
dred of their men, forceth them to leaue their attempt to winne it by force. The thirteenth  
of *October*, they batter it with nine peeces of artillery, and continuing vntill the 22. of the  
moneth, he beates downe a peece of the wall. *Bazourdan* will needes discouer the breach:  
F but beeing shot in about the left pappe, he could not returne with any newes. The next day  
they giue a furious assault: the more courageously the assailants presse them, the more re-  
solutely the assailed defend themselves, men, women, and children, euery one in his place.  
Oftentimes they obtaine that vnder the Foxes skinne, which the Lion cannot effect. *Laboria*  
might do much to draw the Inhabitants to composition. *Terrides* promisseth him the go-  
uernement of the towne, vnder the Kings authoritie, and three companies entertained. He  
accepts

1562.  
8c  
63.

Three seegs  
of Montauban

1562. accepts this offer. But his new proceeding brings him presently into suspect, so as having A  
8c. no more credit, and the Citizens resolute not to giue care to any Capitulation with men,  
63. who having (say they) no faith, cannot keepe it with any men. *Laboris* followed by his Ser-  
geant, retires himselfe to *Terrides* campe: from that time vnto the 15. of Aprill, being the  
day of the publication of the peace, the seege passed in assaults, sallies, and skirmishes,  
wherein the beseegers lost about two thousand men, with a great number of Captains and  
worthie gentlemen without any profit.

*Carcaſſonne*, *Castelnau-darry*, *Reuel* and *Limoux* were partakers of these disorders. The Pro-  
testants of Carcaſſonne had their exercise in the suburbs. The 16. of March 1562 the Ca-  
tholikes having taken view of foure or fūe thousand men, giue an alarm to the Protestants  
assembled in the suburbs: they made them to leaue the place at the sound of their Canon, B  
drums and trumpets: they pursue them, kill, hurt, hang, and ranſome them. *Castelnau-*  
*darry* was subiect to the like fortune, about fiftie persons were murdered with the like fu-  
rie and popular tumult. Those of *Reuel* hearing of the confusion at Tolouſa, ſaued them-  
ſelues at *Caſtres*, and else where, leauing their families and goods to the mercy of the eues  
and robbers. Some being apprehended by vertue of a Commiſſion granted by the Pala-  
ment, were led to Tolouſa, and condemned, ſome to the gallies, others were ſiged, and  
ſome baniſhed. At *Limoux* they had an aduantage ouer the Catholikes: but *Pamiers* being  
entred with ſenue companies, and eight hundred Bandoiliers, Spaniards for the most part, C  
and the Marſhall of *Mirepoix* being ſent by the Parlement, the town was subiect to the ſame  
of the ſtronger, and ſuffered the ordinarie inſolencies of Conquerors, ſpoiles, murders and  
rapes. He that ſees his neighbors houſe on fire, ſhould looke to his owne. So the Protestants  
of *Beziers* aduertised of the murder of *Paſſy*, draw ſome ſouldiers vnto them, and ruine the  
images in all the Churches. *Beaudiné* chiefe of the Protestants troupes aſſiſted them, and  
by the taking of *Magalas* and *Eſpignan*, ſtrong places which did much annoy *Beziers*, aſſu-  
red the towne to their partie. *Joyeuze* followed by 5000. men, and 12. peeces of artillerie,  
croſſed their attempts, and hauing at the ſecond aſſault forced *Lezignan*, and taking *Mon-*  
*tagnac* by compoſition, he took the way to *Pezenas*. *Beaudiné* comes againſt him, and  
might eaſily haue defeated him, but fūe hundred Crownes, which the maſter of his campe  
had receiued of *Joyeuze*, with promiſe of a thousand more, made him looſe about fix ſcore D  
ſouldiers, and by the rout of his companies opened the gates of *Pezenas* to *Joyeuze*. *Beziers*  
was readie to receiue a law from him: but the ſacke and murder of their neighbours, and  
the feare of the like vſage, made them to ſhut their gates againſt him, and to go to field, to  
force and burne *Lignan*, with the deſeat of two companies that kept it: and then to ſurprize  
*Seruian*, to force the garrifon of *Caſouls*, ſcale *Villeneuve*, neere vnto *Beziers*, and ſo to  
preſerue themſelues vntill the publication of the peace.

*Beaucaire* feared the like vſage to *Limoux*: they therefore obtaine two companies from  
*Niſines*. *S. Veran* a Beauuoisin, with *Servus* and *Bouillargues* led them; they aſſured the town  
and caſtle, ruine images and altars, and then retire, leauing a companie for the ſafetie of  
their companions. To incounter them, the Catholikes by twi-light bring in a great num- E  
ber of ſouldiers attired like peſants, and in the night open the gates to fiftene or ſixtene  
hundred men, who coming from *Taraſcon*, ſeparated onely by the Rhone, made their  
coming famous by bloud and ſpoile. The Protestants recouer the caſtle, and ſpeedily call  
backe *Servus* and *Bouillargues*, who returned to *Niſines*. They turne head: *Servus* enters in-  
to the Caſtle, and ſo deſcending into the towne, ſurprizeth his enemies, kills a great number  
and pardons ſuch as laying downe their armes craue mercy. *Bouillargues* coming from the  
reſcue of the bootie which they carried away, and wearie with killing them that fled, he like-  
wiſe enters into the towne, and puts all to the ſword that he incounters. Thus *Beaucaire* re-  
mained in the Protestants hands, vntill the Ediſt of peace.

The like feare troubled them of Montpellier. The proceedings at Tolouſa and other F  
places amazed them: they fortifie themſelues, raze the ſuburbs, in a manner as great as the  
towne, beate downe thirty Churches, and by theſe ruines, make themſelues able to ſuſtaine  
a ſeege which threatened them. The enemy diſcharged his choller vpon certaine ſhot lod-  
ging in an old towne ill flanked, a league from the towne, who hauing yeilded to haue their  
liues ſaued, were notwithstanding ſlaine as they came forth. The like chance fell vpon the  
Cap-

A Capitaine, and twentie ſouldiers that were in *Maguelone*, and deſeruedly, according to the  
diuine Juſtice, hauing trecherouſly fold the caſtle. At that time the Lords of *Suze* and  
Sommerie, the chiefe of the Catholikes army in *Languedoc*, had paſſed the *Rosne*, with  
about 3000. foot, foure hundred Maſters, and three Cannons, with an intent to beſeege *S.*  
*Giles*, a ſmall towne vpon the *Rhone*. *Beaudiné* vpon this aduice, parts from *Montpellier*,  
he ſpeedily aſſembles ſixe hundred horſe, and eight hundred foot, vnder the command of  
*Bouillargues*, *Albenas*, and *Grille*: he is aduertised by ſome priſoners, of a diſorder in the ene-  
mies campe: he marcheth towards them, and chargeth preſently. *Suze* and *Sommerie* turn  
their backs, their Capitaines and ſouldiers are amazed, and run away: *Bouillargues* follows  
them that flie: not one makes reſiſtance. *Grille* falls out likewiſe, and both ioynly do kil, what  
B by the ſword, and water, 2000. men, and win all their baggage, being richly furniſhed, as to  
a certaine victorie, with two Cannons, (the Culuerin being ſunke in the riuer of *Rhone*)  
22. enſignes, and the Colonels guidon. This victory makes them proud, and *Grille* contem-  
ning the aduice which was giuen him, ſuffered himſelfe within a few dayes after to be ſur-  
prized, and taken at *Arenasſes*, to looſe an hundred or ſixe ſcore ſouldiers, his troupes to  
be put to flight towards *Lunel*, *Mauguel*, and *Sommieres*, and had it not bene for the ar-  
riall of *Beaudiné*, who freed him, he had remained a trophé to his enemy.

In the meane time, *Joyeuze* (ſeeing the plague to waſt his men daily) retires from the  
Campe before *Montpellier*: it was rather to free the inhabitants from iealouſie. Hee had  
C practiſed certaine intelligences within the towne, but the juſtice of God brought two of  
the chiefe Merchants to be a ſpectacle vpon a ſcaffold for other crimes: who hauing con-  
feſſed the treaſon, euen as the ſword hung ouer their heads, ended *Joyeuze*s practiſes with  
their liues. His attempts vpon *Agde* were as fruitleſſe, and much more preiudiciall vnto  
him: for being repulſed by *Sanglas* from a ſcalado, and two ſundry aſſaults, *Bouillargues*  
cut off two hundred and ſeuenty of his men in his retreat, hauing diuided them into three  
bands. He drew three hundred Catholikes lodged within *Aramon*, into an ambuſcado, ſlue  
the moſt part of them, and ſoone after ſeized on *S. Laurent* in the *Comtat*, he chaſed fūe  
and thirty Italian Lanciers, three ſcore Argoletiers, and a company of foote. But the courſe  
of his proſperitie was ſomewhat ſtayed by the death of *Rays*, guidon of his companie, and  
D of Captain *Aiſſe*, who kept the tower of *Carboniere* ſeated in the mariſhes of *Aiguemortes*,  
and did wonderfully moleſt the ſaid towne, it being ſurprized in an ambuſcado, and  
they ſlain the 12. of November. The death of theſe men was recompenced with the ſlaugh-  
ter of foure ſcore, ſurprized and ſlaine by them of *Montpellier*, within *Bourg*, a ſmal towne  
vpon *Rhone*, beſides a great number, that were drowned, ſeeking to ſaue themſelues by the  
ſaid riuer. This happy ſucceſſe inuities them to new attempts. A company of the enemies  
lodged in *Agnane*, and ſpoyled the country about. *Rapin* Gouvernor of *Montpellier*, being  
followed by fūe hundred ſhot, and *Gremians* troupe of horſe, awaked them in the night, a-  
bout Chriſtmas, ſurprized ſome aſleepe, others in their ſhirts, ſlue the greateſt number, and  
brought the reſt priſoners to *Montpellier*. The yeare ended with the taking of *S. Paul* and  
E *Damiette*, ſeparated by the riuer of *Agout*, beſeeged, battered, and within three dayes ta-  
ken from the Protestants by *Peirot* ſonne to *Montluc*, with great ſlaughter. A Gaſcon Ca-  
pitaine hauing ſlaine a Prielt of purpoſe or otherwiſe, made them beleeue it was the Mini-  
ſter: within few daies after he went to *Caſtres*, where the Protestants had ſtill the better dur-  
ing theſe inciuill troubles. Let vs briefly looke into the Prouinces of *Viualetz*, *Rouergue*,  
*Giuaudan* and the Countie of *Foix*. In Aprill the Protestants of *Nonnay* become maſters  
of the towne, beginning preſently to beat downe images: they opened and publiſhly burnt  
the relike which they call of Holy vertues. Doubtleſſe, if man could iudge by the preſent  
what would after chauce, hee would reſtraine his paſſions. For the interchange of world-  
ly things ſuffers moſt offences, at length to find a reuenge. The towne was vnturniſhed of  
F armes, and *Sarras* their Gouvernor (threatned with a ſeege) goes forth the 22. of Octo-  
ber: the next morning he comes at the breake of day to *S. Eſtienne* in *Foreſt* (the aboun-  
dance of armes and harnieſſe, that is forged there, makes the towne famous) ſets fire to the  
gates, and takes and packes vp ſuch armes as hee needed. But O man! remember that thou  
ſhalt bee meaſured with the ſame meaſure wherewith thou haſt meaſured thy neighbour,  
and whileſt thou doeſt loyter, and linger behind with thy ſouldiers to ſearch houſes,

1562. for the goodliest armes, and the fairest women, thou giuest thine enemy leysure to prepare A  
&c. thee a portion full of bitterness. Saint *Chamont* sent by the Duke of Nemours (who then  
63. made warre in Lionnois) encounters him, chargeth and takes him prisoner, hurts, and kills  
The first tak- about six-score men of his troupe: and from that time those of Nonnay lay open to many  
ing of Non- outrages. He gathers the commons together, beseegeth the towne, wanting both men,  
nay. armes, and a Commander: he enters, sheds as much blood as he pleaseth, spoiles it, fires  
it, and burnes two and twenty houses: then vpon a bruit of the Baron of Adretz approach  
with stronger and greater forces, hee dislodgeth without Trumpet, and seemes rather to  
fly then retire.

The second  
taking.

About the end of the yeare, S. *Martin*, by the commandement of the Lord of Cruf- B  
sol, and the Cardinall of Chastillon, then Gouvernors of Guienne and Daulphiné, vnder  
the Prince of Condes authoritie, came to Nonnay, repaired the ruines, and provided for  
the defence thereof, leauing Captaine *Prost, le Mas*, and *Mongrois* there. S. *Chamont* flies  
thither with foure thousand men, but vnfit to force places well furnished, hee treates with  
the citizens, offers an honest composition, as well for themselves, as for their strangers.  
They accept it, the strangers depart, and the same night S. *Chamont* causeth or suffereth  
his men to enter, who forgetting no kind of inhumanitie, murder some, others they cast  
from an high tower, some they burne in their houses, many they make to leape out at the  
windowes, beate them downe vpon the pavement, stab them in the streets, sell prisoners C  
by the Drum, and for want of buyers, they murder them in the place, and burne the houses  
for want of present money to redeeme them: there were six-score by this means burnt  
to ashes. And to fill vp the measure of this horrible confusion, wiues and maides were bar-  
barously rauished, corne and other things which could not be carried, was scattered about:  
the heads of wine-vessels beaten out, the walles for the most part beaten downe to the  
ground, the towers dis-mantled, and the gates carried away. Bonlieu a small towne neere  
vnto Nonnay, did accompany it in this lamentable desolation.

In Rouergue, *Valsergues* one of *Montluc's* Lieutenants, and Captaine of the garrison of  
Villefranche, hauing wonderfully oppressed the Protestants of that place, and the Nobili-  
tie of Rouergue, those of Villeneuve, Perrouffe, Froissac, Saignac, la Guepie, Espailon,  
S. Afrique, those of Bresseul, Compeyre, Millau, S. Felix, Cornus, and of Pont Camates, D  
resolved to defend themselves, and by their constant resolution, had made frustrate their  
enemies attempts, if two of their Captaines had not by their ouerthrow shaken their af-  
faires. About thirty men led by *Peigre*, going out of Millau to refresh Compeyre, beseege  
by *Vesin* and others, were cut in peeces, their leader led to Toloufa, was at the instance of  
the Cardinall of Armagnac quartered aliue. And *Saignac* hauing failed in an enterprise  
he had vpon Villefranche, was inuested in the castle of Granes, where for want of water,  
he was forced to accept his life to bee saued, and theirs that followed him, being about a  
hundred souldiers: notwithstanding, all but six or seuen were put to the sword.

These tempests fell likewise vpon Giuaudan, those of Ceuennes entering into Quesac,  
burnt the Image of our Lady, and made a booty of two hundred and foure-score Markes of E  
silver, of the reliques and ornaments of the Church being molten. But this prosperity was  
like a fire of straw, wherein they often confound themselves in their ouerweening. After-  
wards they campe before Mendes, and in the end of Iuly, they enter by composition, but  
they suffer one *Copier* to change his profession of a Minister to a captaine, to order the  
Treasure, and to dispose of matters of warre: who vnder this rash presumption, sends about  
six-score men to another enterprise, vnder the conduct of a Hosiier of Alby called *La Cro-*  
*ix*, as very a novice in matters of warre, as his pretended Colonel. *Treillans* the young-  
er, sends part of his men, who surpriseth them in the field, and out of order, and kills the  
most part: and he with the rest of his troupe, rides directly to Mendes: he enters without  
any difficulty, carries away the Gouvernour, spoiles what he pleaseth, and leaues the rest F  
to the discretion of other bands, who laying hold vpon *Copier*, make him yeeld an account  
of his vsurped government: notwithstanding some troupes of his party rescued him with-  
in fewe dayes after, and brought him backe safe and sound with his companions. The  
Prouince of Giuaudan enioyed then some rest, when as the Barons of Goise and Saint  
Vidal, *Treillans* and others came to molest it. They make a troupe of two thousand  
men

A men in the beginning of October, to ioyne with *Joyeuse* at the seege of Montpellier: but  
the defeat of their men at Saint *Giles*, made them to change their desigine, and to attempt  
Floras. Eight men onely commanded by *Boissy* a valiant souldier of Montpellier, kept it.  
The besiegers vse both batterrie, scalado, assault, mines, and parle, and get nothing but  
blowes. In the end a report flying of the coming of *Beaudiné* to succor the besieged, they  
raise their campe with confusion and disorder.

Marshall, a Castle belonging to the Seigneur of Peyre a Protestant, had another issue.  
*Coffart* Gouvernour of Recoles, beseege it in the beginning of Februarie, and hauing taken  
it by treason, he kept his faith with the souldiers like vnto *Granes*, which then was used as a  
Prouerbe in the mouthes of Protestants. *Peyre* afterwards incountred *Coffart*, slue three-  
B score and ten of his men, and recovered his house. These confusions continued still euen  
after the publication of peace: for the Baron of la Fare hauing tryed by all meanes (saith the  
Originall) to haue a maide of excellent beauty at his pleasure, beseege Florac the fifth of  
Aprill. But *Beaudiné* making halt to succour it, preferred both the virgins chastitie, and the  
Citizens blood. The Lord of Pailles, Seneshall for the King of Nauarre in the Countie of  
Foix, sed the Protestants with words. The desolation of Toloufa made him to chaunge his  
copie. So the wolfe (according to the Fable) hauing sent away the dogs, doth then breake  
into the fold, and deuoures the sheepe at his pleasure. He aduise such as he feared among  
the Protestants (seeing they had bene charged with the beating downe of Images and Al-  
C tars) to retire themselves: else he should be forced to imprison them. This terrour chafeth  
many. *Pailles* entering into the towne, puts some in prison, and so terrifies others, as they  
were glad to leaue the towne. Of the prisoners, two were beheaded, two burnt, six hanged,  
six and twenty condemned to death, ten to the gallies, and the goods of them that were fled  
abandoned in prey to the souldiers: the other townes of the Countie terrified with his stra-  
tageme, accepted such conditions as *Pailles* would prescribe them.

Onely *Pamiers* resisted. The towne belonged to the Queene of Nauarre, and the num-  
ber of the Protestants was great. Man hath man meanes to preferue himselfe from hu-  
mane forces, but what harbour, what shelter can protect him from the wrath of heauen?  
Men make warre one against another, and two parties seeke one anothers destruction: but  
D God with the same arme strikes both the one and the other, and it falls vpon whome hee  
pleaseth. The Catholikes of *Pamiers* seeke all meanes to oppress the Protestants, and the  
Protestants to crosse the practises of their enemies, when as a common scourge assures  
them both. The plague comes into the towne, and in few weekes takes away three thou-  
sand Citizens. But (a strange thing) of all this great number they did not account about  
fiftie Protestants: so as sub-isting in the midst of this mortalitie, and by this meanes pro-  
tected from the iniuries of their enemies abroad, they succour their neighbors of Castres, kill  
the Vicont of Seres and his brother, with the greatest part of three hundred men which hee  
commanded, and so disperse the rest, as the way was open for them to recouer their houses:  
where discouering a practise made by some begging Friars, to bring in *Pailles* and others,  
E they made such a spoyle in their Couents, as neuer after were they more scene or heard of.  
This bloudie stratageme amazed the Priests and Chanons. They saue themselves in the  
towne of Foix, where they spoyle their houses and the Bishops. As one mischiefe followes  
another, the peace beeing concluded, in the beginning of May, a furious haile continuing by  
fits for the space of 3. weekes about Foix, cuts the corne and all greene things, so as there  
was no hope of fruit. The commons mutine, accuse the Clergy, beeing fled, to be the mo-  
tiues of this tempest, and were readie to fall vpon them. They auoid this popular furie and  
retire to Maugency.

Let vs change our Climate, and turne into Gaule Lionnoyse. The last of Aprill the Pro-  
testants were ceazed of Lions at two of the clocke after mid-night, without any slaughter  
F but of two men. The Lord of Sault had the first government. Amongst many of the Princes  
faction which posted thither, the Baron of Adretz (a valiant man, but proud and cruell) soa-  
zed on the government. The Prince sent afterwards *Poucenat* and *Changy*: the first to com-  
mand the horse, the last the foot. Here vpon the Baron of S. *Vidal* and other Auernacs ad-  
vanced, with 3. or foure thousand men, to wast the countrey of Lionnois, whilest the Duke  
of Nemours assembled an army of Bourguignons, Auernacs, and Forefins for the seege



1562. of Lions. *Poncnat* with five hundred men goes to discover them, chargeth them at the first A  
 &c. approach, makes such a slaughter, as by their route he overthrowes their desseigne, and pur-  
 63. suing his victorie, neere vnto Feurs in Forest, hee encounters with some troupes of horse,  
 which made against him: he chargeth them, puts them to flight, and presently forceth the  
 towne of Feurs, where most of them that fled had saved themselves.

*Des Adretz* arriues, who hauing resisted the forces of *Sommerme, Suze, Carres, Maugiron,*  
 and others, brought some places vnder his subiection, and amongst others *Montbrison* the  
 chief of the Prouince. But there he blemished the reputation which he had gotten in Daul-  
 phiné, and by his cruelty did violate the lawes of humanity, and made himselfe odious, the  
 which plunged him in many miseries, as we shall see hereafter. One after-noon he tooke a  
 delight to see many prisoners leape out of the high tower of *Montbrison*, amongst the B  
 which there were some gentlemen of account. *Soubize* comes to Lions, being sent by the  
 Prince of Condé, with the title of Lieutenant and Gouernor: and did so politickly handle  
 the violent disposition of *Adretz*, as he perswaded him to returne into Daulphiné, where  
 he did goodly exploits. But this decay of his authoritie did presently discontent the Baron:  
 who on this first spleene layed the leuaine of a speedie reuolt.

On the other side, *Tauannes* approached with five thousand French, and three thousand  
 Italians, led by the Earle of Anguelole, not with any intent to force the Towne, but to hin-  
 der the haruelt and the vintage. These Italians had many goates, so as in detestation of this C  
 horrible medley, the peasants cast all their goates among the Carion where they passed. The  
 Duke of Nemours arriues, with the title of the Kings Lieutenant generall, and for the first  
 fruites of his armes, he receiues Vienna vpon Rhone by composition, for the fauour of the  
 Catholikes: he kils few, and spoiles much. The taking of this towne shortened their victuals  
 at Lions. *Soubize*, to haue meanes to keepe the field, calls back *Adretz* and the Prouençals.  
 He brings foure or five thousand foot, and foure hundred horse. The Duke conceiuing an  
 assured hope of victorie by the weaknesse of their horse, incounters them, puts them twice  
 in route neere to Beaurepaire, but with small losse: and if the conduct and resolution of *A-*  
*dretz*, with the aduantage of the place had not fauoured him, he had then receiued a mate.  
 Hauing speedily rallied his troupes, he incampes within two leagues off Vienna, holding D  
 the Duke of Nemours occupied with continuall skirmishes, whilst that *Soubize* gathered  
 in victuals from all parts. Herupon a pacquet comming from Orleanse to *Soubize*, fals in-  
 to the hands of the Marshall of Brissac. Amongst other letters one from the Admirall con-  
 tained: *That he must endure the violence of the Baron of Adretz as much as he could, lest of*  
*an insolent man he should make him mad.* This was a fit expedient to put the Baron into fu-  
 ric. *Brissac* hauing presently sent *S. Sernin* to Nemours and *Adretz*, causeth them to enter  
 into strange practises one with another. *Soubize* (who was alwaies vigilant both at home  
 and abroad,) and had (as the Historie commends him) spent largely vpon spies, discovers  
 presently their secret intelligences, causeth the Baron to be apprehended, and by the com-  
 mandement of *Crussol* and the Cardinall of Chastillon sends him vnder sure guard to Nis-  
 mes, whereas nothing but the benefit of a peace, which presently followed, preserved him E  
 from the danger of death. Norwithstanding the Duke making his profit of the Barons pra-  
 ctises, drawes neere to Lions, and by sundry skirmishes cuts off their victuals. But hee that  
 vndertakes too much, speeds but ill. At one instant hee attempts both Romance and Va-  
 lence. The whole bodie of his army was necessary for this desseigne: and whilst that hee  
 seeks to deuoure all at once, he loseth all. He tries all his wits, and employes all his deuises to  
 vanquish Lions, and vpon hope to be assisted by them of the towne that were of his facti-  
 on, he attempts it by scalado in diuers parts, but all in vaine. He is ill serued both within and  
 without, and so rudely entertained by *Soubize*, as he must now put on another personage.  
 He helps himselfe with the newes of the battaile of Dreux, and proclaimes this victorie.  
 But now he finds out a new practise, whereby he hopes to attaine his desire. F

*Mark Herlin*, Receiuer of the Impost at Lions had bene taken in skirmish in the moneth  
 of Februarie 1563. To giue two strokes with one stone, to saue his life or his ranfome, and  
 to mocke the Duke, he giues him to vnderstand, That he had meanes to do the King a no-  
 table seruice: that they had accustomed to employ him in the guard of the towne, and to  
 trust him with many matters of weight: that if he will grant him libertie, hee will watch  
 some

The siege of  
Lions.

The Baron of  
Adretz reuolts

A some conuenient time, to giue him entrance at Saint *Insts* gate, whereby he should bring  
 in a sufficient number of men to make himselfe Lord of the towne. We easily belecue that  
 which is plausible to our desires. The Duke accepts this offer: he frees *Herlin*, but as if hee  
 had escaped of himselfe. *Herlin* comes to Lions: imparts it to *Soubize*, then returnes to *Ne-*  
*mours*, and appoints him the 7. of March following.

The eue before this pretended execution, *Soubize* plants his artillerie in the night, to  
 scour the streets, lodgeth three or foure thousand shot in the bulwarkes, wals and hou-  
 ses of approach, and appoints *Poncnat* with his troupe of horte to follow them. The day be-  
 ing come *Nemours* approcheth: they giue him a signe from a small tower. Three thousand  
 foot enter into the suburbs of Saint *Insts*; and from thence aduance vnto the gate, *Herlin* B  
 goes to meet them and brings them in. But being entred by the wicket, he suddenly shuts  
 it. The artillery playes, and two or three hundred muskets and all the other shot discharge  
 vpon them: *Blacons, Poyet, Andefroy*, and *Entragues* pursue them with sixe hundred choise  
 harguebuziers, who defeat them quite: and if the horsemen had made speed, scarce any one  
 had carried newes of this stratageme to his companions. Foure hundred were slaine in the  
 suburbs, many without, and a greater number ended their liues flying to the campe at Vi-  
 enna and other places. This disgrace did so trouble the Duke, as he continued two moneths  
 sicke in his bed, and in the meane time a peace was concluded.

The first ciuill tumult in Daulphiné, was at Romans. *La Mothe-Gondrin*, Lieutenant to  
 the Duke of Guise in that Prouince, would haue beaten downe a house, whereas the Pro-  
 testants had heard some Sermons. The Protestants troupe suddenly together: and if he had  
 not retired himselfe, they had put him in danger of his life. The second happened at Valence  
 but fatal to the author: the five and twentieth of Aprill was the day of the election of new  
 Consuls and of Councillors at Valence. *La Mothe* meaning his pistoll should giue the first  
 voice, and then to haue such named as he pleased, he sends some horse out of the towne, ei-  
 ther to preuent that none should come to crosse his desseignes, or to cut such in peeces as  
 should seeke to escape: he causeth the gates to be shut, enuirones the place of the assembly  
 with armed men: he enters it with a fauchion in one hand, and his pistoll in the other, the  
 which he discharge vpon a Secretarie of his whom he finds there. The Protestants doub-  
 ting that *Gondrin* would begin, with them: a number of them retired into a house, and re-  
 solve to defend their liues.

But as they came to force them, they slip out at a backe doore, and recouer Saint *Felix*  
 gate, where discovering *Gondrins* horse scouring the plaines, they couer themselves within  
 the gate. These horsemen incounting no man, fall vpon some Country-men, that came  
 to Valence, and kill some of them, whose bodies are brought to the towne vpon ladders: for  
 with out-rage the people require iustice. The next day being Son day, the Protestants stirr  
 not: they feared least by reason of others of their partie which came from all parts at the re-  
 port of the former dayes worke, some new tumult should arise. *Gondrin* commends them,  
 and with sweet words perswades them to go out of the towne for the exercise of their reli-  
 gion: that in doing so, they shall shew themselves obedient to the Edict. When they are  
 abroad, they discover, or at the least imagine, that they seeke to surprize them: some runne  
 to the gate, others enter the towne, and feaze vpon the other gates. Monday morning, the  
 whole party armes, they beseege *Gondrins* house and fire it, who being retired into the  
 next, he was slaine with sixe or seauen of his household seruants: his house sackt, and to ap-  
 pear the multitude, they hang his carcasse at a window towards the street. These are the ef-  
 fects which the insolencies of an armed multitude brings forth.

They proceed yet farther: the report of images beaten downe in many other Prouinces,  
 transports them to the like insolencies: they chiose the Baron of *Adretz*, chiefe by prouision  
 in Daulphiné, attending a confirmation, or some other certaine nomination by the Prince  
 of Condé. The Baron (to make the entrance of his authority famous) sends boldly to the  
 Parliament of Grenoble: that they should thrust out of the towne, the second president, the  
 Attorney generall, the Aduocate of the towne, the fourth Consull, and some others, whom  
 he termed seditious, and therefore he threatned to hang them. These men, without either  
 commandement or compulsion, were glad by a voluntarie exile to auoid the Barons threats.

The Protestants thus freed, feaze vpon the gates of Grenoble the first of May, enter into

A stratageme  
against the  
Duke of Ne-  
mours.

Daulphiné.

1562. the Friars, ouerthrow altars and images, plant the exercise of their religion: and for the A  
 & suretie of the towne, bring in a company of foot sent by *Adretz*, who to encounter *Mau-*  
 63. *giron* (that teamed himselfe the Kings Lieutenant generall in Daulphiné) came in the end  
 to Grenoble with a troupe of horse and foote. Their first warre was against Images and re-  
 likes, afterwards they cease vpon the castles of *Bussiere* and *Mirebell*, and burnt the great  
 house of the *Carthusians*, three leagues from Grenoble. Whilest these sayle in full seas  
 with a prosperous wind, behold others suffer a most pitifull ship-wracke. The massacre of  
*Vassy*, the Italian troupes of *Fabrizio Serbellone*, a Bolonois in Auignon, and those of Pro-  
 uence ioyned with *Fabrizio*, terrified the Protestants of Auranges neere vnto Auignon,  
 who to crosse the intelligences, which they said these troupes had in Auranges, protect them-  
 B selves with sixe-hundred men. Moreouer, *Fabrizio* writes to *Sommeriue*: That seeing he hath  
 an army readie, he should performe a great worke, to bring it speedily before Auranges,  
 whither there resorted daily a great multitude of Huguenots. If they were not suppressed at  
 their first beginning, not only Auignon should be annoyed, but also all Prouence receiue  
 great harme. So *Sommeriue* and *Suze* march against Auranches, and at the first find a good  
 meanes to ruine the towne. *Parpaille* President in the Parliament of Auranges, had bene ta-  
 ken at Bourg vpon Rhone returning from Lions, where he had bene to make prouision of  
 armes, for whose rescue the troupes of Auranges, beeing of their neighbors townes runne  
 to Bourg. *Sommeriue* and *Suze* fortified with many companies of Daulphiné and Auignon,  
 beseege Auranges beeing without souldiers, they batter, make a breach, force it, and forget C  
 no kind of cruelty that the Victors furie doth vsually inuent. All are put to sword without  
 distinction of age, sexe, or qualitie: and by a newkind of death practised since in ciuill wars,  
 they cast some downe vpon the souldiers halberds, they burne others, tyed to their hookes  
 in Chimneys, they hang men, women, and children at their windowes, they shoote some  
 with their harguebuzes, murder others in their mothers armes: and to finish this desolati-  
 on, they sacke and burne the towne, castle, palace and Bishops house: fixe weekes after,  
*Parpaille* at the instance of the *Vicel-gat* of Auignon lost his head.

Siege and de-  
struction of  
Auranches.

But alas! this was (as they say) but to anger a hornet. The Baron of *Adretz* studies of  
 nothing but reuenge. He runs, he cries out, he stormes, and full of indignation and threats  
 beates *Pierrelate*, and forceth it in few houres; puts all that he finds armed to the sword, en-  
 D ters in furie into the castle garded by three hundred souldiers of the troupes of *Suze*, some  
 he kills, others he casts downe, not one escapes: with the like furie he takes the towne of  
 Bourg. Pont S. Esprit brings him their keyes. He forceth *Boulene* a fronter of the Contat,  
 puts the company of Captaine *Barcelasse* to the sword, and threatened Auignon: when as  
 newes came that *Maurigon* was entred by intelligence into Grenoble, where he spoiles, kills,  
 and drownes. He posts thither, assures himselfe of Romans by the way, reduceth S. *Mar-*  
*celin* to his deuotion, and puts three hundred of *Maugirons* men to the sword. *Maugiron*  
 fearing the furie of this man, retires into Sauoy, and from thence into Bourgongne to *Ta-*  
*uannes*, leading with him all those of his faction: and the 26. of Iune *Adretz* re-enters into  
 Gtenoble, settles things in their former estate, and then hee marcheth into Forest, as wee E  
 haue seene.

Behold strange alterations: *Suze* and *Fabrizio* beheld the Barons actions beeing in safety:  
 his passage into Forest, drawes them now to field. *Mombrun* makes head against them, and  
 by the taking of *Mornas*, doth partly reuenge the spoiles of Auranges. *Suze* will haue his  
 reuenge, and comes to beseege *Boulene*: but finding nothing but blowes to be gotten, hee  
 goes and spoyle *Vaureas*, in the County of *Venaissin*: and thinking to enlarge his limits,  
 he meetes with the Baron, who with a furie (without viewing or giuing him leysure to a-  
 range his troupes) doth charge him, defeats him, cuts in peeces the most part of his foote,  
 kills him, with many Gentlemen, and wins his artillerie: but he shall not keepe it long. Then  
 extending his victorie, he vnder-takes the defence of *Cisteron*, threatened by *Sommeriue*, F  
 forceth S. *Laurent des Arbres*, and *Roquemaure* a strong place: takes and burnes the castle  
 of *Pont Sorgues*, kills all *Fabrizio's* Souldiers that kept it, and the next day surprizeth *Fa-*  
*brizio* himselfe, and chafeth him euē vnto the gates of Auignon.

As he continues his course along the riuier of *Durance*, and finds nothing to stay the vi-  
 olence of his victories, newes comes of the Prouençals arrivall at *Gauillon*. Hee wades  
 through

A through the riuier the first of September, chargeth them at the first, kills the most part, and  
 puts the rest to flight: But in steed of going directly to *Cisteron*, whether he had sent *Mom-*  
 brun with five hundred men, and the Canon taken from *Suze*, (he had some pleene against  
*Mauvans*, captaine of *Cisteron*) he takes the longer way by the plaines: whereof followed  
 the ouerthrow of *Mombrun*, the losse of his artillerie, and the taking of *Cisteron*, as wee  
 shall see.

*Adretz* had left the counsellor *Ponat* for his Lieutenant at Grenoble: a man more capa-  
 ble of law then fit for armes. Herevpon *Vinay* takes an occasion to attempt against the  
 towne. *Saint Mauris* and *La Coche* receiue him so roughly, as the death of three-score of  
 B his best Spaniards and Italians, at the first skirmish, makes him to leaue Grenoble, to goe  
 burne the peasants houses in the vale of *Pragela*. In the end, the course of the barons pro-  
 sperities is stayed by the taking of *Vienne*, and of the castle of *Pipet*, and by the two seuerall  
 ouerthrowes he had at *Beau-repaire*, whereof followed this change of sides, and the losse of  
 the reputation and credit which he had gotten among his followers, as wee haue heard.  
 These losses caused the siege of Grenoble, whereof *Ponat* (being called away by *Adretz*)  
 had left the defence to *La Coche*. Sixe thousand men campe before it. But a goodly de-  
 seigne, and easie to be effected is often made frustrate by the discord of the Commanders.  
 Many heads are the cause that Grenoble holds firme. They assaile it, but slowly: their victu-  
 als now growing short, after three weekes siege, pressed *La Coche* to capitulate, when as  
 C captaine *Furmeier*, hauing assembled sixe or seuen hundred foote, and foure-score horse,  
 passeth the riuier of *Isere*, surmounteth the straight of the Mountaine, forceth them that  
 kept it, and aduanceth vnto the riuier of *Drac* nere to Grenoble. Meaning to ferry ouer,  
 he sees the passage garded by three or foure hundred horse, with a great number of foote,  
 and discouers an other troupe in ambush within the next wood, to charge him behind. He  
 retires, and with a counterfet feare, makes shew to turne backe: the enemy pursues him, he  
 turnes head against them, wades through the riuier of *Drac*, chargeth the first hee meetes,  
 breakes them, and by the resolution of his passage, in the face of so many enemies, he amaz-  
 eth all the troupe, scattereth and chafeth them with great slaughter: and this vnexpected  
 arriuall, strikes such a terrour in the campe, as euery one abandons the trenches: euery man  
 D flies, and staies not vntill they haue recovered the marches of *Sauoy*. *Crusol* had recou-  
 red *Serignon* and *Auranges* in bafe *Daulphiné*. *La Coche* surprised the Tower of *Lemps*, in  
 the beginning of the yeere 1563. whilest those of Grenoble victualled their place, and pre-  
 pared to indure a second siege. About the end of February, there comes against them eight  
 thousand men, foote, and horse: two great Canons, and three field peeces: *La Coche* had to  
 make head against them, besides the citizens, sixe hundred good souldiers, nine braue cap-  
 taines, and some vpluntarie gentlemen, who hauing repulsed the assailants at the first as-  
 fault, preferred, with the points of their swords, both the sacke of their city, and the bloud of  
 their citizens.

The first siege  
of Grenoble.

Let vs passe into Prouence. The Earle of Tande was Gouverneur, and of his two sonnes:  
 E *Sommeriue* (issued of the first wife) was Lieutenant for the King in his fathers absence. *Ci-*  
*piere*, being then very yong, borne of the second wife, and the Lord of *Cordelet* of the house  
 of *Salusses*, sonne-in-law to the sayd Earle, were (as many others did vaunt in those daies)  
 multitudes which did defend the protestants troupe. *Sommeriue*, a violent man and too blou-  
 dy, did sodenly incense all Prouence against them: and being armed with force, hee made  
 his gouernment famous by a horrible and generall execution of men dismembred, hang-  
 ed, burned, cut in peeces being aliue, drawne through the streetes, cast downe head-long,  
 stabbed, starued, and such like miseries. The Earle his father, abhorring this generall defo-  
 lation, and not able by his authority to diuert his sonne from this wicked proceeding, ga-  
 thers together what force he can: giues the command of the horse to *Cipiere*, and of the  
 F foote to *Cardet*, who by their armes kept all the townes beyond the riuier of *Durance* (ex-  
 cept *Pertuis*) vnder their command.

Prouence war  
betwixt the  
father and the  
sonne.

On the other side, *Sommeriue*, after the executions of Auranges before described, hauing  
 taken muster of fifty ensignes of foote, and some cornets of horse, dies furiously to the siege  
 of *Cisteron*, beeing full of many protestant families, that were retired thither, and manned  
 with eleuen companies vnder the Lord of *Beauieu*, nephew to the Earle of Tande, and  
 three

1562. three hundred men commanded by *Farmen*. The eleventh of Iuly, *Sommerue* giues three A  
 82. assaults, continued from three of the clocke in the after-noon vntill night. Most of the  
 63. month was spent in skirmishes: the prisoners on either side finding no mercy, nor grace of  
 the souldiars. In the end, *Sommerue* (fearing some new checke by the hands of *Adrez*, who  
 had lately wonne the battaile of Vourdas) hee went and intrenched himselfe three leagues  
 from Cisteron. *Cardet* approacheth, but he cannot by any deuice draw his brother-in-law  
 out of his trenches. So the Earle of Tande, distrest for victuals, raiseth his campe, puts some  
 of his troups into Cisteron, and sends the rest to *Adrez*.

The second  
 siege.

*Mombrun* de-  
 feated.

*Sommerue* doubles his courage and force, and the feuen and twenty of August, follow-  
 ed by a hundred and two enfeignes of foote, and many horse, besiegeth Cisteron a new, on B  
 by three parts, and vpon an intelligence which was giuen him, that *Mombrun* approached to  
 succour the besieged (as we haue before specified) *Suze* marcheth against him, chargeth  
*Mombrun*, kils about a hundred and fity of his men, puts the other in route, and winnes two  
 peeces of Canon, which he had lately lost. This victory was to *Sommerue* a foretelling of  
 good successe. The 14. of September hee ouerthrowes a hundred and forty paces of the  
 wall: he planted two small peeces, to batter the friars. Three and thirty enfeignes of  
 foot, supported by a troupe of horse, goe to the assault, and continue it with a wonderfull  
 furie vntill feuen of the clocke at night: that powder sayling them on either side, they fall to  
 stones, swords, and handy-blowes: the greater number preuailing, the besieged abandon  
 the breach, retiring themselves with great losse, and *des Adrez* returned into Daulphiné. C  
*Scnas*, *Moumans*, and other Capaines, seeing themselves vnfurnished of munition, without  
 hope of succors, charged with a multitude of men, not trained vp in warlike affaires, toge-  
 ther with the enemies obstinate resolution, they pferre the safetie of their liues and per-  
 sons before the place: and in the night recouer the streights, and deserts of the mountaine,  
 and so come safe to Grenoble, from thence they were conducted to Lions, and there liued  
 vntill the Edict of pacification. *Sommerue* at the breake of day, sends some troups after  
 them: but the difficultie of the waies, and feare to loose their part of the spoyle, stayed the  
 pourfuit. So the victors enter into this abandoned towne, and put to the sword about foure  
 hundred women and children, without distinction of age or religion.

*Sommerue* is now master of Prouence, leauing in all places pittifull signes of a blou- D  
 die victorie, whereof the originall notes (as principall instruments) *Carrez*, *Mentin*, *Flas-*  
*fans*, thrust forward especially by *Bagaris*, *Chesne*, *Saint Marguerite*, and others of the  
 most seditious of the Court of Parliament of Aix, who with all impunitie gaue libertie  
 to all thefts, spoyles, and murthers: so as after the Edict of pacification, the Kings  
 priue Councell gaue Commission to the President of Morfan, and some Councillors  
 of the Court of Parliament at Paris, to suppress such disorders: who by an exemplarie  
 punishment of many, caused the following warres to bee managed with farre more  
 moderation. But the quality of some, and the credit of others, saued many heads  
 which were prepared to vomit vp, in open view, the blood which their hands had too prodi-  
 gally spilt.

Bourgogne  
 Dyion.

As for the Duchie of Bourgogne, *Tauannes* Lieutenant for the King in the duke  
 of Aunais absence, loued siluer better then the blood of the protestants, and the par-  
 liament of Dijon hauing by vertue of letters obtained the first of March 1562. forbidden the  
 exercise of their religion, *Tauannes* disarmes them, puts the chiefe in prison, forceth some  
 to depart with threats, others he expels violently. The Maior and Sheriffs proceed farther:  
 they thrust forth wiues, maidens, and children, commanding the peasants by proclamation  
 the seuenth of Iuly, to set vpon the rebels and not to receiue, lodge, nor feed them that are  
 expelled the townes: (a rigour which humanity neuer vsed to the most barbarous) they con-  
 demne them, as guilty of high treason that had carried armes, or assisted them with aide  
 or counsell: and they giue liberty to kill them all with impunity, that should hereafter as-  
 semble in any other places, but in their ordinary Churches. This liberty caused many thefts  
 and spoyles, at Aulsonne, Autun, and Beaune: yet the people are commended to haue con-  
 tained themselves within the bounds of modestie. Chaalon vpon Saone, Mascon and refuge.  
*Mombrun* command at Chaalon with fife hundred Harguebuziers: but being sodainely bele-

A beleagard by *Tauannes*, and finding not the towne furnished or defensible, by a dangerous, 1562.  
 and (as the Originall saith) a detestable example, hee left it in prey to *Tauannes*, and retired 82.  
 to Mascon.

*Tauannes* goes thither with all speed, and presents himselfe at the gates, hoping by kind 63.  
 offers to perfwade the people to receiue him, but he findes no admittance. So he gathers The full siege  
 together all his forces, and the third of Iune besiegeth the towne. His army consisted of Mascon.  
 the most part of Bourguignons of the county, carrying openly red scarfes. The besieged  
 countenance themselves with this pretext, and make their profit thereof, to auoide this pre-  
 sent storme that threatned them. They giue the King to vnderstand; that it was not reason-  
 able, they being his naturall subiects, and desiring to liue in peace, vnder the obedience of  
 to the crowne, who is suspected of them for many other great reasons. This admonition  
 preuailed some-what: for *Tauannes* straight-waies retired by the Kings commandement,  
 but it was to prepare for a second siege.

Those of Lions sent *Entragues* to defend the siege. *Tauannes* makes his trenches, winnes The second  
 the suburbs of Saint *Laurence*, and the fourth of Iuly, beates downe the defences, makes a siege.  
 breach, and viewes it, but to their cost whom he sent. So (as if some important businesse  
 had called him into Bourgogne) he raiseth his campe, and making his account that the be-  
 sieged would follow him, he laies a strong ambush: but *Entragues* had no men to loose.  
 C Mascon freed from this second siege, behold Belleuille is assailed. Saint *Poinct* with other  
 gentlemen of Daulphiné came from the spoyling of some boates laden with the value of  
 forty thousand frankes in reliques of gold and siluer, which two Sheriffes of Mascon had sent  
 of their owne authority to Lions, to be conuerted to their priuate vses. So the robbers  
 are often robbed. This booty puts them in hope of an other. The 28. of Iuly, hee comes  
 with two hundred horse, six or feuen hundred souldiars, and the common people therea-  
 bouts, to beleagar this little towne: but the night before, two companies parting from Mas-  
 con, were entred into it, by whom the assailants being repulst with losse, turned their re-  
 uenge vpon their neighbours cartails. The retreat of Saint *Poinct*, made *Entragues* seeke to  
 extend the limits of his iurisdiction. He besiegeth the castle of Pierrecloux, forceth *Mombrun*  
 D *de*, and fife and twenty souldiars which he commanded there, to yeeld at discretion: and  
 causeth them to be lead prisoners to Mascon: but this was to feed the Fox, who in the end  
 shall eate his pullaine.

During these broyles, *Poncenat* comes to Mascon, with Suiffes and French, drawes forth  
 the chiefe forces, besiegeth Tournon, and becomes maister thereof. But what can the fury  
 of inciuill armes forbear? *Clugny* forced with the same rage, sees that exquisite and fa-  
 mous Library defaced: a most precious treasure, which made that Abbay to bee greatly e-  
 steemed amongst others of France. *Tauannes*, aduertised that Mascon was vnfurnished, and  
 that *Entragues*, to please *Poncenat*, followed his enfeignes, parts from Chaalons with foure  
 E corners of horse, and eight hundred foote, being assured of a practise which he had within  
 the towne, whilst that his enemies, transported with their priuate affections, employed  
 their forces else-where. The seuenteenth of August, many waines drawne with Oxen, en-  
 ter by his meanes that kept the keies of one gate, beeing of the intelligence: they passe the  
 first and the second gate: at the third, the first carter ouerthrowes his waime willingly, and  
 by this policy staies the rest. Twenty men coucht vpon their bellies behind a wall in a gar-  
 den nere adioyning, to the gate, runne thether: they kill some, bring in their men, over-  
 throw a Court of gard, and become maisters of the towne: the souldiars of Pierrecloux are  
 freed from prison, and cut off heads, armes and legges of the protestants: they cast many  
 into the river, spoile their houses, and ranfome the wealthiest. Thus Bourgogne returns  
 to the Catholikes deuotion, and Saint *Poinct* had the gouernment of Mascon, a violent and  
 F bloody man, who often-times glutted his eies, after his meate, with the mournfull spectacle  
 of such as he caused to be cast into the riuer.

These confusions did pittifully afflict all the Prouinces of this realme: when on the o-  
 ther side, the heads of both parties, being prisoners, did sollicit the conclusion of peace. The  
 Admirall, by ample letters to the Queene, purged himselfe of the accusation laid against  
 him, touching the death of the duke of Guise: whereof *Peltrot* himselfe, in the midst of his  
 most

1563. most sensible torments at his execution, freed him. And the Queene-mother (leaving this A thorne in the Admirals foote, that she might raigne among these combustions of the houses of Guise and Chastillon) did cunningly giue two stroakes with one stone: for she made the prince of Condé beleue, that the restraints propounded vpon the Edict of January, tended only to content the Catholikes in some sort, and to open the way for the protestants to haue greater liberty. She pleased the young duke of Guise with the execution of *Poltro*, and his aduancement to his fathers offices: and the Constable, by the moderation of the Edict: for he had protested neuer to yeeld to the Edict of January. So the iudicious reader may see, by the course of the history, which party did first breake it. But that which did most import *Catherine* in disarming her enemies, she entertained a discord betwixt two mighty families, whereby she maintained her authority.

The chiefe Articles of the peace.

In the end, a peace concluded the thirteenth of March, gaue liberty of religion to Noblemen, hauing all manner of Iustice for them, their families and subiects. To other Gentlemen that had inferiour iurisdiction, for them and their families, with permission of the Lords of whom they held. In all Bailiwikes and iurisdiccions depending on the parliaments a place appointed for their assemblies, at the election of the Prouince: besides all other places where the exercise had bene since the seventh of March. The Vicountie of Paris onesly excepted. Every one restored to his former possession of goods, honours and offices. A generall abolition of all things past for matter of armes. All offences (except robbing) pardoned, and a defence to iniury one another, either for warre or religion. This treatie did please and displease many. It reioyced such as made an account, that this sweet and pleasant name of peace should make an end of all their calamities, and restore euery man to his former estate. It greeued such, as (of three mighty enemies, seeing two preuented by death, and the third a prisoner) thought that the gouernment of the State was lawfully fallen to the prince of Condé, who by consequence did derogate from his authority, subscribing to so weak and easie conditions of peace, fore-seeing also, that the secret oppositions of the parliaments, and the violences of the most mutinous (who being armed slue daily some of their men with all impunity) would in few yeeres giue cause of new confusions.

Newhaun courted.

So by this peace, the Germaines were sent home. *Elizabeth* Queene of England held Newhaun, wherof the Prince had put her in possession, as a pawne and security for the money, wherewith she had assisted his party. To make a breach betwixt her, and the protestants, the English must bee chased away by them that had called them in. The King goes thither in person: they likewise vrge the prince to goe with most of his party, and desire them to make the point. The place is strong, both by nature and art: but the fresh-water being cut off, and the plague hauing wasted about three thousand men, the Earle of Warwike entred into Capitulation the 28. of Iuly, and the next day yeelded the place to the King. One of the chiefe motives, that induced the prince to yeeld so easily to these conditions of peace, was the Lieutenantcy Generall, which he expected by the King of Navarres death, and the Queene-mothers goodly promises. But to confirme her Regencie, she puts the prince from all his hopes. She causeth the King to be declared of full age, being yet but foureene yeeres old: carries his Maiesty to the parliament at Rouan, makes him protest, *That hee will not hereafter endure the disobedience that hath bene used against him since the beginning these troubles: that his pleasure was to haue the Edict of pacification duly obserued, threatening such as should oppose or make any leagues.* And afterwards, by an admonition made in writing, by the parliament of Paris, touching the Edict of his maiorty, confirming that of pacification, the Queene-mother causeth her sonne to name her officer and president of his affaires: and for an answer to the Court, according to the instructions of his mother: *I doe not meane (said hee) you should deale in any other thing, but with the administration of good and speedy iustice to my subiects. Vnderstand hereafter, that you are not confirmed in your offices by me, to bee my tutors, nor Protectors of my realme, nor Gouernours of my city of Paris, as hitherto you haue perswaded your selues.*

The King being returned to Paris, the duke of Guises widow, his children, and kinsfolke, came solemnly, and demanded iustice, of the murder committed on the person of the deceased, taxing the Admirall, as the chiefe author thereof. But it was not yet time to suffer these

A these two houses to encounter. That of Guise might receiue as much, or more losse then the other, and *Catherine* pretended, to make her profit of the first. To auoide this brunt, she causeth the King, to command them to surecase this quarrel, and appoints them another time to aduise thereon. In the meane time, she honours them with the chiefe charges, and giues them all access and countenance nere his person. The rest of the yeere was spent in the confirmation of many Edicts, touching Ecclesiastical and ciuill causes, and then was the iurisdiction of Iudges and Consuls among the marchants erected, and the notaries of consignment established.

A generall Council as Trent.

As these things passed in France, the prelates assembled at the counsell of Trent: provided for the support and maintenance of the Catholike religion, namely in this estate. The Cardinal of Lorraine (a man greatly practised in the affaires of the realme) doth all hee can to root out the protestants. To that end, they find this expedient, that the Kings of France, and Spaine should make a strict league, and he of Spaine should giue the French such forces as were requisite for the execution thereof, and in the meane time, they should seeke all meanes to abolish the Edict which allowed the exercise of the pretended reformed religion: that this treaty made for the preseruauion of the Catholike, Apostolike and Romish religion, should be called, *The holy League*. The Cardinal promisseth to imploy all his indeuours and meanes to this effect, and assures the assembly of the willignesse, and good affection of the Queene-mother, and the Lords of the Councell. The chiefe of this league were the Pope, the Kings of France, and Spaine, the princes of Italy, the common-weale of Venice, and the duke of Sauoy. Of the Emperour, and the house of Austria they speake diuersly.

So from the beginning of February, they labour to produce some effects. Their Ambassadors come to Fontainbleau, demanded the obseruation of the decrees of the council throughout all France, wherof the reading should bee the 25. day of March at Nancy, in the presence of the Ambassadors of all Catholike princes, assembled to make a generall League against those estates that were false from the obedience of the Romish Church. They require also, that in fauour of the Clergy, the King should cause the alienation of Ecclesiastical goods to cease, as against the law of God, and preiudiciall to his Maiesty and the Realme. That the Edict of pacification should be disannulled, and heretikes rooted out, namely such as had bene partakers of the duke of Guises murder. Behold new fire-brands to cast this monarchy into the flames of a second ciuill warre. But the fires of the first did yet smooke. And things not being so soone prepared to enter into new home-bred combustions, the King answeres: *That hee hath granted the Edict, to free the Realme from strangers: and that he hopes henceforth to maintaine his subiects in peace, according to the institution of the Church.*

The Edict of peace ill obserued.

In the meane time, such as were worst affected to the publike peace, attempted many things contrary to the Edict. The Commissioners sent for the obseruation thereof, had small credit in many places. The Estates of some prouinces said plainly, that they could no more endure two religions, then two sunnes: the execution thereof had small or no effect, in places where it was proclaimed: the Magistrates delaied to appoint the protestants places for their exercises, and by their slacknesse caused many to seeke their dwelling elswhere, to liue in quiet and safety. The complaints and discontents which sounded in the Kings eares from all parts, gaue *Catherine* (vnder colour to lead the King in progresse through the Prouinces of his Realme, and by his presence to end many controuersies, which euen then seemed to threaten him with some eminent confusions) a goodly pretext of conference with the King of Spaine.

The voyage of Bayonne.

*Charles* begins his voyage by Champagne, and through Bourgongne comes to Lions, forbidding the protestants the exercise of their religion following the Court, yea euen in the townes that were assigned them for their assemblies, whilst his Maiesty should bee resident there. The protestants were here in great numbers, and might well fortifie themselves againe at need. To take from them all meanes, they build a Cittadell, and the King stirs not before it be in defence. By the example hereof many other townes receiued the like restraint, whilst on the other side, they dismantled Orleance, Montauban, and some others. The Edict of peace is greatly impugned by another made at Roussillon. The King



1564

King forbids all Iustices to allow the exercise of the pretended reformed religion, but in places specified by the Edict. For the first time, he banished such ministers as had exercised their charge, in places not comprehended in the Edict: and for the second time, punished them with death. He commanded all priests, religious men, and Nuns that were married, to make separation, and returne to their couents: if not, to depart the realme, forbidding the protestants all their Sinods, as making Monopoles vnder that pretext, and stirring vp the greatest part of the Realme to rebellion.

Murder of  
Circuent.

From words they fall to deeds. Those of Creuan in Bourgogne murder many assembled for their exercise, with all impunity. And the Kings absence from those places where they were accustomed to see him, caused many seditions, and mutinies: amongst the which B *La Curée*, Gouvernour of Vendosme, a protestant by profession, was murdered, by the command of *Chauigni*, Lieutenant to the duke of Montpensier, as he sought to suppress some, who vnder fauour of the troubles, had purposedly murdered many men, women and children, in the country of Maine, and places thereabouts.

O. Tours.

As this infolency increased, a Licentious rage transporting them of Tours, to fall vpon the protestants of their towne, comming from their exercise, they murder some, hurt others, and with the same rage, bringing their weapons bloody into the towne, they kill, drowne, and spoyle, without distinction of age, sexe, or quality. The Marshall of Villeuile was sent to suppress this mischief, before it spread farther. He was ready to carry himselfe therein according to the tenure of his charge: but *Chauigni* opposing by open force, caused all this premeditated punishment to turne into smoake, as if the examination thereof should discontent both great and small, and make things tend to new troubles. In the end, at the importunate sute of the protestants, who complained of these horrible infolencies, and that they were forced in all places to furnish holy bread at the parish masses, to hang tapistry before their lodging on *Corpus Christi* day, to contribute to brotherhoods, and such other things: and at their instant sute, not to bee forced in their consciences against the conditions of the Edict, the King staying in Daulphiné, commands all gouernours of Prouinces by his letters, to entertaine and to cause the Edict of pacification to bee duely obserued, and to haue a care that no mutinies should grow within their gouernments.

Proces against  
the Iesuits.

This voyage of *Bayonne* is famous, by that notable sute of those which with a presumptuous and partiall title, termed themselves of the Society of *Iesus*, decided in the Court of parliament, *Stephen Pasquier* pleading against them, for the Vniuersity of Paris: a vehement and most graue Aduocate of so rare a cause, and maister *Peter Verris* for their company: their pleadings are read, and their beginnings, and first entry into France, their advancement, and all that concerns their sex, is so learnedly expressed in an Epistle of the fourth booke of the sayd *Pasquier*, and in his pleading, as it is needlesse to insert them.

This new yeere bred new troubles at Paris, and was likely to haue stretched farre. The Cardinall of Lorraine comming from the councill of Trente, accompanied with his Nephew, and a number of men with Hargubuzes, contrary to the Edict, and followed at hand, E by the duke of Aumale his brother, went to Paris. The conclusions of the councill, and this carrying of armes, did much disquiet the protestants. It is giuen out, that their meaning is to offer them violence: they flie to the Marshall of Montmorency as gouernour of the Isle of France, a wife man, and louing the publike peace. He intreats the Cardinall not to enter in this manner. This request neglected, he resolues to vse his authority. The Cardinall growes obstinate, and offers to enter with all his force. But the Marshall (as the Kings Lieutenant) opposeth himselfe, being followed by the prince of *Portien*, and about forty gentlemen of account. The Cardinall growes amazed, saues himselfe with his nephew in the next houses: and after some daies of stay at Paris, he goes into *Champaigne* to attend the Kings returne from Bayonne. Hererfter there is nothing but associations, leagues, and conferences. They must be reuenged of this affront. But they finde too strong a party: for the two houses of Montmorency and Chastillon (most straightly allied by consanguinity) doe likewise vnire their wils in this defence. The Marshall assisted by his cousin, contains the Parisiens in peace, and makes the parliament and the Kings councill to approue this act. The Queene-mother (feare least this mutiny should hinder the

1565.

A the effects of the voyage of Bayonne, and by that meanes the fulfilling of her desires would bee made frustrate) makes the King to command by his letters-patents, such as were not yet entred into Paris, not to approach any neerer, and to such as were there, to depart vntill that his Maiesty had ended this quarrell, after his returne out of Gascony.

Now the Court was full of complaints. The protestants accused the Catholikes of violence and breach of the Edict. To content them, the Queene assigns them deputies at Tolouza: but they returne without any other satisfaction, but a discouery that they meant no good vnto them. There it was concluded, that all princes and others, of what quality soeuer, (whereof many were very farre engaged by their promise in a certaine league made in B France without the Kings priuety) should renounce all confederations, both within and without the realme, and should bind themselves by oth to the King onely vpon paine of rebellion. This was the aduice of *Montluc*. But the difficultie was to drawe the articles, for to make a soueraigne Prince to enter into association and company with his subiects. Was it not by a pernicious consequence to blemish his royall authority, and ouerthrow that which should serue as a fundamentall law, for the quiet of the realme and the obseruation of the Edict?

A royal  
league.

In the end, the King hauing visited all Aquitaine, he arriues at Bayonne in Iune, and thither comes his sister *Elizabeth*, wife to King *Philip* of Spaine, to meeete with him, accompanied with the duke of Alua and others, to the end (said she) that the matter should bee lesse suspected, and that their league might take sure hold. But the most cleare-sighted did attribute it to ambition, least the Spaniard should seeme to vse any submission. How soeuer it were, the holy league was confirmed betwixt the two Kings, by *Elizabeth* means: For the establishing of the ancient religion, and extirpation of the new. And for that this Doctrine did extreemly afflict France, the Spaniard did promise the French such aide and succours as he could, and the French to the Spaniard (for that he did see his estate of the Low-countries to hatch a great confusion, which the following ages did bring forth) the like assistance: according to his power: but both doe promise ioyntly; to maintaine by all means the dignitie of the Catholike religion, to cut off (as much as in them lay) all lets, and speedily to seeke all occasions profitable for this designe, beginning first with the heads.

This businesse was not so secretly managed, but the Prince of Condé, the Admirall, and other Noblemen of that party had intelligence. They stand vpon their gards, aduertise their men, and for this time preuent surprises. The end of the yeere brought the King home, much satisfied with the ioyfull entertainment his subiects had made him, plunging himselfe, with his young brethren, in masks and delights, whilest the Queene his Mother, with her Councillors, gouerned France at their pleasure, and laid plots, which shall soone breed as dangerous stormes as the former. Whilest our Christian princes study by their enter-view and league, to kindle horrible combustions in their estates, they E giue the Turkish army the better meanes to land in the Isle of Malta, to besiege and take the fort of Saint Elme, lately built by the pryor of Capoua, and by this victory to make the siege of Malta more easie. Let vs obserue three notable things, before wee conclude the yeere. The first was that braue attempt of *Peirot*, the eldest sonne of *Montluc*, who weary to liue idle, rigged out some shippes, with a good number of Gentlemen, Souldiars and Mariniers, to make a voyage into Affrica: hee tooke and sackt the Isle of Madera, but with the losse of his life, leauing his troupe excluded from all returne into France, by the pursute the King of Portugall made, demanding satisfaction of the outrages done to his subiects. The Earle of Sanzay was sent to pacifie him: and euen then was treated (but without any effect,) the marriage of *Marguerite*, Sister to *Charles*, F with the sayd King. The second was the death of *Ferdinand* the Emperour and King of Hongarie, deceased in September, leauing his Sonne *Maximilian* for his successor. The third was that of *Pius* the fourth, in whose place was chosen to the pontificall chaire, *Michele Gifelco* a Iacobin, Cardinall of Alexandria, and tooke vpon him the name of *Pius* the fifth.

The Turkes  
army at Malta.The death of  
the Pope and  
Emperour.

The first fruites of this yeere were very commendable, and if they had giuen hope of

1565. of the like proceeding, the haruest had beene very happy: but such as trust not but vpon A  
good cautions, take not all kinds of money for payment, growing very suspicions, by rea-  
son of the conclusions taken in this voiage. To make it more glorious and lesse suspect,  
the King calls an assemblie at Moulins, of the greatest peronages of his Realme, as well for  
the government of Iustice, as for other causes concerning the good and quiet of the State,  
whereof followed that great volume of statutes, of the which they rightly say: *That they*  
*were as iust and holie, as ill obserued.* Those of the houses of Guise and Chastillon were  
called. The quarrell of Paris inuited the Marshall of Montmorency, and the Admirall  
hauing purged himselfe by oth of the crime whereof they pretended him to be principall  
motive (the King had already pronounced him innocent by his letters parrents) the King,  
the Queene-mother, the duke of Aniou, brother to the King, the Cardinals of Bourbon, B  
the Lorraine and Guise, the Constable, the Marshalls of Bourdillon and Vielle-ville, the bi-  
shops of Valence, Orlence and Limoges; *Thou and Segnier* first and second presidents of  
Paris, *Dafis* the first of Tolousa, *Lageberston* of Bourdeaux, *Truchon* of Grenoble, *le Feurs* of  
Dijon, *Fourneau* the second president of Prouence, and many other Noblemen assembled  
to that effect: besides the aboue-named Statutes, made the reconciliation betwixt the two  
houses, whereof followed imbracings, protestations and promises not to attempt any thing  
whatsoeuer one against another. But the issue will verifie the saying: that there is no trust  
in a reconciled enemy.

A Parliament  
at Moulins.

In the meane time the resolutions of Bayonne appeared manifestly, the moderations C  
they made of the Edict, the insolencies they committed in many places with all impunity,  
the threats they gaue the protestants amazed them on all sides. The Prince and Admirall  
were vigilant, obseruing the countenances of their enemies. The reparations of Spaine  
against the Low-countries, made them to foresee that this enterprise would in like sort pre-  
iudice their partisans in France. The prince of Roche-sur-Yon had before his death discou-  
ered many particulars: they complained, that aboue three thousand persons had perished  
of violent deaths, since the Edict, without any Iustice, and their complaints had no other fa-  
tisfaction, but goodly words and gracious letters. To conclude, the winds (said they) which  
did blow at Bayonne, must needs cause a strange tempest.

Causes of the  
protestants  
discontents.

So the causes of their discontent some were manifest, others secret, and consisted in the D  
disfianteling of some townes, to take from them the meanes, in the building of Citta-  
dells in some places of their exercise: in the ordinary murdering of their men, in the mas-  
sacring of men of account without punishment, in the ordinary threats: *That shortlie*  
*they should not lift their heads so high:* but especially in the leauie of sixe thousand Suisses  
made vnder a fained pretence, to gard the frontier against the comming of *Don Fernand*  
*Aluarez* of Toledo, Duke of Alua (who marched against the protestants of the Low-coun-  
try with a mightie army) whom notwithstanding they caused to enter farre into the  
Realme, and by some letters intercepted, beeing sent from Rome and Spaine, they had dis-  
couered many practises made for their ruine. And the intelligences they had from one  
in Court well affected (yet secretly) to their party, that it was decreed in a secret Coun- E  
cell to seize vpon the prince and admirall, to put the one to death, and keepe the other  
prisoner, at the same instant to bring two thousand Suisses into Paris, two thousand in-  
to Orlence, and the rest into Poitiers: and then by the abolishing of the last Edict, to e-  
stablish one quite contrary. All these considerations made the chiefe heads resolute to stand  
vpon their defence, and to obserue foure things in this new taking of armes. To seize on  
few townes but of importance. To bring a gallant army to field. To cut the Suisses in pec-  
ces, by whose fauour the Catholikes should bee alwaies maisters of the field: and to chase  
the Cardinal of Lorraine from Court if they might, as the chiefe fire-brand of the consuli-  
ons which would consume the whole estate. Man purposeth, and God disposeth: and of  
many resolutions few haue their desired end. The pleasure of God often disappointeth the F  
designes of them which are most practised in knowledge, valor, discours and wisdom: and  
some enterprises little or not at all premeditated, doe often fall out very successfully. For the  
execution of the first point, diuers considerations had made them to name three townes,  
Lions, Tolousa and Troyes.

But a great desaigne, imparted after the French manner to many meane persons, and  
vncapa-

A vncapable of such actions, turne them easily into smoake. Not one of them that vnder-  
tooke the charge could effect it. For the second, the protestants being first armed, were in  
the beginning masters of the field, but within sixe weekes the Catholikes forced the prince  
and the admirall to flie to the Germans, which the duke *John Casimer* brought them, as we  
shall see. Their proiect against the Suisses was likewise discouered, and the forces which  
should haue met at an appointed day, failed in their expedition. The fourth succeeded, but  
it imported least of all: but this separation was but in shew, and not in authority, nor credit.

The King is much incensed against them. He was at Meaux, and prepared to solemnize  
the feast of Saint Michel, according to the custome of the French Kings. The prince ap-  
procheth with five hundred horse, and by this attempt forceth the King to retire with some  
amazement to Paris, in the midst of six thousand Suisses, and a good number of horse, the  
which had beene in danger, if a hundred and fifty horse comming out of Picardy, and the  
Harguebuziers on horse backe which attended the prince, had arriued betwixt Paris and  
Meaux, at the day appointed. At the same time the protestants parry arme on all sides: and  
this generall taking of armes vlooked for, with that bold enterprise vpon the Suisses, and  
the taking of Orlence, Soissons, Auxerre and some other places, had wonderfully amazed  
the Catholikes. But that which augmented this alarum, the prince being too weake, loath  
to ingage himselfe in this Forrest of halberds, pikes and shot, went to lodge with his troupes  
in Saint Denis, where some others arriuing, in few daies made vp the number of two thou-  
C sand horse, and foure thousand shot.

The retreat of  
Meaux.

The King assembles his troupes, and had already ten thousand men. But this sodaine ap-  
proch to Paris might perswade them, that the prince expected speedy and great forces, and  
that he had good intelligences in Court and at Paris. Paris was the chiefe obiect of his  
armes. The Parisiens were not accustomed to fast: taking their victuals from them, he hop-  
ed of two things to effect the one, either to force them to fight, or to draw his enemies to a  
more assured pacification then the first. To this end he sends *d'Anaclos* with five hundred  
horse, towards Poissy and Pontoise, to seize vpon the passages of Seine beneath Paris: and  
other troupes to seize vpon such places as were about the towne. Some companies were  
sent to ioyne with the forces that came out of Guienne, who shold come to Orlence, being  
D lately surprisid by *la Nuec*. He and the Admirall with about eight hundred horse, and twelue  
hundred harguebuziers keepe Saint Denis, and intrench Saint Owin and Auberville, to  
coure Paris on that side.

The begin-  
ning of the  
second trou-  
bles.

But how could so many excellent captaines undertake so painefull and vnlkely a de-  
seigne? May an Ante assaile an Elephant? How many mighty armies haue in former times  
lost their labours, thinking to effect such an enterprise? To remaine idle, had impayred their  
reputation. They were sodenly drawne into it, and they must for their honours sake at-  
tempt that which occasion seemed to present vnto them. Their men being fresh and full of  
resolution, made difficult things easie. One thing only staied the course of their successe.  
Such places as the prince hoped to surprisid vpon Marne and Seine (whether if he should be  
E forced to abandon Saint Denis, he meant to retire himselfe and attend his Germans) there  
were two onely seized on, Laigny and Montereau. On the other side, the Constable, Lieut-  
enant generall for the King in this army, resolu'd (hauing increased his troupes) to force  
the enemy to fight. The great aduantages he had, inuited him vnto it. He had fiftene or  
sixteene thousand foot, and two thousand Lances: he was furnished with artillery: he had  
a commodious place for a battaile, and fit to lodge his troupes and canon. The Parisiens  
were prest by famine, and were much greued to see such tenants in their farmes. And ma-  
ny cried already against the Constable, as a great temporiser, and as firme a partizan to his  
Nephewes, as to the King his master.

They were to blame: for he was no sooner aduertised of the errour the prince had com-  
mitted in dissembling the body of his army, as we haue heard, but hee presently imbrac-  
eth the occasion, sends seuen or eight hundred launces, followed with some shot for their  
retreat, to discouer the certainty of the protestants forces: and the next day, the 10. of No-  
uember, he goes to field, with all his army, and giues him battaile. The Constables foot-  
men, for the most, did little good, and the princes very much. The horse-men on either side  
shewed great resolution and courage. In the end the protestants are forced from the place,  
and

The battaile  
of Saint De-  
nis.

1567

and followed aboute halfe a quarter of a league, and it may bee, but for the Constables hurt A (whereof he died within few daies after) they had bene chased more hotly: but the night fauored their retreat, and parted the battails. To conclude, the Catholikes were masters of the field, and had the spoile of the dead: and by consequence the honour of the bataille, the which shalbe blemished the next day with a great disgrace.

This aduantage seemed to inuite the Catholikes to perfect their victory the next day: but the losse of the Constable kept them within their walles. The prince attended a second charge, not thinking his enemies would haue taken it for a repulse: he therefore sends speedily for *d'Andelot*, who comes to Saint Denis at mid-night, sory to haue lost his part of the banker. Hauing rested a while, the Commanders conclude, to make an attempt to abate B some of their aduersaries glory, gotten the day before. They bring their small army to field, present themselves before the suburbs of Paris: stand there some houres in bataille and burnt a village and many wind-mills, to vrge them. But no man comes forth. They bury their dead, dresse their hurt men. The captaines view their cornets and companies, and will hazard no more. What should the prince then doe, being incamped before Paris with a few men? The losse of one man did import him more then a hundred of his enemies: and to stay there, were his ruine. He dislodgeth, marcheth to Montereau, and there augments his army with the forces that came to him from Orleance and Estampes.

The Princes  
retreat.

The death of this incomparable old man (but fatte more happy in his age, if he had shed his blood against the stranger, enemies to this crowne, the which hee had so freely employed, during all the course of his life, and not against his country-men, yea against his owne blood) gaue the command of the royall army to *Henry* duke of Aniou the Kings brother, a prince of sixteene yeeres of age, vpon whose head wee shall see the crowne after his brothers decease. Hee fought the opportunity to fight: his elder captaines prest him forward, taking the princes retreat for a kinde of flight, and grounding their aduantage vpon the great forces newly arriued of twelue hundred horse and two thousand foote led by the Cont *Aremberg*, one of the famous captaines of the Low-countries. Moreouer if the protestants did ioyne with their Reistres, the warre was like to continue long, or else to make the chance of a bataille doubtfull. But they dissuaded him weighing the importance of their generall, and the constant resolution of the contrary party: who (sayd they) had then no other counsellor but despaire, and no other wealth or riches, but their armes and horses.

To withstand the leauy of the protestants Reistres, the duke of Aumale was sent into Lorraine, to receiue the forces which were brought to the King, by duke *John William* of Saxony, the Marquis of Bade and other Commanders; and yong *Lansac*, into Germany, to diuert those of duke *John Casimir* which were leuiued in the princes fauor. The prince had ioyned with the troupes of Guienne and Poictou, consisting of eight cornets of horse, and three regiments of foote, vnder six and twenty ensignes: and aduancing towards Lorraine, he forceth Bray and Nogent vpon Seine to open their gates, and to giue him passage, and seizeth on Esparnay vpon Marne, where he assembles the body of his army.

A speech of  
peace,

The truce  
broken.

Experience teacheth vs now, that all policies and deuises are allowed in warre. To coole the heat of such as fie to the aide of strangers, to stay them, and (it may be) to surprise them. Vnder this pretext, they begin to speake of a peace, in the which the chiefe of their party are imploied: and the better to conferre (said they) of the points propounded, they agree vpon two suspensions of armes, either being of three daies. But whilest the prince thought to enioy the benefit thereof, hee had almost fallen into a pitfall. The duke of Aniou approched, and the prince remained neere vnto Chaalons, in a bad lodging far from his troupes, and had it not bene for the route of the captaines, *Blois*, *Blosset* and *Clerg*, defeated by the Earle of Brissac during the truce, the prince himselfe had bene in apparent danger.

Misfortune is good for some thing. This furie of Brissac teacheth the prince not to trust his enemy, but vpon good assurance. And notwithstanding the iniuries of the ayre and the difficulties of the waies, leauing the duke twenty great leagues behinde, hee makes him to loose all desire to follow him, and goes on into Lorraine, to learne some newes of his Reistres, the which hee receiued at Pont a Mousson. From hence duke *John Casimir*, the brother of *Frederic* Cont *Palatin* of Rhine, Elector of the sacred Empire, being chiefe of

A of this army, protests by writing vnto the King before he enters into France, *That he comes not for any profit of his owne, or priuate respect: but only to assist those who afflicted for the same religion, had required his helpe. That if it please his Maiesty to assure them liberty of conscience, and free exercise of their religion, he is ready to retire himselfe.* 1568.

Herevpon they renew the treatie of peace pretended the yeere before. The Queene-mother comes to Bois-de Vincennes, accompanied with the Cardmalls of Bourbon, Lorraine and Guise. For the prince there came the Cardinal of Chastillon. Hee lets her vnderstand: that to settle a peace in France, the King must receiue all his subiects into grace, impart his fauors and the offices of the realme indifferently vnto them, and giue them conuenient liberty of their religion. *Catherine* answers, that such matches are not to be allowed: that the prince and those of his party should before all things countermand their Reistres, lay down armes, and come and yeeld the King a reason of the enterprise of Meaux. The Cardinall replies, that they onely defend themselves, that they oppose these succours to all sorts of strangers called in by the Catholikes, and cannot send them backe, but they must presently subiect their throats to their enemies swords: that they are aedy to disarme when they shall see the Realme freed from Suißes, Flemings, Italians and Germans, which were come to spoile them, and matters restored to their former estate. As for the enterprise of Meaux, their intention was onely to beseech the King (from whose preface the violence of their enemies depriued them of all acceffe, but by force) to reuoke that cruel sentence, which some determined to execute against all their party, being ready to prooue by armes against all those that would maintaine the contrary, that they had neuer any other will against their Soueraigne, but as his most faithfull and obedient subiects.

The treaty of  
peace renewed,  
but in vaine.

During this negotiation, the duke of Aniou sought for the commodity which he had lost to fight with the Pince, and the prince receiued his strangers with a wonderfull contentment to the whole army, fearing least the heauinesse of the Germans should make them attend long in Lorraine. They expected a hundred thousand crownes at their entry, but they which had so sodainly drawne them to horse-backe, must haue leisure to make money. At least they make a vertue of necessity. And what might not two Commanders, (whereof the one by his naturall pleasantness, and the other by his grauity, tempered the excessive choller of some, and the exceeding suspition of others) obtaine of their men, amongst whom they had so great credit. The prince by their example summs on both great and small: the Ministers in their sermons moue men, and the captaines prepare theirouldiers. Every one contributes, some for zeale, some for loue, some for feare, and some for shame of reproch. They gather, what in money, plate, chaynes, gold and lewels, some foure-score-thousand frankes, and by this voluntary liberality, satisfie the first and greatest hungar of their Reistres. Being ioyned, the generall opinion was to make warre about Paris: an apparent meanes to haue a peace. Orleance was their nurse, neither could they from any place else recouer artillery, munition, and money, so commodiously. They therefore take the waie to Beaussé, and for their first beginning, they defeat some E troupes of Italians and French, that came to charge them in the rebe-reward vpon their passage of the riuer of Seine. They force *Trancy*, and passe over the riuers of Yone, Loing, and *La Cure*: they draw diuers commodities from all the small townes opposite to their passage, alwaies assailing and alwaies assailed, and still with the losse of the one party or the other. Whilst this company (hauiing the mighty army of the duke of Aniou opposite vnto them) marched into Beaussé, they fall to armes in other parts in fauour of their party. *Astier*, *Sipierre*, and others in Languedoc, Prouence, Dauphinaé & Gascony make diuers assemblies, seize vpon Nismes, Montpellier & many other places. *Pouçenat* and *Verbelain* leauy troupes in Bourbonnois and Auvergne, whereas the forces of Guyenne which marched towards the duke of Aniou, incounters them, breakes them, and for that time make their attempts fruitlesse. Moreouer the duke of Neuers, with an army of 14 thousand French, Suißes, and Italians, besieged Mafcon, battered it, and tooke it by composition, but being incountred by foure score horse, and some foote, issued out of Antrain, vnder the commands of captaines *Beauvais* and *Bourgois*, as he aduanced with a hundred horse, to visite the Duchesse his wife, hee was shot in the knee with a Harguebuze, which made him lame all the remainder of his life. *Montluc* Pons, the bishop of Tullés, and many other Catholikes in

V v v 3

Guyenne,

1568. Guienne, being followed with foure thousand foote, and seuen hundred horse, surpris and A kill about foure hundred men, spoile the Isle of Ré, attempt to besiege Rochel: but too long delays makes their desaigne fruitlesse.

In the meane-time, the Vicontes of Bourniguet, *Montclar, Paulin, Gourdon, Mouuans, Rapi* pin and other protestants, aduanced with seuen or eight thousand men, of the bands of Gascony, Prouence, Daulphiné and Languedoc. Saint *Heran* Gouverneur of Auvergne, Saint *Chamont, Gordes, Vrsé*, the bishop of Puy, Hautefeuille, Bresieux and others, assemble a troupe to stop their passage, and runne as to a certaine victory, forbidding expressly all the neighbour townes, *Not to receiue any one that flies, what livery so euer he beares.* The which shall cost them full deare. The Viconts charge these horsemen, kill a great number, and of the chiefe vpon the place: put the rest in route, and makes them seeke their safety by B flight. But the peasants armed with the former prohibition, know no man, neither doe they spare any man, but make of their countrimen as great a slaughter as the victor did, and by this indiscreet stratagem, open the way for the Viconts to recouer Orleance. Being arrived, they stay the inroads which *Martinenghe, Richelieu* and others made, euen to the gates of Orleance: they take Baugency, attempt Blois, and take it by composition. The Gascons doe not easily forget their hands, and the soldiars of Richelieu, who were retired thether, could not free themselves from the sword.

Chartres besieged.

Here vpon the princes army comes into Beausse. Chartres is one of the chiefe store-houses of corne for Paris, and being taken, would much auaille the protestants. *Liquieres* C was made gouernour for the King there, with two and twenty companies, fortified vpon feare of a siege, which a regiment of foote. The prince besiegeth and batters it, but to small purpose: fise canons, and foure small culuerins preuailed little against so many men of warre, being intrenched with great aduantage. They found out a place of small strength, where a breach gaue hope of victory: but the Lord of Valeté, a great capitaine, comes to succour the besieged, with eightene cornets of horse. The Admirall is aduertised: and not to faile of his prey, he made choise of three thousand five hundred horse, marched towards them, chargeth *Valette*, ouerthrowes part of his troupes, carries away foure cornets, and puts the rest to flight. The duke of Aniou incamped beiond Seine, and loth to hazard a battel, left Chartres in apparent danger. But *Catherine* knew how (for so shee D did vially vaunt) with three sheetes of paper, to effect more then her warriors with their armes.

A good peace was no lesse necessary then wisht for. The protestants did generally beleue, that the Catholikes would disarme with them, and the Nobility were particularly moued with a great desire to see their houses (it is a desire whereof we can hardly stay the effects, in them that are voluntaries) Many whole cornets had already taken the way of Xaintonge and Poytou, they wold not lose the season of their Vines: many other pretend, the sacking of their houses, where their preface was necessary: the footmen of some countries lying farthest off, slipt away daily, their pursues were empty, and no man payed. It was in March, when as armies are accustomed to goe to field, and their French forces decrea- E sing visibily, had driuen them in short time to stand vpon their defence: their enemies were whole and strong. To diuide their strangers into townes, were to dismember themselves. These considerations and others, made the heads of the protestants to accept of a second Edict of pacification, concluded in Loniumieau, saying: *That those of the pretended reformed religion, should purely and simply enjoy the first Edict, and that it should be executed according to the senour, notwithstanding all restrictions, modifications, interpretations, and declarations made since the day of the date thereof, vntill the publication of this second declaration made the three and twentieth day of March.*

A second peace.

This counterfeit peace carried *John Casimir* with all his forces home into Germany: the Prince, and the Admirall, with all those of his party, retire euery man to his home. But F diuers breaches of this Edict, did sodenly open the gate to the third ciuill wars: and whilest that euery one imputes the cause of this sodaine reprisall of armes to his enemy, the effects fall both vpon good and bad. The Catholikes ground their discontents, for that many townes refused the restraint made by this last Edict. Sancerre, Montauban, and other townes of Quercy, Viurets, Daulphiné, Languedoc, and else-where, would not absolutely submit

A submit themselves to his Maiesties good pleasure. Rochel refused to receiue the garrison sent by *Jarnac* their auncient Gouvernor: they continued their fortifications before begun, neither did they restore the Catholikes to their offices, goods, nor religion: they armed out ships to keepe the seas, without the Kings allowance. They refused the ayde and subuention, which his Maiestie required for the affaires of his realme. Many Capitaines (without the Kings Commission) led souldiers to the Prince of Orange, against the Duke of Alba, to draw afterwards (said they) the Protestants of Flanders into France, and ioyntly to oppress the Catholike religion.

The Protestants on the other side complained, That in stead of enioying the Edict and libertie of their consciences, they gaue them declarations vnder the Kings authoritie, to B hinder the exercise of their religion: That hauing dismissed their men, both strangers and French, with the least oppression of the people that might be; and deliuered into the Kings hands the townes and strong places which they held: yet they receiued the Suisses, they entertained many companies of Italians, they did distribute their horse and foote into such Townes as did most import the Protestants, Tours, Orleans, Amiens, and others, to the end (said they) to take them like Partridges in a net, being retired to their houses. That they sued in the Court of Rome for leaue to sell the temporall lands of the French Clergie, to the value of an hundred and fiftie thousand Frankes by yeare, the money to bee employed to the rooting out of their party. That this counterfeit peace ruined more of their men, then C the rigours of warre. That they garded townes, bridges, and passages of riuers. These grudgings were openly published, when as another occasion makes them both to speake boldly, and to take armes. In a manner all the Duke of Anious horse staid about Paris, with fise or fixe thousand foot, vnder colour to fortifie the guards of the King, the Queene-mother, his breethren, and the capitall cittie: and *Tamannes* sent towards Bourgongne with many companies, made them suspect that it was to beset and surprize the Prince at Noyers, a little and weake towne of his owne, and the Admirall at Tanlay, a castle belonging to his brother *d'Andelot*. Some acquainted with his practise giue them aduice: they complaine to the King of the iniustice is done them, beseeching his Maiestie to quench the fires kindled in his realme by the factions of the Guisens, and to free themselves they take Rochel for their D Sanctuarie.

This braue prey being thus escaped, *Katherine* and the faction send forth Commissions, and appoynt the rendezuous for the troupes in Guyenne and Poitou. The Duke of Aniou prepares: and for a reuenge of Meaux, he chafeth away the Protestants. The queene of Nauarre, accompanied with three Regiments of foot, and eight Cornets of light-horse, (notwithstanding the endeaours of *Escaus* and *Montluc*) retires to Rochel with the Prince her sonne, (who succeeded afterwards to this Crowne) and the Princesse her daughter. The Cardinall of Chastillon is forced to leaue *Beauuoisin*, and to saue himselfe in a small Barke in England. The Nobility of Poitou arme with the first, and repaire to Rochel. The Earle of Rochefoucault was armed some dayes before. *D'Andelot* marched with a E thousand good horse, and two thousand shot, gathered together in the confines of Maine and Brittain.

The Duke of Martigues, Gouvernor of Brittain, going with three hundred Lances, and fise hundred braue shot to Saumur, to the duke of Montpensier, he is aduertised that many of the enemies troupes are lodged in his way. He sends to discouer them; and finding them lodged at large, after the French manner, passeth brauely through them, with the losse but of twenty men, and with the gaine of an ensigne, and the slaughter of aboue foure-score of his enemies: and recouers Saumur, whilest that *D'Andelot, la Noue*, and other Commanders ioynd with the Prince. If the Dukes of Aniou, Montpensier and Martigues, who assembled men from all parts to oppose a mightie armie against the Protestants, had in time F fore-seene, that those which dislodged in so great hast, went to seeke their fortunes as farre off, and had sought to crosse their desseignes, the Prince and all his part had in all shewes bene coopt vp in Rochel. But behold, of poore vagebonds, in two moneths they become masters of Niort, Fontenay, Saint *Maixent*, Xaintes, *S. Iean d'Angely*, Pons, Cognac, Blay, Angoulesme, and are strong enough for the continuance of a long warre. While the Dukes arme, the King beginnes the warre against the Protestants by the Pen. Hee declares by

The complaints of the Protestants.

The Protestants arme.



1568. by his proclamation, that the Edict of Ianuarie had bene but prouisionall, vntill he were A  
of full age: that now he forbids all exercife of the pretended reformed religion, in all the  
territories of his obedience: forsaits both the bodies and goods of them, that shall breake  
it: commands all Ministers vpon great penalties, to depart the Realme within fifteen daies.  
And by another, he fufpends all Officers making profession thereof, from their Offices and  
charges, commanding them to refigne them into his hands within fifteene dayes.

The Protestants make their profit of these Edicts, and fend them into Germany, En-  
gland, and to the Suiffes of their religion, to prouoe, That they are not pursued as Rebels  
affecting the Crowne, (crimes by the which their enemies would make them odious.) And  
in truth these Edicts were spurres to hasten the League, which the Duke of Deuxponts shal  
bring the next ycare, and for the heads of Daulphine, Prouence, and Languedoc, to go and B  
oppose the forces of the said Prouinces against the Kings armie, which was readie to fall v-  
pon the Prince. To this end, *Acier*, *Mouuans*, *Pierre Gourde* and others, draw forth sixteen  
or feventeene thousand shot, but few horse: seeming with this multitude of men to haue  
vn-peopled all that climate. But as they did fortifie the Princes affaires on the one side, they  
did weaken them on the other: for after their departure, the Catholikes seized vpon many  
places, the which they might well haue held, lodging halfe their forces in them, then march-  
ing in troupe close and speedily, they might haue arriued safe, where their presence was  
most profitable and necessarie.

*Mouuans and  
Pierre Gourde  
defeated and  
slaine.*

But the presumption of equalitie, doth commonly ingender a pernicious ieaousie C  
among great men: and the opinion one conceiues of his forces, and of his owne valour, with  
an obstinacie not to yeeld vnto another, is a dangerous plague in an armie. *Mouuans*, and  
*Pierre Gourde*, finding themselves annoyed by straight lodging, as they had done till they  
came neere to Perigueux, they meane to lye more at large at Mensignac, not discouering  
that the Duke of Montpensier approached, who at his arriuall puts in route two regiments,  
and kills a thousand souldiars at their Colonels feet: who selling their liues dearly, so tyre  
the Dukes troupes, as they could not charge *Acier*: yet they were amazed by the feardull  
report of such as were escaped, who made the Dukes forces exceeding great, beyond all  
truth, who retiring to Chastelleraud, made the way open for *Aciers* troupes, which remai-  
ned of this shipwracke, to fortifie the Protestants armie, and to make it able, not onely to D  
endure the shooke, but to attempt some thing against the Catholikes. The Prince did mu-  
ster in his armie aboute eighteen thousand Harguebuziers, and three thousand good horse.  
The Duke had ten thousand foot, beside Suiffes, and foure thousand lances: the Souldiars  
of both armies were well experienced in warre.

He that takes not the French in their first heat, they are easily broken: the chiefe sinewes  
of warre failing, might greatly coole this new vigour: and Winter approaching, withdraw  
the greatest part of them. The Prince therefore seekes to fight: the number and courage of  
his men inuites him. He comes within two leagues of Chastelleraud, and by his approach  
annoies the Duke of Aniou: the Duke moued with the like desire, and grieued to see so  
many men at the Princes deuotion, knowing also that the forces of Germany would bee E  
ready to march in their fauour in the Spring, seekes to diuide his enemies power, and to o-  
uercome them by peece-meale. Our first motions are sodain, but they do not alwaies bring  
forth effects premeditated. To come to a battaile, was properly to cut away the sinewes of  
the Realme, and by their mutuall weakening, to inuite the foraine enemy to the inuasion  
of this estate. The soueraigne Commander of battels, did shew at this time a signe of his ac-  
customed fauour to this Crowne, taking from both the Generals the sharpnesse of their  
iudgements, and making them to loofe in one day a notable occasion for either of them to  
preuaile against his enemy, as we shall heare.

The Prince had intelligence, that the Duke camped in a place of aduantage, vnder the  
fauour of a meadow, intrenched on diuers parts: so not able to draw his enemie to fight, he F  
dislodgeth, and goes towards Lusignan. The Duke takes the same course, and one not ac-  
quainted with the others desseignes, the Marshals of both Campes meete in a manner at  
one instant at Pamprou, five leagues from Poitiers, a great village furnished with victuals,  
and in a very good countrie. They chase and re-chase one another, but loth to dispute this  
Renduouez with more hazard, they both leaue it (yet with an honourable retreat) of either  
side.

A side) to put themselves in battaile, a quarter of a league from the place. The Admirall and  
a *Andelot* his brother, supported their men with five Corners of horse, set in order vpon a  
small hill, to keepe the Catholikes from viewing the valley, and to giue them some apprehen-  
sion of greater forces lodged there. The Prince was a league from thence, and aduanced  
with great speed: On the Dukes part there appeared seuen or eight hundred Launces,  
commanded by the Duke of Martignies. Beeing approached within Cannon shot, the Ad-  
mirall causeth a Capitaine of Argoletiers to aduance alongst a hedge, who more valiant  
then discreet, fals presently to skirmish, and their Corner marcheth to second them. *Mar-*  
*tiignes* thinks that they meane to fight, and sends forth three or foure squadrons of Lanciers:  
the Admirall and his brother grieued they had not preuented the indiscretion of their  
B Capitaine, who ingaged them to fight vnadvisedly, and contrarie to their charge, calls back  
these skirmishers, and with an assured countenance couers the weaknesse of their troupes.  
*Martignes* taking a troupe of seruants for a battalion of Harguebuziers which appeared be-  
hind a village, staies his Lanciers, and for want of footmen, loseth the oportunitie to fight.  
In the meane time the ensignes of foot, and troupes of horse arriue from all parts: the night  
approching, gaue them leysure onely to skirmish with the Duke of Anions foreward. The  
Dukes Foreward was too weake to endure the shooke: the Commanders diuise a policie,  
whereby they perswade the enemy, through fauor of the night, that all their forces were  
present: their drums sound after the Suiffes manner, they double their guards, make great  
fires, cast many matches amongst the bushes, keepe their men close without any skirmish,  
C lest some prisoner should discouer the truth, and after they had refreshed themselves, they  
dislodge without any noise, some marching to Iasenuil, where the Duke lodged with the  
battaile, the rest to the village of Sanzy. So holding one another in suspence, they loofe the  
oportunitie of a great aduantage, the first in the Duke, the second in the Prince. Mans  
counsell without God preuailes nothing, and, *The actions of great men, are in his power, as  
those of the meaneest.* So saith the Oracle. For the next day many things chanced more by haz-  
ard then by counsell. This retreat giues them courage to fight: to this end the Admirall  
followes them at the heeles, and the Prince marcheth after. There were two wayes, one led  
to Sanzey, the other to Iasenuil. At the breake of day there riseth a great mist, which cau-  
D seth the Prince to stray: after he had marched two leagues, he finds himselfe in the front of  
the Dukes army. Necessitie giues him resolution: he puts his harguebuziers before, which  
were aboute twelue thousand, and forced to make some shew of fight: salutes the Duke with  
his Cannon, skirmishes with diuers volleys of shot, sends to learne newes of his foreward,  
and wils the Admirall to make hast.

A policie  
stratageme.

He had already turned head vpon the noise of the Cannon; but the Sunne setting at his  
arriual, preuenting a generall fight, caused all to passe in sharpe skirmishes, with losse on  
either side: and after a dayes breathing either part retired, the Duke to Poitiers, the Prince  
to Mirebeau. Few daies after, they both returne to their first resolution to fight. The Duke  
goes to field and recouers Mirebeau. But he doth not obserue the composition, and giues  
E a *Andelot* cause for a reuenge, to cut in peeces the garrison he finds in *S. Florent*, an Abbey  
neere vnto Saumur. The Prince held Loudun. It was in the Dukes way, and enioying it, he  
held a fertile countrie from his enemies, which might feed his armie a moneth together:  
and there was no reason the Prince shold hazard his forces for the keeping of a weak place.  
The Duke approacheth: the next day he hath newes that the Prince puts his army in battaile  
alongst the suburbs: he likewise arangerh his: the Cannon playes on both sides, and passeth  
through their squadrons doing some harme. Aboute forty thousand men almost all French  
beheld one another in the midst of a champion field, without any aduantage, and with an  
equall courage and countenance, attend but the signe of battaile. But the outward cold  
did quench much of this inward heate: the frosts were great, continuall mists, and the waies  
F so slipperie, as no man could hold his footing. It was dangerous for the first that charged,  
the slipperie waies stayed their horses, and the maine ditches (made to diuide the lands) ser-  
ued them as trenches. So as either of them beeing loth to hazard any thing stand firme, be-  
holding one another, expecting when the most rash should begin the charge. Such as goe  
to the skirmish, either breake or put some member out of ioynt: their falles hurt more then  
the shot. Three daies passe in this sort, the fourth the Duke retires to warme his troupes  
benumbed

1568. benumbed with cold, and for the most part lodged in the open ayre (of twenty years there A had not bene felt so sharpe a winter) in his retreat three companies were cut off in a village, one of Suisses, and two of French, and the sicknesse falling amongst the Souldiers, diminished both the armies of eight thousand men. This fruitlesse abode caused a generall murmure, and both Nobilitie and souldiers on either party did threaten; if they were not lodged in safe and well-fortified places, they would provide for themselves, not able to endure the extreame frosts and cold without any effects. The two Commanders agree. The Duke goes to winter beyond the riuer of Loire about Saumur, and the Prince at Thouars, Monfrucil-Bellay, and places thereabouts, either hauing some secret practise against his enemy, but with small effect. This retreat gaue the Prince leysure to deuise means for the maintenance of the warre. The goods of the Clergie of Poitou were engaged, and sold to them that durst buy them: the Rochelois contribute fourescore thousand frankes, and the Queene of England sent an hundred thousand Angels, fixe Cannons, powder and shot, for the which she was paid in Salt, Vwooll, and Bell-metall, for the most part at the Catholikes cost. The Abbey of Saint Michel alone, amongst all the other places of base Poitou, bridled the Protestants. They beseege it, batter it, and take it at the third assault, and cut foure or five hundred men in peeces which defended it. *Martinengues, Entragues* and *la Chastre* Gouvernors of Guyen, Orleans, and Bourges, beseege Sancerre, giue many assaults, lose many men, and finally tyred with many fallies, leaue this small towne in quiet, to be hereafter a mirror of singular patience, in the preseruatiou of their liues and families. But those of Sancerre, seeking to enlarge themselves, and to build a fort vpon Loire, suffer themselves to be surprized, lose both fort and some fiftie men, and are inforced to thrust themselves within their walles.

s. Michell be-  
lieged.

During the sharpnesse of winter, and this small surceasing of armes, the Vicounts of Bourniquet, Montclar, Paulin, Gourdon, and others, with seven thousand shot, and some horse, made warre, especially against them of Tolouza. Montauban was their chiefe retreat, and experience had lately taught them: That it were better to defend this Prouince and their countrie-men, against *Montluc* and their enemies, then transporting their armes into a strange country, to leaue them againe in prey. *Piles* was commanded to perswade them to ioyne with the Prince. At their refusall, he armes twelue hundred shot, and two hundred horse, takes Bergerac and Sainte Foy: passeth into Perigord, burning all the Villages: and to purge the death of *Monuans* and *Pierre Gourde*, he kills all that were suspected of their ouerthrow: and so he marcheth towards the prince.

The prince had now taken breath, and hearing that the Duke marched towards Angoulême, fortified with three thousand foote, and some horse, which the Earle of Tende brought him, and two thousand Reistres led by the Reingraue and *Balsompierre*, he retires along the riuer of Charante, to view the Dukes countenance, and to fortifie the places of his obedience: but with the preiudice of his army. The Duke comes likewise to Chasteau-neuf, a towne vpon the riuer of Charante, and at the first takes a castle by composition, which was kept by a Scottishman. The Admirall likewise arriues, followed with seven or eight hundred horse, and as many harguebuziers: and to hinder the Dukes passage, he lodgeth two regiments of foote neere vnto the bridge, seconded by the horse: charging them to vex the enemies guards with continuall alarmes, to make them thinke, that all the princes vant-gard was lodged there, and then he retires to Bassac with the rest of the vant-gard.

But this commandement wrought no effect. They had forgotten the manner of camping, euery one would lodge, liue, and forrage at his ease: so as the most part going to quarter else-where, and leauing the passage vnfurnished of men, make the possession easie for the Duke. The Duke, through the care of the Lord of Biron, repaires the bridge: makes another of boates, and in the night passeth the riuer of Charente. At the breake of day, fifty horse being in guard, a quarter of a League off, discover the enemies troupes that passed and aduertise the Admirall: (the prince being a League beyond at Iarnac) the Admirall sends for his men disperied in their lodgings, to come vnto him, and to make their retreat together, and in the meane time he attended them at Bassac.

In a great action all delays are dangerous. He spends three houres to attend them, and might easily haue retired, if his troupes had bene ioyned. Hee had nine cornets of horse, and

A and some ensignes of foot. *Montgomerie, Acier*, and *Puissault* were Colonels, whome hee was loth to loose. Beeing all ioyned with him (except *Acier*, who could not arriue in time with his fixe thousand shot) he finds all the Dukes armie past, making shew by their skirmishes, that that day, being the 13. of March, should not passe without a battell. The Prince was aduanced halfe a league in his retreat, but he was too well bred, to see his friends engaged, and to fight in his absence. He turnes head towards the Admirall, with those few horse he could sodainly draw out of his battell: for he camped not, but his army was disperied into quarters. The Admirall making his retreat, incounters a small riuer, which could not be passed, but in two or three places. Then the Duke sends forth the flower of al his horse, being seven or eight hundred, who at the first ouerthrow foure Cornets, take *la Noue* and *la Loue* fighting, vanquish *Puissault*, charge *d'Andelot*, but with the death of *Monfalez*, and fifteene or sixteene others of account.

The battell  
of Bassac.

In the end the Prince and the Admirall see themselves in a manner engaged betwixt all the Dukes forces and the riuer of Charente: they go to the charge, first the Admirall and then the Prince, and at the first make them turne their backs that were before them: and now they indured a second charge, more fierce and of longer continuance. But sodainly all the army falls vpon them, their horsemen are in route, the Princes horse slaine, and he ouerthrowne vnder him, abandoned by his troupes, and prisoner to the Lord of Argence, to whom he had yielded, but he was shot in the head with a pistoll by *Montesquieu* a Gascon, C and Captaine of the Princes guards. A lesson for great men, and a maxime of warre: That a Generall should not fight, but being forced, for that in the losse of his person consistes the ruine of his army. This Prince hath left this memorie of him, to haue yielded to no man of his age, neither in courage nor courtesie, eloquent in speech, liberall, affable to all the world, and a most excellent Commander in warre. The Protestants lost in this battell neere foure hundred men, most horsemen, and few foot-men of account, *la Tour* a Poiteuin a sea Captaine, young *Chasteliers*, *Portaut*, *Chandenier*, *Mesanchere*, *Brandaniere*, the eldest of the *Bessons*, the yonger of *Tabarriere*, *Barrete*, *la Moissray*, and a great number of other gentlemen of diuers Prouinces, many wounded, and many prisoners: the amazement and disorder being so great, as they could not flie fast enough. Of Catholikes there died about two hundred, amongst the which were *Monfalez*, the Barons of Ingrand, and *Prunay* of the house of Billy, the Earles of Mirandole, of Morete, Moncanure, Linieres, and some other of marke.

The prince of  
Conde slaine.

Many Protestants would haue gathered together again, but they pursued them too nere, and the Reistres arriuing in the pursute, so halted them that fled, as night surprized them in the midst of their flight. The Admirall and *d'Andelot* not able to pacifie the amazement, nor repaire the disorder, tooke their way towards Saint Jean d'Angely, and gaue the Rendezuous for them that escaped at Xaintes, whither the young Princes of Nauarre and Condé were retired. The bodie of the army was entred into Cognac. The foot-men with their Commanders, *Acier*, *Beaudin*, *Blasoms*, *Cheilar*, *Mirabell*, and many others, and of E the horse, *Montgomery*, *Chaumont* and others. To dislodge them from Cognac, the victorious Duke sends to beseege it: but his attempts against Cognac, his intelligences within *S. Jean d'Angely*, and his fruitlesse threatnes that he vsed against Angoulême, stayed the course of his victorie.

In the meane time the Protestants gather together the peeces of this shipwrack: the Admirall led the Princes to Tonay-Charente, he tooke view of the horse: *Henry* Prince of Nauarre was declared Generall, and *Henry* Prince of Conde an assistant, foure thousand masters tooke the oath, *d'Andelot* gathers the footmen together, provided for money, and stayed the enemies courses, when as a burning feuer tooke him out of this world the 27. day of May in Xaintes, leauing for euer a surname purchased by him of a *Knight without feare*. F *Acier* did succeed him in his charge, *Beauuais* *la Noue* had his company of men at armes, but the Admirall the care and gouernement of the whole army, with the managing of the chiefe affaires which concerned the Protestants estate. The Dukes army did ouer-runne Xaintonge, Angoulmois, and Limosin, vnder the conduct of the Earle Brissac, Colonnell of the Infanterie of France. Hauing recouered Aubeterre, and some other places from the Protestants, he attempts Mucidan, being vigorously battered and valiantly defended. In the

*d'Andelot*  
dies.

1569.

Count Brissac  
slaine at Mu-  
cidan.

the end it is burnt to ashes, the castle endures some assaults, the most worthy men of the Regiments of *Brissac*, *Montluc*, and *Escaus* loose their liues there, and finally *Brissac* himselve approaching to view the breach and the defences, is shot into the head and slaine vpon the counterscarpe, leauing a wonderfull grieffe to them that knew him, beeing now but fwe or fixe and twenty yeares old, and might in time haue prooued one of the valiantest and greatest Captaines of his age. Yet necessity forced the beleeged to a composition, to depart with bagge and baggage. But the impatience to haue lost their Colonells, and so many braue souldiers, made most of them to be slaine, issuing out of their walles. *Piles* recompenced this losse by the taking of the Isle of Medoc betwixt Bourdeaux and Rochell, the spoile whereof enriched all his troupe. Then *VVolfgang* Count Palatine of Rhine, and Duke of Deuxponts, brought vnto the princes about fixe thousand Reistres, and fwe thousand Lansquenets. Ciuill warres alwaies make the way open to a neighbour stranger, the which he durst not attempt without the support of one partie. The difficultie was to ioyne with the princes beeing farre off: and without a French conuoy it could hardly be done: but see what chanceth vnlooked for.

*Mony*, *Jenlis*, *Mornuilliers*, *Esquieres*, *Estrenay* and others, had in the beginning of this third ciuill warre, assembled fwe or fixe hundred horse, and two thousand harguebuziers, whom the difficulty to passe into Guienne had transported into Brabant to the prince of Auranges; Count *Lodowike* his brother, and Count *Vobrad* of Mansfield, who hauing for a time entertained the warre with a variable successe against the Spaniard, passed the Meuze and offered bataille to the duke of Alua: but he fought onely to consume them for want of victuals, whereof they were so scantied, as necessitie casting them backe into France, they came to Vitry, and so stricke vp into Germany, and by their arriual gaue *VVolfgang* the helpe he desired. We must now begin anew. The duke of Aniou Reaues Guienne, and takes the way of Berry, to keepe the duke of Deuxponts from ioyning with the princes: but it had beene better to haue preuented his entry into the Realme. To this end, the King commits two armies, the one to the duke of Aumale, the other to the duke of Nemours (neither of them beeing fortunate in warre) both strong in foemen, but weaker in horse then the Germaine. They aduance vnto Sauerne: coast the Germaine Duke, who crost through Bourgongne, presse him on the flanks, and behind with sundry skirmishes, and oftentimes incounter goodly and fauourable occasions, which they let slippe for want of iudgement, and good correspondencie, the true bond of the brauest exploits that may be practised in warre. But was it not a want of iudgement in these two great Commanders, fortified with twelve hundred horse and foure thousand foote sent by the Pope, to leaue *la Charité* vn-furnished of men, knowing well that the Protestants could not passe the riuier of Loire, without getting by force or surprizing some of the passages thereon? *VVolfgang* attempts *la Charité*, presseth it, terrifies it, and takes it, before that any succors can come, and thereby shortens his way about three-score Leagues, where he must haue passed at the head of Loire, and frees himselfe from a passage full of wood and mountaines, where as the horie-men would haue beene but an incumbrance.

The Admirall could by no meanes fauour these succors (for he had the duke of Anious army in front) and holding it as a matter impossible for the Reistres to get a passage vpon the riuier of Loire, he attended hourelly newes of their rout. But aduertised of the successe: *Beheld* (said he) *a good signe: let vs make it absolute by our diligence and resolution*. So the Princes aduance towards the marches of Limosin, to keepe the Dukes army occupied, whilst that their Reistres marching through the Country, performed the funerals of the duke of Deuxponts, who being lately deceased of an ague, left the command of the army to the Earle of Mansfield, and in the end of Iune both the Protestant armies ioyned, the which vnited together made about fwe and twenty thousand fighting men: and in the Kings, they numbred about thirtie thousand. The country of Limosin is vnfruitfull, and the sterility of F the soyle forced the troupes to lye disperfed, the which might easily cause some surprize: but the Admirall desired rather to preuent, then be preuented. The dukes army camped at Rocheabeille. To surprize him, they march, resolute to giue him bataille, and are in view of the enemy before he hath taken any alarme of them.

Three hundred harguebuziers of Colonel *Stroffes* kept the principall approach to this lodging,

1569.

Incounter at  
Rocheabeille.

A lodging beeing strong both by situation and nature: and happy were they to be lodged in a place of defence. At the first brunt *Stroffs* releues them with fwe hundred others, who the space of an houre held good against foure thousand of the Princes shot, while the Dukes army was put in battell. This passage being vn-casie to force, the Admirall sends forth foure Corners of horse which renew the charge: they breake vp certaine palizado's which couered *Stroffs*'s regiments, kill two and twenty Captaines, and fwe or fixe hundred men vpon the place: take their Colonnell (without whose resistance the Princes foreward had passed euen vnto the Cannon without any let) put the rest to flight, and nothing but the raine that fell hindred the successe of a great victorie, the which was continued the next day by a skirmish against two hundred Italians, and some horse-men of the Duke of Nemours B whereof *Mony* slue some, tooke others, and chased the rest, being mounted vpon horses of aduantage fit for such a retreat.

After this incounter, the Duke sent to refresh his troupes vntill the beginning of October, in the garrisons neere to Guyenne: giuing the Princes by this meanes leysure to ceaze vpon many places, both by force and composition: *Tuiers*, *S. Sulpice*, *Brantonne*, *Ceauteau l'uefque*, *La Chapelle*, *Confolant*, *Chabannes*, *S. Genais* and others. Whilst the Duke rested, the Earle of Lude, Gouverneur of Poitou, promised wonders, but more in words then in effects. He had fwe thousand foot, and some cornets of horse, whereof he had foure ouerthrowne by *La Noue* neare vnto Niort: the Princes absence encouraged him to be- C seege Niort: where *Pnuizant* entred in despight of the assailants: he sustained three assaults and some scaldos, forcing *Lude* after the losse of fwe hundred men, to raise the sege. In the meane time the Princes approached neare to Poitou, and at the first had taken *Chaste-leraud* by composition the 12. of Iuly, and the 21. following, *Lueignan*, *Courré*, *Sanfay*, *Viuonne*, and other small places about Poitiers, to cut off victuals from the towne. At the same time, the subiects of the Queene of Nauarre, had their part in the Cake. *Terride* Go- uernor of Quercy, had accepted the Commission, to summon the said Queene, and the Prince her sonne, to leaue the party of the pretended reformed religion: if not to invade the Countries of Bearn, Foix, and Nauarre. So accompanied with *Nigrepelise*, *Sainte Columbe*, and others, he had easily reduced all to the Kings obedience, and held Nauarin be- D seeged, the only strong place that remained to the Queene.

The Princes send the Earle of Montgomery to incounter him, who with a small armie of fwe hundred horse, and foure thousand foote, forced *Terride* to raise the siege, and to retire himselfe into Orthez. His men were disperfed, and to preuent him from gathering them together, the Earle pursues him, besiegeth him, giues an assault, and forceth the Towne, makes a great slaughter: and to beate *Terride* with his owne armes, hee suddenly plants the Canon he found in the towne against the Castle. *Terride* vanquished with these terrible stratagemes, yeelds vpon composition, to depart with their liues and goods: *Sainte Columbe*, the Baron of Pordiac, *Gohas*, *Tauas*, and some others of the Queenes subiects, were excepted in the Capitulation, and as guilty of treason (hauing seized vpon her pla- E ces, and stirred her subiects to rebellion) were put to death. This resolute repulse of *Terride* and the execution of the aboue-named, did sodainly reduce all the other places to the Queenes obedience, and the Earle hauing manned the townes of his new conquests, came to Nerac, made warre awhile with the neighbour garrisons, and so came to the Princes army. Let vs see the progresse of their armes. *La Charité* gaue the Protestants meanes to annoy the Prouinces on this side Loire, and taking this place from them, then the Duke of Aumale should recouer many commodities to refresh his army. To this end hee appoints *Sanjac*, who was yet a nouice in Commissions of such importance. Yet hee gathers toge- ther out of the garrisons of Orleans, Bourges, Chartres, Neuers, Gian and other townes, about seuen thousand foot, and fwe or fixe hundred horse, besiegeth *La Charité*, being yet F but weakly fortified, changeth and rechangeth his battery, ouerthrowes a great part of the wall, and sends to the assault, the which was so resolutely defended, that of an hundred of the assailants scarce fwe returne to the campe: and vpon a false bruite, that the Princes came to succor it, the beseeagers display their ensignes, and without any farther inquiry, recouer their Garrisons, after a months siege, and the losse of about a hundred men. Within few daies after, *Blosset*, *Boys*, and others dis-banded from the campe to visit their families, X x x fortifie

La Charité  
taken by the  
Germans.La Charité be-  
sieged.

1569.

Poitiers be-  
seeged.

fortifie the towne, spoile the countrey, and by the taking of Douzy, Pouilly, Antrain, Saint Leonard, and other small townes, they made the way open to Berry, Niuernois, and the neighbour countries. The siege of Poitiers was lesse fatall, and of as small successe for the Protestants. The Admirall held opinion to force S. Maxent, then Saumur, and to fortifie it speedily, to haue a passage vpon the riuer of Loire neere vnto them, and to transport the warre towards Paris in the time of haruest. Poitiers was then very well furnished: the dukes of Guise and of Maine had put themselves into it: many Captaines and companies both of horse and foot shewed a great resolution for the defence thereof, vnder the ensignes of the two young brethren: these great and spacious townes being commonly the sepulchre of armies: yet all these reasons were of no force. The Nobilitie thereabouts preferring profit before honour, vrged the contrarie: That Poitiers was indeed strong of men, but weake of defence, and to be forced: that this place taken, would be the conquest of all Poictou, a rich Prouince, the which would disappoint the Duke of Aniou of an assured retreat. But the hope of spoile was an enticing bayte to draw them vnto it: for the more men are within it (said the Nobility) the greater shall our booty be. Yet the respect of their priuate profits made them forget the constant resolution of such as had vndertaken to guard it, the great meanes they had to defend themselves, and their small prouision of artillerie, munition, pioneers, and other things necessarie for the siege.

In the end plurality of voices carries it. The Princes loose some weekes before Poitiers. The towne is commanded by hils, which annoyed them: but their slow batterie giues them time to fortifie the breach, and force the assaillants to make new attempts else-where, and with the like successe. Hunger oppressed the Cittizens, hauing lost many Captaines, with a great number of souldiers: and the plague afflicted the Princes campe: those within find a good meanes for their libertie: and the Princes an honest cause to dislodge. The Duke of Aniou vnderstanding the extremitie of the beseged, and that the Protestants army began to dissolue, propounds two things to the Commanders, either to free Poitiers, or to suffer a place of that importance to be lost, in the which were many of their confident friends. He beseged Chasteleraud, and makes a breach: the French will haue the point: the Italians contend for it. In the end, the chance of the dice giues it them. They come brauely to the assault: the French disdain to follow them, and they within defend the breach. They overthrow the most resolute with a furious volley of shot, and force the rest to retire in confusion, leauing fife ensignes vpon the breach, aboue two hundred and fiftie slaine, and a great number wounded, whereof many died. This was the 7. of September. They prepared for a second attempt, when as the Princes taking this second assault for a lawfull occasion, raise their siege, wherewith they were no lesse troubled to depart with their honour, then the beseged were prest with extreame necessitie. The Duke hauing no complete army, and seeing his desseigne succeed, dislodgeth all night, retires to Celle in Touraine, passeth Vienne and Creuse, lodgeth his troupes and artillerie in a place of aduantage, gathers together all his disperfed bands: and now the way is prepared for a second battaile, and a notable victorie.

The Princes beeing aduertised of this sodaine retreat, take it for a kind of flight: march all night after them, passe the riuers, put themselves in battaile, to force the Duke or to make him to retire to Tours, where the King then remained. Both the armies are in battaile: but betwixt them is a small riuer, which makes the countrey moorish and very vnfit for a generall fight, so as they could not ioyne their battailes, and had no meanes to bring the Cannon without hazard to loose it. The Duke who was lodged in Celle, a village well entrenched, flanked and gabioned, couered on the one side by a riuer, and on the other with a wood, could not by any skirmishes be drawne to fight, vntil he had vnited all his forces. The Princes for want of victuals repasse Creuse and Vienne, and lodge at Faye la Vineuse, and from thence (the countrey beeing spoiled, and ill to lodge in) passe to Montcontour, a lodging of aduantage, both for the situation and commoditie of victuals. The Duke pursues him, and by his speede deceiued the enemies. His fore-ward led by *Biron* meetes them vnlooked for at Saint Cere, chargeth *Mouy*, who made the retreat with 300. horse, and 200. harguebuziers, kils about fifty men at armes, and almost all of his foot-men, so amazeth the Princes army, as they all begin to wauer, and had not a freight beene, where onely 20. men

1569.

An vnlooked  
for accident.

A men might march in front, the whole army had then beene in route. The Admirall makes halt to repaire this disorder, and by his presence renues their danted courages. They charge and re-charge twice or thrice at this passage, and not able to bee forced, the two armies campe within shot of musket, leauing it betwixt both. The Duke had eight or nine thousand horse, seuentene or eightene thousand foot, French, Suisses, and Italians, and fiftene peeces of artillerie. The Princes had fixe thousand horse, French and Reistres, tenne thousand harguebuziers French and Lansquenets, and eleuen peeces of Cannon. As these armies beheld one another, two Gentlemen following the Dukes campe, present themselves to the first they meete of the Protestant partie. *Aduertise the Admirall* (said they) *that he forbear to fight, for the succors newly arrived haue greatly fortified our armie: let him temporize a month onely: it is the time the Nobility hath giuen vnto the Duke, with protestation to seru him for that time, but not afterwards, then shall he be forced to a peece to your aduantage.* Of two Councels those which hasten to their owne ruine doe commonly follow the worst. They aduertise the Admirall hereof, he apprehends it, and desires to follow it, so do the most modest, and that at nine of the clocke at night they should take the way to Eruaux, putting the riuer, that runs there, betwixt the two armies. Others of a more boyling humor, inferre: That these nightly retreats terrifie them that make them, preiudice their reputations, augments the enemies courage, and that they must do it only at the point of day. Moreover, this might be a practise to amaze their troupes, and that coming from C suspected persons, accustomed to deceiue, it was also suspect, and to be reiected.

This diuersitie of opinions troubled the Admirall, but see what afflicted him more neerely. The Reistres did mutine for want of pay, the Lansquenets refused to march: three or foure French regiments of the most remote countries, had already asked leaue to depart, many Gentlemen were retired to their houses, and the Duke approached. The Admirall then beseecheth the Princes that were at Parthenay to come to the army, that by their presence they might containe them in obedience. They bring an hundred and fifty good horse. But whilst the Admirall labors to pacifie the mutinie of the Germains, two houres are spent, so as the troupes cannot recouer a place of aduantage neere vnto Eruaux, where they could hardly haue charged them.

D These broyles appeald, the army takes the way to Eruaux the third of October, and discovers the Dukes which aduanced. They cause the Princes to retire, beeing yet too young (but vnder color to conduct them with more assurance, many retire with them) and arrange themselves in a valley, beeing couered from the Cannon. And vpon the approach of the Dukes fore-ward (consisting of nineteene cornets of Reistres in two squadrons marching directly against the Admirall) the Admirall sends to Count *Lodowike* who led the battell, to send him three cornets. The Earle obeyes, but he leades them himselfe: who hath no sooner left his place, but he remains engaged in the skirmish, the which continued three quarters of an houre: the Admirall was hurt in the face, and his horse-men beeing overthrowne, leaue the field. The battell makes a great resistance, but vnfurnished of a head, it is forced to yeeld to the greater number: part of the footmen are cut in peeces, and part disperfed here and there, the artillerie lost, and the ensignes carried away: all flie, euery man saues himselfe. Count *Lodowike* retires with three thousand horse in one company, turning head still against them that pursued, and recouers Parthenay, the refuge of the remainders of this ship-wracke. Foure thousand Lansquenets died in this battell, 1500. French souldiers, about three hundred men at armes, many horses, seruants, and lackeys of men of mark, *Puigreffier*, *Biron* brother to him that led the fore-ward, and S. *Bonel*, Cornet of the Admirals company. *La Noue* was prisoner againe with *Arer* and others: the Reistres baggage was spoiled, that of the French being more aduanced towards Niort and Parthenay, was saued. The Duke lost few foot, but fife or fixe hundred horse, and twice as many hurt. where of the most part died, as the eldest Reingraue, the Marquis of Bade, *Clermont* of Daulphiné, and few others of quality.

Seldome do we reape the fruits of an absolute victorie. The Protestants foot-men were disperfed: and their horsemen (for the most part Reistres) were discontent for want of pay, and losse of their baggage. A hot pursuite had in shew produced one of these 2. effects, either their defeat, or their retreat into Germany: two monthes pay had drawn them vnto it.

Xxx 2

To

Battell of  
Montcontour.

Notable error



1569. To leaue the remainder of these forces at the Commanders deuotion, was to giue the Admirall meanes (beeing a wife Commander in warre) to gather together the remnant of this shipwracke, to repaire his broken vessell, and in the Spring to go to field with new troupes, to spoile diuers Prouinces, and in the end to bring the warre to the gates of Paris. Moreouer, these daunted spirits would be soone reuiued by the presence of their Princes, whereas vpon this fresh defeat they might shut them into some place whereby the warre should be soone ended.

Victories after  
the battell.

Thus discoured the most indiciuous: but others finding the recouerie of those places easie in this amazement, which the Princes held in Poitou, Xaintonge, and Angoulmois, the Duke followes their resolution, and for the first fruites of his conquest marcheth to Parthenay: but there he finds nothing but the naist, the place empirie, and the gates open. The Princes vpon the first bruite had recouered Niort, and so to Saint Jean d'Angely. The Baron of Mirebeau kept Lusignan, a place sufficient to winne much reputation, yea for a Capitaine of no great valour: yet the parles of young *Lausac* preuailed more with the Baron, then fise thousand Cannon shot which the Dukes of Martigues and Aumale spent against *Piles*, as we shall hereafter see. Niort being summoned, began to wauer, and *Momy* who had the guard of it (beeing gone foorth against some scouts that were approched to the gates, and traiterously shot with a pistoll by *Maurenel* a Gentleman of Brie, who had newly put himselfe vnder his Cornet, and shall within few yeares make himselfe famous by an act equall to the first in trecherie, and detestable villany) retiring himselfe by the aduice of the Princes to Rochell, where soone after he died of his wound, the towne being abandoned returned into the Dukes power without any difficultie. *Puissant* also leauing Fontenay, the garrisons of Chasteleraud, Chauigny, Rocheposé, the Castle of Angle, Pruilly, Cleruant, and other small places, dislodged together, and vnder the conduct of *Briquemault* came to make head in Sancerre and la Charité, being set vpon in their way, by the Commons of Berry and la Chastre Gouvernor of the countrie.

*Mombrun*, *Mirabel*, *Verbelay*, and some fixe or seuen hundred horse of Daulphiné, Viuzet, Auvergne, and Languedoc recouer their houses, vnder colour to prouide for some places of importance in their marches, and to make the way easie, which the Princes pretended to follow, for to winter in Limagne of Auvergne, if they had not altered their designe. We shall see shortly what course they tooke after their defeat. *Nismes* returns into the Protestants power. An aduenturous souldier, did with a secret file, in sundrie nights, file asunder a grate of yron, which stopt vp a hoale at the foot of the towne wall, by the which did flow a fountaine for the benefit of the inhabitants. The passage being made, *Saint Cosme*, *Chaissey*, *Mingelle*, and other Captaines enter, they cut in peeces a corps de gard towards the Carnes gate, force another neere to that of the Crown, open the gates, bring in their men that remained without the towne; and become masters thereof, to the prejudice of S. *Andre* being Gouvernor, who hauing no leysure to slip into the castell, brake his necke leaping ouer the wall, and his Lieutenant his thigh. *Astoul* Capitaine of the castell kept it almost three moneths against the towne: in the end being vnurnished of men, E some lost by sundrie accidents, some dead or languishing of sicknesse, and a good number oppressed vnder a myne, he yielded to depart with bagge and baggage.

On the other side, *Sanfac* by vertue of a Commission granted him from the Duke, to take from the Protestants whatsoeuer they held on that side Loire, had taken Douzi a place abandoned, then Noiers by composition, the which was ill obserued: most part of the souldiers were led to Troyes in Champagne, and aboue three-score passing through the streets were abandoned to the peoples rage. But *Vezelay* is seated too high vpon the top of a steep mountaine, hauing but one approach. *Tarot* and some other Gentlemen Protestants his neighbours had lately seized thereon, and *Bloisset*, *Sarasin*, *Besançon*, and *Ribompierre* Captaines defended it. *Sanfac* makes his approches with three companies: but at the first the Captaines cut off two companies, kill the Captaines and fortie souldiers, the third being scattered in the vine-yards retire in the night. Hee returnes with greater forces, makes his battery, opens 2. breaches, giues an assault and scalado, but in vaine: he loofeth aboue 300. men: and the besegged lost *Sarasin* with some 30. souldiers: *Sanfac* doth change and re-change his batterrie, he tries another assault, and (as at the first) he is shamefully repulsed with losse, but

Vezelay be-  
seeged: it was  
shamefull for  
Sanfac.

A but not discouraged. Some of his confident friends within the towne giue him aduice, that most of the Gentlemen are gone to field: he returnes with new artillerie, (his owne being broken or crackt) new munition, and new forces. Twelue Cannons begin a long and furious battery, takes away the defences, inlarge the first breaches, and makes the rampars euen with the ground. They giue a Generall assault, but the sege of La Charité, made the assaillants attempts contemptible to the besegged: the more earnest he is, the more obstinate they grow. Three thousand Cannon shot doth nothing abate their courage: contrariwise fifteen hundred souldiers of the assaillants being slaine, inflame the *Vezelois*, they kill the brauest of them vpon the rampars, at the breach and in the trench. Then *Sanfac* forced to retire, is contented to blocke them vp in the end of the yeare. *Briquemault* and *Guerchy* gouernour of la Charité, do afterwards releue them with some refreshings.

Ciuilt warres are but a perpetuall ebbing and flowing of losses and conquests. Poitiers had beene the Theater whercon the Princes had to their ruine played the first act of their tragedie, and now Saint Jean d'Angely must end the victories of the Duke of Aniou. The Duke putt vp with the happy successe of his victories, comes the 16. of October to beseege Saint Jean: but he finds not so easie approches as at the rest *Piles* commanded therein, who by sallies and skirmishes, shewes that they must come well armed, and at the first assault he kils many of their Captaines, and of their best souldiers. *Montesquieu* (hee that grew so famous by the murder of the Prince of Condé) died there, but too honorably for him. In the end *Biron* Generall for the artillerie, (seeing the resolution of the besegged) did mediate a truce, at the end whereof *Piles* should yeeld the towne, if within a certaine time succours came not, or an answer from the Princes. The day comes, when as Saint *Seuerin* leading forty horse, doth politickely deceiue both Sentinels and Guards, and vnder the name of a friend, slips into the towne. So the hostages deliuered on both sides, they begin againe to play and batter with their Cannon, and the towne-men to carry earth, make rampars, and to shoot with such a furie, as *Sebastian* of Luxemburg, Duke of Martigues, and Gouvernor of Britaine, found this towne fatall to lodge him in the monument of his Ancestors. During this battery, the Queene would honour the sege with the presence of the King her sonne, being then nine-teen years of age. But this bredde a ialousie betwixt the two brethren. *Charles* was quick, vehement, and some-what froward: *Henry* more tractable and courteous: and *Charles* euen then perswaded himselfe, that his mother would make him receiue a disgrace at Saint Jean d'Angely, to fauour the Duke her younger sonne, whose aduancement shee made shew to desire. The succeeding yeares will teach vs, that this impression made *Charles* to loue his brother best, being farther off in the North, then by his presence to enioy the Mothers affections, and to haue authoritie within the Realme.

Finally, the second of December, after two moneths sege, the King signed their capitulation: That they should depart with their goods, armes, horses, and Ensignes displayed, and for foure moneths should carrie no armes for the pretended reformed religion. But as this sege is famous for that it was valiantly followed and defended: so is it likewise famous by the breach of faith giuen by his Maiestie. At their going foorth, they spoile them of their armes, apparel and money: the duke of Aumale, and the Marshall of Vielleuile are not able to make good the Kings promise: nay, the duke of Anious presence cannot retrain their insolencies. They spoile their baggage, they take away their horses, they strip their men. And to to encrease their villanies, the regiment of *Sarrieu*, being lodged at Saint Julian, halfe a League off, comes ouerthwart, wounds, kils, murders and casts them into the riuer: and happie is he that can escape in his shirt to recouer Angoulême, where *Piles* and some others holding themselves (by reason of this trecherous and vnworthie vsage contrarie to the Law of armes) freed from the conditions whereunto they were bound by the Capitulation, went to the Princes to vnderstand their pleasures. The Historie obserues aboue ten thousand men of warre lost before Saint Jean, fise thousand Cannon shot spent, fise and twenty, or thirtie Commissaries of the artillerie slaine in their charge, many thrunk away, and in the end the campe was diminished eightene or twenty thousand men.

The army tyred with labour, and prest with want of victuals, and other discommodities, dislodging from Saint Jean d'Angely, gaue the Princes leysure to determin of their voyage:

X x x 3

and

Saint Jean  
yielded.

The compo-  
sition broken.

1570.

A treaty of  
peace.

and the King retiring to Angiers, assigned the Princes deputies thither, to begin the following year by the continuance of a treatie of peace begunne in the moneth of Nouember. *Besunars la Noelle* and *Telligny* come thither in Februarie, and returne with no other answer to the Protestants, but a libertie to liue within the Realme free from search in their houses, and for their safetie two townes, which *Biron* should name vnto them, in the which they might do what pleased them, not impugning the kings authoritie, nor the quiet of the Realme: his Maiestie offering to restore them to their charges, except such as had beene dismissed by the order of Iustice, and the money (growing by the sale thereof) received by the Kings commandement: but forbidding all exercise of religion, but of the Catholike, Apostolike, and Romish: banishing all Ministers out of the Realme, and requiring them to disarm, to send backe presently their forraigne forces, and to yeeld vp all Townes held by the violence and force of armes. In the meane time postes fle into England and Germany, and to diuert or stay the succours which the Protestants might expect from thence, the brute flies, that a peace is made in France.

The Princes and Admirall thinking they were but deuises to hinder their affaires, euery one prepares againe to put on harnesse: their forces were dispersed into diuers prouinces: those about Bourges had an enterprize vpon the towne, by the practise of a souldier, who by trecherie makes them to loose thirty men at the entrie, and as many prisoners. So hee that thinks to take, is often taken himselfe. The reduction of Poitou, had likewise brought Marans and the Castell of Beauvoir vpon the sea to the Kings obedience. Angoulesme and Rochell onely remained to the Protestants. They had lost Lusignan: but Blay, Taillebourg, the Isles of Xaintonge, Marennes, and Brouage, were yet at their deuotion. To trie Rochel the King threatens them by his letters, and by promises he seekes to win *Pardaillan* and *Romegen*, the Gouvernors of Blay and Taillebourg. They answer (saith the Historie) the King wisely, and *Lansac* courageously: *You cannot be more grieved (said Pardaillan) to attempt to force me in this place: then I shal be, for the shame, losse and confusion, which I shal cause you to receive, or any other that shall attempt it.* *Romegen* speaks in the same sense. The effect was more to be feared then words: yet *Lansac* attempted nothing against them. The Islands had much annoyed the seege of *S. Iean d'Angely*, and the *Laniquenets* escaped from Moncontour, were dispersed there. The Earle of Lude, *Puigaillard*, and *la Riviere Puitaille*, Gouvernours, D the one of Angiers, the other of Marans, with eight cornets of horse, and twenty ensignes of foot, force the said Islands, and make such a slaughter, as there remained not about three hundred fighting men.

*La Noue* the Princes Lieutenant in Guienne, studied to recouer Brouage, a place of great importance for the Rochelois, when as the Baron of la Garde attempting vpon Tonne-Charente, made both their enterprizes to proue vaine. Rochel is now blockt vpe on all sides. *Lude* and *Puigaillard* had an armie in Poitou: *la Riviere-Puitaille* the elder, held Marans and other places therabouts: the younger commanded in Brouage. *Landereau* Vice-admirall held Olone. The Brittons and Bourdelois cut off the Rochelois victuals by sea. *La Garde*, then Generall of their gallies, did runne oftentimes euen into their hauen: but to presse them on all sides, he would gladly haue beene master of Tonne-Charente. *La Noue* had vnder-taken the defence thereof, who vnderstanding the Barons practise, so planted his shor, as at his enemies first landing, he slue their Commanders, and many others, gaue liberty to the slaues, and became master of the galley: and if heat had not too soone transported them, the rest comming to enter into Charente, and resolute to land, they could not haue escaped death or prison. This gally did afterwards serue *Romegen* to beat the Catholikes in many places. And if *la Garde* preuailed nothing by force, his pollicies were of as small effect. So as he lost his time, men, and mony, and did nothing of moment.

Contrariwise, the defeat of some troups at Nouaille by the harguebuziers of *La Noue*, vnder the leading of *Scipio* an Italian Ingenger, and the recovery of Marans by *La Noue*, F from *Chiperon* Gouvernor of the place, after the death of the elder *Puitaille* lately deceased, was the cause of the winning of tenne or twelue other places therabouts, and gaue the Rochelois meanes to enlarge themselves. The spoile of Olone did enrich them, furnished them with 40. good vessels, with some armes and Canon, and a good number of prisoners, and diminished their enemies strength of about foure hundred fighting men. This reuiuing caused

1570.

A caused *Puigaillard* and *Fernaque* to make enterprises vpon Langon and Gué of Neluyre, and by the recovery of Lufon to molest Marans and Rochell againe, if that *la Noue* had had not speedily taken this fort from them that came to seize on it, and slue *Sforza* a valiant Gentleman, Captaine of a companie of Italians, who were come to charge him be-hinde in his retreat.

The Tower of Moric, the castle of La Graue, Talmonde, and the castle of Chise, being taken againe by *Puigaillard*, recompensed the losse of Lufon: and the conquests of *Puigaillard*, were at the same time crost by *Puisant* Gouvernour of Marans, by the death of captaine *Dante*, who scoured all Poictou, by the route of their company: and wounding in a manner, of all the members thereof, and by the ouerthrow of *Chaumont* and *Gonlens*, issued out off Angoulesme with two cornets of horse: by the death also of *Guistiere* Gouvernour of Saint Iean d'Angely: the ouerthrowe of young *Ruiere Puitallé*, the route of his men, and the losse of two Ensignes. But the death of captaine *Herbelete*, *Cognes* issued out of Angoulesme, which then held for the Princes, and the defeat of his troups famous, a season when as the second parle of peace was reuiuied.

Time brings many changes, now it fauours the Protestants, reuiues their courages, fortifies their hopes, and the Catholikes are new to beginne; the King was wearied with this variable continuance of warre, it drew his subiects from his obedience, ruined his Prouinces, wasted his treasure, and consumed his forces. The Queene-mother, since the enterprize of *Meaux*, did still nourish in her brest a fire of reuenge. She was wonderfully discontented, that the Protestants in the beginning of the first troubles had so violently opposed against her desire to rule, by the mutuall ruine of the one and the other. But there was paine and peril to suppress the heads of the Protestants: many murtherers, and many poisoners, offered themselves, but the most part drew backe when it came to the effect. Moreouer the Princes grew in age and iudgement, they framed themselves to affaires, they began to know the friends and enemies of the Common-weale. And on the other side many Noblemen of either partie, laboured to temper the humors, both of such as were best affected to the publike quiet, and of those that during these inciuill confusions, made a way for their ambitious designs: whilst that *Biron* and *Telligny* chiefe deputies, the one for the King, the other for the Princes, labour about a peace. Let vs see what course the Princes tooke since the battaile of Montcontour vntill the peace. A small ball of snowe rowled from a high mountaine, growes great in a short time, and becomes able to endure a great force. So the Councell whereby the Princes resolved to retire farre from the Conquerours armie, did much auaille them: for they assured their men, fortified themselves with newe troups, and consumed their enemies, in the taking and retaking of places which they had possessed.

But still the poore people suffer for great mens follies. *Agemois* and *Quercy* serues now as a good retreat for the Protestants. They finde there a fatte and fruitfull Country, E where by the spoile of the contrary party, they refresh their persons, and make a newe bodie. There is nothing but inroades, spoiles and robbings of the enemy: but there was violent warre about Tholoufa, and horrible fires in their houses which belonged to the Court of Parliament. They haue beene (sayd the Protestants) *verie violent to burne them of our Religion, beheaded captaine Rapin, who carried them the Edict of peace from the King, and to commit many other intolerencies, whereof opportunitie now cries for vengeance.* Doubtlesse the Iustice of God doth often-times send a wished encounter to bee reuenged of an indignity receiued. The Marshall of Danuille, *La Valette*, and some other Commanders of qualitie, made some sallies, with diuers variable euent, but not straying farre from their walles for feare of surprise.

F *Carmain*, *Oriac*, *la Faye*, *Lesbos*, *Montefruc*, and generally all they besiege (except Saint Felix, from whence the Gascons were repulsed in the assault, with the losse of fifty men, and the Vicount of Montclar hurt whereof he died at Castres) is forced, and the garrisons cut in peeces. During the armies aboad in Albigeois, the Princes, (notwithstanding the crosses of *Escars*, *Pompadour*, *la Vauguion* and others commanding three thousand men) being fortified with fixe or six hundred horse, brought from Rochelle by *Beaudiné* and *Renty*, send

Piles,

The Protestants fortified.

The Princes  
voiage after  
the battaile.

1570. Piles into the countie of Rouffillon, where hee did spoile and greatly anoy the Spaniard, A whilest the Kings deputies conferred neere vnto Carcassonne, with *Teligny*, *Beauvais* and *la Chaffessere*, who going afterwards to his Maiefty, concluded what we shall see in brieft. Landucgoc, Viuaréz and Dauphiné, hauing fortified the army with about three thousand harguebuziers, most of them mounted at the countie-mens charge, in steed of those which *Monbrun* had (through fauour of the fort which hee built vpon Rosne right against Pufin) led away to refresh themselves in their countie, hauing surmounted the difficulties of the mountaines, and the Admirall being freed from grievous sicknesse, which had brought him to deaths dore, at Saint Estienne in Forest, the army comes into Bourgongne, where being fortified with fiftene hundred light horse, come from la Charité and the neighbour B garrious, vnder the command of *Briquemault*, they incounter a good occasion to aduance the peace.

Incounter at  
René le Duc.

It seemed to the protestants a matter of some difficulty, to obtaine a peace, vnlesse they approached neere vnto Paris: and to that end, the Admirall had suffered almost all his footmen to furnish themselves with horses, and aduanced by great iournies into the heart of France, whilest his troupes were fresh and lusty, and free from diseases. But he had before him, the Marshall of Cossé, the Kings Lieutenant in the absence of the duke of Aniou: who, to hinder the Princes approach to Paris, seeks means to fight with them. They incamped at René-le-Duke, a place not very strong of situation, from whence they thought to dislodge them with their canon, whereof the Princes were vnfurnished, and by diuers volles C of shot, to make them leaue certaine passages which they held. The Marshall *la Valette*, *Stroffy* and *la Chastre*, come with all speed, charge and recharge them, and at the first, they force them from a passage. *Briquemault*, Marshall of the campe, *Montgomery* and *Ienlis*, endure the shooke, they kill, hurt and take many: and by this firme resolution, make it knowne, that their lodgings are not to bee forced. So the Marshall sounds a retreat, and the Princes, to whom all itay was preiudiciall, being strengthened with new companies drawne out of Sancerre, la Charité, Antrain, Vezelai, and other places of their party, and furnished with some artillery: they turned head towards Paris. But a truce of ten daies, stayed all exploits of warre, betwixt them, and the Marshall. While the Barron of la Garde, *Puigaillard* and *Riniere Puitaille*, chiefe enemies to the Protestants, laboured to become D Maisters in Guyenne, and the neighbour countie. To that end, after they had overcome the troupes of horse and foote, led by *La Noue*, *Soubize* and *Puvault*, and by a shamefull chafe shut their companies into Rochell, they recover all the forts and places which had beene taken from them since the surpris of Marans. And the more to restraine the Rochelois, they build a fort at Lufon, vnder the command of capitaine *Mascarom*. They hoped this fort should be a bait to draw the Protestants to field, but hauing built it without contradiction, *Puigaillard* tries an other stratagem. Hee retires his forces into high Poictou, and giues out, that the Princes had gotten a great victory, and that he must by the dukes commandment, lead away his troupes with all speed: that by a strong ambush and turning head sodainely, he might charge the Protestants, and defeate them at their first approach. E Notwithstanding, *La Noue* and his companions keepe themselves quiet, giuing their troupes (amazed by their last fight) time to take breath, the which causeth *Mascarom* to slacke the gard of his fort.

The fort of  
Lufon besieged.

*La Noue* being aduertised, that the fort was to be forced, goes out off Rochelle with foure cornets, eleuen ensignes of French, and three hundred Lansquenets, which remained: *Puigaillard* gathers together speedily what troupes hee can, which now beganne to leaue him: and to shut vp *La Noue* betwixt Marans and Lufon: makes them to march two daies and a night to Saint Gemme, halfe a league from Lufon, but with one light repulse. Here his second policy of warre preuailes as little as the first. Hee faynes himselfe sicke, and giues out, that a burning ague detained him in his bed: then vnder colour of the deliury of *Rouffiere* a gentleman of Poictou, and others whom *Puvault* had lately taken in an encounter: hee sends a trumpet to assure them of this pretended sicknesse, and to discover the strength of the besiegers. But this spie was not cunning inough: he trips in his answers, and by his faintnesse discouers his maisters practises. *Puvault* extorts the truth by force: then shewing them, that they had to doe with men that were toyled and broken with their great

A great march, they dislodge from Saint Gemme to ioyne with *La Noue*. *Puigaillard* is aduertised that the enemy flies, and retires in disorder to Marans. He approacheth, enters the Bourg, and finding nothing but the nest, some run to the victuals, others to the spoyle. But they haue a contrary aduice. That the enemy is nere and in battaile. *La Noue* had lodged that country, where as *Puigaillards* horse could not passe but by small companies. *La Noue* commanded to the charge. *S. Estienne* and *Bruneliere* beginne it, against a hundred and fifty maisters, of the chiefe troupes of *Puigaillard*, and makes them to stagger. *Puvault* forceth through them, kils some, and amazeth the rest. *Puigaillard* and those that were best mounted, flee vnto Fontenay, foure leagues from thence: the footmen hemmed in on all sides, B and broken by the horse, presently giue way, and remaine at their mercy, without mercy, namely of the Lansquenets, who reuenge vpon them the blood of their countie-men, shed nere to Montcontour: Sixteene Ensignes, and two cornets were taken, fise hundred old souldiars slaine vpon the place, and thirty men at armes, with many Commanders and Officers of Regiments and companies. Seuen or eight hundred prisoners were sent away with white wands in their hands. The fort being valiantly assailed, and yeilded by *Mascarom*, added foure companies to the victory, and this victory caused the conquest of Fontenay le Conte, from whence the besieged retired to Niort: *La Noue* hauing lost his left arme in the siege.

The battaile  
of Lufon.

C Oleron, Marenes, Soubize and Brouage, yeilded to the victors, where as the death of *Riniere Puitaille*, recompenced *La Noue* hurt. So as by the recouery of all that which the King held about Rochell, the Protestants coopt vp the Catholikes within the walles of Saint Iean d' Angely. The Prince Dauphin came into Poictou, to repaire *Puigaillards* losses, and to strengthen the forces of the Earle of Lude, for the making of some new attempt, when as peace concluded betwixt the King and the Princes, stayed the course of their triumphes, the eleuenth of August, and caused a suspension of armes, to renew it againe two yeeres after, with a more vnworthy and horrible proceeding. By this third Edict of peace, they had foure townes of safety, Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac and la Charité, to bee held two yeeres in the Princes names, and the Princes, with the chiefe Commanders of the Protestants, attending the full execution thereof, retired to Rochelle: the armies were dismissed, and the strangers conducted into Lorraine. Soone after, the Emperour *Maximilian* the second, gaue his eldest daughter in marriage to *Philip* King of Spaine (so the vnle married his Neece, but the house of Austria hath oft-times obteined such dispensations) and so our *Charles* in the towne of Meziens in the end of Nouember, tooke to wife *Elizabeth* the yonger sister, a wife and vertuous Princeesse.

The third Edict  
of peace.

King Charles  
marries the  
Emperours  
daughter.

There was a peace concluded, but no full obseruation of the Edict: wherevpon the Princes sent *Briquemault*, *Teligny*, *Beauvais* *la Nocle* and *Cauannes* to Court. The King at their instance, sent commissioners throughout all the Prouinces of his realme. But there were some amongst them, who (not many yeeres before) had condemned the Admirall to bee E hanged. Amongst others, the Marshall of Cossé, and *Proutiere* maister of Requests, were at Rochelle, to consult with the Queene of Nauarre and the Admirall, about the meanes in general, to maintaine the realme in peace: and particularly to treat of a marriage betwixt *Henry* of Bourbon Prince of Nauarre, and *Marguerite* of Valois the Kings sister, and then to conferre with the Admirall touching the warre which his Maiefty seemed to pretend against the Spaniard in the Low-countries, to the protection whereof, hee was greatly sollicit. The Kings good countenance, and the gifts he gaue to the deputies, namely to *Teligny*, who seemed to bee greatly in his Maiesties fauour and likewise might doe much to perswade his father-in-law to come to Court, makes them at their returne to Rochelle, to extoll the Kings singular loue and affection to the Queene of Nauarre, the Princes, the Admirall, and to all the rest of their party, and to assure them by his commandment, that hee will not onely maintaine the peace, but also confirme it by the alliance of his owne sister, and that he desires to conferre by mouth with the Admirall, touching this new expedition of the Low-countries, and therefore they should make hast to goe vnto him.

And the better to confirme them in this belife, the King sends *Biron* after them with the same charge, and that he would procure the Queene his mother and the duke of Aniou his brother, F

The Kings  
dissimulation

1571. brother, to moderate their spleens and discontents, and wold worke a reconciliation betwixt A the duke of Guise and the Admirall. This apparent meanes to confirme a publike concord did please the Admirall, beleueing this marriage should be the ground of a most happy peace, and the Queene of Nauarre feared least delay should alter the Kings good meaning. But the accomplishment of the marriage was hindered by some lets. The Pope made some difficulty to dispence therewith, as well by reason of the consanguinity of the parties, (the one being pettie-Nephew, the other grand-child of *Francis* the first King of France) as also for the difference of their religions. The Queene of Nauarre likewise made some scruple of this disparity of religion, of the ceremonies, and of the place of the solemnity. She would not haue the marriage celebrated after the manner of the Catholike Church, and feared the city of Paris, as most affected to their religion, and of long time an enemy to the house of Nauarre.

Pretexts for  
the low coun-  
try warres.

Contrariwise, the King would haue Paris to bee the Theater, where this notable act should be solemnly celebrated in view of the capitall city of his Realme, without changing any thing in forme of royall marriage. In the end the respect of ciuill reason preuailed. As for the motiues of this warre pretended in the Low-country: (they were goodly in shew) for besides this hereditary hatred of the French against the Spaniard, being reuiued by the outrages and warres made in France by *Charles* and *Philip* his sonne, the remembrance whereof was yet fresh, they renewed the ancient quarrels of many possessions in the Low-countries, depending of this crowne. Moreouer they pretended new causes, which seemed lawfull to breake the alliance betwixt the two Kings. That his Maiesty had most certaine intelligence of poyson giuen by *Philip* to his wife, the Sister of our *Charles*, vpon some discontents and filthy ialousies. These reasons had a shew of truth, and the Admirall to the end the French (who cannot liue long together in mutuall concord, and that by a long use of warre breathed nothing but warre;) should not seeke some new seeds of ciuill diuision, held it good to diuert this vehement heate against some stranger and nation a farre off. Many necessary considerations fortified this ciuill councill. The forces of the Prince of Orange, and his brethren, who spoiled by the Spaniard of many rich possessions both in the Low-countries, and in the county of Bourgongne, had long time sought to recouer it by armes. The credit and fauour of the Low-countrie men in Germany, by reason of the exceeding cruelty of the duke of Alua. *Lodowike* of Nassau, brother to the sayd Prince, a man of great courage and resolution, prest it forward, and his presence was a spur to the Admirall. Moreouer, to the end it should seeme this warre was managed with the Kings consent, his Maiesty did suffer the Prince of Auranges fleet to ride about Rochell, annoying the Spaniards and Portugalls, which sailed vpon that coast for the trafficke of the Low-countries: and for Cont *Lodowike*, to sell the booty he had taken from the enemy freely and publicly at Rochell.

So the Admirall, a widower by reason of *Charlot* of Lauall deceased in the second troubles, after he had espoused the Contesse of Antremont in Sauoy, at Rochelle, and giuen his daughter *Louyse* to the Lord of Teligny to wife, hee comes to Court, relying vpon the Kings assurances, so often confirmed by messengers: and especially by the Marshall of Colfe, whom the King had sent to accompany him, presuming the Admirall would giue more credit to the Marshalls words, by reason of their familiarity.

The King receiued him with all demonstrations of loue (those of Guise leaue him the place, not to yeeld any thing vnto him, but to returne soone after with greater authority) and to take from him all ialousies and distrusts which were giuen him from all parts, the King at the first doth recompence the losses which the Admirall had sustained during the former warres, by the gift of a hundred thousand frankes, and grants him for one whole yeere, the reuenues which his brother the Cardinall of Chastillon enioyed (being lately deceased in England). He giues him a place in the priuy councill. Doth oftentimes confer F with him touching the warres of Flanders, and makes (shew to be governed therein by his aduice and councill: he honours him with that plausible name of father, and treats with him so familiarly, as the country tooke this familiarity for a seale of his Masters affection to the Admirall, and the people began now to murmure, that *Charles* not onely fauoured the Huguenots, but would shortly himselfe become a Huguenot. A cunning baite to free the

A free the Admirall from suspition by the aduertisements which had beene giuen him to the contrary. He could now tast no admonitions, his spirit was so transported with the Kings countenance and words.

Doubtlesse the wildome of man failes euen in the wisest, when it pleaseth him that giues it, to weaken the strongest spirits, and (by a iudgement incomprehensible to man) to cast a vayle before his eyes, and to make him vnable to conceiue the Iustice and horror of the iudgement which he meanes to display. For the better aduancing the enterprise of the Low-countries, the Admirall thought it fit the King should make a peace with *Elizabeth* Queene of England. They might treat it with a very honest colour, to the preiudice of the Spaniards. *Elizabeth* was not married, and *Henry* duke of Aniou had no wife, the dignity of so high an alliance was honorable for the duke, and the quality of a Kings brother was not to be contemned by the Queene: haue also in his yong age purchased great glory and reputation. This charge is giuen to the Marshall of Montmorency. But the issue did shew, that besides this negotiation of peace, their meaning was to abuse both the Admirall and all others whom it was expedient to abuse for the execution of the councill of Saint Cloud, and by the same practise to send the Marshall farre from court, least by his ordinary conuersing with the King, hauing a good iudgement, and smelling out the complots of this pittifull Tragedy, he should discover them to the Admirall his cousin: and by meanes of this new peace, the English in the midst of this indignity, should bee restrained from attempting of any thing in fauour of the Protestants, as it chanced. During this time the Admirall retires to Chastillon: and in the meane season they prepare a fleet at Bourdeaux and Brouage, vnder the command of *Siroffy*, *Landereau* and the baron of la Garde. The pretext was the warre of Flanders: yet had they expresse commission to attempt vpon Rochell, and by open or secret practises to get it into their owne power.

Peace with  
the English.

The Admirall hauing founded the sould, vpon his assurance to the Queene of Nauarre of the Kings singular affection to her and to all her house, in the end she goes to Blois, where as the Court remained. Here vpon falls out an accident, which made the aduancement of the said marriage more easie: the death of Pope *Pius* the fifth. *Gregory* the thirteenth, succeeded him, where vpon the King sent the Cardinall of Lorraine to Rome, to assist at the new election, and to procure of his successor a necessary dispence, for the accomplishing of the solemnity.

The Queene  
of Nauarre  
comes to  
Court.

Some letters of the Cardinall of Pelvé (sometimes a scullion in the Colledge of Montaigu, and then seruant to the Cardinall of Lorraine during his study, and afterwards grown to bee a Cardinall) written vnto his maister, being intercepted by the way, conteyning amongst other things: *That the Court of Rome did wonder greatly at the familiarity the King vsed to the Admirall, during his aboad neere his Maiesty: that it was fit to vse such policy, attending the execution of the priuy Councill,* the which discovered sufficiently that which was generally spoken of throughout all France. This had beene concluded at Saint Cloud nere vnto Paris, amongst few, but it was common in many mens mouthes: and *Lignerolles*, E gouernor of Bourbonnois, one of the duke of Anious mignons (for that hee had blabbed out some thing which hee had learned in secret of his maister) did expiate the rashnesse of his licentious tongue, with the price of his blood. But wee shall see in our daies a more strange effect of Gods iustice, for that the last of our Kings of the race of *Valois*, shall end his life miserably in the same chamber where the fatall councill had beene held in his presence. Neither could the aduice of *Pelue*, nor any other, stay the Admirall from coming to Paris as soone as the King: beeing sollicit by his Maiesty, by many and sundry letters, to conclude fully of the marriage (besides they treated the marriage of the Prince of Condé with the Marquise of Lisle, the yongest daughter of the house of *Neuers*) and of the voyage of Flanders. The Queene of Nauarre, to whom this long delay was very troublesome, prepared all things necessary for so famous an act, but shee falls sicke of a quotidian feuer, the fourth of Iune, eightene daies after her arriual, and dies the fifth day after her sickness, growing (said the Physicians) of an extraordinary hardnesse of the lungs, with a great impostume, augmented by the great heat of the season, and her continuall trauell in the time of her health. A Princeesse of a notable courage, inuincible in aduersity, of a ready wit, iudicious, absolute in her actions, capable of councill, comprehending things with

Letters inter-  
cepted.

The death of  
the queene of  
Nauarre.



1572. with a great viuacity of spirit, and deliuering her minde with an admirable grace, either A by word or writing: of a Iouiall complexion, and very pleasant in conuersation. But happie chiefly in this, that shee left vs a lawfull heire for to inherite this crowne, to redeeme it out of the handes of the stranger, and to preferue it with happinesse and prosperitie.

Many are amazed at this sodaine death, as an assured foretelling of some future mischiefe. The King, the Queene-mother, and all the Kings house shew a wonderfull sorrow: and to take away all suspicion of poyson, Charles commands the body to be opened, and to search the causes of her death. The Physitians report, there is no shew of poyson, but her braine was not opened. Some hold opinion, that an Italian, the Kings perfumer presented her B with a paire of gloues, which preuented her from beholding of that pittifull and bloody tragedie, which shall bee shortly acted. The continuall messages sent from Charles, had likewise drawne the Princes to Court, and this death did seeme to aduance the marriage, for she gaue vnto her sonne the kingdome of Nauarre, and now he beganne to enioy the title of King, and all his mothers succession. The Popes dispensation was necessary, without the which the Cardinall of Bourbon vnle to Henry, who was appointed to marry them, refused to proceed therein. In the end it comes, and the day of the consummation is appointed to bee kept the eighteenth of August.

Such were the actions of the Court, whilest that Cont Lodowike, La Noue, Sanconrs and Ienlis, to whom the King had giuen chiefe Commissions for the Belgike warre, had by C the taking of Monts in Hainault, drawne all the duke of Aluaes forces against them. Flushingue had slaine their Gouverneur, with the most part of the Spanish garrison, and repulsed those the duke had sent to recouer the towne. Many other townes of the Low-countries followed the like example. Holland and Zeland hunted after their liberty. Beginnings which seemed to draw after them a long continuance of great consequence: and the authority the King gaue to the aboue-named to prouide for the succour of Monts, and for the continuing of other like exploits, induced the Admirall to beleue firmly, that the King embraced this businesse without dissembling. According to this authority, Ienlis led fise hundred horse, and foure thousand foote, whereof the duke of Aluaes being aduertised, hee surprised him suddenly, defeated his troupes, tooke him prisoner with D many others, and slue many of his men.

The King seemed displeased with these newes, hee sends to Monduet his Ambassadour in the Low-countries, to procure the liberty of these prisoners: and suffers the Admirall to send such succours as hee could, to ioyne with the army of Reistres which the Prince of Orange had leauied: he caused money to bee made ready for the entertainment of the foote, which they esteemed foure regiments, and thirty companies of men at armes. The Ambassadour of Spaine was gone out of France. The Queene-mother likewise playing her part, seemed to bee ignorant of the Kings designs, and being informed thereof, she seemed ready to retire from Court. These reasons did still confirme the Admirall, Teligny and the rest in that beliefe: that the King concurred with the Admirall in E one will, to send the warres farre off into the King of Spaines countries, the which he had before kindled in the foure corners, and in the heart of this Realme, pretending to entertaine it there, and to maintaine himselfe with the ship-wracks of this crowne, and to seize thereon in time, as the attempt of his designs in our daies haue testified.

The Marshall of Montmorency returned from his Ambassage, bringing a mutual league offensive and defensive, with, and against al men, not naming any one: but the marriage, whereof hee had charge remained fruitlesse: which made many beleue that it was but a meere fiction, fit for the season, where they prepared a scaffold, on the which they should soone present a horrible spectacle. The Marshall either not to bee a spectator nor counsellor, or doubting to bee engaged in these publike and priuate furies, retired himselfe to his house. Rochell was in the meane time beleagard, souldiars arriued hourly, giuing terrible threats against the towne, who beganne to cry to the Admirall for succours. In other townes they heard secret murmurings, which terrified the most cleere sighted amongst the Protestants. These aduertisements found continually in the Admiralls eares. But hee continues alwaies like vnto himselfe, constant in the midst of all motions,

A motions, and grewe resolute against all such as laboured to call him from Court, either by mouth or writing. As for the house of Guise (saith hee) whercof they will put mee in feare, the King hath taken order, making us to sweare before him to continue friends: and as for them of the Religion, the marriage of Madam Marguerit, whom his Mostie giues not to the king of Nauarre alone, but as it were to all those of the party, to ioyne himselfe vnto them by an indissoluble union, is the finishing of their quiet and safety. To conclude, he will bee no more troubled touching the Kings ill meaning, nor the Queene-mothers, the duke of Anious, the Guisens, nor any others.

And that which fetles the Admirall the more in his conceit, he finds the King, (after the death of Sigismund King of Poland) to affect the pursute of that crowne in fauour of his B brother. Charles was cleere-sighted in affaires of State; hee was yong, yet of a quick and ready wit, and (if bloody and furious counsels had not peruerterd him) without doubt hee might haue brought forth better fruites, and this Monarchy had bene freed from the miseries which haue since ruined it. His brother had great credit generally in France: his mildnesse made him pleasing to his Mother, and his liberality, to the people. Hee desired rather to see him command farre off then nere. And the Admirall, who knew the duke of Aniou to be an irreconcilable enemy to the Protestants, supposed that the King would by his absence settle a firme peace: that Henry being confined in Poland, his adherents would grow more mild: that the house of Guise disappointed of this support, would teare the Kings C lookes, the which some-times appeared terrible: and that Charles would soone discharge the Queene his Mother from the gouernment of affaires, and take it wholly vnto himselfe, as already he made shewes of his intent.

The Admirall seeing Iohn of Montluc Bishop of Valence, a man of iudgement, and practised in negotiations, employed in this Ambassage, hee fed himselfe with new hopes. And contrariwise, Montluc (fore-seeing the imminent storme,) was verie glad to bee neither a counsellor nor a witnesse of the miseries that were like to fall vpon the Protestants. And indeed hee had before councelled many of the principalls amongst them not to medle in this imaginary warre of Flanders, but to retire in time to their houses, and not to trust ouer-much in the goodly shewes of Court, considering the estate of the D great, and the ill will of the people of Paris. But thus God confoimes the iudgement, and blinds the vnderstanding of such as hee referes for an example to their posterity. Oh France, my haire stands vpright, and I tremble, to enter into the relation of so inhumaine a Tragedy! And shall wee neuer be satisfied to heare the lamentable and so cruell slaughter of our country-men? what man would not be troubled? what minde would not be oppressed with heauinesse and griefe, to see so much blood vnprofitably spilt in our cities, which should be carefully preferred for the defence of our country against strangers and common enemies? yet let vs passe this dangerous passage: the course of times makes vs to proceed.

A great number of Noblemen, both Catholikes and Protestants, repaired from all parts, E to the solemnizing of this marriage. Those of Guise come, bringing with them a great traine of men of all qualities faithful vnto them. The water which moues by little and little, the birdes which houer aboue it, and the ayre colder then of custome, foretell a storme to come. So the common murmurings, the stirring of the quarter-masters, and other captaines of Paris, the Kings gardes dispersed through the City, the ordinary threats against the Protestants, were certaine testimonies, that this marriage should be seasoned more with blood then water. The day appointed comes: the Cardinall of Bourbon marries the parties vpon a high scaffold, built before the doore of our Ladies Church at Paris. Foure daies are spent in plaies, feasts, dancing and masks: the which finished, the King protests to the Admirall, that he will answer and satisfie the Protestants requests. Euery one of their Churches had their Deputies in Court, for many affaires, where in the Admiralls authority was very necessary. They ought a great summe of money to the Germanes, due for their entertainment in former warres: for the payment whereof, the King had suffered them to taxe themselves to the fit part of their citates. The Commissioners and Receiuers prest the collection, being desirous to make an end of that businesse, the day of payment being past. Hereon the Admirall treated with the Priuie Yyy council,

Suspected to be poysoned.

Beginning of the warres in Flanders.

Ienlis defeated.

the marriage solemnized.

1572. Councel, on Friday the two and twentieth of August, where the duke of Anjou in the Kings A  
absence was president.

At the rising of the councell, the Admirall hauing attended on the King, who went to  
play at Tennis, he retired himselfe to his lodging at dinner time, beeing accompanied with  
fifteene or sixteene Gentlemen: and reading a petition, when as being about a hundred pa-  
ces from the Louvre, a Harguebuze shot from the window of a lodging nere by, belonging  
to *Villemur*, some-times Schoole-maister to the duke of Guise, carries away the fore finger  
of the right hand, and wounds him in the left arme. They breake downe the doore of the  
lodging: they find the Harguebuze, but not him that discharged it. This was *Maureuel*  
(vnder a counterfet name of *Bollan* one of the Kings gardes) a fit man for such murders:  
who mounting vpon a Genet of Spaine which was prouided ready for him, fled by Saint B  
Anthonies gate to a place of safety.

The Admirall  
hurt.

The King plaied, and vpon the first report of this hurt: *Shall I neuer haue quiet (said hee)*  
*shs' I daily see new troubles.* And casting his racket to the ground, hee retired to the Lou-  
vre, and swears with an execration to the King of Nauarre, and the Prince of Condé (who  
were come vnto him to complaine of this outrage) to take such exemplary iustice of the  
offender, his fautors and adherents, as the Admirall and his friends should haue cause to  
rest satisfied. He presently commands to pursue him that shot (but they goe slowly after  
him) hee appoints three of the Parliament to make informations against the offender,  
*Thou, Morfan and Viole*: he leaues onely two gates open with great gardes, vnder collour C  
to search for such as were priuie to this outrage, putting the whole city into armes. The  
Queene-mother seemes to bee discontented. *They doe great wrong vnto the King (cries*  
*shee): if hee should suffer this crime unpunished, they would in the end attempt against*  
*his owne house.* These counterfet speeches retaine the King of Nauarre and the  
Prince of Condé, who had desired leaue to retire themselves, but then they made no more  
mention of leauing the Court. Charles himselfe, and *Katherin* his mother, come in the  
afternoone to visit the Admirall. The Admirall shewes vnto him the miseries which the  
breach of the peace would bring vnto France: he beseecheth him to chase away these mu-  
tinies, and to maintaine his promised faith, wherevpon he was come to Court, and to pro-  
uide for the preferuation of the realme. But the Queene-mother knew well how to pre-  
uent him, least he should acquaint the King with some secrets, touching the preferuation D  
of his Estate.

Treachery in  
a King.

The King protests againe to be exceeding sorry: that this act toucheth his honour, and  
that hee will bee reuenged, so as the memory thereof shall remaine for euer. Hee per-  
swades the Admirall to suffer himselfe to be carried to the Louvre, for the safety of his per-  
son: that it was to be feared, least the multitude stirred vp by the authors of his hurt, should  
fall into some greater mutiny. Hee also aduiseeth the Gentlemen Protestants, to lodge a-  
bout the Admirals lodging, least (said he) that being dispersed through the city, they should  
receiue some wrong. But to shew that hee would not forget any thing that might con-  
cerne the Admirals safety, seeing the griefe of his wound would not suffer him to be trans- E  
ported, he commands *Coffeins* capitaine of his gardes, to giue the Admirall as many of his  
garde as he pleased, and to suffer no Catholike to enter. And least any man should grow  
amazed hereat, the King writes to the Gouvernours of the Prouinces, to the chiefe townes,  
and Magistrates: *That hee would take such order, as the authors of so wicked an act should bee*  
*knowne and punished.* And to his Ambassadors with forraigne Princes: *that they should make*  
*it knowne to all the world, that this outrage doth displease him.* The Queene-mother writes  
in like manner, but this was onely to keepe euery bird within his nest. In the meane-time  
the dukes of Anjou and Guise, tooke councell of that which they had to doe the night fol-  
lowing. Saturday in the morning, it is bruted throughout the city, that the Protestants  
did threaten the house of Guise. Herevpon the dukes of Guise and Aumale goe vnto the F  
King, and say vnto him: that of late they haue found their seruice to bee little agreeable to  
his Maiesty: that if he were pleased to see them retired to their houses, they were ready to  
depart. Go (saith Charles vnto them with a frowning countenance) *where you please, I will*  
*haue you at all times, if you be found guilty of the Admirals hurt.* So making shew to be discon-  
tented, they goe to horse, and many with them, yet meaning to lie in Paris.

Paris

A Paris was a pit-fall to intrap the chiefe of the Protestants: they being dead, the basest sort  
of that party, would in all likely-hood remaine quiet. The time now offered a fit opportuni-  
ty of reuenge, the which should not bee lost. This councell was taken after dinner at the  
Tuilleries, by the King, the Queene-mother, the dukes of Anjou, Neuers, Retz and Tauan-  
nes. The King of Nauarres life, with the Prince of Condé, were put in ballance, the warres  
had beene managed in their names: If they liue (sayd one) they will serue as an ensigne, to  
reuiue those Huguenots which shall remaine in diuers Prouinces, and shall euery day mi-  
nister motiues of confusions. Contrary-wise, the Admirall and the principals being taken  
away, it shall be easie to restraine these yong Princes, not onely not to attempt any innoua-  
tion, but also in time to win the Kings good fauour by their seruices: also the indignity of  
B the fact would purchase an insupportable hatred amongst strangers. God disposed the  
hearts of the councell to this second aduice, so as they will imbrace the Catholike religion,  
and liue vnder the obedience of his Maiesty. As for the rest (whom the fury of their armes  
should touch) they might with a goodly pretext, leaue to the ancient quarrell of the Guis-  
iens against the Admirall, and take for an excuse, the feare they had least the Huguenots  
should seeke a reuenge for his hurt. To lay all the hatred vpon the Guisians, they giue the  
charge of this businesse to the duke of Guise: they appoint him the meanes, the time, and  
the ministers of the execution.

The King re-  
solves to mai-  
fice the Pro-  
testants.

The night being come, the duke calls vnto him the captaines of the Suisses, and other  
C companies (whom to that end they had drawne into the city) and deliuers his charge vnto  
them, which was, to roote out the Admirall and all his partisans. Hee exhorts them to  
bloud and spoile, and disposeth his troupes in some speciall places. Then he giues aduise  
vnto the Prouost of the Marchants, the Sheriffes and quarter-maisters: that throughout all  
France, the like should bee done to the Huguenots as at Paris. That the palace-bell ring-  
ing at the breake of day, shall giue the signall: and the marke of these executioners should  
be a handkerchefe tied about their armes, with a white crosse in their hats, that they should  
put their men in armes, and be at mid-night in Towne-house, to receiue order what they  
had to doe.

The duke of  
Guise giues  
order for the  
massacre.

They assemble at mid-night, and place many gardes in the streetes. Some Gentlemen  
D lodged nere vnto the Admirall, rise at the noise of their armes, and the light of their lamps,  
and going into the streetes, they inquire of the first they meete, what this assembly of armed  
men meant at so vnseasonable a time. A doubtfull answere being giuen them, makes them  
to repaire to the Louvre, to discover more. Here the gardes goe from words to blowes,  
and fall vpon them. The duke of Guise parts from the Louvre, accompanied with the  
Knight of Angoulesme, bastard to Henry the second, the duke of Aumale, Cossiens, Sarla-  
boux, Goas, *Atin* a Piccard, *Hausfort* an Auvergnac, and *Besmes* a Germaine, with some  
Harguebuziers of the Kings, and all the duke of Anjous garde. The alarum-bell rings at  
Saint Germaine Auxerrois, and they publish throughout the city: that the Huguenots  
had conspired against the King, the Queene-mother, and all the chiefe in Court. *Cossiens*  
E knocks at the Admirals gate: hee enters at two of the clock in the morning, the foure and  
twentieth day of the moneth, stabs him that comes to open it, forceth the dores of the lodg-  
ing, enters with seuen or eight armed. *Besmes* a household seruant to the duke of Guise, of-  
fers the Admirall the point of his sword. Herevpon the Admirall being risen vpon his  
feet, and couered with his night gowne, sayd: *Young man, thou shouldest haue respect vnto*  
*my old age, and infirmities, but thou shalt no way shorten my daies*: hee thrusts him  
through the body, and then doubles it on his head. *Atin* shootes him through with a  
pistoll: and when as these three wounds were not able to ouerthrow him, *Besmes* wounds  
him on the legge; euery one of the rest giues his blow, and thus they cast that body mise-  
rably to the ground, whom liuing and in health they durst not looke in the face. The duke  
F of Guise hearing the noise of their armes in the base Court, enquires if it be done, and com-  
mands them to cast him out at the window: who yet breathing, laies hold on the pil-  
lar: but these butcherly murderers hurle him downe head-long, where the duke wiping  
his face with a handkerchefe. *I know him* (saith hee) *it is the very same*: and so spurnes  
him with his foote, then going into the streete: Courage companions, wee haue begunne  
happily, let vs proceed to the rest, the King commands it. An Italian of the household of

The chiefe  
murderers.

The Admirall  
murdered.

1572.

the duke of Neuers, cuts off his head, and carries it to the King and Queene-Mother, which causing it to be imbaulmed, sent it to the Pope and to the Cardinall of Lorraine, for an assurance of the death of his most capitall enemy.

The Protestants massacre.

The palace clocke strikes, and the people flie to the Admiralls lodging like madde men, one cuts off his hands, another his priuy members: and for the space of three daies, they dragge this poore carcasfe with all indignity through the streetes, and then they carry and hang it by the feete at Montfaucon. His lodging is spoiled, his house-hold seruants murdered. Those which attended on the King of Nauarre and Prince of Condé, are driuen out of their chambers: (they were in the Louvre, where the King had lodged them, to the end (sayd hee) that (those of Guise hauing the people at their deuotion) they should not in like manner feele the effects of their violence) and murdered in the base Court, the Noblemen and Gentlemen lodged in the Admiralls quarter, vndergoe the like fortune. The like fury oppresseth the other Protestants throughout the city and suburbs, of all ages, conditions and sexes, men, women, and children, rich and poore. There is nothing to be heard in Paris, but a horrible noyse of armes, horses and Harguebuzes: a lamentable cry of people going vnto death, a pittifull complaint of such as cryed for mercy, and the pittifull showts of murderers. The streetes are strewed with carcases, the pauements, market-places, and riuer died with blood. One day alone (by the murtherers saying) hath ended the quarrell, which neither pen, paper, decrees of Iustice, nor open warre could see determined in twelue yeeres. About ten thousand soules makes this Sunday famous for euer, polluted with the spoyling of goods, and the effusion of their blood that were a sleepe, disarmed, and at such a season as they thought themselves most safe. And doubtlesse the horrible catastrophes happened since to our Charles, to his brother and successors, and to the bretheren of the house of Guise, in the last acts of their liues, and generally to all this realme, euen vnto our daies, forceth vs to confesse: that mans blood violently spilt, when as the manner of it may not lawfully be qualified with the name of Iustice, cannot please his sight, who hath created them to his own image and likeness, and fels them deere to the authors of this effusion. The fame of this massacre, had already passed from the city to the Suburbs, when as the Earle of Montgomery, *John of Ferrieres Vidame of Chartres, Beauvais la Noüe, Fontenay*, and many Gentlemen, lodged in the suburbs of Saint Germaine, perceiuing a number of men to crosse the riuer, to make them equall with their companions: they abandon their baggage, goe sodenly to horse and saue themselves with speed, being pursued halfe a daies journey by the duke of Guise. But he that should haue brought the keyes of Saint Germaines gate, hauing mistaken them, gaue them some leifure to get the aduantage.

The King aduowes the murder.

The King sends for the King of Nauarre and the Prince of Condé, and giues them to vnderstand: That hauing bene crost many yeeres with a continuance of warre, he had in the end found an assured meanes to cut off all moeues of confusions to come: that by his commandement they had slaine the Admirall (the pernicious author of fore-passed troubles) that now they did the like to others in the city, that were infected with the poyson of heresie, and the ministers of his wickednesse. That he remembered well the discomforts he had receiued by their two meanes, making themselves the heads of a troupe of desperate men. That now the cause and oportunitie giues him meanes to bee reuenged of such outrages: but notwithstanding he doth pardon their offence, by reason of consanguinity and their young age, beleeuing that all had bene committed, not by their fault and counsell, but by the Admirall and other wicked subiects, who now haue suffered and doe suffer a iust punishment due to their deserts, so as hereafter they repaire their faults past, by fideliry and obedience, and renouncing the doctrine of their prophane superstition, they cleaue to the Catholike Religion, and retorne into the communion of the Church. That hereafter hee will haue but one Religion within his Realme, euen that which hee hath receiued from his Ancestors: that they should aduise whether they would obey him in this point, if not, let them resolute to yeeld their heads to the like punishments of their companions.

The King of Nauarre beseecheth his Maiesty to remember his promise, and the alliance lately contracted, and not to force him in the religion which hee hath learned from his

1572.

A his infancy. The Prince of Condé answers: that the King hath giuen his faith, to all them of the Religion, and that he cannot perswade himselfe hee will breake so sollemne an oath. As for the obedience (saith he) you require of mee, I haue faithfull performed it vnto this day, neither will I hereafter stray in any thing from my duty. But as for my religion, my Liege, I am resolute to continue constant and (with the hazard of my life) maintaine it to be true: you haue granted me the exercise thereof, and God hath giuen me the knowledge, to whom I must yeeld an account, leauing my body and goods to the disposition of your will. This resolute answer puts Charles into choller, who full of threats, giues the Prince but three daies liberty to aduise, whether he would soone loose his head vpon a scaffold. In the end, both abiure the doctrine they followed, and by the intercession of the Cardinall of Bourbon their vnckle, they obtained pardon of the Pope, and were receiued into the bosome of the Church.

A noble resolution of a young Prince.

After the massacre, those of Guise, according to the conclusion of the counsell, should retire themselves into some one of their houses out of Paris, and Charles should expressly charge and command the Gouvernours of Prouinces and townes, to obserue the Edict of peace, and to punish the breach thereof seuerely, to the end the people of France, and their neighbours, should impute all the fury of this massacre, to the ancient quarrell of those of Guise, with the house of Chastillon. But the foulness of the fact might heape vpon them and their posterity, the hatred of all men, with whom humane society and vertue is in recommendation. For they had not spared an infinite number of learned men, of reuerent old men, honest virgins, honourable matrons, women with child, chaste maidens, young schoolers, and little infants hanging at the breasts of their mother. Arming themselves therefore with the peoples loue, they refuse to goe out of Paris, handling the matter so politickely, as they cause the King to auouch all that had bene done. So Charles writes other letters to his Ambassadors and Gouvernours, aduertising them. That the tumult which had happened concerned not religion, but the preferuation of his estate, his house and person, against the practices of the Admirall, and some other seditious persons, who had ioyntly conspired his death, his Mothers, and his bretherens, and therefore hee would haue his Edict of pacification religiously obserued. Yet if any Huguenots (moued with these newes of Paris) should assemble in armes, they should roote them out, as perturbors of the publike peace, referring the surplusage of his will, to the credit of the bearer. And the better to authorise this approbation, the six and twenty day of August, Charles with his bretheren assists in Parliament, all the chambers beeing assembled, where sitting in his seate of Iustice, he declares openly, that those things which had chanced in Paris, were done by his owne proper motion and commandement, yet making no mention of the cause. Christopher of Thou the chiefe President, commended his zeale in the name of all the company.

The Admirall accused of conspiracy.

But to what end did hee write the contrarie the next daie, to his Officers and the Magistrates of Townes; That to his great griefe, the Admirall his cousin, and some others of his partie, had bene slaine at Paris: commanding them to preuent all mutinies and murthers, and to proclaime, that euery man should remaine quiet in his house, without taking of armes, or giuing any offence: and to giue order that his Edict of pacification bee exactly obserued: and yet the same day to publish a declaration of the former tenour, conteyning, that by his expresse commandement, the Admirall and other his complices had bene slaine, not for matter of Religion, but to preuent the execution of a wicked practise made by them, against the Kings person, the Queene-mother, his bretheren, the King of Nauarre, (this was for a colour of excuse, to such as would obiekt, why then was this Prince saued from ship-wracke, and it may bee for loue of him, the Prince of Condé his cousin,) and generally against their houses, and the house of France?

Doubtlesse there was small likely-hood, that a little troupe of men, disperfed some in the suburbs, others within the city in small numbers, should presume to attempt any thing against the Estate. Charles had both night and day his ordinary guards, French, Swisses and Scottishmen: the most of the Princes, Noblemen and Gentlemen of the realme were in Court to honour the marriage. Those which had accompanied the King of Nauarre and

1572. the Prince of Condé, had no other armes but their swords: and for a gage of their innocency, had brought for the most part their wiues, children, sisters, and kinsfolke, studying onely to shew themselves at the Tilt and Tourney. The accusation made no mention of time, place, or adherents, neither of the meanes, or any witnesses of this conspiracy. If it had bene plotted since the Admirals hurt, three hundred Gentlemen vnarmed, which had accompanied him, could they haue effected any thing, vnder a Commander, tied by both the armes, and ready to see the one cut off by the aduise of the Physitians and Chirurgians, in a mighty city, and against about three-score thousand men, ready to be opposed at the first alarm? Moreover, the King of Nauarre and Prince of Condé, who had bene still present at counsell, would they haue blemished their honours and houses with so great an infamy? And if their innocency had freed them from the common danger, the consultations of the Admirall and his followers, had they not bene very childish at such a time, in such a place, among so many naturall French-men come with him, who had neither goods, kinsfolke, pleasure, nor content without the Realme? Besides, if the Admirall were suspected of this attempt, might they not haue committed him presently to a safe prison, in forme of his practises, and take such conclusions as the crime might deserue according to the lawes? To conclude, admit the Admirall after his hurt, or else his friends had giuen forth some bad speeches, must the same punishment deuoure so many persons, who conuersed onely with their bookes and papers, with their traficke, and with their worke, so many women, who dreamt but of their hufwifery, so many virgins and infants, whose age and condition kept them from the conference of any counsell?

As for the attempt against the King of Nauarre, that accusation is friuolous. Had not the Admirall him in his power, for the space of three yeeres? what benefit should he reape by his death? Haue they not conuersed long together with an humble and sincere respect of the Admirall towards him, and a perfect loue of the sayd King to the Admirall: but omit all other reasons that might refute this slander: let vs onely obserue the testimony which *Montluc* giues in the seuenth booke of his Commentaries, vpon this subiect. *The Queene-mother* (saith he) *did me the honour to write vnto me, that they had discovered a great conspiracy against the King and his Estate, she which was the cause of what had happened. I knowe what my belief was, it is not good to offend ones master. The King did neuer forget, how the Admirall made him retire in hast from Meaux to Paris: wee loose our iudgments suddenly, and doe not dreame the Kings haue greater hearts then we haue, and doe sooner forget seruices then offences.* And a little aboue: *My Lord the Admirall was ill aduised, to thrust himselfe into Paris, to shew that he gouerned all. I wonder, that so aduised and wise a man, should commit so grosse an error. He paid deere for it: it cost him his life, and many more.*

The particularities of such, as during this horrible butchery, haue shed their bloods for religions sake, at Meaux, Troyes, Orleans, Bourges, la Charité, Lions, Tholouza, Bourdeaux, Rouan, and other townes, in villages, and in the open fields, as they sought to saue themselves without the realme, haue bene obserued in other workes that are extant, and the blood of these murdered persons, which amount to about thirty thousand, haue dyed the earth, and made the waters red, haue cried so loude, that the heauens haue continued their vengeance, ouer great and small, for so many yeeres, as there remains scarce any one of the authors of this violent fact. Brittan and Picardy remained reasonably quiet: Champagne and Bourgongne shed little blood, through the policie of them of Guise, that all the blame might light vpon the King (as also they had saued many of the chiefe Protestants in the midst of the fury of this Parisien euen-song.) In Auvergne Saint *Heran* put more money into his cofers, then hee shed blood in his gouernment. In Dauphiné there were some murders committed. In Prouence, the humanity of the Earle of Tende restrained the hands and swords of the bloody-minded.

In the end, the people (glutted with the blood, and cloied with the spoiles of the murdered Protestants,) grow quiet, and the King appoints an extraordinary Iubilé with generall processions, where his Maiesty assisted with the Queene his mother, his brethren, and the Court, of purpose to giue thanks to God, for that which had so happily succeeded. There were yet some thornes stuck in Charles his feet: Rochel, Sancerre, Montauban, Nismes, Aubenas, Milliaud, Priuas, Mirebel, Andure and other small townes of Viarets and Seuennes, serued

A serued as a Sanctuarie for the Protestants that were escaped, to keepe them from daunger. Rochell was not to be dealt withall, and it seemed that industrie and secret practises should preuaile more then open force. *Srossy* and *la Gard*: will releue the inhabitants with men to keepe it, and vsfurnish them of victuals, requiring a quantitie to refresh their army. But they had men inough; a great number were fled thither, and many Protestant souldiars, whom the hope of the voyage of Flanders entertained in the Kings army, slipt hourly into their towne. Their priuiledges likewise did free them from garrison, and as for victuals, they had for their prouision, but could not spare any. *Srossy* and *la Gard* spent both time and money in vaine about Rochell: they therefore lend *Biron* vnto them for their Gouernor, with expresse commandement to receiue a garrison. They answer: That they cannot beleue that that charge comes from the King, who commaunded the strict obseruation of the Edict, and grants them the vse of their ancient priuiledges vnder his obedience. And for a testimonie, they produce the Kings letters of the 22. and 24. of August, whereby his Maiesty layes the motiues of the sedition vpon them of Guise, saying: That he had much ado to prelerue himselfe in the midst of his guards, in his Castle of Loure. As for the reasons which made them to auoid all the surprises and baits, of such as *Biron* sent to treat with them, they vsed the meanes which politicke wisdom doth vsually furnish in such accidents: offering notwithstanding to accept *Biron*, so as the troupes may bee retired from thence; the exercise of their Religion to remaine free, and that hee bring no forces into the Towne.

*Biron* summons them by vertue of his authoritie, and vpon refusall proclaimes warre against them: and euen then, vnder colour to giue the armie at Sea meanes to disperse it selfe, he labours by all meanes to cut off their victuals and prouisions, and to weaken them of their men. The King by his Letters-patents of the 8. of October, calls home all that were fled out of diuers townes, saying, That as a good father of a family, he had pittie of his pore subiects, being out of their houses: and for not coming, did seaze and declare their goods forfeit. Yet the excuses which the King made vnto the Pope, to the Duke of Alua, and to the Ambassador of Spaine, that the brutes of the Belgick warre, and all the former Councils had tended to no other end, but to the ruine of the Huguenots: that his intent was to liue in peace and good correspondency with the Catholike King: and the Commissions he had sent to the Gouernors of Prouinces, to degrade all Protestants from their Offices and publike charges, although they were readie to renounce their Religion, except such as advanced to meane offices, were continued by the King, abjuring according to a forme set downe by the Colledge of Sorbonne, and to searce for all Protestants, that during the troubles had had the command of armes, or townes of warre, made this repeale of Charles to be wonderfully suspected.

Hereafter they vie al acts of hostility against the Rochelois: such as they know to be of the Towne, are kept prisoners, and put to their ransom: shippes that sayled towards the port were stayed, all merchandize belonging to the Rochelois seazed and confiscated. They therefore hasten the succours which the Count *Montgomery*, the Vidame of Chartres and others, prepared for them in England. The 25. of October they set sayle, but not able to approach, they returned backe. Those of Sancerre hauing refused to receiue a gouernour and garrison from the hands of *La Chastre* Gouernor of Berry, were beleaguerd in the beginning of October, *Cadaillet* Groome of the Chamber, and the Kings Hunts-man, very well knowne in the towne as an ancient seruant to the Earle of Sancerre, was sent to conferre with them: he brought the Inhabitants to that point, as some desiring, and others refusing: the Lord of Fontaines beeing a Catholike, his brother surprizeth the Castle, by the means of some inhabitants, who shut themselves into it with him: but the resolution, and the greater number of the Protestants displaced them within foure and twenty houres, as *Fontaines* came to their succors. So as *La Chastre* prepares now for open force, whereof we shall see the progresse in the beginning of the following yeare. This vnworthy and strange proceeding against the Protestants, had made the French name hatefull to strangers, especially in Poland, and did much trouble the negotiation, in fauour of the Duke of Aniou. Moreover, the Protestants both within and without the Realme, layd plots which in short time might produce dangerous effects. To make the Bishops negotiation more easie, and to crosse

War against  
the Rochelous.



1572. crosse the proiects of others, they obserue hereafter some forme of iustice against any one A that were found after the furie of the massacre. *Briquemaunt* a Gentleman of threescore and ten yeares old, and *Cavaignes* Master of Requests vnto the King, (both inward friends vnto the Admirall, and of great reputation) were of the number. They threaten them with an extraordinary torture, if they set not downe vnder their hands, to haue conspired with the Admirall, the death of the King, his breethren, the Queene-mother, and of the King of Nauarre, promising them pardon if they demand it, in aduowing that wherewith they are charged. *we will neuer* (said they) *accuse innocents, nor our selues for so execrable a crime.* The Commissioners not able to extort from them any such confession, they were both by sentence of the Court, as guilty of high treason, vnworthily hanged the 27. of October, in the presence of the King, Queene-mother, her two other sons, and the King of Nauarre. To the same execution was added the like decree against the Admirall. His bodie had beene taken from Mountfaucou and secretly buried, the which the greatest search of his enemies could neuer discouer. They therefore make the forme of a man, dragge it through the citie, and then cause it to be hanged. Moreover, the King commands by his letters-patents, That those of the pretended Religion should be maintained in safetie in their houses, bodies, goods, and libertie of consciences. And to excuse what was past, they cast abroad many libels, defaming the memorie of the Admirall and his followers. They giue new charges to the Ambassadors being in Germany, Poland, England, Suisseland, and other forraigne countries, to iustifie the actions of the King, and Catholikes, to the confusion and dishonor of the Admirall and his partie. But all these proceedings were, meanes to discouer the iniquitie of their pernicious counsels.

For the intent of this declaration in fauor of the Protestants were presently discouered by the tenor of the letters which the Duke of Guise did write vnto his wife, the day that *Briquemaunt* was executed. *The King* (said he) *hath decreed in Council, vnto to route out this seditions vermine.* But few would be taken, and the practises against the Prince of Aungars and others being discouered by this letter, vanished into smoake. In the mean time they continued their attempts against Rochell: and *Esars* being chosen chiefe of the war for the Rochelois, hauing taken one of the Baron of *la Gards* gallies, who had approached too neare vnder colour of bringing a letter to the whole bodie of the towne, caused *Biron* D to publish the Kings Letters-patents, giuen the sixth of the moneth, and to make open warre to the Rochelois. But *Charles* was not willingly drawne to armes: he sees well that he had kindled a fire which he should not quench when he would. He now tries the last stratagem. *La Noue* sent home by the Duke of Alua, after the taking of Monts in Hainault, had great credit among the Protestants, as one of the chiefe Captaines which remained. The King sollicitus him to be a meanes to bring the Rochelois to composition. *The impossibilitie of the thing* (answers he) *and my conscience will not suffer me to aduise the Rochelois to offer their throates to them that will cut them.* Yet the Kings authoritie makes him to accept of this charge: but rather with an intent to serue the Rochelois, and to retire himselfe from Court, then to hurt them of his Religion: After he had giuen an account of his Ambassage to *Biron*, who was then at Saint Iean d'Angely, he returnes to Rochell, where he performed his dury so well and carefully, as they acknowledged him for one of the chiefe instruments of the preservation thereof during the siege.

A Comet.

Then appeared there a new starre in heauen, hauing the forme of a Lozenge of foure points, and continued (beginning the ninth of Nouember) the space of nine moneths, immoveable (by the saying of the Astronomers) the first three weekes, resembling that which serued as a guide to the Wise-men that came out of the East, to worship Iesus Christ in Bethlehem. The nineteenth of the said moneth, the King by another Edict, called home all his subiects to their houses, vpon paine of losse of their goods, and sollicitated the Protestant Suisses, to chafe away such as were fled to them for succour. But the Ambassadors in France was of no force, and the taking of Sommers by the Marshall of d'Anuille from the Protestants, the perswasions of *Gourdes* to draw into the bosome of the Catholike Church *Monbrun*, *Mirabel*, and *Les Digueires* (who euen then made shew of a most valiant, most wife, and most happie Captaine for their partie, and shall hereafter haue a good share in our Historie) the assurance he gaue them, That the King was resolved to suffer but one Religion

Another repeal of the banished Protestants.

A Religion within his realme, with all the preparations for the destruction of them in diuers Prouinces, tooke from them all desire to returne. Seing then that no Edicts can draw them home to their houses, and that Rochell, Sancerre, and other places (being threained) prepare for defence, they must at the least take from the Protestants such refuges as they haue within the realme. To shut vp Rochell, *Biron* enters into the country of Onts, in the beginning of December, with seuen corners of horse, and eightene Ensignes of foote. Those of Sancerre runne yet at liberty: but the opinion of their chiefe Commanders, that they would attempt some other thing, and the vaine presumption they had of the situation of their hill place, made them the more negligent, both to furnish it with victuals, and to repaire the necessarie fortifications to endure a siege, against the which they should haue foreseene the small hope of succors, and the constant resolution of the assailants. Let vs consider of these circumstances, and prepare our selues to see the greatest resolution of men, led by Captaines to whom the necessity of the time, gaue more credit, then their beginning gaue them authority. *Martignon*, *Pilard*, *Martinat*, *La Fleur*, *Chailou*, *Montauban*, *Buiffon*, *Paqueton*, *La Minee*, and *Dorival* commanded there ouer sixe hundred and fifty men, and for Colonel they had *Andrew Iouneau* Bailiffe of the town. An hundred and fifty strong labourers in the vines, wrought great effects with their slings (which were called the Pittols of Sancerre) for the seruices vpon the wall in assaults, scalado's, and sallies.

In Ianuary *La Chastre* Lieutenant for the King in the gouernment of Berry, and General C of his army, came before it with about five hundred horse, and five thousand foot, sixteene Ensignes of Pioners, and a great number of peasants gathered together: at the first he offers a reasonable composition to the besieged, if they will accept it. As the beginning of this Generall was courteous, so was the proceeding of the besieged inciuill, disdainfull, and contrary to the law of nations. They retaine the Drum, and make no answer. To make his approches, *La Chastre* builds a fort within foure hundred paces of the towne towards Fontenay, another vpon the way of *S. Thibault*, a palisado in the field of *S. Ladre*: intrenched the approches and waies about the towne, planted ten peeces of artillerie in the field of *S. Ladre*: and sixe others at *Orme au Loup*: (it is a high mountaine vpon the South side of Sancerre, which commands the towne) he shoots against the walls and houses at random; D and spends in two moneths about sixe thousand Cannon shot (and yet the besieged lost not about five and twenty men) giues an assault, but with the losse of many that were slain and a great number hurt.

The 18. of March, *La Chastre* by a second battery in three diuers places, beates downe the defences both of towers and wall, makes a breach of about three hundred paces, giues a generall assault, presents a scalado on another side, mines and sapps on the third, that the Sancerrois (wearied with so many difficulties) might shrinke vnder their burthen. But well assailed, and well defended, the besieged with the losse of seuentene souldiars, not onely repulse the enemy, but also make them leaue about three-score of their most resolute men slaine in the ditches, about two hundred wounded to the death, and as many maimed E for euer, then coole their heate causing them to change this haustie furie of Cannons and assaults, into a longer, but more violent warre. They make many forts nearer vnto the Towne, and notwithstanding the sallies and ordinarie skirmishes of the Sancerrois, they furnish them with artillerie and men, sufficient to cut off all reliefe; so as being shut vp on all sides, they begin to want ordinarie victuals in the beginning of Aprill: they eate their Asses and Moyles, then fall they to horses, dogs, cats, mice, moles, and lether, and in the end to parchment, hornes, trappings of horses, girdles, and wild rootes. And in the end of Iune, three parts of them had no bread to eate, some make it of flaxe seed, others of all kinds of herbes mixt with branne, beaten and ground in mortars, and others of straw, of nutte shells, and of flates: greafe and tallow serued for pottage, and frying, yea some (a strange thing and neuer heard of) laboured to incounter the crueltie of their hunger, by the excrements of horses and men. But a horrible thing to see, the nineteenth of Iune, a labourer in the vines and his wife satisfied their hungar with the head and intrailles of their young daughter about three yeares old, beeing dead in languishing, giuing no other graue to the members of this poore carcase, but their bellies. But the Magistrate aduertised of this inhumanity, did for examples sake shorten their daies, finding them guilty of other crimes: neither

Siege of Sancerre.

Sancerre in great extremity for victuals

1573. neither were they forced hereunto by any extremity, seeing the same day they had bene A releued with portage made of hearbes and wine, whereof there was store in the towne. To conclude, foure-score men died by the sword at Sancerre (saith the Historie) but of hunger both within and without aboue fūe hundred. And euen now the King beganne to see his threats to take effect: *I will make them (saide he) eat one another.* They were hopeles of all humane helpe: such as they sent out for succours, either fell into their enemies hands, or died by the sword, or returned no more, or could not re-enter. So as they could not hope for any helpe, but in despairing of helpe, when as the prouidence of God brings them a strange and farre-bredde nauon, to giue them the libertie of the fieldes, and the vie of bread.

An admirable  
meanes for the  
diuerſitie of  
Sancerre.

Sancerre yeeld  
ed by com-  
pulsion.

Seege of Ro-  
cheil.

The Estates of Poland had chosen *Henry* Duke of Aniou brother to our *Charles* for their King (as we shall see in the end of the seege of Rochell) but with a promise and oath taken by the Bishop of Valence, and *Lansac* in the name of the King their master: That all the townes and persons in France molested for the cause of religion should be set at libertie. At the request thereof, the Ambassadors of Poland, this poore people languishing for hunger (yet resolute to die one after another, rather then to fall into their enemies hands, who threatned them with a generall massacre) the nineteenth of August they obtained of *La Chastre* in the Kings name: *To depart with their armes and baggage: impunitie for such as would remaine still, permission to dispose of their goods, promise to preserve the honour of women and maidens, and to pay la Chastre forty thousand frankes by the Inhabitants that were absent.* C So *La Chastre* entring the last of the said moneth, dismantled Sancerre, beate downe some houses, tooke away the Clocke, Belles, and other markes of a towne: but the other points of the capitulation, were reasonably well obserued: the Bayliffe *Jonneau* was massacred the 12. of September neere vnto *La Chastres* lodging.

Now followes one of the most memorable seeges that hath bene in many ages. A sege where many of the commanders, and most part of those, which were noted to haue forced the Admiralls lodging, began the butcherie, and committed so many murders at Paris and else-where, came to seeke their graues. The Kings army was held to be fifty thousand men by land and sea, and three-score peeces of artillerie. The besieged had a good number of Gentlemen and horsemen, eight companies of Inhabitants, nine of strangers, one of the Mayor, one of voluntaries, consisting of twenty Musquetiers, fūe and twenty armed with corselets of prooffe, and thirty harguebuziers: the two thirds thereof, were Gentlemen, and such as had charge in the former warres. Yet the mildest way is the best. And therefore *Biron* in the beginning seekes some meanes of an accord: but the Rochelois discovering euery day some new practise, beleueed that their preservation consisted in distrust. And a Gentleman being in Rochell, reuealed the intelligences which *Biron* had with him for the surprizing of the towne, hauing already drawne into the towne some souldiers of *Prigailards* and Saint *Martins* companies, and was ready to draw in the most resolute Captaines, if the Mayor and Councell had not held it more fit by a small exemplarie execution, to breake off a great and dangerous enterprife.

To encounter the enemy, *La Noue* is chosen chiefe of the forces within the towne, without any diminution of the Maiors rights and authority in other things. *Montgomeryes* succors could not passe: *La Noue* sends new Deputies into England to the same end, but the league confirmed of late yeares betwixt our *Charles* and Queene *Elizabeth*, now againe renewed by the baptisme of the Kings daughter (whereof *Elizabeth* was God-mother with the Empreſſe) seemed to withdraw the affection which was wont to come from beyond the seas for the releefe of the Protestants, whilst the sallies and daily skirmishes at Rochell, inflame both the one and the other: where by the reason of the neerenesse of the retreat, they do greatly wast the number of the assaylants.

The Duke of  
Aniou comes  
to campe.

The eleuenth of February the Duke of Aniou comes to his armie, accompanied with his F brother the Duke of Alanson, the King of Nauarre, the Princes of Condé and Daulphiné, the Dukes of Longueuille, Bouillon, Neuers, Aumale and Guise, the yong Earle of Roch. fou-cault, the Grand Prior, and many other Noblemen, bringing with them a great traine of men, who for the most part would haue bin grieued, they shold haue taken this Sanctuary & succor from the Protestants. This siege was great, & seemed to be of long cōtinuance.

Euery

A Euery man runnes thither, euery one will haue his share. They prepare things necessary for the batterie, and in the meane time make many skirmishes: before they come to their greatest force, the Duke sollicit the Gentlemen and inhabitants by letters, containing both promises and threats. They humbly shew vnto him the necessitie of their defence, knowing no fitter meanes to preserve their liues against the enemies of the peace, then to oppose force against violence, and to retire themselves into well fortified places, vntill it should please the King to prouide for a lawfull assembly of the Estates, and a free Councell. The King on the other side, protesting of his sincerity in matters lately passed, and laying the fault of the outrage happened vpon the pretended conspiracy of the Admiral and his partisans, he summons the Rochelois to open their gates to *Biron*, or to any other hauing charge B to enter into the towne, as they ought to maintaine his royall authoritie, and so to order it as the place may be no more at the disposition of mutines. Which doing, he grants them exercise of their religion, with the like liberty as he had granted by his Edict of pacification, and withall he takes from them all hope of succors from England.

*Biron*, *Stroſſy*, *Villequier*, and the Abbot of Gadaigne, carrie the Kings promise to the Rochelois: which now neglected, hee would neuer be perswaded by any intreaties or requests, considering how much the King abased himselfe vnto his subiects. They shewing the equitie of their defence, and the tyrannous iniustice of the Baron of La Garde and others, accept the articles offered by the King: but they request that the Edict may not only C be maintained for their priuate respect, but also generally for all of their religion in France. But these were words without effect on either side. The Rochelois are aduertised, how the enemy approacheth with two and thirty peeces of batterie, and that after dinner they shold keepe them in skirmish. They preuent them, they sally forth at noone, kill and hurt in one skirmish of fixe houres, an hundred and fifty men, amongst the which were many captains: *La Noue* had two horses slaine vnder him, three Captaines, fūe souldiers, and twenty hurt. Thus their courages are set on fire, and the batterie begins: the one prepares to assaile, and the other to defend. The chance fell vpon *Claude* of Lorraine Duke of Aumale, Vncle to the Duke of Guise, slaine behind a gabion, with a peece planted vpon the bulwarke of the Euangile: and the Towns-men issuing forth at the end of the batterie, kill many, and coole the enemies heate.

The Duke of  
Aumale slaine.

In the beginning of March they trie againe, whether they may winne the Rochelois without combat. They offer them the exercise of their Religion within their towne, but abolished in all other places of the Realme. Those of the partie might haue held them for double-dealers. One day of parle was more hurtfull vnto them then many weekes of warre. They resolute therefore to preferre a iust warre before a dishonorable and doubtfull peace.

The batterie is renewed: about thirteene thousand Cannon shot spent in that moneth, shakes both the fortifications and wals: many skirmishes are made: euery one studies to surprize his enemy, and *La Noue* (seeing his presence of no import to the besieged) where he must yeeld all, or in a manner all, to the popular gouernement, comes to the Dukes army, where he effected more in fauour of the Rochelois being absent then present, as they afterwards confessed. The ordinarie sallies of the besieged wasted the Dukes troupes daily, losing in few weekes aboue twenty good Captaines. The batterie continues in Aprill, and with such violence, as a long wall from the old fountaine vnto the end of the bulwarke d'Euangile, was beat downe to the ground, the bulwarke vn-armed, and the Towre of Cognes beaten downe. In the euening the enemy casts a bridge of wood into the trench, aduancing E euen vnto the bulwarke: they come to the assault, and win two casemats. But they dislodge them: from the one with the canon, from the other with a furious charge: some of them remaine for a gage, the rest saue themselves by flight. Two hundred rondaches and corselets passe by their bridge of wood, and the Cannon playing without intermission, seemed to F keepe the besieged from their defence. But the women and maidens, running with an incredible resolution to cast wild-fire and stones, inflamed the courage of the souldiers. They kill and wound, and in the end force them to abandon the trench, but they loofe about three-score men and some captaines.

The Roche-  
lois indure  
nine assauls.

Hereafter there is nothing but thundring of the Cannon both by land and sea, furious assaults, showers of shot, planting of ladders, ruines of bul-warkes, fappes and mynes, most farall

1573. fatal to their authors: and vntill the end of May, all the attempts that might be deuised in A a mighty and obstinate siege. On the other side, men, women, and children, without feare, endure the rough charges of the enemy, fill vp their breaches, ouerthrow the first that mount, beate backe their enemies into their trenches, follow after them, and fight with variable successe: but most commonly to the aduantage of the townsmen, hauing indured nine assaults no lesse courageously, then valiantly giuen.

Victuals began to grow short in the towne, the Canon continued the battery daily, the number of the souldiers decayed, they had no meanes to refresh them, and many retiring themselves, bred an amazement in the Towne. Some of the chiefe win many men to their wils, and alreadie there were three hundred men, who weary of the warre, will haue a peace at what price soeuer. Others deuise to seaze vpon a gate to depart when they please. These B murmurings and diuisions cause new parles, the Duke of Aniou being desirous to retire with honour. But before the Ambassadors of Poland arriue, they must try their last force. The 12 of Iune the assailants giue a fierce scalado, at the lide breach neare to the old fountaine. About an hundred or fixe-score gentlemen mount with targets and courtelas, some get to the top of the mount, and view the trench and the counterscarpe gabioned within the trench. A volley of shot ouerthrowes fiteene or twenty vpon the place, and makes the rest retire. The Duke himselfe is in danger, but the prouidence of God reserued him for a more exemplarie end.

As he beheld the breach made at the old fountaine, a souldier shootes at him from the C towne: but *De Vin* the Master of his horse, seeing the fire in the cocke, steppes before him, and with the willing losse of his life saued his masters. In the end the Ambassadors of Poland come the 17. of Iune, to carry away their new chosen King. God vseth this meanes to deliuer Rochell, being vnfurnished of victuals, of munition for the warre, and of many hundreds of their men. The King by his articles of peace made in forme of an Edict, grants to them of Rochell, Montauban, Nismes, and other Townes which had maintained themselves, free exercise of their Religion, and to others permission to liue in their houses without search, to solemnize Christenings and Marriages after their maner, without any greater assembly then ten persons besides the parents: but the said exercise was forbidden in D Court, and ten Leagues round about. Another meanes did greatly ease the beseged, the diuision in the Dukes campe, and the aduertisements they received from their friends following the armie. So the end of this siege, being of exceeding charge, and the graue of about twenty thousand men slaine in skirmishes, encounters, surprizes, assaults, and dead of hurts, hungar and diseases, caused the King to make great desseignes for the repaying of many errors, into the which the priuat ambition of some, abusing the youth and the violent passions of this Prince, had drawne him: but too late for him, for hee sees his Realme inflamed with the same fire, which they perswaded him should haue bene wholly quenched with the blood that was shed at *Saint Bartlemewes*, and the warres of ciuill diuision viterly extinct. So the feeling he had in himselfe of these actions whereinto they had drawne him, shall soone lodge him in the graue of his Predecessors.

The other exploits of warre done else-where in diuers Prouinces of the Realme, require some place in our History. The Baron of Serignac, a wise man, vertuous, and louing martiall discipline, with some others of Quercy, Foix, and the neighbor Prouinces, hauing caused Montauban to resolute to armes, go to field with their troupes, put a garrison into Terride whereof *Serignac* named himselfe *Baron*, took Buzet vpon Tar, 3. leagues from Toloufa, by scalado, assure themselves of Villemur, seaze vpon many other places, fortifie those they had held during all the former troubles, assure the passages; then at an assembly held at Realmont in Albigeois, they made a diuision of their charges and gouernements. The Vicount of G. urdon had a part of Quercy towards Cadenac; and *Serignac* the other towards Montauban and Gascogne, the Vicount of Paulin, *Lauragais*, the Vicount of Panas and his brother *Rouergue*, the Vicount of Caumont, the County of Foix, and the mountain-countrie.

They were equal in their commands: but to auoid ialousie, they decreed that one of them wanting succour, the other Commanders should succour him with all their forces, and be recommended by him. So they all retire to their gouernements, euery one giues order for the preseruatiō of their estates. *Serignac* occupies some neighbour places, then he

The last charge giuen to Rochell.

Peace of Rochell.

A he camps with two thousand shot, and some horse before Monricou, makes a breach, giues three assaults and one scalado, and is repulsed with losse. *Viole* and *Reauille* make him receiue the like disgrace, and kill many of his men. But he is reuenged to the benefit of one of his Captaines, beseged in a village with foure-score men, he slue about two hundred men, and put the rest to flight.

The Earle of Villars, Admirall of France and Lieutenant for the King against the Protestants in Quercy, and the Countries thereabouts, gathers together his troupes, dispersed into garrisons, beseegeth and takes *Saint Geniez* in high Quercy, carries away the Lord of the place, notwithstanding the composition made to depart with their liues and goods; who was sent prisoner to Cahors. It is better to hunt as farre off, then neare at home. The pursuit

B of many, against whom he had made cruell warre, brought him to a scaffold, as a spectacle and triumph to his enemies. *Brisevel* in high Rouergue had a capitulation better obserued: but the Admirall lost in counter-change, in the moneth of May, *Soreze*-*Montesquiou*, two leagues from Tholoufa, Lodeue a Bishopricke, and rich in the mountaines of Languedoc, and Mas *Saintes Puelles*, neare to Castelnau-darry. The Marshall *d'Anville* did likewise arme against the Protestants fixe Corners of horse, and ten thousand foote, with fourteene peeces of batterie, pretending to beseege Nismes, and then Vzez, but the surprize of *Sommiers*, neare to Beziers and Montpellier, called him from his enterprize. He beseegeth it, makes a breach and giues two assaults, which were defended to the losse of the beseegers.

C The Earle of Candale, brother-in-law to the Marshall, arriues with an hundred horse, and twelue companies of Gascons, who desire to haue the fore-ward at the third assault: but with the losse of three hundred of the most resolute. This checke amazeth the Earle. *What* D *fooles are we* (saith he to the Marshall his brother-in-law) *to cause our selues to be thus beaten, murdered and slaine, for their pleasure, who haue murdered our kinsmen, friends, and allies; and will one day pay vs with the same money.*

The sege of Sommers.

He had reason, and the issue will teach vs soone the effect of this true diuination. And if the Marshall of Montmorency had bene present this fatal 24. day of August, the same fury had interred him with all his house vnder this common ruine, as many others, yea Catholikes suffered the like violence by the practises of their priuate enemies, to whom the time D and force gaue meanes to reuenge their priuate quarels vnder an other pretext. There were 4. moneths alreadie spent at this sege, about fise thousand Cannon shot had beaten the wals of *Sommiers* to powder, victuals failed, and the beseged demanded nothing but composition. But the Marshall would haue it by force. He exhorts his brother-in-law to reuenge the death of his Captaines and souldiers, who suffers himselfe to be perswaded, but as he goes resolutely to the breach, performing the duty of a braue Commander, and of a resolute souldier, he sees the place couered with a great number of his men, and himselfe in the end ouerthrowne dead vpon the carcases.

This hens-roost might haue bene the sepulcher of many more, but *Gremian* (to whome the honor of the taking and keeping of *Sommiers* is chiefly due) after they had performed E the duties of valiant men, accepted the composition was offered by the Marshall: To depart, their drums sounding, ensignes displayed, their matches light in the cockes, with seauen dayes liberty to carry away their baggage, and to retire where they pleased. So the Marshall seeing the resolution of them of Nismes, and hauing lost two thousand, fise hundred of his best men, dismissed his troupes, and proceeded afterwards against the Protestants, by seizures and sale of their goods within his gouernment. The Admirals army had another successe. Terride, Flaigac and generally all which the Protestants held beyond the riuer of Garonne, recompenced the losses he had receiued. But *Caussade* staid the course of his victories, and made him vnable to do any thing worthy of fame. *La Motte Puiols* kept the towne with 600. harguebuziers, & the repulse the Admirall receiued after a great losse of his forces, F caused in the end the ruine of his army, the which the Vicount of Gourdon shortned of a company at the passage of Dordonne, chasing the rest which marched to the sege of Rochell. The King of Nauarre had lately inuited his subiects of Berne to returne into the bo-some of the Catholike Church. They answered their Prince with excuses, thinking it proceeded from some other motion then his owne: and protest to other Churches of that partie, to perseuer and maintaine themselves with them in the same religion: See now the

Zzz

effect

1573.

effects of their protestations. The Baron of Grandmont, marcheth into Bearne to plant A the auncient religion. They troupe together within the Country, retaine him prisoner, and cut the most of his men in peeces. Saint *Romaine* was chiefe of the Protestants in Viarez, *Monbrun* in Daulphiné. The first held Villeneuve, the last seized vpon Orpierre, Serres, Meuse, and by diuers courses became terrible in the Diocesse of Die, and the neighbour mountaines.

Protestations  
against the  
peace of Ro-  
chell,

These new broyles thrust their neighbours into like reuolts: and the King who thought by the abolition of the Edict, of the yeare 1570. at the least by the departure of his brother into Poland, and a peace granted before Rochell, to enioy an assured rest, finds himself incombred with new and generall combustions. Those of Quercy, Languedoc, and their B neighbours, planting an order and rule for the warre, and the administration of Iustice, protest against this Edict, tearing it captious, and a fore-runner of new massacres. Our capitall enemies (said they) the authors of fore-passed disorders, remaine the onely counsellors and gouernors of the King and his estate: all the Churches of France, are deprived of the publike exercise of religion solemnly graunted: and now by this Edict abolished: all the contents of this last pacification, and whatsoever else is promised vs, are but words without effects: it is a generall abolition of what is past, the murderers are absolved, and no mention made of any iustice to be done against them: Al Ecclesiastical discipline being forbidden vs, they will plunge vs in Atheisme. This treaty is but coloured by some priuate persons without any generall aduow: whose approbation cannot preiudice the vniuersall bodie, neither ought they to yeeld to any thing without the common consent of our Churches. These complaints and protestations cause them to assemble at Millaud, and afterwards at Montauban, and there diuiding Languedoc into two gouernements, they make C Montauban chiefe of the one, and the Vicount of Paulin Gouernor in that part; and Nismes of the other, for the nearenesse of Seuennes and Viarez, vnder the command of Saint *Romaine*: but both subiect to the authority of the Estates of the countrie; who gaue them counsell, and furnished them with money, being chosen in either gouernment of the worthiest men of the countrie, yet in such sort, as the particular estates of euery Diocesse, did in matters of importance, confer by their Deputies with the Estates of the whole gouernement, and according to their conclusions, the gouernor shall carry himself, and receiue D money from their hands. To fortifie this order, they decree: That the souldiers should be content with their entertainment, without spoiling of the countrie: that the townes and villages of the contrarie party, should be taxed and forced to contribute for the entertainment of garrisons, to the end their labour and reaping of their fruits might be free. The reuenues of benefices was appointed to make a stocke of money, to be employed in their greatest affaires, the which they had leysure to effect: for the election of the King of Poland busied the Court and Councell in feasts, dancing, and pleasures. So they man many places, from whence they might at need draw forth almost twenty thousand men; and by seizing on the Clergie lands, and the contribution which came from all parts, they weaken their enemies. Many Catholikes otherwise discontented, growing familiar with them, and beginning to ioine their forces together, lay great desseignes, which shall soone breake out in all E parts.

Their petitions  
and admonitions  
to the  
King.

Matters thus handled, giue a beginning to the fift troubles in France: but before it brake forth, the Protestants of Languedoc sent their Deputies to the King. They humbly thanke him for the affection he had seemed to haue to the maintenance of peace within his realm, and necessarie meanes to restore an estate threatened with imminent ruine: they protest of their obedience, but they beseech his Maiestie not to find it strange, if they assemble to preuent the pernicious attempts of wicked Councillors, who by their fraudulent and violent praetises, had induced him to declare himselfe, both by his mouth, and his letters patentes, to the great blemish of his reputation among strangers, the Author of the massacre committed at Paris, the which he had few dayes before disauowed, That they cannot beleue he should willingly condescend to so bloody effects: and the feare they had to fall into the like forced them to seeke all meanes they could to warrant themselves, with the losse of their companions blood so vniustly shed.

They request therefore: That for the effect of the peace, those of the religion should in those

1573.

At those Townes they held, and in two others of euery Prouince, chosen by foure Deputies, haue garrisons entertained at the Kings charge, the exercise of their religion free and publike, to all such as would demand it, the obseruation of their Ecclesiasticall discipline, the buriall of their dead, without distinction of times, and of Church-yard: the exemption of contributions for the Ceremonies of the Romish Church: reception of their children into Colledges, vnder Tutors of their owne religion: Legitimation for such as should be borne of the marriage of Priests conuerted to their doctrine. Erection of a new Court of Iustice in euery Prouince, composed of Iudges of the same Religion. The rythes which they payd to Priests, to be reserued for the maintenance of their Ministers. Punishment of the authors, counsellors, and executioners of massacres, as theues and disturbers of the publike B quiet. Moreouer, they demand, that the Admirall, with all those that had bene murdered, and that were then liuing, should be reputed to haue bene, and to be faithfull seruants and subiects to the King and his Estate, innocent of rebellion, and guiltlesse of conspiracy. A nullity of all acts made against them as calumnious. Restitution of goods, honors, and offices, to the heires of them that were murdered. Abolition of all infamous monuments, and generall processions instituted in memory of so execrable a day.

These were the principall points of their propositions, amongst other articles concerning the gouernement. But they treated partly, as humble seruants, partly, as armed subiects, like vnto such as beg for almes with their swords in their hands. And as a new alteration C on flies easily and suddenly from one Prouince to another, so those of Prouence, Daulphiné, Lionnois, and others, ioine with the first: and by the mouth of a Deputy, present their petition and admonitions to the King. The King sends him to certaine Commissioners, to conferre thereof: and promiseth, that after he had conducted his brother out of the realme, he would do all things necessarie for the contentment of his subiects.

This hardy resolution taken in Languedoc and the neighbour-countries, made our *Charles* The apprehension of *Charles* to change both his countenance and his speech. He sees well, the more he hasteth, the more impatiently they did beare his brothers departure: namely, the Queene-mother, the Duke of Guise, and the Clergie. *Henry* himselfe desired rather to beare the title of Duke of Anjou in France, then the King of Poland: neither was hee greatly pleased, to make so long D and so crosse a pilgrimage. His most confident seruants would willingly haue discontented the Polonois in their answer, either to haue sent them away ill satisfied, or to winne time vntill the Spring. But there was no remedie: *Charles* could no more containe himselfe amidst the complainys which came from so many parts of his Realme, but sometimes giues out threats against them which had abused him, making him beleue, that after the execution of the foure and twentieth of August last past, hee should raig free from confusions. Strangers reproch him openly with the irreparable wrongs hee had done to himselfe and to his subiects: and accuse him, that in stead of a father, hee had bene a butcher, and a hang-man of his people, or at the least taxed his honour with this title, by the induction of the principall authors of this horrible disorder. The delays of his brother dis- E pleased him. *Henry* by his first affability won the peoples hearts. The affection which *Charles* noted of long time in the mother, to his aduancement as her best sonne, the credit which the house of Guise had in him, or at the least seemed to haue, and the hope which the Clergy grounded vpon his authority (they had already recompenced these agreeable seruiCES which hee had done them, with a present of three hundred thousand Crownes, and had much augmented it, if Rochell had bene taken) made him to be suspected and fearefull to the King his Brother, who euen then would willingly haue found the meanes to chastise such, as vnder the shadow of his name, had opened the way to so great iniustice, and such enraged furies. But during these garboyles and confusions of affaires, he could not any one of his Councillours of State, that did teach him to dissemble, and to containe himselfe, vntill that opportunity should giue him meanes of reuenge. So his complaints and threats were carefully obserued, and bitterly digested by such as it concerned. The Queene-mother, not able any longer to deferre the departure of her sonne *Henry*. *Goe (saith shee) my sonne, you shall not continue long there.* And as *Charles* goes before vnto the frontier, pressing his brother to follow him, he is suddenly staid by a great sicknesse, at Vitry in Champagne, giuing occasion to his most confident seruants to thinke; that about two attended the issue



1573.

New practises  
in Court.Beginning of  
the fourth troubles.

of his infirmity: and to speake disgracefully of the Queene-mother, the new King, and their trustiest seruants, whereof some retired from Court, and went to shroud themselves in Brittanie, seeing that the vigour of the Kings youth, had expelled the venime of his disease, by his head, necke, and visage. The King of Poland building vpon his mothers promises, departed in the end of October, being assured of the loue she bare him aboue the other two. She feared the humors and threats of *Charles*; and *Francis* Duke of Alençon did not greatly affect the house of Guise, neither had he approoued the massacre. The malcontents, who with a lesse odious name called themselves Politicks, find credit with him, think him fit to reduce the affaires to a better course, and make him to repine at the final account is held of him: they let him vnderstand how small a proportion was allotted him for his maintenance: the distrust they haue of his faith, the opposition of the Queene-mother, to keepe him from the Lieutenantancy of the Realme (who gaue the King to vnderstand, that by meanes of his male-content, he might stirre vp some factious mutiny hauing the forces at his command) the search was made of him, and the meanes which were offered vnto him to restore the Realme. *Katherine* was well acquainted with these practises, but she cunningly makes her profit of them all, during the Kings sicknesse, to auoid the danger when she pleased, and to ruine one by another at need, as hereafter we shall see, they wil do their best. During these alterations, those of Languedoc fortified themselves. To keepe them at a stay, vnder hope of some content, they appoint a generall Parliament at Compiègne: the Prouinces prepare their remembrances, some Deputies were on the way with instructions and Commissions, to speake boldly, namely against the authors and counsellors of murders. The Queene-mother and her followers fearing the touch, obtain a reuocation of the States, and labouring at the first to pacifie these deputies by promises and words, in the end they change their countenances, they vse threats, and do so terrifie them, as they returne home onely with a vaine hope, to receiue satisfaction shortly to their demands, and permission (especially to them of Languedoc) to assemble againe for the drawing of new articles, concerning the preferuation of themselves and their associats: the which they did afterwards at Millaud in Rouergue, and those of Rochell entred into association with them, forced vnto it by the practises and deuises of *Puigauillard*, *Landereau*, the Baron of La Garde, and others attending to surprize them: but ended with the yeare, and the liues of some that vndertooke it, being publicly executed.

The fourth troubles begun with the massacres had some respite by the peace of Rochell: but now this last conspiracie discovered, and the practises to surprize them of Languedoc, with the secret leuies of men, to assaile them suddenly, giues an entrance to the fit. The Protestants alledge for the ground of their arming, the infinit outrages which haue bene done them within few moneths, and send aduertisements and admonitions to the Princes, Nobility, the Parlements, and the Estates. The Malcontents, and such as were most inward with the Duke of Alençon, fore-seeing the shortnesse of the Kings life, yet not daring to complaine of it, but in shaking of the shoulders, and holding downe the head, solicite him to get the Lieutenantancy generall, to represent the Kings person, or if they will imploy him against them of Languedoc, that he should seeke to saue the Realme from the violence of such as by the death of *Charles*, and the absence of *Henry* would seeke to seaze thereon. He makes request vnto the King, being at Saint *Germaine* in Lay, and the king doth acquaint the Queene-mother, and the Marshall of Montmorency with the Dukes desire. To deny the Duke his request (saith the Marshall) were to do him wrong, and to call his sufficiency into question, seeing the same place had bene giuen to the Duke of Anjou without demanding it. But the Queene-mother, and those of Guise, desired it rather for the Duke of Lorraine, whom soone after she expressly called to Court: and in the meane time seemed to beleue, that they be practises of the Marshalls of Montmorency and Cossé, at the persuasions of the King of Nauarre, and Prince of Condé, to the end the Kings furie might ruine both the one and the other.

She therefore takes Councell to assure her selfe, and to ruine such as would follow any other partie but her owne: and euen then did she trouble the Kings head with an exceeding feare and distrust of his household seruants. The Duke of Guise would gladly haue vndertaken the house of Montmorency: but it was to no purpose, if all the foure brethren were not taken

1574.

A taken in one net. The Marshall of Anuille was in Languedoc, and determined to ioyne with the Protestants: yet the death of the eldest might make the rest easie. So the Duke of Guise one day pickes a quarrell in the base Court of Saint *Germaine* with *Ventabran* his household seruant, and for a slight cause, being resolved to kill him, he drawes his sword. *Ventabran* flies directly to the Marshall of Montmorencys chamber, which he finding shut, he mounts higher to that of the Constables Lady and widow: where finding *Thore*, he staves, and there receiues some blowes, but it was flatlings with his sword. This tragick act (turned to a iest) sent the Marshall out of Court: but he shall soone returne to receiue a great disgrace. The Duke of Alençon resolves likewise to leaue it, and to leade the King of Nauarre with him: but the execution was of great difficulty. To aske leaue would breed too many scruples and ieaousies in the Kings head: to go without leaue, was to accuse himselfe of some plot, and to be pursued as a fugitiue. He therefore stirs not, but lets passe a troupe of two or three hundred horse, assembled in Normandie, to fauor (as the common bruit was) the Duke of Alençons retreat, or as others would haue it, (but without any likelihood) to murder the King, his mother, and his Councell. This leuie terrified the Court, and brought it to Paris: they presently charge the Duke of Alençon, and the King of Nauarre. To purge themselves they publish a declaration the foure and twentieth of March, touching the fact of Saint *Germaine*: they protest of their good affection to the King, and they offer their seruices against all Rebels.

C Hereupon the Marshall of Montmorency is perswaded to come to Court. He is no sooner arriued, but they appoint him the Bastile for his lodging, and for companions in prison the Marshall of Cossé, *La Mole*, *Cocornas*, and *Tourtay*, seruants to the Duke of Alençon, whereof the three last lost their heads at Paris, culpable onely to haue bene acquainted with some of their masters Councels to abandon the Court. During these broiles in Court, the Protestants and their associats make their profit in Viarez, Daulphiné, Languedoc and Poitou. And the Marshall of Anuille, hauing by letters surprized, discovered the practise against him, conferred now with Saint *Romaine* Gouverneur of Nismes, but seizing on Montpellier, Beaucaire, Lunel and Pezenas, he giues the Protestants some cause to suspect his desseignes. The Politicks of Poitou hauing ioyned with *La Noue*, seaze vpon *S. Maixant*, *D. Melle*, *Fontenay*, *Lusignan* and other places. The checke fell vpon the Normans. *Montgomery*, *Lorges*, and *Galarodon* his children. *Columbieres*, *Sey*, and others with troupes of horse and foot, had secretly taken *S. Lo*, *Carentan*, and *Valongues*: but *Matignon* and *Feruaques* ioyned with the forces of the Count *Thorigni*, (who already camped before Saint *Lo*) shut him into Danfronc, a weake place, and ill furnished, with three-score horse, and foure-score harguebuziers. They batter the Castle, make a breach of fise and fortie paces, and hauing bene vigorously repulsed from a sharpe assault, the Earle abandoned by his people, (whereof the most part were gone to his enemies, and the rest wauering, being vnfurnished of munition, water and succors, perswaded by the Lord of Vasséy (for hee held it farre more honorable to dye vpon the breach, with a pike in his hand, then to fall into the Queene-mothers power, to end his dayes ignominiously on a scaffold:) hee did but capitulate (but not without a grievous apprehension of *Columbieres*, desiring rather to die vpon the breach, then to serue as a spectacle at the Greue at Paris,) to depart with their liues, and to carry away some furniture with their swords and daggers: vpon condition notwithstanding, to remaine some time in the hands of *Matignon*, and *Vasséy* kinsman to the Earle, with surety of his life. A captious and fraudulent composition: the obseruation whereof must needs be broken. The Earle goes forth, and was led away by *Matignon* and *Feruaques* at midnight: but his company remaine at the enemies deuotion, who force the Castle, kil some, spoile the rest, and put them all to ransom. Then *Vasséy* appointed by the two Commanders, ledde the Earle to Paris: where since we did see him gore a mournfull scaffold, and expiat by his death (to the Queens content) that of King *Henry* her husband. In the meane time, the Duke of Montpensier made war in Poitou, but slowly: and except the Castle of Talmont which hee tooke from the Protestants by composition, he did not any thing worthy of memorie.

The taking hereof was encountered with two great disgraces, the one nere to Saint *Germaine*, in the defeat of his company by Saint *Estienne*, Capitaine of Fontenay, (who flue many gentlemen: led away 15. or 16. prisoners, got great store of baggage, and the Dukes

The Marshall  
Montmorency  
put in the Bastile.Count Mont.  
gomery taken.

1574.  
The Prince of  
Condé re-  
treat into  
Germany.

plate:) the other at the siege of Fontenay. Some thinking to reuenge a disgrace, doe oftentimes increafe it. He got nothing but blowes, with the losse of the most resolute of his troupes: and then an honest colour, the Kings sicknesse, called him from this siege, to attend new Commissions and forces. At that time, the Prince of Condé did recreate himselfe in Picardy, wearied with the turmoiles of the Court. Being aduertised of diuers practises layed to seize vpon his person, he flies into Germany, with *Thoré*, ill beloued by reason of the Marshals of Montmorency and d' *Anuille* his brethren, and the counsels giuen to the duke of Alençon. Being at Strasbourg, he exhorts the Protestant Churches, to relie vpon his loue and zeale for their reliefe, and *Thoré* perswades his brother d' *Anuille*, to open his eyes, and to embrace the occasion that was offered. This Marshal held the wolfe by the eares: for on the one side, the Protestants of Languedoc might greatly crosse him, if he had banded his forces directly against them: and on the other side, hee feared the King, and the Queene his mother, who to keepe him in awe, caused his eldest brother to be safely garded, as a sure pledge for his yongers actions. He must therefore assure himselfe on all sides, and according to the course of the market, entertaine both the one, and the other, expecting a Catastrophe of this strange and horrible Tragedy, which was acted in Court.

The King declined in the meane-time, and decayed visibly in the prime of his age: and since the King of Polands departure, he seemed more changed in minde, then in body, being incensed especially against the authours and counsellors of the massacre (as he made knowne by his speeches, to some of his Court, being enemies to iniustice, and by letters written out of the Realme) for whom he prepared a strange potion, if the prouidence of God had not reserued them as scourges and ministers of that punishment he meant to inflict vpon this Realme, to the end that seeing him afterwards to cast these rodes into the fire, we should confesse: that it is not now alone that he sheweth himselfe the gardien and Protector of this Monarchy. At that time *Charles* lay taken both hand and foot, his chiefe seruants were dead, disgraced, and absent. The motiues of new troubles did much disquiet him. He did fore-see infallible seeds of combustion in the coloured captiuitie of his brother, and brother-in law: in the imprisonment of the two Marshals: in the exile of the Prince of Condé, in whose fauour the Germaines began to arme. He sees his subiects cruelly armed one against another, and the fire of diuision ready to waste the Realme. His infirmity had some intermission during winter, but in the end, after he had languished the moneths of February, March and Aprill, tormented with many pangs, he kept his bed: and the thirtieth day of May, he slept his last sleepe, in the castle of Bois de Vincennes, after great effusion of blood, which issued out by all the passages of his body, the last two weekes of his sicknesse, during the which he endured all the violent assaults & combats which the vigour of youth might suffer in the extreamest pangs of death. His successeur could not come so soone from Poland. *Catherine* therefore to assure his authority during his absence, had obtained on the nine and twentieth day, letters of Regency from the King, directed to the Gouvernours of Prouinces: and the better to fortifie this nomination, to restrain the Princes of the blood, and to maintaine her selfe in the midst of confusion, she causeth letters-patents to be sealed by the Chancellor of Birague, her seruant, and by this meanes doth abolish the fundamental lawes, the order of the Realme, the priuileges of Princes, the authority of the generall Estates, and the prerogatiue of the Parliaments.

Charles dies.  
His dispositi-  
on.

*Charles* was borne the seuen and twentieth of Iune 1550. and began to raigne the fifth of December 1560. A Prince of a very actiue disposition, inconstant in his thoughts, violent in his enterprises, impatient, ready of conceits, the which he did expresse in good termes, a diligent obseruer of other mens natures, cholerike, secret, a dissembler, cruel & a blasphemour. But let vs impute these vices and others, not to his natural inclination, but to his gouernors and schoole-masters, amongst the which the history doth especially note *Martignes* and *Losses*, who with the consent of the mother corrupted this young Prince, and made him take the habit of *Vices* and infections, wherein they daily plunged him. They might haue pruned this yong plant better, to haue brought forth better fruits. At the beginning hee was open, courteous, studious, sober and little giuen to women. His speech was pleasing: he loued musike and poetry: we read yet good verses compiled by him in French. But the pleasure of hunting transported him wonderfully, and the blood of wild beasts, which he

A he slew with singular delight, made him with long continuance, as it were greedie of mans blood. But let vs tremble in this death, vnder the iustice of Gods iudgements, who suffered (after so horrible a butcherie committed and commanded during his raigne) him to be surprized with a great debility in his latter dayes, to wallow in his owne blood, vomiting it out pitifully by all the conduits of his body, as a iust iudgement for him that barbarously shed it, throughout all the Prouinces of the Realme. Doubtlesse God loues not the Prince, that thirsts after his subiects blood; for the subiects blood is the very blood of their Prince.

B

## HENRI the third, the 62. French King.



C

D



*I*t is a great comfort vnto me (said *Charles* some few houres before his death) that I leaue no heires males lawfully begotten, for leauing him young, he must indure many crosses, and France hath need of a man. But alas! we shall now see one aduanced to the crowne, whereunto the fundamentall law of State and honor doth call him, installed with a confused beginning, and afterwards by an Edict of pacification, to reduce and retaine his subiects happily in their obedience, vnder a raigne as lasciuious and voluptuous as the other had bene cruell and bloody: vntill that the house of Guise (seeing the King barren, and his successor confined in shew beyond the riuier of Loire) shal discover their ambition, and cause (but in the end with the losse of the liues of two of the chief

F motiues of confusion) the people to breake out into a blind, vaine, and trecherous rebellion, being too ready to second the ambitious desseignes of great men, and to runne at random vnder the liberty of a turbulent raigne, and for the last scene of this Tragedie, they stirre vp a monstrous Monke, traiterously to murder him, and by his death to extinguish the name of Valois, and vnwittingly to set the Crowne of France vpon the head of *Henry*, the first of the branch of Bourbons, whom we shall see happily called from beyond the riuier of Loire,

Loire, miraculously to take the helme of this estate, and valiantly to encounter the dangerous attempts of his enemies, who had already proclaimed a triumph before the victory; wisely to quench the fires of diuision kindled in his Realme, and to raigne most happily, and by the admirable fauour and blessing of heauen, to gouerne his people in concord, peace and loue. This is the man whom France had need of, to pacifie the diuisions both of great and small; to restore their generall and priuate ruines; and vnder so gentle and milde a command, to preserue them from the proud Empery of Strangers. Doubtlesse France cannot be gouerned but by a Frenchman, as we shall see, hauing obserued the beginning, progresse and pittifull end of this Prince, vpon whom depended the estate of this great and mighty monarchy.

Postes flie with speed to carry newes to the King of Poland, of the death of his elder brother, whilest the Queene-mother (attending his comming) made a truce with them of Poitou, to the end she might with lesse opposition supply the warres of Normandy: and to stay them of Languedoc and other neighbour Prouinces, she perswaded the duke of Alancou and the King of Nauarre, to aduertise them of the death of *Charles*, and solicited the gouernours to write vnto the new King, touching their zeale to his seruice, and desire (vnder her regency) to obserue the like fidelity to him, as they had done to his Predecessors. *Matignon* labored in the meane-time to take Saint Lo, and Carentan from certaine gentlemen Protestants, whom the breach of faith to the Earle of Montgomery, had made resolute in the defence of such places as they held. *Columbiers* hauing escaped from Danfron, puts himselfe into Saint Lo with a small troupe of men, where hauing endured three assaults, and slaine nine or ten of their enemies captaines, with three hundred of their men, in the end he is strooke dead with a shot: the which daunted his souldiars, who (vnfurnished of a Commander, that might encourage them with the like authority, toyled with long fighting) leaue the breach, and in their retreat abandon both the place and the liues of two hundred men, to the mercie of *Matignens* souldiars, to make satisfaction for the death of their companions. Carentan might likewise haue interred many Catholikes vnder the ruines of her walles: but *Guttri* and the chiefe of his company, seeing themselves alone in Normandy without any hope of succours, went out by composition on horse-backe, with their swords, and the souldiars vpon condition to serue the King where he should imploy them.

Confirmation  
of the Queens  
regency.

Here vpon letters-patents come from *Henry*, intituling himselfe King of France and of Poland, dated the five and twentieth of Iune, bearing confirmation and amplification of the Queene-mothers Regency and gouernment of the realme. Hauing therefore taken the oath of all the Gouernours, and published the Kings letters-patents, to make the way for her sonnes returne out of Poland, shee calls for the Nobility, assembles the foote, makes leauies of Reistres and Suisses: sends to the Prince Daulphin sonne to the duke of Montpensier, and to *Gordes* (who made warre in Daulphiné:) That they should doe their best endeouours to ruine the country which the Huguenots held: and chargeth the duke of Vzez, and the Lord of Ioyezue, to be watchfull ouer the Marshall *D'Anuille*, with whom shee had small credit in Languedoc. The imprisoning of his elder brother, the exile of the two younger *Mery* and *Thore*, and the Regents letters being intercepted, had incensed him: yet did he swim betwixt two streams, and maintaining himselfe betwixt both, hee did nothing trust the Catholikes: and not louing the Protestants, he applied himselfe vnto them as he had need of their helpe. These proceedings bred some ieaousie in them of Tholousa: but especially the truce he made with the Protestants; the assignation he gaue for the assembly of the Estates of the Prouince at Montpellier the second of Iuly, and the ordinary residence he made in that towne. So this Parliament by two decrees of the 19. of Iune, disallows the truce; forbidding all persons within their iurisdiction, to goe or send to these pretended Estates, appointed without the Kings permission, vpon paine to be declared rebels, and breakers of the lawes.

*De Anuille* associates himselfe with the Protestants.

Moreouer, the Protestants (perswaded by this truce, which gaue them some hope of peace) began to allow of their Gouernours actions: and (notwithstanding the aduice of some who condemned this association (as threatening the ruine of their party by this conjunction) they vnite their forces with the Politikes, offensive and defensive against all that would

A would assaile them. These enioyed some rest, whilest that *Montbrun* cuts in peeces a regiment of the Prince Daulphins forward, and couers the bridge of Royans with foure hundred of the brauest of his army, slaine vpon the place. For a reuenge, he besiegeth Alais a small towne, batters it, makes a breach, giues an assault, and is repulsed: but the besieged being vnable to maintaine it, retire into the castle: the Prince surpriseth them, casts some downe head-long, and burnes the rest that were within it. Ofte was the second of his triumphes: but *Liuron* staied his course. The succesful sallies of the Townes-men, and the ordinary courses of *Montbrun*, who descending from Loriol, did stil keepe the Prince in alarm, makes him to raise his siege, and to put his men into safety.

The Protestants being freed on this side, they were fortified on the other, by the taking of Vessaux, a small towne in Viuarais by *Bochevade*. *Perigourde* takes Chalençon, and Saint Romaine Nonnay for their part. *La Noue* (not to approue *Katherins* regency, but rather to second the Prince of Condes forces which were prepared in Germany) was at truce with the Regent, for the moneths of Iuly and August, in the Prouinces of Angoulmois, Poictou, and Xaintonge. But the Regent hoped to subdue the Protestants of the said Prouinces, before her sonne should arriue. For the effecting whereof, shee assembles men from all parts, to surprise them suddenly: that being rooted out, the King should haue nothing to doe but with them of Daulphiné and Languedoc. So the duke of Montpensier, Chauigny, Puigallard, Richelieu, *Buffy* of Amboise, and other Commanders, meet at Saumur with ten thousand men, and eightene peeces of artillery. The Protestants flie speedily to armes: those of Lusignan in the beginning of Iuly ouerthrow the Gentlemen of Poictou: and those of Fontenay nere vnto Nantes, ouerthrow five hundred Hargubuziers, almost all yonger brothers of the Gentlemen of Britan.

These two checks thrust the duke to the siege of Fontenay le Conte. *Saint Estienne* commanded there, with about twenty Gentlemen, and foure hundred souldiars, who after some fauorable sallies, hauing valiantly maintained two sharpe assaults, and one scaladoe, the sixteenth of September, after fifteene daies siege, beginning to treat of the composition before in question: behold captaine *Masseronse*, either through feare, or desire to provide for himselfe, or being too confident, for that they were vpon termes of capitulation, giues entrance to some of his acquaintance: the rest runne thither by heapes, they force the breach being ill garded, and become masters of the towne: they kill some souldiars, ransom others, strip the rest, and chase them away with a white wand in their hands: but they vse the towne with lesse rigour then a place taken by assault. The Baron of Serignac, otherwise called *Terride*, recompensed this losse at the same time by the surprise of Castres in Albigeois, and the slaughter of two hundred Italians being in garriison: and *Langoyran* gouernor of Perigueux for the Protestants, by the absolute defeat of two hundred Harguebuziers, whereof six only escaped, to carry newes to the rest of their party.

Fontenay surprised.

Then *Henry* escaping secretly out of Poland, approached the Realme, where his new crowne attended him, deuising a farre off to ruine the Huguenots and to plant the only religion of his Fathers throughout the whole realme. There is no sinne so great (said the Emperor *Maximilian* vnto him) as to force mens consciences: and such as thinke to command them, supposing to winne heauen, doe often loose that which they possesse on earth. The like admonitions were given him in all places, in Austria, Venice and Piedmont: they exhort him in all places to pacifie the troubles of his Realme. But comming to Lions, for the first fruits of his entry, they cause him to commit a great error: for (as *Montuc* notes in his commentaries) in steed of pacifying all things past (as hee might easily haue done, and haue giuen vs peace) they cause him to resolute vnto warre, making him beleue, that entering into Daulphiné all would yeeld vnto him, where as the least dog-hole made head against him, and the best of his conquests could neither recompence the bloud of his men, nor the treasure he should spend in this warre.

The new Kings arrival.

The Queene-mother, the dukes of Guise and Neuers, the Marshall of Retz, the Chancellor *Rirague*, and some other new-bred Frenchmen, disposed of the affaires at their pleasure in the secret Councells of the Cabinet. The King did willingly giue them authority (and what might be expected of men who gladly would people France with new Colonies of Italians, Lorrainers and Piedmontois) carrying onely to court Ladies, from the which hee had

1574.  
Il council.

had bene sequestred almost a yee, with this nation which is lesse lasciuious then ours. A These pernicious counsellors cause him to protest by sundry proclamations of his loue to the good of his subiects, and to abolish what was past, so as they lay aside armes, deliuer him all his townes, and liue quietly in their houses, without any search, constraint or molestati- on for matter of conscience. A policy practised by them, to entertaine the fire of ciuill dis- sention, to rule in this confusion, and to fortifie a third party, which in the end we shall see will oppresse the King, and bring the Realme to a very miserable estate. The Protestants stood then the more vpon their gards: they are full of ieaousie, distrust, doubt and feare. All those Proclamations made no mention of liberty of their religion, neither of a Parlia- ment, for the politike gouernment, nor of a nationall counsell, for matters of conscience. And what was it, to grant vnto the Rochellois liberty of conscience, and to forbid the exer- cise of their religion for a certaine season, but to keepe their party at a gale, whilest by their great preparations which were made in all parts, they should be able to put a mighty army to field, to ruine them without hope of rysing?

Siege of  
Lusignan.

So they arme on all sides, especially in Poictou. The Baron of Fontenay (afterwards Lord of Rohan in Britan) being followed by three-score gentlemen and six-hundred good soul- diars, puts himselfe into Lusignan, which the duke *Montpensier* threatned, and according to the leisure he gaue him, he provided for the fortifications and all things necessary to main- taine a memorable siege, which might by the meanes of some succours consume an army before the castle. About the beginning of October, the duke incampes before it, and with a battery of about two thousand three-hundred canon shor, thinks to draw the besieged to a composition.

They importune them, but they answer, they will attend a generall peace for all them of their religion. He spends twelue hundred and fifty canon shot more, makes a breach, giues an assault, and is repulsed and beaten backe with great losse. Fiue daies af- ter the besieged sally forth, and to reuenge the blood of seuen young gentlemen, fixeteene souldiars, and twenty that were hurt at this first assault, they cloy fiue canons, fire their powder, kill nine captaines and many souldiars, bring away many Ensignes, and returne laden with spoiles, armes and prisoners. This disgrace disperfed a part of his campe, and made him to spend all the moneth of Nouember without any attempt against the be- sieged. In December the duke fortified with twelue hundred Reistres, and fixe hundred French foote, presseth *Lusignan* againe, and the more to anoy them, he batters downe a mill which did furnish them with meale. So (their hand-mills not able to suffice) they beganne to want bread. To ease them of some superfluous mouthes, they craue a pas- port for some gentlewomen and other persons vnfit for the warre, to returne to their houses, or to some other places of safety. But the harred this Prince did beare to the Protestants had more force in him, then the ordinary curtesie which Frenchmen beare vnto Ladies. He supposed the wiues and children should be an vrgent sting to draw their husbands and fathers, to yeeld speedily. Now their horses serued them for food, the souldiars (almost starued) tooke away the bread violently as they carried it from the Queen: E they breake into many houses in the night, to seeke for victuall, they had no wood but mouables and the ruines of houses, ill clothed, ill shod, ill lodged, and no cleane linnen, toyled with continuall trauell, to defend themselves both aboue and vnder ground, to frustrate the mines which the duke caused to be made, two of the which in their ruines buried many of the assailants, and gaue the besieged courage to continue firme in their resolution.

The 23. of the moneth they begin to thunder with eightene canons and foure culue- rins, and the next day they continue the same fury with fiue and twenty peeces. After din- ner they come to the assault: the showers of musket shot comming from sundry flanks, makes the enemy retire, and to leaue the breach full of dead bodies. The greatest force F was against the rauelin of La Vachery, which being won by the assailants, makes them re- tire to the castle that had it in gard. At the first port of the castle euery man did shew his resolution: all fight in the midst of the thunder, fire and smoake, and fiue houres together dispute it with a doubtfull and bloody fight. In the end both the one and the other (being tired with so furious an assault) take breath, the besieged remayning maisters both of the towne

1574.

A towne and castle, being reduced to foure-score cuirasses, and foure hundred and fifty Har- guebuziers, resolute to liue and die both in the defence of the place and of their quarrell, hoping that *La Noye* would find meanes to send them some reliefe.

Not courage, but force failed them. So as *Fontenay*, the fiue and twenty of January, ac- cepted the articles of composition which the duke offred vnto him by the Collonel *Sarric*: *Lusignan* yeelded. Himselfe and his gentlemen to depart with their armes, horses and baggage, the captaines and other Commanders, euery one with a curtall, if they had any, their armes and bag- gage: the souldiars with their Harguebuzes, their matches out, and their Ensignes wrapt vp, the gentlewomen, and all others that would depart, to be conducted in safety to their houses, or else to Rochelle. Thus it was concluded. This siege caused aboue twelue hun- dred men to be slaine, a great number to be maimed, and ruined a mighty army. They endu- red ten thousand canon shot, with many assaults, and lost fiue and twenty gentlemen, and about two hundred souldiars. And the duke, for a memory of his losses, caused the castle of *Lusignan* to be razed, being in former-times one of the goodliest fortresses in Europ. Such conquests were of more difficulty in Daulphiné: the Protestants had more places, and more captaines at their deuotion. *Poussin*, *Liuron*, *Prinas* and others did greatly hinder the trafficke of *Marzeilles* and *Lions*: and some running into Piedmont had charged the Kings baggage returning from Poland. To reuenge these insolencies, the King sends the Prince Daulphin to besiege *Poussin*: eightene thousand men besiege it on either side of the river C of Rhone, in the beginning of October: foureteene great canons batter it, and make a breach: *Rochegude* and *Pierrebourg* defend it with a wonderfull slaughter of the enemy, and so terrified the rest of the army, as all were ready to trusse vp their baggage: but foden- ly the wall shaken with the artillery, and ouercharged with earth cast vp for the trenches within the towne, falls downe to the ground. So the towne lying open, and the ruines not to be repaired during the siege, the place being too straight, Saint Romain, after many in- roads and sharpe skirmishes, enters into it, and iudging that in the end it would be forced, he drew out of it men, women and children, and putting them into *Prinas* in safety, he a- bandoned, and left *Poussin* to the besiegers mercy, who entring by heapes, spoile, sacke, burne and make the place desolate: and by the taking thereof, they recover a part of *Viua- D rais*, *Grane*, *Loziol* and *Roinac* (being vnable to endure the canon) made easie the appro- ches of *Liuron*. But let vs view the estate of Languedoc.

*Poussin* be-  
sieged.

The Queene-mother, and those of Guise, desired infinitely to dispossesse the Marshall D' *Estate of Lan-* *Guedoc*. *Anuile* of his gouernment, for he crossed their aduancement with all his power, and staied them from proceeding (as gladly they would) against his elder brother being a prisoner. But yet if he had not fortified his estate with the Protestants party, who were then strong in Languedoc, hardly could he subsist amongst so many and so mighty enemies. He therefore in open assembly of the estates at Montpellier, ioynes himselfe with them, and according to the declarations lately published by the Prince of Condé, and the people of Languedoc, he sets downe the causes of this his new and forced taking of armes. The Vicont of Turenne E his sisters sonne, doth likewise publish his, of the same substance. *Thoré* and *Mern* bretheren and the Earle of Ventadour (brother-in-law to the said Marshall) ioync with him. The duke of Alanson seems to fauour it: but the euent will shew, whether it were fraudulent, or with a sincere intent.

This reuolt amazed the Court, and to stop the course thereof, the Queene-mother doth presently, by gracious letters, inuite the Marshall to some agreement. But giuing the Pro- testants but a simple liberty of conscience, she debars them of the publike exercise of their Religion. The Marshall protests of his affection to the common good of this Realme, and assures the like desire to be in his associats: but with all he shewes, that the counsellors, who by that horrible and infamous massacre the foure and twentieth of August, had caused the deceased King to breake the last Edict of pacification, gouerning at this day the helme F of the affaires; it was very difficult to settle a firme peace, the which cannot subsist, vnlesse the exercise of both religions may be indifferently allowed within the realme.

So this treaty of peace remayning fruitlesse, the Queene-mother changeth her coun- tenance, and labours by diuers practises (but in vaine, the alliance being yet too fresh) to sow diuision betwixt the Marshall and his associats, and yet by sundry messages continues this



1574

Liuron hono-  
red with a se-  
cond siege.Cardinal of  
Lorraine dies.War in Lan-  
guedoc and  
Daulphine.

this pretended parle of a generall peace in France. But it could not be concluded with A such conditions as the King required: that all his townes should first be yielded vnto him without exceptions; and then would he grant his subiects peace. The Prince Daulphin, hauing left the command of the Kings army to the Marshall of Bellegarde, he comes in the midst of December to campe before Liuron. *Roesfes* a gentleman of Daulphiné commanded there; with about foure hundred men, but full of resolution and great valour, in a hilly place, strong of situation, but then of no fame amongst the other townes of Daulphiné. Foureteene companies of the Kings gards; eleuen Ensignes of Suisses, twelue Ensignes of Harguebuziers, Prouencals and Daulphinois, nine Ensignes of Piedmont, three hundred men of the old bands, foure companies of men at armes, and eight cornets B of Reistres besiege it on all parts. Two and twenty great peeces of battery, planted in three parts, doe batter it, and after eleuen hundred canon shot, make a breach of fixe hundred paces.

The Marshall was not satisfied with this ruine: he will haue all battered downe, and with a generall ruine fill vp the trench. They make a greater breach with a new battery, of foureteene hundred canon shot. He recouers the trench, and makes defences for his men. All this doth nothing amaze the besieged: but contrariwise, to shewe that they haue force to defend themselves, and that they must haue great dexterity and resolution to take them: they tie to the end of a pike, a horse-shooc, a paire of mittens and a cat; they lift vp the pike, as if they would say: *Marshall, this cat is not taken without mittens*. Such was the C estate of Liuron, when as the King sojourning at Auignon, being distressed for money to supply his excessiue charge and prodigality, *Charles* Cardinall of Lorraine (labouring the marriage of *Henry* with *Lewis* of Lorraine, daughter to the Earle of Vaudemont his kinswoman; and to furnish this excessiue and stately pompe, aduising the King to sell for a hundred thousand crownes in benefices, was surprised with a feuer, and falling from a feuer into a frensie, he died the 23. of December, in the midst of a cruell tempest, and violent whirlwind, which vncouered the houses, and loofened the barres of iron in the *Carthusiens* Couent, in the suburbs of Auignon.

Some impute this death, to the smelling of a certaine precious purse, which was giuen him full of rare peeces of gold, with the Queene-mothers priuity: whom the foresayd treaty of marriage, which the Cardinall did practise, made remember the crosses she had suffered after the marriage of *Francis* the second, her eldest sonne, foreseeing that this new alliance tended but to restore the house of Guise to the same authority they had enioyed vnder the raigne of the sayd *Francis*. Others did attribute it to the blowes the Cardinall had giuen himselfe vnder colour of deuotion, in the company of them that beat themselves in the sharpest time of winter. Others applied it to the iust iudgement of God vpon this Prelate, who drawing all his greatnesse, and all his meanes from the Clergy of France, would yet perswade the King to so pernicious an alienation of goods appointed for the vse of the Church, whatsoever it were. Notwithstanding the strict familiarity which the Queene-mother had with the Cardinall, yet did she giue this testimony of him after his death: that E the three and twenty of December a most wicked man was dead. And the people both farre and nere sayd: that this extraordinary storme in the ayre, noted that this man, hauing by cursed practises filled his house with exceeding wealth, sacke, and torne France in peeces with intestine warres, did then feeble the iust reward of his actions. Doubtlesse such as the life is, such is the end.

Whilest the King becomes a new brother of these tormentors of themselves, otherwise called Penitents, and the court busied some-time in the processions and ceremonies of this new brother-hood, the Estates of Languedoc fallen from all hope of peace, battered Saint *Giles* nere to Auignon, and became maisters thereof, the Courtiers making no shew to succour it. *Montbrun* on the other side keeping the field with his horse-men, did still F catch vp some that were farthest from the campe. But Liuron was a Church-yard for the most hardy of the assailants: euery man defends his goods and his life: men, women, and children, all labour in the fortifications, to repulse their enemies, and vnder the command of *La Hay*, (a young gentleman about three and twenty yeeres of age, valiant and pleasing to the soldiars of *Roesfes* hauing bin slaine at the breach with *Fianney* and *Bennuer* captaines) strew

1575

A strew the ruines of the walles with carcasses, cast many into the trenches, dead, wounded and languishing: and finally (after many assaults, and infinite Canonadoes, fortified with two and fifty souldiars) they forced the enemy to found a retreat, and to couer themselves from the shot, pikes, swords, stones, and such armes as necessity could yeeld to the besieged. Thus those of Liuron withstood the fierce assaults of their enemies: the army diminished, and a certaine disease hauing wasted most part of the Piemontois, crept in amongst the other nations: when as the King iudging of the rest by this small towne, found that he must seeke out some other meanes to reduce his subiects to obedience: Who were so resolute to armes, as a simple offer of liberty of conscience, might soone make them fall away. Many conquests cause but flight triumphs. A more stately crowne attended him: his B coronation called him, and the taking of *Aiguemortes*, a sea towne and of great importance for the Protestants; imited him to stay the course of their prosperity by some negotiation of peace.

Henry therefore packing vp his baggage, the thirteenth of Iauary, and approching nere to Liuron, staid some houres in the campe. Here the souldiars cries and exclamations against him, and especially against his mother, gaue him to vnderstand, that the horrible disorders and vnworthy gouernment of the latter yeeres, had with-drawne that loue and reuerence to their Kings, for the which the French nation had bene so much commended: and so altered the mindes of the greatest part, as their iust grieif transported them beyond the C bounds of reason and modesty. *Ad murderers!* (cried they with open throate) *you shall not stab vs in our beds; as you haue done the Admirall and the rest: Bring vs those Adignons, with their ruffes and perfumes: let them come to looke on our wines, they shall teach them whether it be a prey ease to carry away*. A lesson for a Soueraigne Prince, that if any diuersity of religion diuide his subiects, yet is he a common father to them all. As no reason doth allow of the sonnes ingratitude to the father; so all lawes doe abhorre the inhumanity and impiety of a father to his children.

The campe being dislodged, the rest of the Piemontois repasse the mountaines. The Daulphinois ashamed of the disgrace they had receiued at Liuron, disperse themselves here and there: some cornets of Reistres follow the Marshall of Rez into Prouence, the rest D with the Suisses are giuen to the duke of Vzez, to make warre in Languedoc: a gouernment where-with the King had lately honoured him. Strange alterations. The duke of Vzez is now armed against them; for whose protection hee had often fought during the former warres, and the Marshall *D'Anville* lately their capitall enemy, now supports them. Thus great men play with Religion, fitting themselves to that party which they thinke may most auile them whatsoever it be: and the people is still the anuile, whereon all forces of hammers strike. But the Marshall did little remember the obseruation of the Articles sworne in the association. And dissolutions creeping in amongst the Protestants, could not but preface a speedy ruine of one of the parties, or of both together. Yet he entertained himselfe with them. So likewise did the Duke of Vzez, and protesting that hee E would make no warre but against the Marshalls faction, hee promised to reconcile all the Protestants to the King; if they would sequester themselves from the Politikes their associates. But he would haue bene glad, that in ruining the one party, they should haue ruined themselves. During these contentions betwixt the Marshall and the Duke, the King was crowned at Rheims, the fiftenth of February: and soone after he sent home *Elizabeth* of Austria (widow to *Charles* the ninth) to the Emperour *Maximilian* her father, but with a lesse traine then her quality required. Then hee married *Louise* the daughter to *Nicholas* Earle of Vaudemont in Lorraine, who they supposed should haue bene the wife of *Theré* the Constable's youngest sonne. Practises of the Queene-mother, to maintaine the authority shee had gotten in France, about a daughter-in-law of meaner quality then her selfe: and to fortifie her selfe with them of Guise, against the houses of Bourbon and F Montmorency.

This marriage should haue caused as chaste and as vertuous a bed on the Kings behalfe, as he was chaste and vertuous whom hee had now espoused. And it seemed the dissolutions and excesses of Court were come to their height in the reigne of *Charles* the ninth. But heereafter both King and Court (for the subiects doe frame themselves to the

A a a

Princes

The siege of  
Liuron failed.Warre between  
the Duke of Vzez  
and the Duke of Vzez.The Kings  
coronation.

His marriage.



1575. diuided both the Prouinces and the affections of this realme. But the time now calls vs to A a strange consideration, happened either by policy and of purpose, or else accidentally, as it chanceth often in worldly affaires, whereof the wife of this world can make their prouident commodity, to draw forth all such fruits as mans wisdom giues them hope to produce at all euents. But he that fownds the botome of mans heart, laughs from aboue, and when hee pleaseth, (euen when as man dreames not of it,) hee confoundes the wisdom of the wife, the fooles in their follie, and the malicious in their owne malice. The Duke of Alanson seemed to liue in great familiarity with the King, since his returne from Poland into France. *Katherine* sayd, that this reconciliation of the two bretheren was the meanes to maintaine the Realme in peace. But the Councells, practices and negotiations, tooke another course then was expected. The Prince of Condes affaires prospered on the other side the Rhine. Those of Languedoc preferred the defence of their liberties with the hazard of their liues, before the yoke of a doubtfull and disloyall peace.

Wherefore to ruine at once the generall forces of the Protestants, which threatned most dangerous effects to come: the Court (as good schoole-mistres of dissimulations) must take an other vnaccustomed habit. Doublet *Katherine* gaue many of these instructions to her children: and the issue will shew vs, that there were many of her deuises in the managing of the following affaires. Sodenly the duke of Alanson seemes discontented. He cannot (saith he) haue iustice of the outrages were done him in keeping him prisoner; they disdain him; those of Guise are preferred by reason of the Queene their cousin the Kings wife; his presence seemes offensive to the King, who can endure no companion, nor any great man nere him. Thus it is bruted in all parts, that the duke of Alanson is in very bad termes with the King. These horse-leeches of the Court, who by publike troubles aduanced their priuate affaires, buzzed in his eares: hee beleeueth them, and many of the Nobles ioyne with him: the King and Queene-mother, and the Councell seeme to be amazed thereat. In the end he leaues the Court the sixteenth of September, and meeting many Gentlemen halfe a league from Paris, he retires to Dreux: thether repaired daily vnto him new troupes of the Nobility of both religions, and amongst many, some inwarde seruants to the Queene-mother, namely *Buffy* of Amboise, a bloody, wicked, and a furious man.

This departure causeth new broyles and murmuring in Court. Euery man thinks, euery man speakes according to his owne imagination or desire. Some beleue verily, the two bretheren are at discord: that the duke not able to endure the brauadoes of them of Guise (whom hee abhorres and loues not, as the authors of publike confusions) goes to ioyne with the Protestants and Politikes, to augment his portion, and by their common forces to plant a peace in France. Most of the Protestants were filled with pleasing hopes, promising themselves a golden world vnder this pretended reformer. But the cleere-sighted remember what was past, and by the present estate iudge of the future. They know well the strong and variable humour of the Mother: and say, that she vseth E the dissembling of her children as a last for all feate: that hauing preuailed little with the Lions skinne, shee will now put on the foxes: that shee findes the Duke fit to intrappe them, seeing that both Protestants and Politikes seeke him ioyntly, to vndertake their quarrelles, and to make him their head: that beeing young, and of small iudgement, neither greatly carefull of religion, or the reformation of the state, there was no likely-hood hee should runne this course without their instruction, who had kept him so long in their power.

Thus men discoursed: but we commonly beleue that for certaine, which wee most desire: All other aduice is reiected. They hope from the Duke of Alanson both the safety and the protection of the Realme. He, to maintaine so commendable a reputation, giues F an account of his actions by a publike declaration, protests to imploy his forces, meanes & life, to banish the troublers of the publike quiet, to pursue iustice for all robberies, thefts, murders and massacres, to restore Noblemen, Gentlemen and others, being prisoners or wrongfully banished, to their goods, offices and honours, to abolish all taxes, imposts and extraordinary subsidies, to maintaine the ancient lawes of the Realme, to defend the Nobility

The duke of Alanson discontented.

A Nobility and Clergy in their privileges, freedoms and liberties, and by a generall and free assembly of the three Estates, to confirme a good, firme and sure peace in France: he takes all naturall Frenchmen of both religions into his protection, and (vntill that a holy council may decide the controuersies which diuided their soules) he exhorts them to liue in brotherly loue, and to suffer euery man to enioy the exercise thereof. This declaration is followed by letters to the Prince of Condé, the Marshal *D'Anville*, to the Earle of Ventadour, Viconte of Turenne, and to the chiefe amongst the Protestants: the most part of them receiue leaues of paper for an vndoubted oracle. Whereof some sayd, they should shortly haue all things at their will: but it was without effect, and contrary to promises.

The Prince of Condé, laboured then for great succours in Germany. This publication B comes happily to dispose *Frederick* Elector and Cont *Palatin* to make a league with him: That they should not lay aside armes vntill the King had giuen the government of Metz, Thoul and Verdun to duke *John Casimir* his sonne, the places and reuenues depending on the sayd Bishopricks for the entertainment of necessary garrisons vnder the Kings authority, and free exercise of the reformed religion. That the King should giue him an honorable entertainment; and to the Protestants of Languedoc an annuall pension of fixe thousand crownes: And a mutuall protestation both by the heads of Germany and France, to doe their best endeauours for the good of France. All this must needs feed the people with hope, to prevent all future troubles. But the Prince had some horse-leeches about him, who employing their companions purses, filled their owne cofers with golden crownes: and the Protestants imployed many persons in the affaires of their religion, who had neither faith, piety, nor religion.

The Court was wonderfully disquieted. The King sends many posts to the gouernours of Prouinces, coniures them to keepe their faith, accuseth the Protestants and Politikes, to haue withdrawne his brother from him, forbids his subiects to giue any aide, fauor, or support to the duke of Alanson: calles the gentlemen together, & besides his bands of Ordinary, hee makes new cornets of horses, and for their entertainment he imposeth new taxes. And to moue the people, and retaine them in obedience vnder the shew of deuotion and piety, he ordaines processions, fasts and praiers, and makes vowes and pilgrimages. But D being returned to the Louvre, the Ladies, and his little dogges (which he kept very daintily,) made him to forget the care of affaires, and to leaue the managing thereof to his Mother and some Councillors. She makes a journey to the duke her sonne, to reconcile him (sayd she) vnto the King. But the suspitious held, that her going was to furnish him with new instructions: that being declared Generall of these troupes, both forraigne and French, and of diuers religions, and hauing ratified (as he did soone after) an accord made with *Casimir*, she might agree at her pleasure with him, and so disappoint the great designs of the army. After this parlee, the duke marcheth into Poictou, the Earle of Ventadour comes vnto him with three hundred horse, and twelue hundred Harguebuziers: many great Noblemen and Gentlemen repaire vnto him. During these confusions, the duke of Guise E and his house, deuise to lay the foundations of a third party, the which we shall soone see breake forth. For the present, he assembles twelue hundred maisters in Champagne, vnder the Kings authority, and *Stroffy* twelue thousand foote: the duke of Vzcz sends vnto them the rest of his horse, and the duke of Montpensier sends his troupes of Poictou.

The Marshall *D'Anville* had required some cornets of Reistres from the Prince of Condé, to fortifie him in Languedoc: But seeing these last designs had called away the Kings forces, to keepe the Germane army from entring: the councell decreed, that attending *Casimir* comming, these Reistres appointed for Languedoc, should goe to the duke of Alanson, being already chosen to be their chiefe and Generall. This did weaken their party, and this first check brought the most part of his councillors into a bad reputation, and confirmed the Pretestants in the ielousies they had conceiued of the duke of Alanson. *Thore* F led these troupes, being about fiftene hundred: some French Gentlemen ioyned with him, with five hundred shot. The dukes of Guise and Mayenne, *Biron*, *Fernagues* and others, compassed them in. Some retire and cry for money: some fight, imitating the French, but the greater number preuailes. *Haffing* the Colonnell, with his Licutenant and some Reistres, and French, are slaine vpon the place: the rest flee.

1575.

Germain succors promised to the Prince of Condé.

The queene-mother goes to the Duke of Alanson.

The protests of the house of Guise, for a third party.

1575.  
Murmuring  
amongst the  
King.

*Clermont* and many others being taken, with some cornets, serue as a triumph for the duke of Guise: five hundred Reistres ioyne with his troupes, he himselfe (following them that fled) receiued a shot with a pistoll in the cheeke, and by his fall gaue meane to many to escape the fury of his victorious armes. *There* led the remainder of this ship-wracked duke of Alanson, being taxed as a bad man of warre, and not capable of counsell. This wound is a ladder for the duke of Guise to climbe to wonderfull credit with the Catholikes: wound is a ladder for the duke of Guise to climbe to wonderfull credit with the Catholikes: the Kings actions both publicke and priuate, beginne to displease him. The King (say they) takes his ease, and drownes himselfe in delights and pleasures: his brother troubles all France, and the house of Guise beares the burthen of the affaires of the whole common-wealth. And vpon these fauourable repinings, the duke hereafter grounds most terrible defeignes.

His forces were not able to encounter the power of *Casimir*. The King therefore calls for *Mansfield*, *Schomberg*, *Bassompierre*, and other Colonells, who promise to bring him eight thousand Reistres within six weekes, giuing them three hundred thousand frankes downe, and foureteene hundred thousand when they were entred. The King was wonderfull needie: all was spent in vnprofitable sumptuousnesse, and vnworthy dissolutenesse: and part of this money could no where be so easily found, as in the Parisiens purses. To induce them thereto, they obtaine Bulls from Pope *Gregory* the thirteenth, and foure Churches appointed within Paris to obtaine pardons for many yeeres, vpon condition to aide the King, to roote out heresies. And to drawe the Parisiens by others example, they gaue it out, that *Piennes* should his inheritance, to lend the King foure hundred thousand frankes: that the Italians of Paris did furnish the like summe: and the duke of Neuers, the Cardinall of Ferrara, *Gondi*, and *Birague*, nine thousand frankes. Neither the first, nor the second bayte could make the Parisiens to bite. They say, that within fifteene yeeres their Citie had contributed twelue millions of gold, not comprehending the loanes and extraordinary imposts leauied at Paris, and throughout the Realme: that these ciuill dissentions, waste both their men, and money: they beseech him that (according to the notable aduertisements of *Saint Lewis*, to his sonne and successor) he would maintaine his subiects in peace and concord, by the bonds of piety and iustice. He must haue money, and not words: and that by force, seeing loue cannot preuaile. Paris therefore is suddenly inuested with garrisons: the King of *Nauarre* at *Saint Cloud*, the duke of Guise at *Saint Denis*, the duke of Neuers in the suburbs of *Saint Germain*. *Biron* at *Montmartre*, the Marshall of *Rez* at *Pont Charenton*, and *Bois de Vincennes*. Thus the Parisiens are restrained of their victuals, and force extorts from them the money, which kindnesse could not win. In the meane-time, the pretended Reistres were far off, and duke *Casimir* marched with the Prince of *Condé*.

The Queene  
mothers se-  
cond voyage  
to the Duke.

A German  
army for the  
Prince of  
Condé.

To diuide the duke of Alanson from these two heads, and frustrate the defeignes of the Prince of *Condé*, the Queene-mother comes againe to the duke: shee treats a suspension of armes for six monethes, and during the same, shee giues him for hostages, the townes of *Angoulesme*, *Niort*, *Saumur*, *Bourges* and *La Charité*: and for the Prince, *Meziers*. The King doth ratifie this truce: but the gouernours of these places, for the most part refuse to yeeld them: neither will the Prince allow of it, for already there marched ten thousand horse, sixe thousand *Suisses*, two thousand *Lanquenets*, three thousand French Harquebuzers, with foure great peeces of battery, and sixteene lesse: the which threatened to make their passage easie. This army made chiefe account of the money which *Languedoc* should furnish, and the Marshall *d'Anville* had promised the Prince to meeete with good troups, and to bring the pay vnto the army: but no man appeares, neither is there any newes of money. An affront which then had made them yeeld to any passable conditions of peace: if they had bene offered it in the beginning of these first confusions, and might haue transported the men of warre beyond the bounds of modesty and reason, if by a good and commendable discipline the Prince had not restrained the soldiers infolencies.

At their entry, those of *Langres* (seeking to crosse their passage through their territories) did presently see the Reistres to spoile all, to loade their cartes, and to burne the neighbour villages to ashes. Those of *Dijon* made some sallies, but they were small to

A to some: others were content to salute them with their Canon, shot into the ayre. *Citteaux-Gilly* a Castle depending on the said Abbey, and *Nuis* a small towne in *Bourgogne*, where the first conquests of the Reistres, the Prince and *Lanquenets*: where they learned by the slaughter and spoile which was made at *Nuis*, how troublesome a thing it is, for a Prince (enemie to blood and spoile) to be mastered by the greater number, being strangers in his armie.

The Reistres  
begin to mu-  
tine.

At *Lourdon* the Reistres threaten the Prince to take another party, if he giue them not ready money. Having contented them with hopes and good wordes, the armie passeth *Loire*, marcheth directly to the riuer of *Allier*, and takes *Vichy* by composition, a small Towne vpon the passage. Thus these strangers did forrage, whilst the King by a proposition of truce gaue hope of a future peace: and to preuent surprizes, he studied to fortifie the places about Paris, whether the whole army threatened to come: for the effecting whereof he finds his ordinarie let, which was the want of mony. The Parisiens remembered with what violence the King had lately forced them to yeeld to his demands: they now promise for their contribution foureteene hundred thousand frankes.

The Queen-mother pursues this suspension of armes, she furnisheth the Duke of Alanson with very exquisite meates, sends him his great hories, and causeth them to be proclaimed traitors, that would not yeeld to the Duke her sonne: amongst others the Inhabitants of *Bourges*, and *La Charité*, offering *Tours* and *Blois* in exchange of the said Towns. Those of Guise haue their desseigne apart. He speakes boldly, that France hath no need of a truce: that they will fight with their forraine foe, and vpon this hope published, they build the projects which we shall see them shortly to vndertake. Amidst these common diuisions, a new confusion troubles the Court.

The King of *Nauarre*, vnder colour of hunting, escapes from Paris with a small traine: and writes to the King from *La Fere* in *Picardie* (a towne belonging vnto him,) That the apprehension of a new captiuitie, and the ordinarie slanders of his enemies, are the causes of his retreat. The King excuseth himselfe, and would haue him returne: but he had the fieldes at libertie. And seeing this proiect will not preuaile, he must try another. Some bad Councillors, which gouerned the Prince of *Condé*, aduised him to passe the riuer of *Allier*, and speedily to ioyne with the Duke of Alanson, leauing Duke *Casimir* on the other side the riuer, who should follow his ordinarie march. In the meane time the Duke of *Maienne*, attends them at the passage with the Kings army. This trick left the Reistres to the slaughter: but *Casimir* an aduised and couragious Captaine, lodgeth his men with aduantage, and attends the enemy. The Prince discovering their desseigne, turns towards them, and makes the Kings troups retire to their lodging. The *Auernacs* fearing lest this army should passe the rest of the winter vpon their marches, make them to take the way of *Bourbonois*, giuing them an hundred and fifty thousand frankes. Here began the first parle of peace: and to this effect, letters and instructions were sent into *Guienne*, *Languedoc* and *Dauphiné*. *Charoux* a little towne in *Bourbonnois*, besides mony lent, payed the charges of some daies

The King of  
Nauarre e-  
scapes from  
Court.

E that the army staid there, whilst they made question to yeeld. The eleuenth of March, the Duke of Alanson comes to the plaine of *Soze*, where in a generall muster, they numbred thirty Cornets of *Germaine* horse, ten of French: seuentene ensignes of *Suisses*, seuen of *Lanquenets*, eight of French, and the Prince of *Condé*, deliuering the white Cornet into the Dukes hands, according to the articles of their capitulation, he was solemnly proclaimed Generall of this mighty army. The King in the meane time, with the Queene-mother, and their Councillors, omitted no practises to corrupt Duke *Casimir*, and to breake the treatie betwixt the Prince and the Duke. On the other side, the French, Reistres, *Suisses* and *Lanquenets*, demanded nothing but battell, or to march towards Paris: but the Duke of Alanson was already assured of the best part of his demands: and the armies without any memorable exploits of warre, did onely spoile and destroy France. At length the Queene-mother seeing matters almost brought to a desired end, she comes to the army the seuen and twentieth of April, where after diuers Ambassages and contestations, she granted in the end to the Duke *Casimir* a company entertained of an hundred men at armes, forty thousand frankes yearly pension, and two thousand crownes for the entertainment of a certain number of horses. In consideration whereof, he did renounce the article concerning *Metz*, *Thoul*,

1576.



1576. Thoul and Verdun. That of eleuen millions of frankes that were due vnto him, hee should receiue two millions within fixe weekes, and a sufficient pawne of Iewels for the rest, and the reuenues of *Chasteau Thierry*. The Duke of *Alañon* should haue for his part, *Aniou*, *Touraine* and *Berry*, for an increase of his portion.

The Prince of *Condé* should haue the gouernement of *Picardie*, the Towne of *Peronne* for his abode, and two hundred souldiers in garrison: free exercise of the pretended reformed religion throughout the Realme, attending a free and generall Councell: Chambers in the Parlements of both religions, for the administration of Iustice: and at *Montpellier* for *Languedoc*, leauing them eight townes in guard, for the assurance of these articles, and of their persons: *Aiguil-mortes* and *Beaucaire* in *Languedoc*, *Perigueux* and *le Mas de Verdun* in *Guyenne*, *Nyons* and *Serres* in *Daulphiné*, *Issoire* in *Auuergne*, *Seine*, with the great Tower in *Prouence*. Restitution to the King of *Nauarre*, Prince of *Condé*, Marshall of *Anuille*, and diuers others, of their goods, offices, and honors, which they enioyed before the foure and twentieth of August 1572. Moreouer, the King did auow by a sollemne declaration: That the Massacres of the said yeare, had bene committed against all right and law of armes. He ordained, that the children of such Gentlemen as had bene murdered, should be freed from all charges of warre: and such as were no Gentlemen, should be eased of Subsidies for fixe yeares. He disannulled all iudgements giuen since the decess of *Henry* the second, in hatred of Religion: and lately against the Politickes. He freed the Admirall, and al others murdered, from infamie: restoring their children to all their goods. Hee restored *La Mollie*, *Cocornas*, and others, executed or condemned for contempt to their honors. He aduowed the taking of armes by the Duke of *Alañon* and his associates, as taken for his seruice, giuing him the towne of *La Charité* for two yeares. He appointed a Conuocation of the Estates at *Blois* in Nouember following. Hee cleared the Marshalls of *Montmorency* and *Cossé* of all accusations, held them for innocents, restored them to their former liberty, and acknowledged them for faithfull seruants to the King, and officers of the Crowne. The Edict contained many other articles depending vpon the former, and was allowed by the Parliament of *Paris* the 14. of May.

So the Queene-mother granted much to many, to giue nothing to any, but to the Duke her sonne, who alone got more then all the rest together. Also Duke *Casimir* had no sooner turned his backe from France, but they began to find this peace to be counterfeit, being made onely to disarme them, and to diuide the Commanders. The Prince of *Condé* did first feele the breach of these promises. They deny him his gouernement of *Picardie*: some feaze vpon *Peronne*, and put in practise a strange peece of worke. Diuerse enterprises vpon the Princes person, make him to leaue the duke of *Alañon*, & to retire into *Guienne* to the King of *Nauarre*, whom those of *Rochel* receiued into their towne, with much honour and great triumph the eight and twentieth of Iune. All such of his traine as they suspected were excluded.

Vpon deniall of *Peronne*, the King granted to the Prince the towne of *Saint Jean d'Angely*: but the inhabitants had a watch-word, and a mutuall oath (after the example of a priuat league made by three-score Gentlemen of *Poitou*, who would haue no exercise but of the Catholike Religion) to maintaine one another, and not to giue access to any one, of what Religion soeuer, to the end their quiet might no waies at al be disturbed or molested. The Prince seeing himselfe to haue this repulse, he caused some Captains to enter secretly, and then assured himselfe of the place. It was then found very weake for the assurance of his person, against so many enemies as sought his death. He therefore discouers a certain practise against him, but farall to the author alone. In the end of October he takes *Brouage*, a strong place neare vnto *Rochel*. The Catholikes murmure against him, and accuse him as a disturber and breaker of the peace. Contrariwise, hee demaunded Iustice against them that had seized on *Peronne*, as troublers of the publike quiet, and guilty of treason. The Protestants likewise complaine vnto the King: That in diuers places they are disquieted in the exercise of their religion granted by the Edict. That many Preachers moue the people to sedition: That the Chambers of both religions are not created: That Iustice is denied them: That both great and small bandy against them. And they produce ample and certaine proofes of these complaints and griefes.

Then

A Then those of the house of *Guise* studied to discouer those terrible proiects which they had long hatched. The cloke of religion was a plausible and fauourable pretext, to aduance the desseignes of their pretensions. They had of many yeares, (especially vnder *Francis* the 2.) disputed of their beginning, and of the rights which falsely they pretended to haue vnto this Crowne. *Charles* and *Henry* were become odious: the first by his violences, the last by his dissolutions. *Francis* Duke of *Aniou*, (for hereafter he shall carry that title) had lately troubled France, and was taken for a turbulent Prince: a title vnpleasing to the people. The diuision for matters of conscience, seemed sufficient to keepe backe the chief Princes of the bloud: the rest were weake both of age and power. Those of *Guise* in the meane time, had neither forgotten bountie, courtesie, nor shew of zeale in pietie, to winne the Catholikes hearts. The Queene-mother vsed them for a purpose, that by the mutuall ruine of the one and the other, she might maintaine her authority.

B But their fauors within the Realme were not auailable. The Protestants crossed them infinitely: they must seeke a forraigne support. They find it sily at *Rome*, and in *Spain*. The Pope gouernes Catholikes consciences, and great men do still find in Religion a wel-colored pretext to trouble the State. The King of *Spain* feared, lest the peace of this Realme should breed him warres. The Prince of *Auranges*, and many townes of the Low-countries cast themselves alreadie into the Kings protection, against the Spanische tyranny. They sollicite the Duke of *Aniou* instantly, and propound conditions vnto him, which make him to open both eares and mouth: and already many Gentlemen and Captaines armed for this quarrell. So both the Consistorie at *Rome*, and the King of *Spain* might well countenance these desseignes, grounded especially vpon the defence of the Catholike religion: the one for the zeale he carries to the rooting out of heretic: the other, for the profit he reapes by our common diuisions.

C And therefore those of *Guise* send their Agents to *Rome*, with instructions, and shew; That by the negligence of Kings issued from the house of *Valois*, descending from the line of *Hugh Capet*, (in the which there appeared none, but were dull or heretickes) the Catholike religion decayed in this Realme: whilst that the race of *Charlesmaigne* honoured with the blessing of the *Romaine* seate, the which subsists not but by that race (from the which they will make the world beleue, that they are descended in the direct masculine and lawfull line) remains despised, although it be ready to serue the Church faithfully, and that there liue at this day Princes of that race, commendable for their vertues, ready to spend their bloud and meanes, to augment the dignitie of the Church, and for the destruction of heretickes. And therefore they beseech the Consistory to approue and fauour their desseignes. Their chief desseignes were to ouerthrow the succession brought in by *Hugh Capet*, in the full assembly of the Estates, and to make the naming of a successor subiect vnto the said Estates: to cause the Princes of the bloud, that should oppose against the decrees of the Estates, to be declared incapable to succeed vnto the Crowne. And the residue, of what qualities soeuer, Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others, degraded of their dignities: the money growing of their confiscations, to be employed for the warre, and their bodies to be executed. A reward to be appointed for them that should roote out such as could not bee apprehended. To make the Estates protest to liue and dye in the faith, set downe by the Councell of *Trent*: to cause it to be signed in the open Parliament: To reuoke and disannull all publike Edicts in fauour of the Protestants and their associates, and to pursue them to the death that should hinder the extirpation of heresies. To cause the King to reuoke the promises made vnto the Protestants, and to prescribe a certaine time vnto their associates, in the which they should present themselves before the Ecclesiasticall Iudges to bee absolved: and then to be sent vnto the King, to purchase pardon of the crimes committed against his Maiesty. To cause the King to name a Lieutenant generall, a Prince capable of experience, and fit to encounter the rebellion of Princes, that should seeke to hinder the effect of the precedent articles: and who neuer had had part, society nor communication with heretickes, to whom both he and his Ancestors had euer bene professed euemies: and to require his Maiesty to honour the Duke of *Guise* with that charge, being inuued with all the perfections requisite in a great Captaine, and worthy of that Commission. To cause Iudges to be appointed to examine the crime committed by the Duke of *Alañon*, declaring him-

1576.

The practise  
of the house of  
Guise.

1576. selfe chiefe of the Heretickes, authorizing the exercise of heresie: and forcing his Lord and A brother to augment his portion. To cause the said Duke to come to the Court, with the King of Nauarre, and the Prince of Condé: and by ordinary and extraordinarie forces, to seaze vpon the Duke, King, Prince, and all others that had accompanied them, and followed them in their enterprises. To cause such Captaines, as the parishes should giue to the Duke of Guise, to put all Protestants, their adherents and complices, to the sword, both in the country, and in walled townes. To subdue by force or intelligence the reuolted Provinces: to be masters of the field, to block vp the townes that were opposite, and to put all to fire and sword, that would make head against them: And after this goodly and infallible victory, hauing won the loue of the Clergy, Nobility, and people, to take exemplarie punishment of the Duke of Anjou and his complices, then by the Popes consent and permission, to put the King and Queene into a Monastery, as *Pepin* his Ancestour did in former time to *Childeric*: and for an acknowledgement, and in fauour of the Romaine Sea to abolish the liberties and priuiledges of the French Church.

The first  
League at  
Peronne.

These high and great proiects were harkned vnto, receiued and fauoured in the Court of Rome, and from that time those of Guise did not cease to dreame of the meanes to aduance the effects. But this was to reckon without their host. They haue compassed some of their conclusions, but the end proued quite contrary to their intents: wherein we admire a most singular prouidence of the King of Kings, whereby he hath vnto this day miraculously balanced, and in the end by his singular grace setled the estate of this Realme. The articles of C this association were first drawne at Peronne in Picardie: but disguised with goodly shewes, to blind them that would examine them more exactly: which were to maintaine the Lawe of God, to restore the holy seruice thereof: To preserve the King and his Successors in the Estate, dignitie, seruice, and obedience due vnto him by his subiects: To restore vnto the Estates of the Realme, their rights, preheminences, and ancient liberties. And for the execution of these articles, a certaine forme of oath was propounded, inflicting paines of eternall damnation to the associats, that for any pretext whatsoever should withdraw themselves from this League, and a bond for such as should be enrolled, to employ their goods, persons, and liues, to punish, and by all meanes to ruine the enemies and perturbers thereof, and to punish them that should faile, or make any delaies by the authoritie of the head, D as he should thinke good.

The Duke of  
Alanson re-  
conciled to  
the King.

This done, there were nothing but posts carrying the first newes of their desseignes. They cast many libels throughout the streetes, in many good townes: they murmure that they are too much supported by the Edict: they practise some to serue as fire-brands to kindle a new warre: and vnder this plausible and commendable title of the name of the Church and diuine seruice, the people (a fit matter to nourish ciuill diuisions) giue eare to such as seeke to thrust him into mutiny. The King was daily aduertised of new complots. He found that this match did kindle a fire of perpetuall combustions within his Realme. On the other side he hated the Protestants, and would ruine them by degrees, but not by such instruments as wrought without his authoritie. His mother likewise hated them to the death, and greatly E desired the ruine of the heads, being well content that these confusions should still diuide the French, so as holding the staffe in her hand, she might terrifie her children, and maintaine her authoritie, make warre, and giue peace whensoever she pleased. Thus she causeth the Duke of Alanson to come to the Court, and the King to entertain his subiects of both religions, in hope of better concord, by means of this reconciliation: and to cut off all new factions, he deferred the generall assembly of the Estates vnto the 15. of December following. He presumed likewise, that all his subiects abhorring the ruine of Townes, the desolation of countries, and the spoile of strangers, would gladly prefer the entertainment of a peace solemnly sworne, before the continuance of war: and by this means, he should preuent all turbulent persons, and bridle the Protestants; whom he meant to consume otherwise F then by open warre: whereby neither his predecessor, nor he himselfe had gotten any honorable triumphes:

The begin-  
ning of the  
Parliament.

The day (appointed for the Estates) comes, the King himselfe begins it. He laments the calamities of his Realme, whereof the tender age in the which his brother and himselfe were in the beginning of these ciuill warres, may well iustifie them, that they were not the authors

A authors and motives. He protests to haue no desseigne nor desire, but for the safetie and quiet of his people, whose miseries he would redeeme with the price of his life. He coniuers the assembly to assist him in his holy resolution. To deuise some meanes to redeeme the lands of the Crowne, engaged for aboue an hundred millions of gold: to vnite themselves firmly together, to root out all feedes of partialities, to reforme abuses, establish Iustice, and to restore the Realme to the ancient dignity. *Birague* the Chancellor addes the rest: but the two maine points of his speech, were to iustifie the Queene-mothers gouernment, and to demand money. *Peter d'Espinae* Arch-bishop of Lions, and the Baron of Senecey are speakers: the one for the Clergy, the other for the Nobility: and both conclude a publike exercise of one onely Religion in France. *Peter Verforis*, Advocate in the Court of Parla- B ment at Paris, Orator for the third estate, insists especially for the vnion of all the Kings subiects in one religion, but by mild meanes, and without warre: hee beseecheth the King to maintaine his people in peace, to reconcile his Princes, and exactly to examine the badde gouernment of his treasor.

The third E-  
state more in-  
different and  
moderate.

The King seemed to incline onely to alter some articles in the last Edicts of pacification, and not to abolish it quite: but he was needie, and feared that wherewith they threatened him: That no man would assist him, but vpon condition to make warre against the Huguenots. Thus the perswasions and promises of the Clergie, and Nobility, preuailed more then those that preferred peaceable proceedings before violent: making him resolute to armes, to C root out all other exercise of religion but the Catholike, to banish all Ministers, Deacons, and ouer-seers of the pretended reformed Religion: and yet to take all his other subiects of the said religion into his protection, attending, that by better instructions they might bee reclaimed to the bosome of the Church. But the King of Nauarre, the Prince of Condé, the Marshall of Montmorency, *d'Anville*, and other Noblemen, both of the one, and the other Religion, had well fore-seene these conclusions, and refusing to assist at this pretended Parliament, conclude a Nullity of all that should be decreed to preiudice the Edict of pacification, protesting that they were resolute to maintaine themselves in the rights, liberties, and freedoms, which the last Edict had granted them: That the troublers of the publike quiet, and the sworn enemies of France, should find them in a iust defence, and they D should answer before God and Men, for all the miseries that should ensue thereby. For answer, it was ordained, that men should be sent to winne some to the Catholike Church, and all to the obedience of the Kings new Edict, tending to maintaine the Romaine Religion, to roote out all other exercise, to defend the King, and to preserve his people. The king thought by this opposition to stay this new faction which fortified it selfe daily. It was a great indiscretion to countenance an association and league, which vnder the ashes of the last warre, being yet hot, couered the coales of a generall flame. The King of Nauarre be- E seecheth the Estates, by the Duke of Montpensier (who was sent vnto him) not to infringe the Edict of peace, and to suffer them of the Religion to enioy that which had bene so solemnly granted. He offers to submit himselfe, if they shew him how he erres: but hee in- treats them, that in a matter of so great importance, they will giue him time to thinke seriously thereon, and to attend the opinion of an assembly of those of his Religion, and of the Catholikes associats, which shortly shall be made at Monrauban.

The King of  
Nauarres re-  
quest to the  
Estates.

The Prince of Condé answers more sharply: That he doth not acknowledge them that are assembled at Blois, for the Estates of the Realme; but a conuenticle of persons corrupted by the sworn enemies of the Crowne, who haue sollicitied the abolition of the Edict, to the ruine and subuersion of the Realme. That if they had bene lawfully called, he would haue assisted for the sincere affection he beares to the kings seruice, and the quiet of his contray. That he will neuer giue his consent to the counsels of the authors of so many confusions which he foresees, whereunto he hath alwaies knowne the kings disposition to bee repugnant, and a friend to Vnion; being the sure and principal means to preserve his Crown. F That he hath alwaies honoured the Clergie and Nobility, and will maintaine them with all his power: but hee pitties the people, whome these pretended Estates of Blois seeke to ruine.

The Prince of  
Condes an-  
swer.

The chiefe of the Politicks protest: That they do not cleaue to any other religion, then that of their Fathers: but as touching a general peace, they cannot allow of this resolution: The declaration of the Po-  
liticks.

To

1577. To take from the Protestants the publike exercise which had beene so solemnly graunted A them. The Duke of Montpensier (being returned) perswaded to haue the Edict confirmed. The third estate presented a new petition vnto the King, beseeching him to vnite all his subjects in one religion, but without violence. Doubtlesse a King may well ruine euery priuate man, but not all mankind in generall. One succeeds another, and the children (whose age and innocency doth naturally free them from the rigour and violence of armes) do inherit the humors, passions, and quarrels of their fathers.

The Protestants supplication.

The Protestants ioyndly beseech the King, not to suffer this assembly (which they cannot allow for a generall Parliament) to consult vpon the point of Religion due vnto a free Councell. The Estates (said the King) should neither be free, nor generall, if I should make this prohibition. And as they may demand what they please, so may you do the like, and I promise you in the word of a King, and of an honest man, that whatsoever I ordaine, shall be for the contentment of all my subjects, and the quiet and peace of my Realme. In the meane time, they consult how to leuy money for the warre. The King gives notice to his Gouvernours, and publisheth by his Letters-patents: That hee is resolu'd to graunt the Estates their requests, touching the exercise of one onely religion. And *Milleguier* is sent to the Princes of the Empire, to diuert some from their affections to the Prince of Condé and his adherents: and to obtaine from others a leaue of Resistres. Thus the warre begins in Guienne.

The first ciuill warre.

By the Duke of Aniou, and

Of Mayenne.

The King of Nauarre attempts vpon Marmande, a Towne of his gouernement, but without effect. The Duke of Mayenne comes for the King: and whilest hee is the strongest in field, he batters, takes and sackes, Thone-Carante, Marans, and other places thereabouts. During the Parliament, the Deputies of the Low-countries came to demand succors of the King and the Duke of Aniou for protector of their liberties and priuiledges, against the tyrannous gouernment of the Spaniards. He is now declared the Kings Lieutenant generall. They giue him a mighty army, with the which (contrary to the oath taken by him in the obseruation of the accord and promise past with the Prince of Condé and the Duke of Mayenne,) he besiegeth and takes La Charité by composition, and Yssoire in Auvergne by force, where the blood of the Inhabitants, shed without pittie by the Duke of Aniou, confirmed the Protestants in the bad opinion they had conceived of him.

The siege of Brouage.

Rochell crossed the practices of the contrary party: whose happy exploits caused the duke of Mayenne to send forth a Nauy to sea, vnder the command of *Lansac*: which presenting it selfe before the Isle of Ré, retired, seeing the Ilanders resolu'd to fight if they approached. The Rochellois, to encounter them, arme seuen ships, those of the Ilands five, and intreate the Estates of Holland and Zeland, vpon good assurance to ayde them with some great vessels, to withstand the force of this Fleet. The Nobility, by their example, inuite all others, and of all qualities, to charge themselves willingly for the maintenance of this army. The Duke of Mayennes first conquests make him proceed. And to make his enterprises vpon Rochel more easie, he comes before Brouage the 22. of Iune. It is a small square towne, built in a marish recouered out of the sea, fortified during the third peace; and at that time ill furnished with men, victuals, and munition: and besides, ill-beloued of the Ilanders about it. Those of Rochell, whom it doth greatly import for the preferuation of their Estate, did greatly indomage the assailants, and cut off about 600. of their men in short time. But a diuision happened, and was cunningly maintained betwixt the Nobility and the Rochellois: the Prince of Condé hauing (vnder the conduct of *Clermont* Admiral for the Rochellois) lost some vessels, being runne on ground, the rest being dispersed, and thereby the Isle of Oleron lost. The Kings approach to Poitiers: the supply of Suisses in the campe: *Lansacs* comming into the rode of Chef de-Bay neare vnto Rochel (where he burnt one of their principall ships, and tooke another, but without the losse of a man) the death of *Sere* chiefe of the besieged, slaine with tenne or twelue others in a sally by night, the number of sicke and hurt which they had to feed, the ruine of their forts, the enemies approach, the want of victuals, and the threats of the Duke of Anious comming, who would intreate them as he had done the inhabitants of Issoire: all these considerations made them enter into capitulation, by the which they departed the 28. of August with their armes and baggage, leauing the place at the victors deuotion.

This

A This happy successe should haue made the Duke of Mayenne aduance with his army: but the progresse was dangerous for the Kings Estate: who to maintaine himselfe, must proceed after another sort. His maner of life was contrary to the violence of armes: he was of a soft and delicate nature, impatient of labour, a friend to rest, feasts, dancing, and other pleasures, which peace brings to them that are giuen to delights. So the peace which had been plotted during the siege of Brouage, was concluded at Poitiers, and was receiued in the end of September with so great ioy of either party, as the Prince of Condé caused it to be proclaimed by Torch-light in Rochell the same night it came: although it were not so beneficiall for his party as the first. This last Edict cut off some articles of the former, made no mention of strangers: left their consciences free, yet without exercise, but in Townes and places where as then it was publickly vsed in Gentlemens houses that had high Iustice and sees, in what assemblies they pleased: for others of meaner quality, a certaine number, and in euery Bailiwiki a fit and commodious place for the publike exercise of the pretended reformed religion. So the proud desseignes of the Duke of Guise were made frustrate for this time, and it layd for some yeares, vntill that by the death of the Duke of Aniou, we shall see them reuiued, but in the end to the Authors confusion.

The peace of Poitiers.

The partialities and leagues made within the Realme, in the which many, both great and small, had farre engaged their goods and reputations, were the cause of great difficulties, in the execution of the Edict. Those of Languedoc especially, (from whom the Mar- shall *d'Anuille* had estranged himselfe) did ioyntly, with the other Prouinces, sollicite the King of Nauarre, to obtaine an explanation of many ambiguous and doubtfull articles. So a whole yeare was spent in instances, pursutes, and declarations.

Articles of hard execution.

The conference at Nerac betwixt the Queene-mother and the King of Nauarre, decided many difficulties: but their spleenes cold not be so easily tempered, and sometimes in one Prouince, sometime in another, the Edict was diuersly and many waies broken. The most factious were very loth to lay aside Armes: the Politikes did daily diuide themselves from the Protestants: the Protestants sought to keepe themselves from surprizes, and full of distrust, maintained themselves quietly in the midst of many stormes which threatened them.

As for the King, experience hath now taught him, that the power of man cannot force mens consciences: that spirituall diseases must haue spirituall cures: that faith is not planted in the heart by violence: that wee must attend from heauen the conuersion of them that are strayed, and that the Prince is a patterne whereto his subjects willingly conformance themselves. He therefore shewes himselfe in publicke, for a myrror of reformation and pietie, and as a testimony, that his greatest desire is to conformance the diuisions in his Realme, hee buildes many Monasteries, Chappels, and Oratories: vndertakes many pilgrimages on foote, confirms the Brother-hood of Penitents, erects the Order of *Hieronymites*; is daily conuersant with the *Capuchins* and *Fueillants*, called *Iesuites*: and by their instructions and directions erects many Companies: hee carries a Crucifixe and Beades in procession, with a whippe at his girdell: hee causeth many Bookes of deuotion to bee printed. And to conclude, hee leades a life more besitting a Cloyster then a Royall Court: and following the example of *Lewis* the eleuenth his Predecessour, hee institutes the Order of the Knights of the Holy-Ghost, binding them to conditions, which carry a strict bond to the Church of Rome.

The kings behaviour during the peace.

Hee pretended to giue diuers blowes with one stone: To vnite great men by an inuio- lable concord and amitie, for the good of themselves, the State, and their Countrey: To please the Clergie-men, and to leade all the Clergy in a leash: to winne the peoples hearts who are fedde with shewes: To suppress the grudging and the ill-will which the intolerable oppression of his subjects bred, to remedy the extraordinary expences of his court in vsual excesse, and for the entertainment of a number of minions and Horse-leeches, to whome they must rather weigh, then tell mony: But chiefly to pull downe the Protestants, to vndermine them, and by this lure of worldly greatnesse, to withdraw the chiefe heads, who could not attaine to this high and stately degree of Knighthood, but in renouncing of their Religion.

The Order of the Holyghost erected.

*Henry* (for trumpets of his deuotion) had the Fathers of the *Capuchins*, *Fueillants*, and *Iesuites*, *Dom Bernard Fueillant*, and *Edmond Auger a Iesuite*, gaue him publickly in their

Bbbb

Sermons

1580. Sermons, and priuaty in confessions and companies, the testimonies of the most religious Prince, the most courteous, and the most carefull to vnite his subiects, first in their obedience to God, and then to him, that euer France hath knowne in many ages. But we shall see in the end most of their tongues sold for money, and others, who making profession to come into the pulpit to instruct the people, shall basely contradict and controule these goodly Oratours, and by a contrarie language, suborne the peoples affections, subuert their senses, and as it were with little linkes of gold, draw them after them, tyed by the nose, tongue and eares.

Motives of rebellion against the King.

The feasts, masks, stately marriages, sumptuous pastimes, and the new impositions to maintaine them, led the first dance of rebellion. The Queen-mother, and those of Guise, seeing the King drowned in these delights of Court, did willingly entertaine him in that humour, that either busying himself to number his beads, or to tread the measures of a dance, they might hold the reines of government, and dispose of affaires without controule. But he knew well the ambition of these men. He was iealous of his royall authority, and in the midst of his delights and pleasures, their presence was suspect vnto him. He was more pleased with the familiarity of meane men, whom he had aduanced to exceeding greatnesse: and still he set some minion in centinell, to watch if they should attempt any thing against his royall dignity. Those of Guise are not idle, they watch for occasions, they receiue such as are mal-content, they practise men of their owne humors and dispositions, and fit for their desseignes: and can cunningly promise cure and helpe for those vlcers and sores which the people of France do generally complaine of.

These first discontents of subiects, oppressed with insupportable charges, and the impatience of the Clergie, who see their enemies to enioy a firme and solid peace, which did newly strengthen and close vp that old wound, which had lately imbrued all France, made them easily to reuiue the league of Peronne, and vnder two goodly pretexts, (religion, and the ease of the people) to discover the desseignes which they had long before conceiued. All encounters made the way easie both within and without: within, their hearts disposed to reuolt: without, the Spaniards greatnesse, who had now invaded the Realme of Portugal, and by this vsurpation had a great meane to disperse his Indian gold in France. And the duke of Aniou made warre for the Estates of Flanders and other vnited Prouinces, which had called him to free them from the tyranny and domination of the Spaniards. But these discourses belong to the Spanish, Portugall, and Flemish Histories, and may not enter into this volume, which inuites vs to an end.

Prolongation of trauels granted to the Protestants.

New motives of rebellion.

The last Edict (as the former) accorded some townes vnto the Protestants, for hostages and sureties of his word, during the terme of fixe yeares. Now the King summons them to deliuer them, seeing the time prefixed was almost expired. But the peace had beene so often broken, as so short a time could not quench the fire-brands of warre, nor giue a full execution to the Edict. To content them, the King grants a prolongation for the retaining of these townes for some yeares. This grant serues the Princes of the league for a new motive of troubles and disobedience. They giue it out generally: That the King fauours Hereticks, and that he will bring in heresie. They consider not, that he could not but by force (the euent whereof was doubtfull) recouer the said places, being strong and peopled with numbers of Protestants. The King of Nauarre fees as farre off, that the heauens are ouercast, and foresees that this storme doth threaten his Estate with a horrible tempest: they sollicite him to ioyne with this party: they make him goodly offers in shew, but all was but to lull him asleepe, or to cast vpon him all the causes of the future miseries, and to make him more odious and detestable. He giues the King intelligence thereof, and puts him in mind of the aduertisements he gaue him in the year 1576. vpon the treaties of the league in Spain and at Rome. He sees this myne is ready to breake, and that it is now time to thinke of his affaires. Hee assures himselfe of the amities and friendshipes of England, Denmarke and Germanie.

The duke of Aniou dies.

But suddenly there fallies a new accident, which breakes vp all the bankes that restrained the ouer-flowing of the League. The Duke of Aniou, whether his riot in the Lowe-countries, or griefe to see his desseignes ouerthrowne, or the wicked practises of Saucedo, (drawne in peeces since by foure horses) or some other secret attempt against his life, had

shortened

A shortened his dayes: he dies at Chasteau-Thierry. Whatsoeuer it were, such as were employed to see this man tortured, and to discover the secret intentions of his masters, were afterwards vnworthily intreated, and ranfomed by the chiefe of the League. This death aduanced the King of Nauarre one degree. The King suffers the Court of Parliament to receiue the Roses in May, that were presented vnto him, (according to the custome of the Princes & Peeres of France) in quality of the first Prince of the blood, and first Peere of France. Most part of the Realm cast their eyes vpon him, as the Sunne-rising. This on the one side doth amaze the authors of the League, and on the other side, it presseeth them to try their fortunes now, whilest the King remains alone of his line, without hope of issue, and the King of Nauarre farre off, as it were exiled, and in shew excluded from euer passing the Loire.

1584.

They assemble the heads of their house at S. Denis, and presently make the seedes of their counsels to appeare in Picardie, Champagne, and Bourgongne. They make the townes to abhorre the Huguenots yoke, which (say they) the King of Nauarre prepares for them. They talke not of the King but with contempt: they cast forth libels and shamelesse Pasquils: they disgrace him in companies as a *Sardanapalus*, and idle *Chilperic*, drunke with prodigalities and dissolutenesse, and for a third Crowne (his deuise shewing, that hee attended the last in heauen) they were ready to shauie his crowne, like vnto a Monke in a cloister. The people beeing corrupted, and drawne from their obedience, by the disorders of the Court, suffer the poyson of audacious mutinies to creepe into their hearts. But let vs in few words see the conception, the deliuey, and the growing of this League in Paris, which shall cast forth store of branches into all the quarters of the Realme. *Roche-blond* a Cittizen of Paris, a turbulent and factious man, the first Tribune of this League, encouraged by some great men, and supported by the chiefe Ministers thereof, ioynes with *Prenost* the Curat of Saint Seuerin, *Ba:her* Curat of S. Benoist, and *Launoy* a Chanon of Soissons, sometimes a Minister, but fled from Sedan for adultery. These foure Arch-leaguers, hauing banded all their wits to ruine the house of Bourbon, and to aduance that of Guise, sow a pernicious seed of rebellion throughout the city, and frame a petty-Councell of the chiefe cittizens, who take the charge of the sixteene quarters of the city and suburbs, to practise all they could, and to entertaine them with discourses, grounded vpon the malice of the time, full of schisme, heresie, and tyranny. This petty Councell, compounded of *Roche-blond*, *Compans* a Merchant, *Cruce* a Proctor, *La Chappelle*, *Louchart* a Commissary, and *Buffy le Clerc* a Proctor, brought their deliberations and proiects to the grand Councell, which consisted of Doctors Curats, Preachers, and other men of marke.

In short time they make a great brother-hood, and finding themselves strong, they aduertise the Duke of Guise, of the affection of the good Catholikes of Paris, (that is the name which the Leaguers challenged to themselves) and their zeale to the preservation of Religion, and the rooting out of the contrary, and the ruine of tyranny. He concedes with his breethren, and sends both to giue and to take an oth in an assembly held in Reims place, at Paris. Then the most factious are sent to the townes and Prouinces of the Realme, with good instructions, to ioyne new confederates to their body, vnder a pretext to fight against heresie and tyranny. Then might we haue seene the chiefe pillars ouerthrowne that support a Prince: loue and authority, and hatred and contempt to supply their places. The Preachers publicly in all places, did terme the King a tyrant, and fauourer of Heretickes. The people did applaud them: and from this deadly hatred which they had conceiued against the King, his Councell and fauorites, sprung that fury which was soone after dispersed ouer all the body of France:

Trumpets of rebellion.

The better to countenance this League, they present it to Pope *Gregorie* the 13. that he might blesse it, and declare himselfe the God-father, as made for the ornament and support of the Catholike and Apostolike Romane Church. *Gregorie* was well pleased they should attempt any thing against the Huguenots: but hee did not approoue those popular rebellions which were made against a most Christian and Catholike King, neither would he be the fire-brand of a war which he could not quench. And so he sent the Deputies back without any answer. The League impatient to attend the resolution of Rome, layes open his desseignes, and makes them plausible, causing one of the chief Princes of the blood, to be produced.

The League presented to the Pope.

But not app.



1585. an actor and to carry the bable. They publish, that the King (dying without children) hath A no heire nor successor but the Cardinall of Bourbon, a Prince broken in yeares, without hope of issue, or to suruiue the King, who was sound, lustie, and young. But they secretly season the simple peoples minds, with that vniust vsurpation of the *Capets*, vpon the heires of *Charlemagne*: they print bookes, they cast forth diuers Libels, yea some Preachers make it the Text of their Sermons. Two principall fire-brands inflame the League. The assembly made by the King of Nauarre and the Deputies of that party at Montauban, to resolute the meanes to maintaine themselves, if the League (abusing the Kings name and authority) should seeke to offend them. And the voyage of the Duke of Espernon to the King of Nauarre, to conferre priuately with him in the Kings name.

Assembly at  
Montauban.

D<sup>e</sup> Espernons  
voyage into  
Gascony.

Motiuues of  
League.

The chiefe of the League presume, that the King meanes to arme, and to employ the King of Nauarres forces against them. They seeke to preuent him, and to that intent they send forth many Commissions: but lest any should controule them, they cloake them with the Kings name, wherewith they maintaine themselves to be well allowed, as a thing done for his Maiesties seruice. The King in the end of March disauowes them, and forbids all leaues of men of warre. To iustifie themselves and their rising, they publish the motiuues of the Cardinall of Bourbon (who notwithstanding serued them but as a cipher) with the Princes Noblemen, Townes and Catholike commonalties to oppose themselves against heretiks. That they had contemned the resolution of the Estates, to make warre against heretiks, and to disannull all Edicts made in their fauour. That the succession of the King of Nauarre (whereof he hath conceiued a great hope since the death of the duke of Anjou) would cause great confusions within this Realme. That preparations were already made both within and without. That by an accord made at Magdebourg the fifteenth of December last past, the troupes of the King of Nauarre, the Prince of Condé, the Queen of England, the King of Scots, the Count Palatin, the Dukes of Saxony, Pomerania, and Wirtemberg, of the Landgraue of Hessen, the Suisses and other Protestants should ioyntly enter into France before the fifteenth of Aprill next following. That the Huguenots would not yeeld vp the townes which they held for the assurance of the last Edict of peace. That there is great abuse in the prouision of Offices, in the leauies of money, and in the inuention of exorbitant imposts.

Then they complaine of the minions in Court, who abusing the Kings name and bounty keepe the Princes and Noblemen that were truly Catholike, from all acceffe to his Maiesty, perswading him, that it is necessarie for the preseruacion of his Estate, to diminish their authority: they braue the Nobility, dispose of gouernements in fauor of their followers, waite the treasure, oppresse the people, restrain the libertie of Iustice, ruine the Clergie with tenths and extraordinarie charges. And then they declare: That these iust motions, and the suddenesse of the mischiefe, had thrust them into armes: the small credit they had with the King, hauing no other meanes to let him vnderstand their complaints: and in the end they protest, that their taking armes, was onely to restore the Church of God to her true and ancient dignity, vnder the exercise of one religion throughout the Realme and Commonwealth; To restore the Nobility to their honour and freedome: to ease the people of extraordinary charges inuented since the raigne of *Charles* the ninth, and not to employ the money leuiued thereby but for the Kings seruice. To require the King to prouide for his succession against the publike and priuate calamities, which the pretensions and contentions for the same might cause: and to chafe from Court such as abused his fauor and authority. In the end they protest and vow, not to lay downe armes, vntill their proposition bee fully executed: and that his Maiesty had preuented the danger, the feare wherof hath made them to take arms. These fall impressions had wonderfully incensed the people: but when as they talked to them of a synode held at Montauban, and of a Diet in Germanie, where they complotted to inuade France, and to chafe away both Masse and Priests: they take the words of these passionate men for Oracles of truth. They presse to enter into the League, such as demanded nothing but change, bankrupts, men indebted, malefactors, wicked and notorious persons.

To conclude, such as had need of ciuill war to liue vpon the Common, follow the Guisians Ensignes: The double pistolets of Spaine begin to shine, the Captaines arme and go

A to field. But the Huguenots are at Rochell, in Languedoc, Guienne and Daulphiné: and they go to seeke them in Picardy, Champagne, Bourgongne and Prouence. Marseilles is surprised the ninth of Aprill, by the practises of *Daries* the second Confull: but suddenly recovered, and *Daries* hanged. *Mandelot* seized on the Cittadell of Lions the second of May. Orleans shuts her gates against the Duke of Montpensier, sent by the King, to assure himselfe of the Towne. The other townes rise: the factious worke, and the army of the league marcheth towards Paris: euery day they are fortified with some new troupe, and euery day some towne declares it selfe enemy.

The Kings  
declaration.

The King in the meane time, made no warre but by writing, thinking by mild and gentle meanes, to pacifie them that spake too proudly. He shewes by his declaration, the zeale he hath alwaies borne to the Catholike Religion, and the necessitie that forced him to a peace, finding all the Estates of his Realme tyred with the calamities past: that peace was the only meanes to vnite his subiects in one religion; to establish Iustice, to reforme abuses and manners, to ease the Clergy, honour the Nobility, and to free the people from oppression: that he giues no benefices but to Prelates indued with learning and pietie. The Nobility should be reconciled, leauing their spleene and distrusts. The people freed from denouing warre, should eate their bread in peace: and yet many both impudent and rash, more hypocrites, then religious, gather by this peace, that he secretly fauours heretickes: the which neuer entred into his thoughts. That he neuer fauoured the succession of a King, who may preiudice the Catholike Religion. But to vnderstand a quarrell for the royall succession, whilest he is yet aliue, and in hope to haue issue: that were to distrust of Gods bounty, and (as it were) degrade him from the estate wherunto God had called him. That he hath honoured (with the greatest and worthiest offices of the Crowne) those Princes that complaine to be debarred his fauour. (And indeed the Duke of Guise was Lord Steward of France, Gouernor of Brie and Champagne, and euery one of the same house aduanced to a gouernement.) Then hauing promised to restore the Church to her beauty, to giue content to the Nobility, and to ease the people, he intreates, coniures, exhorts, and commands all Clergimen, Gentlemen, Parlements, and townes corporate, to separate themselves from that which may hinder so holy an intention, to abandon all Leagues and associations, and to vnite themselves vnder his obedience.

Moreouer, the King writes to the King of Nauarre, That hee should containe himselfe with patience: to the end the people may know whom to blame, as the motiuues of these new combustions: assuring him of his loue, and that he will neuer forget his interest no more then his owne: against them who (vnder goodly shewes) attempt against his person, and Crowne, to make them great with his losse, and the whole ruine of his estate. The King of Nauarre obeyes, and letting passe all occasions to arme, hee protests notwithstanding, That (seeing the sword readie to strike his Lord and brother) hee will preuent the danger.

The King of  
Nauarres  
declaration.

And whereas he is accused of Heresie, he answers: That he was born vnder the tolleracion of two religions in France: that he will leaue that wherein he was bred, when by a lawfull Councell they shall shew him another truth then that which he beleeueth: and therefore he is no heretick, nor yet relapse, seeing he was not fallen from his first opinion. That hee is no enemy to the Catholikes, for that when the Edicts had granted liberty of conscience, he presently layed downe armes: that in all places he maintaines his subiects in the same libertie, as he found them after the decease of his mother. That at the pretended accord of Magdebourg, which the preachers of the League publish in their pulpits, as an imaginarie assembly, and fit to be spoken by a Montbanke, the deceit appears plainly, in that they name (in the extra& published by them) the Ambassadors of the Elector Palatine, and of the prince of Auranges, whereof the Elector was deceased about a yeare before the term they specified, and the Prince slaine at Delft, 4. moneths before. That hee hath requested of the King a prolongation of the townes which he holds for assurance of the last Edict, and will deliuer them before the time, so as the League lay aside armes, and yeeld vnto the King the places they had seized. That whereas they declare him incapable of the Crowne, it toucheth him very neare: yet doth he thinke least of it, hoping that God by his bountie will long preserue the King, for the good of his realme, and will giue him issue, to the gricfe of all

1585.

A great error  
of State.

his enemies. That those which by their declaration terme him desirous of the Kings death, A  
a troubler of the State, and an enemy to the Catholikes, haue falsely and wickedly lyed, be-  
seeching the King to giue him leaue to end this quarrel with the Duke of Guise, one to leaue,  
two to two, or ten to ten: without farther troubling himselfe, or afflicting any of his peo-  
ple: but no man vndertakes this ly, no man accepts of this challenge. Against this first inso-  
lency of the league, he should oppose other armes then a pen: another cuirasse then a pe-  
nitents weeds: another countenance then doubtfull and trembling. The authority of a  
assured brow, the constancy of a manly courage, a resolution fit for a royall Maiestie, should  
haue disperfed this warre of gyants, and suppressed these mutinous Legions. But the Queen-  
mother (accustomed to fish in a troubled streame) winkt at the Duke of Guise. Shee was B  
well pleased with these broyles: she was contented the Duke should terrifie the King; to  
make him abandon the Protestants, and to force him to banish his new minions from  
Court, who had brought her in disgrace with the King her sonne: (he had now sequestred  
her from a great part of the affaires, he held her as it were confined in her houses without  
the Louure) to the end she might be sought vnto, to auoid the blowes of him that was re-  
ady to strike. Her ambition moued her thereunto, rather then any desire she had to aduance  
the Duke: to crosse both the King and Duke, and to bring disorder, and confusion into the  
State: and to stand alone in the midst of these furious tempests.

The League might easily haue bene ouerthrowne. In the beginning they had but a  
thousand horse, and foure thousand foot in field, and the greatest part knowing that these C  
troubles concerne the King and his Estate, retired themselues in time. Most of the townes  
wauered betwixt obedience and rebellion: some remained in their fidelitie, the rest might  
haue bene assured with small force. But *Katherine* terrifies him most of all. You haue (saith  
she) to do with the Pope, the Emperour, the King of Spaine, the Duke of Sauoy, with some  
Princes of Germany, with the Catholike Cantons of the Suisses, who renounce your alli-  
ance, and with all the house of Lorraine. They number fise and twenty Prouinces, and  
great Commanders in this party: your best townes are engaged, all are resolute to hazard  
goods, persons, and liues, to saue religion from shipwracke. Thus this poore Prince is ter-  
rified: he thinks the Duke of Guise is at his heeles, and holds the Capuchins cloister to bee  
more safe for him, then his Louure. He is not the same man that vanquished his enemies D  
at Iarnac and Montcontour, he wants courage, he desires nothing more, then to purchase  
the Dukes fauour: and promisseth, that for a peace hee will giue them a good part of his  
Kingdome. The Duke of Guise, a Prince of great experience, discrete, valiant, and worthy  
to be numbred amongst the brauest Captaines; knowes the King is full of feare; and sees  
that the lustre of his armes shines ouer all. His courage swels through the Kings childish  
feare: he continues his course, and begins to hope for more then he had pretended. Hee  
therefore demands much, and his request ioynes his owne priuate interest with the publike:  
he beseecheth the King to make an irreuocable Edi&t, for the extirpation of heresies, to  
take away the townes held by the Huguenots by force, to renounce the Protection of Ge-  
neua: to allow of their armes, and to ioyne his vnto theirs. Which was as much to say, of E  
a King to make himselfe a partizan.

The Duke of  
Guise fortified  
by a peace.

The King makes a counterfet peace with them, and by his Edi&t of the 18. of Iuly, reuokes  
al other made in fauor of the Protestants: he commands their Ministers to depart the realm,  
and to all his subiects within 6. moneths, to make profession of the Catholike religion, or to  
auoid the cuntry. He approves the Leaguers armes, as leauied for his seruice, allows of  
their pretexts, and by secreet articles concluded at Nemours, contents them in all matters,  
only with this condition: To leaue the league, and instantly to lay down armes: a trap wher-  
by they should in the end be taken. As for their security, they left it to the Kings good plea-  
sure: yet would they haue in their powers, the towne of Chalon, Thoul, Verdun, S. Disier,  
Reims, Soissons, the castle of Dijon, Beaune, Rue in Picardy, Dinan and Conco in Brittain: F  
they caused to bee paid to the King 200. one thousand, sixe Crownes, and two third parts  
for the strangers which they had leauied: they had a discharge for an hundred six thousand  
three hundred and forty Crownes, eight solz, and three deniers, which they had taken vpon  
the generall receipts. They obtained an hundred thousand crownes to build a citadel at Ver-  
dun: and entertainment for guards on horse-backe for all the Princes of the League.

To

1585.

A To conclude, the extorsions, robberies, burnings, profanations, and other insolencies  
which such armes drawe after them, deuoured more flesh in three moneths, than this warre  
continued, wasted more far, and sucked more blood from the poore people (for whose ease  
they had so often protested to haue taken armes) then the ordinary charges could haue con-  
sumed in many yeeres. This outrage was the cause of seuen and twenty Edi&ts, to dis-  
charge those millions of gold, which this fury had wasted, to the peruerting of Iustice, po-  
licy and the treasure.

A rash enterprise ruines it selfe when it finds resistance, but if the attempters finde that  
they are feared, their impunity growes confident. This peace had made a great breach  
in the Kings authority: but they had extorted it by force, not three daies before hee had B  
proclaimed them rebels and guilty of treason: they might then easily iudge, that he would  
hatch an egge whereof should spring some notable reuenge. Doubtlesse *Henry* deter-  
mined it: but the three brethren, who were the chiefe architects of this conspiracy kept  
themselues a part, and could not be catcht in one net: and to maintaine themselues, they  
had no better expedient then by armes. They make the King resolute to warre against the  
Protestants: they shew him the facility thereof, three mornings (say they) will end it: We  
haue the assistance of all Christian Princes, the Germane forces will march no more for  
the King of Nauarre, a poore Prince, without money and without credit. The Queene of  
England shall haue worke enough to resist the Spaniards attempts (the Spaniard prepared C  
then that great army against England, which we shall see disperfed with small resistance, like  
a puffe of winde) and their strongest places will parte at our first approches.

Let vs make warre (saith the King) against them in Gods name. I will entertaine three  
armies: one in Guyenne, an other about mine owne person, and the third vpon the fron-  
ter, against the strangers whom the Huguenots expect out of Germany, there wants no-  
thing but money: the charge amounts to foure hundred thousand crownes a moneth. I  
haue by your aduise broken the peace (saith he to the best of the Clergy, of the Parliament  
and of the citizens of Paris being assembled at the Louvre) assure me now of meanes to  
make warre. And afterwards he said to the Cardinall of Guise. The heads of the Clergy  
are they which haue most importuned me to warre: it is no reason I alone should beare D  
the charge of that which redounds to the publike. I assure my selfe, you will not faile to as-  
sist me. And to the first President (notwithstanding the Parliament had lately verified the  
letters-patents, whereby the King condemned the authors of this rebellion as traytors) I  
haue found so much zeale and affection in you, to cause mee to reuoke the last Edi&t of  
peace, as I assure my selfe you will find reasons sufficient to perswade them of your faculty,  
to forbear their caterrainments, so long as the warres shall continue. And then to the  
Preuost of marchants, he sayd. The city hath shewed it selfe most affectionat to the breach  
of the Edi&t: they must be as willing to contribute to the charges of the warre. Go pre-  
sently, and assemble the body of your city, and make mee an imposition of two hundred  
thousand crownes.

Warre against  
the Protest-  
ants.

E Without doubt euery one of these was very willing to haue warre, but loth to seale the  
discommodities it brought. They begin to finde that the most preiudiciall peace is better  
then the most triumphant and victorious warre. Yet the league will haue warre: and euen  
they, whose forefathers were wont to carry it beyond the seas, into Asia, Affrica, and to the  
end of the world, doe now nourish it in their owne country. But the authors thereof could  
not stand but in the midst of a generall confusion.

The King of Nauarre seeing this cloude ready to breake vpon his party, complains, that  
the King without consideration of the priuate interest hee hath in this last reuolt, hath  
made a peace with his enemies; and hath armed them with his owne forces; and authority,  
against his estate, his blood and himselfe. Hee laies open, by a publike declaration, the cau-  
ses which moued the league to take armes, the vanity of their pretexts, the fruits which all  
France may expect by the treaty of Nemours; and then with the Prince of Condé his cou-  
sin, the Marshall *D. Cossuille* (hereafter Duke of Montmorency, by the death of his eldest  
brother, and in the following raigne Constable of France) and other Noblemen, Gentle-  
men, Prouinces, Townes and Commonalties of both Religions, he protests, by a lawfull  
and necessary defence, to maintaine the fundamentall lawes of families, and the Estate and  
liberty

1585. liberty of the King and the Queene his mother. Was it not sufficient for these Princes, A  
to haue the King and league against them, but they must be charged with a new assault  
from beyond the mountaines? *Sixtus* the fifth, a more violent man then his Predecessor,  
casts out his lightning against these two *Henries*, King of Nauarre and Prince of Condé: he  
excommunicates them, degrades them and their successors, from all dignities, namely their  
pretensions to the crowne of France, exposeth their countries and persons in prey, to the  
first that should seize on them.

The Popes  
Bull declared  
void and of  
no force.

The Court of Parliament finds this act to be rash, insolent, strange, and farre from the  
modesty of former Popes, and saies vnto the King: that therein they find nothing like to  
the Apostles successor. The Registers of the Court, nor yet Antiquity did not teach them: B  
that the Princes of France were euer to seeke iustice at Rome, or that subiects did euer take  
knowledge of their Princes religion. Seeing then the new Pope, in stead of instruction  
studies nothing but destruction, and that he changeth his sheep-hooke into a fearful fire-  
brand, to ruine those vnto whom he should winne vnto the Church, the Court could  
not admit this Bull, so pernicious for all Christendome, and derogating from the Soue-  
raignty of the crowne of France. The Princes likewise protest against the sayd Bull, and  
appeale from it, as abusive and scandalous, vnto the next free and lawfull councill: where  
they will prooue (sayd they) that *Sixtus* the fifth, calling himselfe Pope, terming them here-  
tiques, hath falsely and wickedly lied. This opposition was set vp in Rome the sixth of No-  
uember. Thus the Parliament grew resolute against this Bull: but it yielded easily in o-  
ther matters, which did but impair the affaires. For the fifteenth of October they allow-  
ed of the Kings declaration, which imposed confiscation of body and goods, against such  
as without the warrant of the Catholike Princes had opposed their forces against the  
league: and reuolued the terme of fixe monthes granted by the Edict of Iuly, to fifteene  
daies after the said declaration.

Open warre.

To crosse this Edict, the King of Nauarre, by a declaration of the last of November, doth  
seize, and giues commissions, to sell all the fruits, rents, reuenues, moouables, debts, and all  
other profits whatsoever, of the Inhabitants of townes, where the Edict of Iuly, touching  
the fixe monethes, and of October, touching the abbreviation to fifteene daies, had  
bene receiued, published and executed: and likewise of Gentlemen and others carrying D  
armes, with the Leaguers and their adherents: as also of the Clergy resident in the said  
townes, or contributing for their party, and to let out their Lands to them that would giue  
moft. His words and deeds were all one: for presently his people lay their hands to worke.  
Saint *Mesmes* keeps the Marshall *Matignon* in breath. *Lual* chargeth him in *Xaintonge*,  
and raizeth the siege of *Taillebourg*, where the Ladies of *Tremouille* (the mother, and  
daughter) were besieged. The Vicont of *Turrenne* ouer-runs *Limosin*, and for a gage of his  
inroads takes the Bishoprick of *Thules*. The Duke of *Mercoeur*, on the other side, thinks  
with two thousand men to doe wonders in *Poitou*: but there must be a proportion be-  
twixt him that forceth, and him that hee meanes to force. The Prince of Condé makes  
head against him, and not onely driues him from *Fontenay*, but also makes him, for his bet-  
ter safety, retire farre into *Brittan* with losse and disgrace. Being freed from this incom-  
brance, hee besiegeth *Brouage*, and had already brought it to that necessity, as the most re-  
solute were ready to yeeld when as newes came vnto him, that three captaines, *Du Halot* ser-  
uant to the King, *Le Fresne* enemy to the Earle of *Brissac*, *Gouemour* of *Angers*, and  
*Rochemorte*, a partizan to the King of Nauarre, had seized on the castle of *Angers*,  
one of the strongest places of the Realme, garded by a captaine, and twelue souldiers.  
The enterprise was well made, well executed, but not so well continued: for *Du Halot*  
came too soone into the towne, protesting that hee had taken the castle for the Kings  
seruice. They detain him prisoner, and besiege the castle, whether the whole Coun-  
trie comes.

The voice of  
Angers.

At night they demand to parle with *Ensigne*. Hee as ill aduised as the first, comes forth  
vpon a little bridge: A *Harguebuzier* makes an offer to shoot at him: Wherevpon hee  
seekes to returne: but *Rochemorte* with his companie, fearing to be forced by the multi-  
tude that came running, drawes vp the bridge. *Le Fresne* hangs by the chaires to pull  
it downe: but the Townes-men cut off his hands, and hee falls into the ditch, where hee  
was

A was slaine by a stagge they kept there. *Du Halot* was presently executed within the towne.  
These two being dead, they demand of *Rochemorte*, for whom hee holds? For the King of  
Nauarre, said hee. Herevpon they cast vp a trench against the castle, attending the Duke  
of *Loyeuse* the Kings brother-in-law. During these broiles and troubles *Rochemorte* (flum-  
bring one day in one of the windowes of the castle) was there slaine with a *Hargue-  
buz* shot.

The Prince aduertised of the surprize of the castle, and of *Rochemorte*s answer: but not of  
that which happened since, leaues *Brouage*: and to oppose sufficient forces against the  
league, he marcheth with about eight hundred maisters, and twelue hundred *Harguebuzi-  
ers* on horse-backe, passeth *Loire* at *Roifiers* betwixt *Saumur* and *Angers*, chargeth home  
B to the suburbs, forceth some barricadoes, and spends a whole day in skirmishes: but hee  
heares no newes from the castle, neither for the alarm in the towne, nor the noise of his  
troupes. No man appeares: no answer, no signe is made: the Actors were buried in  
their enterprise, and sixteene souldiers remayning had already capitulated. Doubtlesse  
too much courage and too little consideration (a dangerous ouer-sight in any great com-  
mander) had engaged the Prince on this side the riuer of *Loire*, amongst many armies of e-  
nemies, hauing no bridge at his deuotion, without boates to repasse, or any hope of suc-  
cours. Then that cheerefull hope which had brought that little army, turnes into confusi-  
on and disorder: for the duke of *Mayenne* had passed the *Loire* at *Orlean*, with fifteene  
C hundred horse, *Reistres*, and *French*, to cut off the Princes way, if he repassed the water. The  
Duke of *Espernon*, and the Marshall *Biron* kept *Beaufle* towards *Bonneuaille*, to meet with  
him. *La Chastre* had drawn vp the mills, and boats, and kept the passages of *Loire*. The duke  
of *Loyeuse* marched at his backe. *Entragues* *Gouernour* of *Orlean* came to crosse him,  
and all the commons did rise. On the other side, the Princes troupes were tired. Hee  
failes of two or three passages vpon the riuer, whereof he made account, betwixt *Blois* and  
*Amboise*. The amazement increaseth, and his number decreaseth: such as had friends in  
*Beaufle*, *Dunois*, *Perche*, *Vendosmois*, or *Maine*, steale away. The Lord of *Rohan* (aduising  
him not to thrust himselfe into an apparent ruine) had turned head towards *Britan*. All  
the foresaid enemies forces would within few daies charge him: Being neere to *Vendosme*,  
D he leaues the chiefe charge of the retreat to *Clermont*, and *Saint Gelais*: ordereth the com-  
panies, provides for his house-hold seruants, and at eleuen of the clocke at night, he parts,  
accompanied with the Lords of *Tremouille*, *Auignigni*, and few others. Finally after infi-  
nite toyle and dangers past, he recovered the Isle of *Greneze*, lying in the English seas, and  
so London, being receiued by the Queene, with all the honour, and fauour he could desire:  
and then by her commandment accompanied with a good number of the Nobility, and  
men of warre, in ships well appointed, he repassed the seas, obtaining a sufficient conquest  
to haue saued himselfe, and a rich spoile to haue returned with his head to *Rochell*, rather  
then to the Greue or the Hales at *Paris*.

The castle of  
Angers yeel-  
ded.

The Prince of  
Condé in  
roue.

*Saint Gelais*, *Bois-Duly*, *Aubigni*, *la Tifardiere*, and some others are commended to haue  
E wisely preferred these broken troupes nere to the forest of *Marchenoir*, diuided into small  
companies, of twelue, and fifteene, whereof (notwithstanding the townes of *Orlean*, *Blois*,  
*Amboise*, *Tours*, and others thereabouts, were straightly garded) many repassed the *Loire*.  
*Saint Gelais* and others taking the high-way to *Paris*, crossed many companies dispersed in  
*Beaufle*, and hauing wandred long in the forest of *Orlean*: in the end they passed the ri-  
uer nere to *Gyen*, and at last recovered *Rochelle*, where the Prince, the chiefe of the army,  
and the most part of the troupes were already in safety.

The lightnings of *Sixtus*, and the second Edict of October had wonderfully moued the  
King of Nauarre. Now he complains to the Clergy, to the Nobility, to the third estate, and  
to the Parliament of *Paris*, of the breach of the last Edict of peace, and that they had caused  
the question of succession to a King yet liuing, to be decided at Rome, that they would make  
F a Prince of the blood of France subiect to the Pope, that they suffer the consistory to giue  
that which belongs not vnto it: and that the Pope disposeth of Realmes, and principalities  
at his pleasure. Then he sheweth the miseries which these vnciuill warres will breed: he  
exhorts them, not to serue as instruments to the Leaguers, to ruine the King and his  
Realme. And finally, seeing they are so ill aduised, he protests as before. That both he and  
his,

An other  
complaint of  
the King of  
Nauarre.

1586.  
Intercession  
of forraigne  
Princes.

his, will vse all lawfull meanes, to resist the violence of their enemies, and cast all the miseries A that shall ensue vpon the authors thereof.

Strangers deale earnestly in the cause. The Princes of Germany make intercession to the King, at the King of Nauars instance, that he would be perswaded, at the humble petitions of his neighbours, and that opening his eyes at the teares, and his eares at the complaints of his subiects, he would maintaine his owne good, quiet, honour, and faith, his crowne and reputation, and preserve a body wounded vnto death. But those of Guise kept him in awe. He speaks not but by the mouth of the league. *I make and change* (said he vnto the Ambassadors) *my Ordinances as necessity doth require, for the good and quiet of my subiects: and leaue the care to all Soveraigne Princes, to gouerne their people as they shall thinke fit. I haue the feare of God liuely grauen in my heart: neither will I doe any thing against the honour of my conscience, and the fatherly care I haue of my people.* B

The duke of  
Mayennes  
army.

This pleased the league: they are now on horse-backe. The Duke of Mayenne marcheth with about two thousand horse, French and Reistres, twelue regiments of foote, and six thousand Suisses. He must bring the Princes of the bloud prisoners to Paris in triumph, their captaines chained, and couer the fields of Xaintonge, Poictou, and Guyenne, with their slaughtered souldiers, returne victorious, and bring to the King the conquest of all the places, that made resistance. But what exploits? what triumphes? The wrath of God ruines his men in those countries. He besiegeth, batters, and takes some filly places, which are scarce noted in the French map, as Montignac, Beaulieu, Gaignac, Castels, and Saint Bazille vpon Garonne: Montsegur, Castillon, Puynormand in Perigueux, and the most part by composition (but badly obserued) leauing behind him Figeac, Cadaillac, Cajor, the houses of the Vicont of Gourdon, Montfort, Bergerac, and Saint Foy, places of importance, all held by the Protestants. The difficulty of passages, the ouer-flowing of riuers, the vehement cold, the continuall raine, want of money, munition, victuals, and supplies of men, with-draw him from this warre, to goe to winter at Bourdeaux, there (in the midst of his loues) to make some enterprizes vpon the castles, to the preiudice of the Marshall of Maignan. So the most of his souldiers (detained long without either honour or profit) disband of themselves, and the Duke brings from this voyage a more famous spoile, the heire of *Cannont*, being but twelue yeeres old, to giue her to one of his sonnes. He had before time done better in Dauphiné, where keeping his faith inuiolable, he had happily preferred his reputation and credit. Indeed hee then liued onely vnder the Kings lawes and obedience, and now he spends much time, labour and money, to effect little in Guyenne. In the meane time the Prince of Condé renewed the warre, assisted notably by the Earle of Laual, and Saint *Gelas*, who commanded about foure hundred and fifty men, and by the new conquests of Dompierre (a castle nere vnto Saint Iean, belonging to the Marshall of Rez, where the booty repaired the losses late suffered by the souldiers) of Royen, a strong place nere vnto Brouage, of Soubize, Mornac in Allenoirt, Mondeuis, and others, defaced the greefe of the former crosses. In the midst of these prosperities, he tooke to his second wife, in Taillebourg, the sixteenth of March, *Charlotte-Katherine* of Tremouille, sister to *Claude* of Tremouille Duke of Thouars, &c. by whom he had *Henry* of Bourbon Prince of Condé, the first Prince of the bloud at this present, and first Peere of France.

The Prince of  
Condesse-  
cond marriage.

Within few daies after, *Tiercelin* with his regiment of about sixe hundred and fifty men, returned from an enterprize, which Saint *Lue* the Gouvernour of Brouage had made (but in vaine) against the Ile of Oleron. The Prince aduertised of his passage, followes him, with *La Tremouille* his brother-in-law, *La Boulay*, *Auantigny*, and some thirty others: he chargeth them in the reere, nere vnto the suburbs of Xaintes, and kills thirty or forty of his men: the rest put themselves in battaile through the fauour of the hedges and the highway. The Earle of Laual comes galloping, with about fise and thirty horse of his company, which had bene lodged a little from thence: and seeing the Prince and the rest of his company engaged in the combat, he goes directly to the Colonels Ensigne, couered with a battalion of pikes: he breakes them, fights with him that carried it, pulls it from him, puts him to flight, kills threescore souldiers vpon the place, and chaseth the whole regiment. *Tiercelin* saued himselfe, carrying to Xaintes a hurt in the arme, and many others being maimed. *Tremouille* had a horse slaine vnder him: and some were hurt, but the Earle lost Saily

*Tiercelin's* re-  
giment de-  
feated.

A *Sailly* and *Rienx* his brethren. *Tanlay* was lately deceased of sicknesse at Saint Iean, and himselfe surprised with a feuer: and wonderfully greeued for the losse of his three brethren, followed them to the graue within a few daies after, and all foure were interred within the castle of Taillebourg. 1586. The death of  
four brethren  
of Laual.

But what did the King of Nauarre in the meane time? Hee hath vntill now maintained himselfe vnder the obedience of the Kings commandments: hetherto there hath bene nothing but mutuall writings, Edicts, declarations, commandments, directions to the officers of the crowne, for the execution thereof. Hereafter he displaies other armes then paper andinke. The Marshall of Matignon had besieged Castles in February: the King flies thither with about three hundred maisters, and eightene hundred Harguebuziers on horse-backe: he raiseth the siege, disposeth of his affaires in Berne: comes to Nerac, and assures the towne: passeth the Garonne at Saint Bazille (notwithstanding the Duke of Mayenne who lay within two leagues of his passage) crosseth Perigord and Angoulmois, and so comes into Poictou, where the Marshall *Biron*, with about twelue hundred horse, and foure thousand foote, molested and troubled the country nere vnto Rochelle and besieged Marans. The arriual of the said King, and the resolution of the besieged, commanded by *La Tardrie*, made the Marshall to passe the riuer of Charente, and to leaue Marans to the free exercise of both Religions. The King of Nauarre went to Rochelle to visit the army at sea, and by a palissado, to keepe in them of Brouage.

C The Cardinal of Lenoncourt, and the President *Brulart*, were sent the yeere before from the King, to assure the King of Nauarre of his Maiesties loue: and to exhort him againe to vnite himselfe to the Catholike Church, as well for the good of his conscience, as also to make his way to the succession of the crowne more easie: to shew vnto him the causes that had moued him to breake the peace, and to intreat him to yeeld the townes of surety. The time would not suffer these propositions to take effect: but contrariwise, after the example of the league (said the King of Nauarre) we should demand better townes. So the Ambassadors ended their charge, beseeching the said King, to enter into some treaty, wherein the Queene-mother should deale to his content, so as he would stay the leauy of Reistres, Lanfquenets and Suisses, which *Cleruant*, *Segur* and *Guitri* had procured. He accepted of this D conference, the which breeds a truce in the end of the yeere, but with protestation, not to stay the good will of such as in so important an occasion, and extreame necessity, had gone to field: that (rayfing the Kings authority troden vnder foote, by the breach of his Edict) they might preferue him from the forraigne inuasion of the League. He was better affected to a good peace, then to a bad truce. But the Queene-mother telling him, that the King would make no peace, nor truce with him, vnlesse hee would become a Catholike, she made this conference altogether fruitlesse. She lets him vnderstand, that this change would make his condition more free, more assured, and more fit for his calling: that his conuersion would bring him in grace with the King, leauing to court a Maior of Rochelle, whom he did not command absolutely. But this Prince had his eares to much beaten with this proposition, and could not yeeld therevnto, but by due forme, which was by a holy and lawfull Councell. And the Duke of Neuers, thinking to adde some more perswasive reasons then the rest of the assemblie: *you cannot (saith he) leauy any imposs thre.* (A Prince doth what hee will, when as hee wills nothing but what hee ought.) You haue reason (answered this Prince, being free and of a quicke conceit) *for wee haue no Italians amongst vs.*

The Queene-  
mothers con-  
ference with  
the King of  
Nauarre.

This conference bred a ieaousie amongst the Parisiens. They were more inclined to a revolt then euer. The Duke of Mayenne aduertised that the Queene-mother advanced towards the King of Nauarre, to mediate an accord, he makes hast to Paris, to reproch the King, that this negotiation was contrary to his Edict: that such a peace could not be good, F breeding effects in religion, contrary to the tranquility of Catholike consciences. Being arriued there, the six Arch-leaguers impart vnto him their secret articles: to suppress here, reforme the Court and the insolency of Mignons, and for a farall wound to the Estate, to seize vpon the Kings person. He allowes of these counsels, and sounds their designs, but finds the execution difficult. So the Rats in the Fable found this expedient to be very good, to be aduertised of the Cats approach, and to saue themselves, to hang a bell at his



1586.  
The King of  
Navarre ex-  
ploits.

his care: but none durst undertake to doe it. The Queene-mother aduertised of this desper-  
ate humour, tooke her way to Court. Her arriuall, with the irresolution of the comman-  
ders, left the Parisians wauering, in the midst of so dangerous an enterprife. The Queenes  
departure kindled the warre in Poictou. The King of Navarre goes to field, takes Chisay by  
composition, Safay by assault: forceth Saint Maixant to yeeld, reduceth Fontenay to his o-  
bedience: besiegeth Mauleon, and during the battery takes it by escaladoe.

Des Diguieres  
in Dauphine.

They of Dauphiné seeing all Guienne in armes, would not be the last to make it known  
that they had interest in this cause. Des Diguieres perswads himselfe that he shall reduce  
this Prouince to the King of Navarres deuotion, with this designe hee caused John Bap-  
tista Gentill (issued from the noble family of the Gentils in Genoua) to come from Fleue-  
rac in Geuaudan to Serres, a man prompt in warlike conceptions, hardy in enterprizes,  
and happy in executions. And commands him, if it might bee, to desflower the Virgin of  
Dauphiné. This Virgin was the towne and Archbishopsrike of Ambrun, for during  
the ciuill warres all the townes of Dauphiné had bene held by the Protestants, except  
that, being built on the topp of a Mountaine, and fortified with a Cittadell by the Duke  
of Mayenne.

Ambrun ta-  
ken.

Gentill viewes it by night, and reports that there is means to take it. They march with  
three hundred horse and nine hundred Harguebuziers during the longest nights of winter,  
when arriuing by foure of the clocke in the morning, they finde the towne in armes, and  
the Inhabitants ready to entertaine them, for one of townes-men had slipt from the  
troupes resting that night at Chorges, and giuing aduertisment vnto Gessen Gouverneur  
of the place. Notwithstanding all this Gentill aduanced with Corbiere, La Riviere, Masse,  
Bagard and other captains. Des Diguieres followes him with Saint Ian his cousin, fifty  
men armed and fiftie Harguebuziers, Morge commanding the rest, and Parbault the shot.  
The Sentenell hearing the noise of their armes, cries who is there? It is (said Gentill) Moun-  
sieur Des Diguieres that comes to Petardyou. The Petards worke their effect. At the third  
blow they enter into the base Court of the Citadelle, pel-mell with them that are assailed,  
they force them to quit the place, and to flie vnto a plat-forme towards their canon. They  
chase them, kill some, and force the rest to cast themselves desperatly from the walles into  
the towne. They of the dungion defend themselves coragiously. Gentill threatens to  
blow them vp with his petard, the which he planted at the dore of the store-house where  
their poulder lay; whereat they grew amazed, and yeelded to haue their liues saued. Gessen  
intrencheth himselfe to stop their descent into the towne, but day being come it was  
forced, and hee being retired into a Tower of the Archbishops palace, made his composi-  
tion to haue his life saued. Thus the Virgin of Dauphiné was desflowered.

Guillestre ta-  
ken.

The taking of Ambrun opened the passage of the mountaines of heigh Dauphiné, and  
the towne of Guillestre gaue entrie into Piedmont. Gentill viewes it, and vnder-takes it in  
the hottest of the Inhabitants alarum, hauing made many fires in their ditches and raclins,  
to discouer such as should approach. Foure Petards force three gates and breake downe  
a drawe-bridge; the townes-men fight valiently, to hinder their entry, they kill and hurt  
many; Prunieres Lieutenant to Des Diguieres had a dangerous blow on the head with  
a stone, yet they were forced to receiue a law from the stronger.

Saint Iulian a good place in high Viarez was also surprized by Gentill at the instance of  
the Seigneur of Chambauld. Montfalcon in Vellay was more painefull, for their guide  
hauing lost his way by reason of the darkenesse of the night, they could not ariue before  
the breake of day, but there happily fell a great mist to couer their approaches. The Sen-  
tenells were euen then gone downe to assist at the opening of the gate: when as behold  
an vnexpected thunder of Petards taught the townes-men, that a place enuied is in great  
danger when as the gards leaue their walles at the breake of day.

These happy exploits did winne capitaine Gentill much reputation. From hence-  
forth they attempt not any thing but they desire to haue him a principall actor. The  
Earle of Chastillon desired to reuiue that which hee had vpon the towne of Puy, in Au-  
vergne whereof hee had failed by the bad conduct of capitaine Saint Martin (otherwise cal-  
led Villaret of Geuaudan) who through indiscretion or otherwise, had left some wax in the  
Touch-holes of his Petards, so as they could not take fire at need, yet had he happily set  
them

A them to without any discouery, so as the Earle being discontented returned with all speed  
with nine hundred foot, and foure hundred horse. Whilest he treated with Gentill touching  
this attempt, he had some let which staid him in Languedoc: during the which Gentill had  
leisure to goe and view Lions, the capricious Inhabitants hauing newly demanteled that  
Cittadell; which hauing found pregnable, Chastillon, Des Diguieres and Chambauld ioyned  
their troupes together vpon a pretext to besiege Nonnay in Viarez; perswading them-  
selues to carry it vpon the assurance which Gentill gaue them, if the King of Navarre had  
not commanded Contr Chastillon to goe and ioyn with the army of Kellres. Who made  
preparation to muster vpon the plaine of Strasbourg, and Gentill to accompany him, to o-  
pen such passages as should be needfull.

B Whilest the King of Navarres armes prosper in Poictou: and the Duke of Mayenne  
treates with the leaguers at Paris, and the mouth of his mutinous preachers, disgraceth the  
Kings authority with the people: the duke of Guise, continues to make warre against them  
of Iametz, the which he had begun against the Duke of Bouillon, from the first beginning  
of the league. Sedan and all that principality serued as a retreat for the neighbour Prote-  
stants, and as a Port for strangers to enter into France. These are the pretexts wherewith he  
couers his designs, but he had another principall motiue: from Sedan the King had intel-  
ligence of all that was practised in Champagne and Lorraine, in the yere 1585. When  
he sees himselfe maister of Douzy; Rocroy and Raucourt; hee passeth the Meuze, and en-  
ters into the soueraignty of Sedan, afflicts the countymen with all the cruelties that warre  
could imagine, whilest the famine presseth them within the towne. To quert this storme  
which threatned Sedan, the Duke of Bouillon causeth Schelandre Gouverneur of Iametz, to  
set vpon Verdun, a towne on the frontiers of Champagne, which had tumultuously runne  
into the league: the Duke of Guise runnes to succour it, and by his absence giues the Duke  
Bouillon means to succour Sedan. Therevpon the Queene-mother, at the request of the  
Duke of Montpensier, vncle by the mothers side to the Lords of Sedan, procures a truce for  
fifteene daies, betwixt the two Dukes, during the which, the enterprife vpon the citie of  
Iametz, for the Duke of Guise, prouing fatall for the vndertakers, disposed their wills to a  
condruce of a moneth.

D This fell out happily: for the Germaine army, whereof hee was named Lieutenant Ge-  
nerall vnder the Duke John Casimir (who substituted in his place the Baron De Onaw the  
nephew of the Elector Palatin nephew and pupil to the said Duke, hindring him from march-  
ing in person) prepared to make their musters in the plaine of Strasbourg. So the Duke of  
Bouillon goeth into Alsatia with foure hundred horse, and eight hundred Harguebuziers  
to make them aduance: and the Duke of Guise comes to the King to Meaux, to receiue  
(said he) his maiesties commandments, in so great, and so important a cause: but in effect,  
to complaine, that since the reuocation of the Edict of peace, hee had followed the warre  
against heretikes with so small fauour, as the King had suffered them in their houses to  
enioy their goods and Estates peaceably: That in steed of selling and employing them to  
their ruine, hee caused the reuenues of the Cardinall of Pelleue to bee seized on (a man  
borne in France, but Espaniolized at Rome) for that in open consistory, hee had ven-  
uously maintained the iust motiues of the taking of armes by the Catholike Princes against  
the Huguenots.

That this warre had more aduanced the Mignons, then ruined the Heretikes, and that  
the money raised by the subuention of the Clergy, serued to entertaine the said Mignons;  
that neither the Kings Councell, the Parliament of Paris, the inferiour Iudges, nor the Pro-  
uost of Paris had sworne this last Edict. That the townes which had demanded the extir-  
pation of heresie, and the reuocation of the last Edict of peace, were treated like enemies.  
That he had caused the Cittadels of Lions and Mascon to be beaten downe, surprisied that  
of Valence, disgraced Brissac, Crussilles, Gessen, Entragues and others, and peruered the affig-  
nations which he had giuen him, to be repayed the money the which hee had disbursed in  
this last leauy of men of warre.

But the King knew well how to counter-balance these complaints of the League,  
with their owne breach of the Articles of Nemours. Hee had well obserued, that their  
insolent passions aspired to some greater designs then the Articles made mention of.

Cccc

Those

1587.

Duke of Bo-  
uillon chere  
of the Ger-  
maine army.

The Duke of  
Guise com-  
plaines of the  
King.

The King  
complaines  
of the Duke.

1587.

Those of Guise had demanded towns of assurance against the Protestants in those Prouinces where they were not at all to be feared. The duke of Aumale had newly surprized Dourlans and Pontdormy, but he had failed of Boullen through the fidelity of Saint *Maria*. They had lodged in their Cittadel of Vitri *Le Francois* an Italian at their deuotion, and tooke an oath of many Gouvernours to hold their places for the duke of Guise.

The King desires peace.

The Duke will haue war.

But the Kings meaning was to liue and reigne: yea though he did buy a good peace to the contentment of both parties. But the contrary designs of the King of Nauarre and the duke of Guise, could not be reconciled: and he had no meanes to subist betwixt both, but must leane to the one, or the other side, nor oppress the one without rayeing of the other. To conclude, not daring to shew himselfe a King, he suffers at the chiefe of the league, to become counterfeit Kings. Hee exhorts the duke of Guise, not to expose the Estate in prey, to procure the contentment of his King, the liberty of the Clergy, the dignity of the Nobility, and the peoples ease, by other meanes then that which destroies the honour of the Soueraigne, spoiles the Churches, suckes the gentlemans blood, and driues the people into despaire: and inuites him vnto peace, by promises of aduancement for his house and party. But a warlike minde will haue nothing but war. The Duke could neither endure the search nor the cure thereof. Thus peace is banished. The Duke seekes all meanes to ruine the Huguenots: and beseecheth the King to stop the army of strangers, which were euen now vpon the frontier that they might not returne into Germany, with a victory ouer France, and a triumph ouer the Catholike Church. Still must this venerable pretext of Religion serue to colour the wicked passions of men. He procures many commissions, especially for his brother the Duke of Mayenne in Daulphiné, for the Duke of Joyeuzé in Poytou, and for himselfe against the Protestants army.

The Kings forces.

The Protestants army.

If the King had not shewed the like care on his part, the people would haue said, that as long rest doth dull the courage of a horse, so since the Duke of Joyeuzés marriage, the pleasures and delights of Court, and the solitariness of *Vincennes*, had much decayed his accustomed generosity. He therefore diuides his forces into three armies. The first at Chaumont in Bassigni, consisting of fife and twenty companies of men at armes, twelue enignes of foot in the regiment of *Escaleaux*, sixe of *Joannes*, sixe of *Gré*, with many other blankes signed for other commissions, at the will of the Duke of Guise, who increased this army with foure hundred Lances, and two thousand Italian foote, sent by the Duke of Parma, and the Duke of Lorraine (suffering himselfe as the eldest of the house, to bee carried away with the vaine hopes that were giuen him, of a good portion in the pretended succession of *Charlemagne*) held also goodly and great froces vpon the frontier, at the Duke of Guises deuotion. The Duke of Montpensier commanded the second at S. Florentin, nere vnto Troyes, the King with his presence honoured the third at Gyen, stretching along the riuer of Loire, to keepe the King of Nauarre from ioyning with his strangers on this side the riuer. The Duke of Joyeuzé presuming of an assured victory, lead an other army into Guyenne against the King of Nauarre, and the other heads of the league, armed euery one of them by himselfe.

The army that came for the Protestants, consisted of fife thousand Reistres, fife thousand Lansquenets, twelue thousand fife hundred Suisses in three regiments, eleuen cornets of French, ten companies of Harguebuziers on horse-backe, the which in all were about thirty thousand men. The King of Nauarre assembled his forces in Gascony. The Prince of Condé, the Cont *Soissons*, the Vicont of Turenne, the Cont of Rochefoucault, the Lord of Tremouille, and others, made great preparations. The Lord of Chastillon gathered an army in Languedoc: *Des Diguieres* held himselfe ready to passe at need.

Thus this poore and miserable realme, is ready to serue as a prey to people differing in tongue and manners. Without doubt, men iudge of the offence, by the punishment. The witch-craft and diuination (whereof some make open profession) blasphemny vnpunished, lust, dissolution, prodigality, ambition, discord, and crnelties: but aboue all, impiety, licentiousnesse, atheisme, superstition and iniustice, the roote of miseries which are crept into France, haue filled vp the measures of her iniquities: and now shee is ready to drinke euen vnto the lees. In former ages the court was a schoole of vertue for the French Nobility now it abounds in dissolutnesse, disorder and excesse. The most modest grow insolent, the

1587.

A excesse of great men breeds it in the meanest. And doe wee wonder if the same scourges, whereby the fearefull wrath of God iustly kindled, haue ruined more flourishing Estates then this, doe now wast our fields. The army of Strangers now enters into Lorraine, whose errors at their entry will cost them deere that commit them. The Duke of Bouillon is young, little respected, and ill obeyed. *Cleruant*, *Guitry*, *Beauvais La Noelle*, *Digoinnes*, *Montionet*, *Vezines* and others assit him, but most of them are more fit to carry an Ambassage, then to vnder take a charge. The chiefe of Germany is but a meane Gentleman, valiant out of doubt, but too weake for so great a charge, hauing no reputation but what hee hath gotten vnder duke *Casimirs* authority.

In the beginning of August, discord (a dangerous plague) bred a great confusion in their proceedings: the duke of Bouillon would haue imployed this army to victual the places of his soueraignty: the Generall of the Germanes desired to haue a Prince of the blood to march before him: the Reistres and Suisses loofe a goodly occasion at Pont Saint Vincent, to fight with the league, who made a shew to ioyne with them: the Lansquenets are commended to haue resolutely cast themselues into the water, to passe and come to battle. Some would spoile Lorraine, others would carry their reuenge into the heart of France. The Germanes choofe the way along the riuer of Seine, and so to passe into Picardy. The French had more reason: that they must ayme at a passage ouer Loire, and fauour the King of Nauarres approach. In the end the way of Loire was resolved. They fire some villages in Lorraine: the countries lying vpon the passage are wasted, the army finds neither mills, nor ouens standing, which bred a generall discontent amongst the Reistres and Suisses. As the army passed through the country of Barre, and Ginuillois, newes comes that the Lord of Chastillon is beset in Grefille in Lorraine, with foure hundred horse, and fiftene hundred Harguebuziers: the Duke of Bouillon makes hast to vngage him. The Earle of La Marke his brother so toyles himselfe in this action, that he fallies sicke, and dying, leaues the conduct of the fore-ward to the Lord of Chastillon: the army is turmoyled with continuall raine, they want victuals, and the grapes and other fruit beeing not ripe, breed many fluxes: yet did they surmount all these difficulties, and hauing passed the riuers of Marne, Aube, Seine, La Cure, and Yonne, they approached nere vnto Loire.

The Earle of La Marke dies.

The army approaching to ioyne with the Prince of Condé, the garrison of Perreufe being abroad carried away some Reistres: the Earle of Chastillon sent to demand them by capitaine *Gentill* and vpon refusall threatens the towne with the rigours of warre. The Admirall (said they) was more dangerous then his sonne, yet passing nere vnto vs with great armies, he neuer had the heart to besiege vs. Poore foules, who trust in the strength of their armes, and the bounty of their walles; and yet haue no meanes to resist the violence of an Engine that is portatiue. *Chastillon* causeth the Regiments of Languedoc to march. The Lords of Mouy, Montlouet, Esternay, Lieramont, Rully, Langres, Broffes, and others doe accompany him. They plant about one thousand eight hundred Harguebuziers at the defences of the ports to shoot asloone as the Petard had plaied. *Gentill* prepares his rouling bridges and makes fast his Petards through the fauour of the night: they beate downe the ports and draw-bridges and at the sixth blow they become maisters of the towne; where they retire their Reistres, and suppress their insolency that spake so proudly, teaching the Inhabitants that the law of armes doth bind them to answere for their actions whom they bring in for their garde.

Here the Reistres and Suisses make a second complaint: the King of Nauarre appears not, the water is low, but the Kings forces are lodged vpon the riuers side, and threaten to fight with the first that shall approach: the ruine of the strangers army was to keepe the King of Nauarre from ioyning with them: and therefore, the duke of Joyeuzé staied the said King with an army, strong with men, munition, artillery, and other meanes. For their first exploits, the King of Nauarre had defeated some companies which had aduanced too farre into the country. And *Charbonieres* and *Bori* remaining with their regiments, at La Mothe Saint Eloy (being beaten by the fauour of the capitaine of the castle, who lent some peeces, to breake their barricadoes: against the oath which he had giuen, not to commit any act of Hostility) were defeated by Joyeufes troupes.

The strangers second complaint.

The taking of Saint Maixant, was the second of his triumphes; *Thonne-Charente* the

1587.  
The captions  
of the Duke  
of Ioyenze in  
Poitou.

The King of  
Nauarre ex-  
ploits.

The battaile  
of Coutras.

the third, both by composition. But the defeat of the companies of *Pueilhes*: (where some A being taken after the fury of the fight, others yeelding vpon their enemies faith; were in a manner all insolently slaine in cold blood) together with the foule warre at Saint Eloy, shall be decreely sold vnto the victors, who hauing added the Abbey of Maillezay to his first conquests, he left *Lauerdin* to command the army, and returnes to court, to demand a triumph of his victories, and a supply of greater forces, the plague hauing much wasted his army. In his absence the King of Nauarre defeated three of his companies of men at armes, tooke their cornets and many gentlemen prisoners, pursued *Lauerdin* vnto *La Haye* in Touraine, chased the Duke *Mercœur*, and by the conduct of the Vicont of Turenne, tooke all his rich baggage: then at his returne he receiued the troupes which the Cont *Soissons* brought, and those of Normandy led by *Colombieres*.

This respite gaue the said King meanes (as we haue noted before) to gather together his B forces in Gascony, and so to ioine with his army in Xaintonge. On the other side, the Duke of Ioyeuse, supplied with horse and foote, repasseth the Loire, and with twelue thousand fighting men, comes to encounter the King of Nauarre. The King of Nauarre had two riuers to passe, to come into Xaintonge, Drougne and L' Isle. The Duke of Ioyeuse, dronke with prosperity of a hasty aduancement, who of a priuate gentleman was made a duke, and of a duke brother in law to the French King, and charged (but not so much by the King, as by the League, whereof hee was a partisan, hauing married the Queenes sister) to giue battaile at all euents, would cut off these passages, presuming that he which passed first, C should haue an aduantage ouer his enemy.

The King of Nauarre knew it well: yet, did hee not loose any time in curling his haire. The nineteenth of October, accompanied with the Prince of Condé, the Cont *Soissons* his brother, the Vicont of Turenne, and other good Commanders, hee takes his lodging at Coutras, to passe the riuier of Drougne at a ford. The duke supposing to haue him at his deuotion betwixt two riuers, giues the Rendez-uous to all his forces the next day, betwixt Roche-Chalais and Coutras, and there made choise of his place of battaile to his best aduantage, halfe a League from Coutras. Being lodged there, the King of Nauarre commands the Duke of Tremouille to passe the riuier and to lodge at Chauderon two little leagues from Coutras. He doth it, and then sends the Baron of Saint Surin one of his cap- D taines of light-horse with his company to learne certaine newes of the enemy. Soone after he brings him word that he marched directly to his quarter. About mid-night the duke takes the field which he had viewed at his going to lodge, whether he was no sooner come, but *Bellegarde* Gouverneur of Xaintonge (who led the Duke of Ioyeuses fore-ward) comes vpon him with fife or sixe hundred horse and foure hundred shot on horse-backe. Hee aduertised the King of Nauarre that the whole army aduanced, and by the aduise of *Vinans* Maister of the campe to the said horse-men, he retires slowly, turning still head towards the enemy, and skirmishing with them in many places. This he did of purpose, for by this stratagem he kept the enemy occupied vntill eight of the clocke in the morning, and gaue the King of Nauarre meanes to passe the riuier with his troupes and canon, and to make choise E of his place of battaile. The King of Nauarre and his souldiers, had swet more in skirmishes, then in Tennis-courts, and did take more pleasure in the dust of their enemies chase, then in feasts. The inequality of the number doth not amaze them. Hee marcheth before: resolues his men to fight, makes them to fall on their knees and pray to God, puts his horse-men into foure squadrons, his owne, that of the Prince, the Earles, and the Viconts. The souldiers inflame their courages by mutuall skirmishes, and reprochfull speeches: from words they goe to blowes. The King of Nauarres artillery thunders first, at eight of the clocke, and at the first volle sweepes away seuen captaines of the regiment of Picardy. The Dukes answers him, but without effect. The ignorance or malice of canoniars hauing planted it so low, as it fell vpon a little hil betwixt both armies. The Dukes horse-men led by *Lauardin*, Saint *Luc* and captaine *Mercœur* discharge their first fury vpon the Duke of Tremouille as the first obiect of their armes, and being double in number, they passe through them at the first charge, and ouer-throw *Vinans* Maister of the camp (who was sore hurt) with some others, like vnto a violent streame which ouerturnes all that it encounters.

And whilst that the Duke of Tremouille (hauing rallied his men together) went and planted

1587.

A planted himselfe before the King of Nauarres troupe who marcht to the combat, they encounter the Vicont of Turenne who aduanced to second the light-horse-men. They kill his horse with their Lances, and put his troupe in disorder. But hee is remounted before the enemy could doe him any more harme, being loath to quit his part of the cake for to light a checke.

The Duke presuming by this first good hap, to obtaine a totall victory ouer three cheefe heads of the house of Bourbon, aduanceth resolutely, flanked with two hedges of armed men to charge with the Lance. The foure Commanders and the Colonel of the light-horse march euery one in the head of his troupe, first easily the pace, then the trot, and after in their full carier. They charge and breake them. This conflikt (which consisted B for the most part of leaguers) was almost as soone dissolued, as it was resolued on: it beganne at nine of the clocke, and at ten not any of the Dukes men had any offensiuie armes: some are ouerthrowne, some taken, and some seeke their safety in flight. The victors pursue them three leagues, and strew the fields with men, horses, and armes. The Duke of Ioyeuse retired towards his footemen and artillery, his horse being hurt in the thigh with a shot, hauing not any one with him but *Breze* who carried the white corner; wandering thus in the midst of the field where the battaile was fought, a Gentleman followed him, with whom another ioynes; They take him and demand his name; the which hee telles at the first summons. Fife or sixe other men at armes ariue as they were leading C him to the King of Nauarre, and seeke to take this goodly prize from them. In this contestation one of them fore-seeing that if the prisoner were once in the Kings hands, hee should be in safety, and they frustrate of their pretentions; or (as some say) reproching him with his breach of faith at Saint Eloy, and at Croix-Chappeau, against the company of *Pueilhes*, hee shootes him behinde with a pistoll through the head whereof he fell dead to the ground, loosing both life and meanes to try with the rest with what moderation and clemency the King of Nauarre could vse his victories. It is a pittifull thing for great men to fall into the handes of pettie companions, who neither can nor will respect their qualities.

His brother Saint *Sauueur*, *Breze* who carried the white corner, *Roussay* the younger brother of *Piennes* guidon to the Duke, the Earles of *Suze*, *Gauuelo*, *d' Aubionx*, the Lords of *Fumel*, *Newfus* the elder brother of *Perigord*, young *Rocheffort*, *Croissete*, *Gurai*, *S. Fort*, guidon to Saint *Luc*, *du Bordet* his ensigne, *de Paux* Lieutenant to *Bellegarde*, gouverneur of Xaintonge, *Montignis* Ensigne, *Tiercelin* maister of the campe, *Piuviall*, *La Brangery*, *Campels* the younger, *La Vallade*, *Bacullard*, with many other captaines, and a great number of men of account and quality, with about halfe of the army, made the battaile of Coutras famous by their deaths, as the most memorable of all that haue beene giuen for religions cause in France. Many rich prisoners, and a very rich spoile. All his cornets taken, his cannon carried away, and his baggage seized on. At their returne from the pursuit, D thanks were giuen to God vpon the place of battaile died with blood, and covered with carcases. But that which honoured the King most: in the midst of this so commendable a moderation of this victory, hee shewed himselfe no lesse milde and courteous to the prisoners and the wounded, then wise and valiant in heate of the fight. Hee caused the dead to be buried, cured the wounded: sent home almost all the prisoners without ransom; gratified most of the Commanders, caused the Ensignes to be deliuered to *Montigny* about the rest, commended him to haue behaved himselfe valiantly in the battaile: whereby hee beganne to purchase fauour with the King of Nauarre, and afterwarde gotte great reputation with him for his valour and fidelity, when as hee vnited both crownes into one.

The Prince of Condé, at the first charge had a blowe with a Lance on the side, and being engaged vnder his horse, it did so preiudice his health, as the griefe thereof did soone hasten him to his end. This is the greatest losse of the Protestants army in this combat; in the which there was a very small number slaine, and not one of account. The King of Nauarre is now freed from the snares that were layed for him: now hee aduanceth towards the spring of the riuier of Loire: and giues aduice of his desaigne to the army of strangers, which then was in Hurepois about the Lands of the Lord of Chastillon.

Death of the  
duke of Ioy-  
euse.

1587. The King camped vpon Loire betwixt Cofne and Neufui, and by aduice of the Duke of A Neuers he cloies the passages wih trees, stones and other hindrances where the horses should passe. The second cause (next to God) of the ruine of this army, to whom they thought the King at his entry would haue presented a blanke to prescribe what they pleased. The Duke of Guise followed them at the heeles, and the Duke of Mayenne on the one side: and yet both of them could not keepe them from surprising of some small townes to refresh their army. But when as they see themselves frustrate of all hope to ioyne with the King of Nauarre, or to passe the riuier of Loire, that they must either retire, or march forward to meet with the King of Nauarre, or ingage themselves farther within the realme, to seeke bread for themselves, and forrage for their horses, or else march on the left hand and wander into vnknowne countries, they grow amazed, they mutine, they faint.

The German  
army in  
Beaulieu.

Charged at  
Vimory.

Some Frenchmen attempt La Charité: but their enterprise succeeds not. In the end they B lead the army into Beaulieu, where they should find meat both for man and horse. The seuen and twentieth of October they lodged at Vimory, and places thereabouts, neere to Montargis. To take from them this lodging, the Dukes of Guise and Mayenne (taking advantage of the passages of the riuier of Loing) come at supper time with fiftene hundred horse, and fife thousand foote, and charge the Baron *Donneau*, being lodged in Vimory with seuen or eight cornets of Reistres: but they had almost verified the saying of the King of the Epirots who vanquished the Romaine army. *Wee are undone if wee get such an other victory*, for three hundred horses of baggage, the Barons two Cammels, and the death C of fifty souldiers with an hundred seruants, was not sufficient to recompence the bloud of forty braue and gallant Gentlemen, and two hundred good souldiers slaine vpon the place by the Reistres, who speedily repaired to their cornets, whilest the Dukes men were busie at the spoile. The Duke of Mayenne receiued two pistoll-shot on his caske by the Baron, and in exchange, the Duke gaue the Baron a wipe on the fore-head, with his courtlas, but with small hurt.

Treachery of  
Pan.

The duke of Guise hauing failed to surprize the Reistres lodging at Vimorri by the Lions force, he now imploies the foxes suttlety, and the malice of a treacherous man who heretofore had vowed so great affection and fidelity to the King of Nauarre, who iudging another by himselfe, and not able to imagine that so treacherous and detestable a thought D should euer harbor in the heart of a French gentleman, whose quality should be free from al treason: had sent instructions to the duke of Bouillon general of this army, touching the seruices which he expected from this Champenois. As the duke attended newes hourly, behold he comes to the army, he adretheth himselfe to the Earle of Chastillon, intreats him to giue him access vnto the duke of Bouillon, and presenting vnto him a peece of a crowne which had bene broken for his credit, he greets that vntil that time he had not meanes to produce any effects in fauor of the King of Nauarre, for whose seruice he would alway bee ready to imploy both his wit and bloud, that hauing no meanes vpon the fronter, for that the duke of Guise would neuer suffer him, nor his company to abandon him; hee had now good oportunitie to deliuer, the towne & castle of Montargis into his hands. If he thought E it fit to aduance the cause, the duke of Guise hauing lodged him with his company in the castle, and left two companies in the towne to fortifie the Inhabitants. If this (said he) will not serue, I am not resolu'd to returne any more, but to retire my armes, my equipage, and some soldiers of my intelligence, and then come vnto this army and so vnto the King of Nauarre. The duke of Guise hauing not thought it fit that Pan should play his part vpon the fronter, and hauing failed in his enterprise against the Baron of Onaw at Vimorri, hee tooke the way to Eltampes in shew to defend the way to Paris. But he had purposely plotted this stratagem of Montargis, foreseeing that this place lying conuenient for the Earle of Chastillon being nere vnto his house, he should bee principally imploied therein: And that as he had ruined the father at the Parrisien Mattens, the 24. of August 1572. hee would F also make the sonne companion of the same fortune.

The Duke of Bouillon, the generall of the Germanes, the Earle of Chastillon, and the chiefe of the councill holding it not conuenient to neglect this encounter, they commit the execution to Chastillon. Hee returnes Pan and giues him Saint Laurent his Steward to goe into the towne and castle to discouer the truth. But the Traytor had giuen order

A order the souldiers should lye close, if happily they should send any one to visit. S. Laurens reports, that they saw no cause of suspicion, beleeuing that Pan meant sincerely: and Pan for a gage of his fidelitie, promising to remaine in the hands of such as Chastillon should please, vntill the place were wholly at his deuotion, they thought he could not giue any greater assurance. But to constitute himselfe voluntarily an hostage and caution for a disloyall and treacherous desseigne, was it not wilfully to ruine both his life and honour vpon hope of an vncertaine recompence? Thus great men play with the liues of men, as with tennis balls, not caring how to hazard them, so as they will become instruments and ministers of their passions.

The Duke of Guise had instructed him to make all these offers, and to submit himselfe to B more if it were required, promising him that he would take so many prisoners and men of quality, as they should be glad to exchange him. Pan returns about two of the clocke after midnight with one confident souldier to bring in them that should bee sent to seaze vpon the castle. Chastillon giues him in guard to some of his Capitaines, and commands Captain Teissier of Nismes to go with an hundred and fifty souldiers to enter the castle, and to seaze vpon the ports, aswell of that which was towards the fields, as of the other which entred into the towne. The souldier guides them, and at their first entrie they find many bottles of good wine, and meats fit to procure thirst. He leaues twenty harguebuziers vpon the drawbridge, assures the castle, and then he sends his Colonel word that hee may come safely.

C Capitaine Gentill (a man suspicious and very distrustful in such Stratagemes) had growne ielous of his conduct by a simple souldier, and being much practised in those pollicies of war, the which we must beleue sparingly, hee intreats the Earle not to aduance before he had bene within the castle. I feare (said he) some double practise; at my returne I will tell you if it be safe. He goes thither alone, and calls for Capitaine Teissier, adding, that the Earle of Chastillon approched. But at his entry he obserues the ground had bin newly remoued: hee heares the noyse of arms in the Church and chambers of the castle, which were lockt vp, & some armed men which he saw going from a hall into a chamber increast his ielousie. But the impatiency of a souldier, complaining that Chastillon stayed too long, confirmed his beliefe. He suddenly returnes, and passing the bridge he aduiseeth Teissier to saue himselfe with D his men. Teissier had not leysure but with three, all the rest beeing spoiled by the deuices which they had prepared at the entrie of the castle. And when as they heard Gentill cry vnto the Earle of Chastillon that he should returne, they presently shoo't at him a farre off, hauing left all hope to annoy him nearer. Pan seeing his practise not so successfull as he expected, is wonderfully danted. He thinks he is now at the pits brink which he had prepared for another. They lead him to the Duke of Bouillon, who resolues to teare him in peeces with horses. The Baron of Onaw holds opinion, that it were better to leade him to the King of Nauarre: and fearing lest the French either through compassion or corruption should yeeld vnto the prisoners perswasions, will himselfe haue the guard of him, and doth so clog him with chains, as euery member shrinks vnder his burthen. Yet within few daies after he freed E himselfe and escaped, verifying, that men vnable to resist the force of wine, are vnfit to guard prisoners or townes.

This losse of horses and baggage, makes the Reistres to mutine againe, growing impatient, neither seeing their pay, nor the King of Nauarre: for a baite, they force Chateau-landon, and spoile it. The Prince of Conti's arriall neere vnto Chartres, (where the Duke of Bouillon resigned him the charge and the white corner) pacified this mutinie. Then the Swisses treated with the King, by the Duke of Neuers meanes: his Maiesty hauing now conuined them by their alliance with this Crowne, to serue him, or to retire themselves: some of the Capitaines follow the Kings party, others receiuing foure hundred thousand crowns returne to their country: but some of them at their arriall lost their heads. By this defection, the army is halfe decreased: the toyls of the warre tyre them: the discommodities proue F at length insupportable: many of the troupes disband: they fore-see an apparent danger, if they giue battell. They take Councell the 24. of November, to turne head, and to draw this languishing army vp to the Springs of Loire. But the Duke of Guise had well obserued from the beginning, that striking the shepheard, he shall disperse the flocke. The Baron lodged at Anneau neare to Chartres, with seuen Cornets of Reistres: but he trusted too indif-

The Prince of  
Conty arrives  
at the army.

creetly



1587. creetly to a promise made by the garrison of the said Castle, not to commit any act of hostility, and to furnish him with victuals for his money. The Duke manned it by night with good store of harguebuziers: and at the first sound of the trumpet, to horse, hee enters the towne with all his forces, euen as their carts stopt vp the streets and gates in the morning. Being thus surprized, and hauing no meanes to recouer the fields, they are forced to return into their lodgings, and to remaine at the Conquerors mercy, either slaine or taken. The spoyle was great, eight hundred Wagons, great store of armes, Jewels, and chains of gold. Two thousand horse of combat and of carriage. So as in one night, all the Dukes foemen were in a manner horsed, rich in spoiles, and rich in prisoners. The Baron, with some few others, leaped ouer the walles and saued themselves, through the fauour of the night, and in a marish. He makes a stand halfe a league from Anneau, and rallies them together that escape. The Suisses that remained come vnto him: all determine to breake. The Prince of Conty, Duke of Bouillon, *Chastillon*, *Cleruant*, and the rest, become answerable for what is due, so as they will march on. They might easily haue forced through the Duke of Guises army, but they were surprized with feare, a passion which doth easily vanquish the quicknesse of mans iudgement.

The army hath now but one wing to flie withall: it is a bodie without armes or legges: yet the hope of payment makes them continue their course vp against the riuer. But the disorder was great: feare accompanies them, many Gentlemen slip away daily to their houses: and most of them which remained could not easily resolute to fight. They must make long marches to auoid the enemy: they had no guides, no smiths for their horses, who were spoiled for want of shooes, no bread for the souldiers, no forrage for their horses, their troupes wasted, most of them were without powder, without bullets, and without meanes to recouer any: the Lansquenets are reduced to two thousand, and most vnarmed, and the Suisses haue changed party. The Reistres thinke of nothing but of their returne into Germany: the French slip away hourly. The Duke of Espernon coasts them with the Kings armie, and wisheth they would accept of a capitulation, to disappoint the Duke of Guise of an absolute victorie which he did expect. The Duke of Guise pursues them, yet is it not fit for the Kings estate, he should wholly vanquish these mained troupes: the seruant would then presently attempt against the master. Morcouer, this army still holding the field, the Realme should bee much impouerished: and ioyned with the King of Nauarre, they might effect great matters.

The King offers them a safe conduct to returne, vpon condition that the French should deliuer vp their colours: that the Reistres trusse vp their Cornets, and that all sweare, not to beare armes in France without the Kings expresse command. The eight of December they accept of this capitulation at Lency in Masconois, and so disband. The Lord of Chastillon protests neuer to deliuer vp his Ensignes but to the King of Nauarre. He vnderstands the Reistres threaten to carry him away as a pledge: but he frees himselfe from their mutiny like a gallant Gentleman: And being loth to trust this safe-conduct, or to fall into the hand of the Duke of Guise his capitall enemy, he resolues to passe through Auvergne with ten or twelue men well mounted, and marching by night only to recouer Geuaudan, and from thence into Languedoc. Captaine *Gentil* dissuades him, and makes him resolute to take the way of Viarez with the remainders of the shipwracke, assuring him to lodge him within few daies by the petard in the towne of Pont Saint Rambert. He had onely remaining forty Cuirasses, thirty harguebuziers on horsebacke, and foure hundred foot, with the which hee had come to the Reistres. Some Noble-men and Gentlemen desire to runne the same fortune. *Momy* (being so sicke that he could scarce sit on horsebacke) *Lieramont*, *Rebours*, *S. Auban*, *Ouinville*, *Legualda*, *Rouffelle*, *Fereng*, *Baudans* and others. *Gentil* marcheth in the head of the foot-men and couereth them with some ranks of horse, and *Chastillon* is in the reere to make head against them that should pursue them. But as they thought to take Pont Saint Rambert, they were in danger to be taken themselves. *Mandelot*, Gouvernor of Lyonsnois, had newly lodged foure hundred men there by the commandement of the Duke of Guise, to cut off the bridges, and to fight with the Reistres which they thought would passe that way. *Mandelot*, *Cheurieries*, the Earle of Tournon, *Pelloux* (who commaunded a great garrison in Nonnay) and all that had any authority come to take from them all meanes to passe

Reistres de-  
feated at An-  
neau.

Capitulation  
giuen to the  
Reistres.  
*Chastillon*  
retreat.

Retreat of the  
Fare of *Chas-  
tillon*.

*Mandelot* and  
other spurs  
*Chastillon*.

A passe but by force. There is nothing, before, behind, nor of either side, but opposite to his retreat, his sword makes his way: he passeth through all that he encountreth like lightning, and forceth his enemies to fight, or to flie, he giueth occasion to the children of the country to call it *The battell of surne-tayles*. This passage failing them, *Gentil* takes his way vpon the left hand, and at midnight takes a great village betweene Lyons and Pont Percier. As they refresh themselves, the neighing of horses which they heare giue them notice that the enemy approaches, *Mandelot* followed them with sixe or seuen hundred horse, and with out a thicke cloude which did then miraculously couer them, they had bene exposed to his mercy. The cloude and the rough way vneasie for horses, kept the enemy from approaching any nearer, besides hee feared some ambush. They passe the bridge at Percier, and who so had charged them in a great plaine beyond the bridge, they themselves confesse, that the place, with watchings, and the toyles of the way, had made them altogether vnable to resist.

The cloude vanisheth at the breake of day, and *Mandelots* scouters seeing them aduanced in the plaine, they gallop after to ingage them in the fight. *Chastillon* would haue charged them, but *Gentil* discouers the whole troupe, who had come time enough if they had fallen to blowes. They passe the plaine, and plant their foote-men by a riuers side, where through the fauour of some Willows, they might second their horse-men being in fight. His first enemies appeare: *Chastillon* chargeth them so resolutely, as there remained about 30. vpon the place: The whole troupe arriues and repulseth him so furiously, as he is put to rout, and loseth some of his men at arms, who were caried prisoners to Lyons. *Gentil*, *Ouinville*, *Legualda*, *Rouffelle*, *Fereng*, *Baudans*, and some other horse-men second the foote-men, whom the enemy prest, causing them to march on, and to turne head at euery streight and commodious place they came vnto. Night beeing come, *Mandelot*, who had followed them thirty houres together, went to refresh himselfe, giuing leysure to this tyred troupe to lament and bewaile the mischaunce of their Commander, whome they supposed to bee vterly lost.

He was in the like paine for his foot-men, who he thought had bene defeated: when as approaching neare vnto the mountaines of high Viarez, the Lord of Chastillon, *S. Auban*, Lieutenant of his Company of light horse, Captaine *Escallier* Lieutenant of the Collonnels Companie of his Regiment, Captaine *Gache* and some others, comming to ioyn with them, to saue these poore men from a generall ruine, and by their presence reuiue the vigour of these foote-men to indure with their accustomed courage three assaults, from diuers garrisons to the shame of them that charged them, before they could recouer Rou-tourton in high Viarez. *Mandelot* went to Court, to giue an account of his diligence, but hee receiued reproch both of the King and the Duke of Guise: for that hee had not charged *Chastillon* in that great village, or past the bridge at Percier before him, to haue defeated him in the plaine. The which did also bring him in disgrace with them of Lyons who neuer after loued him. The strangers thinke to refresh themselves at Geneva, but the most part were not able to get thither: and many of the Commanders, either with languishing and grieve, or as the common saying was, with the sweet Wines they drunke with the Duke of Espernon, gaue vp the ghost. The Duke of Bouillon died the 11. of Ianuarie, in the 25. year of his age, leauing *Charlotte* his sister for his heire, married since to the Vicount of Turenne, now Duke of Bouillon, and Marshall of France.

Another troupe of Reistres marched towards the French Conté: the Marquis of Pont, eldest sonne to the Duke of Lorraine, and the Duke of Guise, pursuing them (against the publike faith) vnto the mountaines of Saint *Claude*, enter the territories of Montbeliard and Hericourt, where by a lamentable reuenge vpon a poore innocent people, by the burning of two hundred Villages, by the forcing of many wiues and maides, and by the murdering of a great number of all ages, all sexes, and all qualities, they leaue the markes of the inhumanity, and the brutish furie of the League, and carrie the spoiles of their triumph into Lorraine.

All the chiefe of the League assemble at Nancy, where they resolute to make the last trial of their ambition. The season inuites them, mens humors are well affected. The Catho-likes consciences, freed from the furie of strangers, confesse themselves wonderfully bound

1587.

Death of the  
Duke of Bou-  
illon.

Assembly of  
the League at  
Nancy.

to

1588. to the Duke of Guise: the people extoll the victory of Auneau, and the dispersing of this great armie: the Nobility of the League lookes bigge, the Clergie reioyeth, the Preachers tongues are fire-brands of sedition, they speake in derision of the King in their Pulpits, (before time the Pulpits of truth,) are now become the Chaires of Iuglers: they make the King a *Saul*, and the Duke of Guise a *Dauid*, *Saul* slew his thousand, but *Dauid* his tennethousand.

They publish generally in their Sermons, that the King had leuied the Riestres, to oppose them against the Dukes holy enterprises, and to expose Paris as a Prey: but by the Dukes valour and constancie, religion had now triumphed ouer heresie. The Pope sends vnto the Duke a Sword grauen with flames. The King of Spaine, and the Duke of Sauoye, conceive great hopes. The Duke of Paris salutes him, and amongst all the Princes of Europe (saith hee) *Henry of Lorraine alone deserues to commaund in warre*. They make bone-fires in all places, and sing the wondrous workes of the Duke of Guise, to the Kings disgrace. The people of Paris especially (possessed with the praises of the house of Guise, and the disorders of the King, the dissolutenes, lechery and hypocrisie of the Court, vnder a shew of penance) leane to the party which they hold almost certaine: they disdain the present estate, apprehend what is to come, and thinke to loose nothing by the change.

Henry of Lorraine discouers all this, and thinke to make his profit of so goodly an opportunity. He knowes moreouer, that *Ioubert* and *Miron* haue giuen their opinion of the Kings disability to haue children. He makes himselfe more pleasing to the people, who feare the succession of a Huguenot Prince: he intertaines them with great familiarity, but with an humour aspiring vnto tyranny. He sees the maiestie of his Soueraigne disgraced, his enemies retired to Rochel. England ready to be invaded by a proud army from Spaine: he giues eare to the counsell of the Arch-leaguers, increased to the number of sixteene, by reason of the sixteene quarters of Paris. He is crafty, aduised, foreseeing, generous and valiant: but variable, corrupt, a dissembler, secret and patient. He will by no means vse his owne name in any thing, yet will he effect that by another which hee attempts or takes in hand. He aduertiseth the Cardinall of Bourbon (who goes but as he is led) that this goodly opportunity must not be lost. But the secrets of his heart were contrarie to his outward shewes.

This assembly at Nancy tended onely to force the King to make his Will, and to allowe the regencie vnto them: It was therefore concluded: *That the King should be urged to ioyne his forces effectually with the League. To displace such from their Offices as should be named. To bring in the Inquisition of Spaine, and to publish the Councell of Trent, but with a moderation of such things as derogate from the priuiledges of the French Church. To consent to the restitution of the goods sold by the Clergie for the Charges of the warre. To giue them townes to be manned and fortified as the time and necessity required. To forfeit the Huguenots bodies and goods, and to entertaine an army vpon the frontiers of Lorraine, against the Germans, who threatened reuenge for the insolencies committed in the County of Montbelliard.*

But to subiect the Kings authority to the desseignes and practises of the League, what was it, but by this meanes to aspire to the Crowne? To haue him ruine them he loued, and that were allied vnto him in bloud: what was it, but to make a bush of a Forest, and a desert of a goodly Kingdome? And this word of Inquisition, is it not hatefull vnto all men? It was necessarie for the Spaniards, who had no better meanes to plant and maintaine Christianity. But the tediousnesse and manner of their proceeding is horrible, the malice and calumny of their spies and informers abominable, their prisons vnder ground fearefull: their racks and tortures intolerable, the yellow gowne without sleeues painted all ouer with Duels, the Myrre, and Corde: and for the last act of this pitifull Tragedie, the fire had made it detestable to the Flemings, and execrable to the French. As for the reception of the Councell of Trent, the soueraigne Courts of this Realme haue neuer so aduised our Kings, for the preiudice they should doe vnto the Crowne, and the priuiledges of the French Church. To require redemption of the Clergie goods, and to haue the King force them that were beneficed to redeeme them, was it not to haue him make warre for the Church, and the Clergie should giue the alarme, and shadow themselves vnder the temporality, whilst that the Nobility should go to fight, and the people languish? The League had

The disposition of the duke of Guise.

A had obtained some townes of assurance, and the Parlements labored to put downe the Huguenots. To conclude, the King had not refused the chiefe of the League any demande that he might lawfully graunt, and had yeelded them many things which he might by his authority refuse.

B Besides the motions of the Kings apprehensions, the first beginning of his misery is, that almost all his counsellors of state are corrupted, they conceale the truth, they fit themselves to his humors, they are fearefull, weake and inconstant. Without doubt that Prince is miserable (saide an Emperour) from whom they conceale the truth. They perswade him, the Duke of Guises party is strong, that the Townes and Prouinces looke onely after him: if he enters not into it, he must be subiect both to League and Huguenots. Yet he meanes to be master ouer both, but he takes not the safest course. He becomes the head of the Guisards party, and talking of nothing but of the voyage of *Poitou*, thinke to winne the peoples loue, and to stoppe the murmuring of the League.

C The Prince of Condes death made the enterprise easie. A great debility of the stomacke, a difficulty of breathing, a great costiuenes, a continuall vomiting, with an alteration and extreame paine, surprised him the third of May, halfe an houre after supper, and the second day of his sicknesse, a suffocation of all his vitall spirites, sent him from the bedde vnto the graue. He was a Prince indued with all the qualities fit for a great Captaine, vnder whose magnanimity the Protestants conceiued great hopes. The bodie was opened, and the iudgment of Physitians was diuers. The bottome of his bellie was pale and burnt: his bowels ouerflowed with a reddish water: the stomacke about the orifice pierced through with a round hole, and the vitall parts being viceried, made some suspect poyson, others held that it was the remainder of the potion hee swallowed in the year 1572. which making an impression in the bowels, had by little & little weakened the stomacke, of the paine whereof, as also of his side, by reason of the blowe he receiued at the battaile of *Contes* with a Lance, he had complained many weekes before his death. The Colledge at Montpellier did subscribe to this last opinion.

In the meane time the King doth not greatly affect this enterprise against the Huguenots: hee desires to diuert the warre which the League would make immortall. But the Commander vnder whom he assembles his forces, makes him fall from a feuer to a frensie. They had long before made the Duke of Espernons aduancement odious to the people. The League made him the onely author of all disorder: but the succession to the office of Admirall, & the gouernment of Normandie, wherein the King had installed him since the death of the Duke of Ioyeuze, & their disdain for that he had crossed the Duke of Aumale in his enterprises vpon Boulogne, and other places in Picardie, shall soone discover the violences of an ambitious spirit, who thinks that the very heauens should giue him place.

The Duke of Guise findes, that the warre which he made against the Princeesse of Sedan, by *Rosne* his Lieutenent, did but blemish his new trophees. Shee had alreadie chased him from Douzy: shee had by the Lord of Nueil slaine seauen score of the most resolute of his troupes, almost as many hurt and drowned in flying, and two hundred led prisoners to Sedan. The consideration of an innocent pupill, makes this warre execrable, and makes them odious that attempt to take from another without any iust cause. The Parisiens faint, if he come not to confirme them. They call him: and he leauing Sedan and Iametz, thinks it is now high time that the King either yeeld or breake, and that now they must shew the effect of the Conclusion of Nancy.

F He comes to Soissons. The King is very iealous of this approach: and knowing the Parisiens humor and deuotion to the Duke, he sends him word by the Lord of Belieure (a man of great and sound iudgment, who for his great employments, both within and without the Realme, was then one of the chiefe of the Kings Councell, and lately the most worthy Chancellor of France) that he should doe him a pleasure, not to come to Paris in a time so full of troubles and factions. If he come against his will, he will lay vpon him the cause of all the miseries, which his presence shall breed. But to loose all, there is but one hazard: *Pompey* thinks, that striking the ground with his foote he shal raise vp an hundred Legions. He comes to Paris at noone the ninth of May, followed onely with eight gentlemen, not to amaze the King. He lights at the Queene-mothers lodging, and goes with her to do his dutie

The Kings Councell corrupted.

Death of the Prince of Conde.

The Duke of Guise leaues the warre of Sedan.

He comes to Paris.

1588.

An error in  
state.Barricades at  
Paris.

dutie vnto the King. The people follow him by troupes with great ioy: euery one blesteth A his comming, euery one makes new wishes. The Parisiens had long forgotten that ancient and chearefull salutation of, *God saue the King*. When they see him passe, they change it into *God saue the Guise*, *God saue the pillar of the Church*. A doting Gentlewoman sitting vpon a stall, puld downe her maske. *Good Prince* (saith she) *seeing thou art come, wee are all saued*. He makes his reuerence vnto the King: but not so assured as he was accustomed: hee layes open the causes of his comming, and iustifies his actions as well as hee could. Then seeing the King readie to dine, he retires to his lodging, and not one Courtier accompanied him as before. At dinner he growes more resolute. They meet both after dinner at the Queene-mothers lodging. The King full of ieaousie and feare: The Duke with a braue and resolute B countenance. The people attend the issue of this conference. The next day the Archbishop of Lyons (the chiefe pillar of the League) arriues: the Dukes friends and seruants enter: the 16. Tribunes of the Rebels and Conspirators bring and carry away sundry intelligences. To conclude, all now prepare to execute that whereof they sayled the last yeare. A notable error of State: for destroying the principall, the accessarie perissheth of himselfe. The King had sufficient forces to suppress these first insolencies. He had the names and surnames of his enemies: most of them were daunted with feare, with these long parles and goings from one to another: others did hide themselves: and some dreamed of nothing but of flight. The multitude is apt for tumults. A chearefull and resolute countenance of the King might easily haue dispersed this tempest. But in stead of confirming him, they make him more irre- C solute: they talke of nothing to him, but of the Dukes practises with the Parisiens, and that by his long delay he will be preuented. He meanes to anticipate the houre, and thinks it sufficient to terrifie them: for the effecting whereof, he commands the Marshall of Biron, to draw his guards of Suisses and French out of the Suburbs into the Cittie, and lodgeth them in diuers quarters, to feare the people, if they stirre. *Le Gast* with his company, held the little bridge neare to our Ladies Church. *Grillon*, *Saint Michaels* bridge: the Marshall *d'Aumont* mans our Ladies bridge with harguebuziers: the Suisses are diuided into diuers places, before the towne-house, in the new market-place, and at *S. Innocents* Church. But either through want of iudgement, or for want of men, they had forgotten the place Maubert. The people grow amazed: the chiefe of the League terrifie them with the apprehen- D sion of a spoile: they shut vp their shops. Their trafficke, tooles, pens and paper, are conuer- ted into halberds, pertuisans, harguebusses and swords. The scholars come from the Vniuersitie, and ioyning with some multitudes of the people, they ceaze vpon place Maubert: the neighbors arme, all the city is in combustion: some cry out for Barricado's, there is nothing but stopping of the waies: they flanke them, and man them, they make them from thirty paces to thirtie, euen to the Centinels of the Louure, they draw the chaines: no man passeth without the word, or a passe-port from the Colonels or quarter masters. The Earle of Brissac, *Boss-Dauphin*, *Chamois*, and other heads of the League, charge the Suisses, and kill some: the rest being terrified with this vnexpected turie of the people, without Commanders, without conduct, and without assurance of the Kings intention, choose rather to yeld E their pikes, then to charge them in this violent occasion. Without doubt a more manly courage and constant resolution had forced the Parisiens to fortifie themselves in the bot- tome of their cellars. Citties begin a mutinie boldly, but they execute it faintly, if they see any resistance, vsing still more words then deedes. The consideration of wife, children, and shop, do easily quail their first heate. *S. Paul*, (a simple Gentleman, but a chiefe man in this party) causeth the Kings Guards to retire with their hats in their hands, and their armes downe. They crie out generally against the Tyrant, against the *Huguenots* against the Poli- tickes. It fares with them in a manner as it did in former times with the English and Bour- guignons.

The Queene-mother had alwaies made her profit of the variety of FaCTIONS: shee is now F decciued, the Duke of Guise will not employ her in that he hath desseigned: shee takes her coach, and comes amazed to intreate the Duke to pacifie this tumult. *Bellieure* followes to the same end. But the Duke answered. *These are wild buls broke loose, whom I cannot stay*. So great a desseigne was not attempted to faint in the midst thereof. It was no longer time now to dissemble: the maske vncovered, and the foard sounded, they must goe on, and

leaze

1588.

A seaze vpon his person, without whose ruine their victory would be imperfect, for the effec- ting whereof ten or twelue thousand men were ready to enter by night at the new gate, to beset the Louure, and to shut vp all the passages. Foure Gentlemen familiar, with the Duke, aduertise the King hereof: yet can he hardly belecue it, but that the people will alwaies wil- lingly yeld to the Kings clemency. Yet his Councell desired to be out of Paris. They lay open before his Maiesty the generall reuolt, in the which *Phillip* the faire was forced to saue himselfe among the Templers: the party-coloured hooe of redde and sky-colour, where-with *Charles* Duke of Normandy, and afterwards King of France, the fift of that name, and furnished the wife, was hooded, to saue himselfe from the peoples insolency, dur- B ing the Captiuitie of King *John* his father in England: the reuolt of the Mailotins: the mutine of the Caboches: the crosses of Saint *Andrew*, the deposition of *Salcedo*, the ad- uertisements of the King of Nauarre, and the conspiracies of the last yeare, which now hath broken the bankes, and ouerflowed all.

His feare increaseth, yet he settles his countenance. *It is reason* (saith he) *to prouide for these disorders, to assemble the Councell, and to giue all men contentment*. And the better to disguise his intent, he sends backe the Queene-Mother vnto the Duke, to perswade him to come vnto the Louure, and to assure him, that hee shall returne with such satisfaction as he can desire. She intreats him in this vrgent necessity, to make knowne vnto the King, that he hath more will to preferue, then to ruine his Crowne, and to settle the Estate which C this mutiny hath wonderfully shaken. To intreat an enemy, is to shew that he feares him. The Duke seemes cold: he laies the motiues of these tumults vpon the people, to whose assis- tance he is drawne, more by the violence of necessity, then by his owne desire. It were a great indiscretion (sayd he) for me, to cast my selfe naked into a suspected place, at the mercy of my enemies. The King vnderstanding by his Mother, the Dukes obstinacy in his desseigne, resolues for the safety of his person. He goes from the Louure with a small traine, with a shew to walke in the Tuilleries, and from thence he goes to lodge at Trapes. I giue thee my curse (said he, turning at Chaliot towards Paris) disloyall and ingratefull City: a City which I haue alwaies honored with my continuall abroad, a City which I haue more D enriched then any of my predecessors. I will neuer enter within the compasse of thy walles, but by the ruine of a great and memorable breach. Cursed likewise be you all, for whose content I haue purchased the hatred of so many.

O Duke! thou hast drawne thy sword against thy Soueraigne: but God hath stayed thine arme from striking. It is a folly onely to terrifie him, who may finde meanes of reuenge. Many of his Faction blame him to haue erred in the maine poynt, wherein consisted the per- fection of his victory, by this attempt he hath blemished his reputation with all Princes. All Kings are bretheren, one royall blood summons an other, they haue an interest in this cause, they affect troublers of anothers Estate, but they cannot endure them in their owne. He therefore thought it good to send the Earle of Brisac vnto Sir *Edward Stafford* being then Ambassador for England, to informe him of the subiect of the Barricadoes, who came E accompanied with certaine gentlemen to visit the Ambassador in his Lodging, to offer him (amidst these populer insolencies) a safegard, intreating him not to bee amazed nor to retire him-selfe, vpon the assurance and protection of the Duke of Guise. The Amba- ssador answered, that if he had beene a priuat person in Paris, he would haue cast himselfe at the Duke of Guises feete, to thanke him most humbly for his courteous and kind offer, but being neere vnto the King for the seruice of the Queene his Mistris (who had a league of amity and friendship with the King) he neither could nor would receiue any safegard but from the King.

The Earle of Brisac told him, that the Duke of Guise was not come to Paris to attempt any thing against the king or his seruice: that he was only forced to defend himselfe, that ther F was a great conspiracy against him and the city of Paris: that the Towne-house and other places were full of gibbets, whereon the King had resolued to cause many of the city and others to be hanged. Wherefore the Duke of Guise intreated him to aduertise the Queene his Mistris of all these things, to the end the whole world might be informed. The Amba- ssador answered that he would easily belecue that he had spoken this vnto him. That great and bould enterprises remaine many times incommunicable in the bosomes of the

D d d d

vndertakers,

The King's  
retires from  
Paris.Speech be-  
twixt the Earle  
of Brisac and  
the Ambassa-  
dor of Eng-  
land.

588. vnder takers, who when they please / descouer them with what colour they thinke fittest for A  
themselves. But he would tel him freely, that what had past at Paris would be found strange,  
and of dangerous consequence by all the Princes of Christendome, who haue interest there  
in. That no cloake, how godly so euer, could make it allowable, being the duty of the subiect  
to continew constant in his due obedience to his Soueraigne. That if there were gibets pre-  
pared, men would easily belecue it, if the Duke of Guise will shew them: and admit it were  
so, it were an odious and intollerable thing for a subiect to seeke to hinder by force the  
iustice which his Soueraigne would doe by armes. That he promised him willingly that  
he would aduertise the Queene his Mistresse of all that he had said vnto him. But to be an  
interpreter of the Duke of Guise his conceptions, and of his parties, it did not belong vnto  
his charge, the Queene his mistresse being wiser then he, to belecue what she pleased. Then B  
the earle asked him if he had any armes: to whome the Ambassador answered, if you questi-  
on with me as one that hath beene some-times a friend and familiar with Mounsr de Coffe  
your Vncle, it may be I would tell you, but being as I am you must pardon me: Your house  
will be presently leached said he, for they thinke you are armed, and it is to be feared yee  
wilbe forced. I haue two doores in my lodging replied the Ambassador, the which I will  
cause to bee shut and defend them as long as I may, to the end the world may know how  
vniuently the Law of armes is violated in my person. After which the Earle of Brisac said,  
I pray you tell me as a friend, haue you any armes? to whome the Ambassador answered, C  
seeing you aske me as a friend, I will tell you: if I were a priuat person here I would be ar-  
med, but being an Ambassador, I haue not any but the publike faith. I pray you said the  
Earle of Brisac cause your gates to be shut, I will not do it said the Ambassador, an Amba-  
sadors house must be open to all commers, and goers: moreouer I am not in France to  
remaine still at Paris, but neere vnto the King where-so-euer he is. This discourse passed  
betwixt the Earle and the Ambassador of England, which I haue thought good to insert  
at large.

Without doubt the prouidence of GOD had prepared a strange Catastrophe for the  
Duke, for the King, and for his realme: who at this time, by his singular loue to this  
Crowne, did diuert the successe which they expected of this shamefull and reprochfull mu- D  
tiny. O Paris! King Charles the eight had in former times made the twelfth day of May fa-  
mous, by the absolute conquest of the realme of Naples: and now thou deuiseest to haue  
this twelfth day noted with red letters, and hereafter to be celebrated, for that in the same  
day thou hast presented vpon the Theater of thy rebellions, a King dispossessed of the  
Capitall City of his realme. Nay rather what coale can sufficiently note to our posterity,  
this mournfull and vnfortunate day? What law of forgetfulness, may wipe out the remem-  
brance of thy shame, ingratitude and treachery? what lotion can wash away the spots of  
thy pollution, filthinesse and villanies? what fire shall euer consume the memory of the  
rebellions, tyrannies and seditions, of this fatall and abominable League? O Barricadoes,  
you are the spring of those fouds, which shall for a time drowne this Estate: and the E  
instrument where-with that inscrutable wisdom would chastise, both the King and the  
Realme.

Fatall and curfed day of the Barricadoes, the birth day of our miseries, and the funerall  
day of our happinesse, which hath broken the bounds to those streames of bloud which haue  
drowned our fields; which hath made libertie captiue; truth criminall, rapine iust, and ty-  
ranny and inuasion lawfull: which hath puld a crowne from a Kings head, and the Lawes out  
of the heart of the realme, which hath armed a President to mutine the people of his quar-  
ter, which hath made cowards courragious to set vpon the Kings gard, which hath made  
the most wicked insolent and caused them of the League to triumph through the streets  
of Paris, as a perfect image of all villeny: which hath made the 16. Tribunes to publish that  
wretched rebellion and to qualifie it with the title of a iust defence against the King: aduer- F  
tising all the townes of their confederacy that God had preserued that holy and religious  
city from a great massaker, and from a fearefull sacke, that the Duke of Guise had prevented  
the counsell of the pollitikes, and especially of the Duke of Espernon, who had so posselt  
the Kings heart, as he had caused him to resolute to ruine the chiefe and most Catholike  
families of Paris, to suppress their liberties, and to depriue them of their religion,  
thinking

A thinking there was no better meanes to force obedience in a people, then to keepe them  
vnder and to depriue them of their wealth, the which made them insolent, mutinous and re-  
bellious. The Duke of Guise at the beginning of this bold and insolent attempt, writes pre-  
sently to his most trusty friends, to repaire speedily vnto him with armes and horses: but no  
baggage. *I haue ouerthrowne the Swisses (said he to Entragues governor of Orleans) cut in peeces  
some part of the Kings gards, and hold the Louvre so straitly beset, as I will giue a good account  
of what is within it. This victory is so great, as it will be remembered for euer.* But oh Duke!  
is it presumption that bandies thee against the rules of reason, or weaknesse which abates  
thy courage and resolution in suffering him to scape; who within few moneths shall heape  
B this thy victory vpon thy head, and by thy vtter confusion shall make it memorable for  
euer? Both the one and the other brings a sodaine repentance vnto man, and makes him  
wise too late. Thou seemest, oh Duke! to touch the heauens with thy forehead, and hell with  
thy foote: but learne, that our histories are full of the violent deaths of those proud spirits,  
who seeke their glory and profit with the ruine of their Country, the preiudice of states, and  
the subuersion of common peace. That great God which reuengeth the iniuries of Kings  
and people, laies publike ruines vpon them that doe them. The slaughter at Vassy kindled  
the fire of the first ciuill warres. So thy Father died, soone after the new troubles which  
followed. Euen so the like storme threatens thy ruine in the midst of thy violent passions.

Entragues had assembled the Nobility of the League at Baugency: but the foureteenth  
C of the moneth, he writes vnto them. *Our great, could not execute his desseine, the King hauing  
sued himselfe within Chartres: I wish you to retire to your houses, as quietly as you may, making  
no show to haue scene any thing.* And in the end: *I am so amazed, as I know not what to doo.*  
I belecue him. Kings haue long hands, they catch a farre off, and their blowes are dan-  
gerous. So hereafter the King shall free himselfe from the leaguers party, but he shall  
be little the better. The Duke is no lesse troubled in mind; seeing the Sunne of the royall  
Maiesty eclipsed: he seemes grieved: rebukes the people, causeth outrages to cease, deli-  
uers the French companies their armes, and puts them out off the City, but at Saint An-  
thonies gate, quite contrary to the way which their Maister tooke. In such mutinies, no  
mind, (be it neuer so resolute) continues still constant in one Estate. The Duke of Guise  
D sees now, that the greatest of the Clergy approue not these new insolencies: their callings  
haue more grace vnder the beaury of a King, then in the confusion of a Democracy. The  
French Nobility (at the least of ten parts, nine) cannot fit them-selues to the humors of  
the Princes of the league; their propper and essentiall forme is to oppose them-selues  
against the subuersion of this Estate. The Gentlemen hold their honours, dig-  
nities, charges, fees, and iurisdctions by homage of the King: and foresee, that a royalty  
cannot be suppressed, but the Nobility must like-wise perish: there is the like reason (but  
without proportion) of the obedience, and fee due vnto a King, as of a rent due vnto the  
Lord of a Mannor, he that hath withdrawne him-selke from the first, will likewise free him-  
selfe from the last. He sees that the learned and men of honour abhor this disgrace, lately  
E done vnto the King. The Court of Parliament resolues to abandon Paris. All France is  
offended with the Kings departure: and without the Kings person, the Tragedy of *Chilperic*  
cannot well be acted, nor the instructions of the Aduocate *Danid* perfectly effected. It is  
therefore better to play the dutifull seruant, and making vnto the king some few respects,  
seruice and obedience, to labour to returne into Grace, and at the first opportunity to effect  
their purpose.

So the Duke of Guise, not able to support him-selke in these high attempts, falls flat  
down. He protests of his innocency to the King, and of his endeouours to checke the peoples  
fury: he offers to prostrate him-selke at the Kings feete, to iustifie his honor, the which he  
saies is strangely wounded by his enemies, that are about his Maiesty. But on the other side,  
F the glosse doth ill agree with the text: he chooseth a Prouost of Marchants, and Sheriffes at  
his deuotion, receiues the Arcenal, the Bastille, and other places of strength: deposeth ma-  
ny quarter-maisters and Captaines, takes an oath from such as he installs: seizeth vpon the  
Kings treasure, as he had done at Chaalons, Reimes, Soissons: and through all the townes  
of his obedience. *And if this mischiefe continues (said he) I protest to preserue both the Re-  
ligion and the Catholikes.*

Dddd 2

Then

The Duke  
seekes to re-  
turne into fa-  
uour.



1588-

Then by other letters written to Bassompierre a Lorraine. The King leuies forces and so doe we. A He is at Chartres, and we at Paris. Espernon is chased out off Normandy: the Kings seruants are imprisoned in many great townes: she lesse send to submit them-selues to Paris, and vs. Whilest the Duke prepares a salue for the soare which he had made, and the Parisiens perswade their associates, to maintaine them-selues ioyntly against the King of Nauarre, with whom (they said) the King had made himselfe a partisan, to the preiudice of religion, and the Catholike Church, his Maiesty exhorts his Lieutenants and Gouernours of his Prouinces, to retaine the Nobility, and people within those limits of duety and respect, which tie them to their Soueraigne, and the chiefe citties, not to frame their affections after the modell of Paris. But he speakes no more like a King: his stile is the stile of a man that flies, that feares, that in-treats. And to repaire this disorder, he employes the Queene-Mother. But how could this B turbulent spirit cure the infirmities of the Estate, being irreconcilable in her hatred to the Princes of the blood, and transported in her affection to the children of her daughter, the Duchesse of Lorraine? She aduiseeth the King, to passe ouer quietly the insolencies of the league: but there is no likelihood, she should more regard the profit of her sonne, then the aduancement of the Marquis of Pont her grand-child. Shee brings to this new common-weale (for the royalty seemed now to be changed into a Democracy) complaints, and teares against the brauings and force of a coragious Prince, and a furious multitude. And prom- C ising effects of greater zeale to Religion, more respect in the distribution of offices, and more moderation in the exaction of subsidies, she presumed to giue contentment to those, who made shew to imploy them-selues for a generall reformation, and to reduce the most violent to their obedience.

But this serues but to breed a second treaty like to that of Nemours. Paris without the King, is a body without forme: the most iudicious find it, and lament his departure. The late orders of religious men haue great credit with him. They send the Capuchins in procession vnto Chartres, to mitigate the heat of his choller, and then the chiefe of the city went to excuse the motiues which had forced the people to defend them-selues, and to beseech him to returne to Paris, where he should be receiued with as great ioy, as his subiects were grieved, to vnderstand of his departure: that he should finde better seruants, then those which had councelled him to ruine, and then to leaue them: and that it would please D his Maiesty to graunt them seuen principall points of their petition: the extirpation of heresie, by the forces of his Maiesty, and the holy vnion: the banishment of the Duke of Espernon, and of his brother la Valette: Warre in Guyenne, by the King in person, and by the Duke of Mayenne in Daulphiné: Abolition of the tumults of Paris: Confirmation of officers chosen for the managing of ciuill causes since the Barricadoes: A restoring of the goodly and auncient ordinances of the realme: And an abolition of parties, gifts and abuses brought in by Espernon, and la Valette.

The Queene-Mother presents these Deputies, and the King vrged by the league to graunt their request, lets the Cardinall of Bourbon, and the other Princes vnderstand: that E the peace and warre, the battells wherein he hath so willingly exposed his person, and the last ouerthrow of the Protestant Reisters, haue alwaies beene sufficient testimonies of his zeale to the mayntenance of the onely Catholike religion within his realme: to the extirpation of heresie, and false doctrine: but iealousies and distrust had preuented him from reaping the fruits of the aduantage which he had ouer the said heretikes. That for a present reformation of affaires, and to preuent the feare the Catholikes had to fall vnder the command of Heretikes, he would call an assembly of the three Estates of France: and re-solues presently to reuoke many impositions which oppresse the people. As for the priuat complaints against the Duke of Espernon, and his brother: I will (saith he) alwaies make it knowne in all occasions, that I am a iust Prince, and wil preferre the common profit of my Realme, before any other consideration.

But the two brethren, Espernon, and la Valette, say: to what what end should they make an enterprife at Paris, to take the Duke of Espernon, who was then in Normandy? and why made they Barricadoes, euen to the gates of the Louure, armed the people, and seized vpon all the chiefe places of the city, to chase la Valette from Valence, and other parts of Daulphiné where he remained? and if the confusions of former ages haue kept other kings from F acknowledging

The Queene Mother im-  
ployed for a  
peace.

Seuen de-  
mands of the  
league.

The Kings  
answer.

The Duke of  
Espernons ius-  
tification.

1588.

A acknowledging our fathers seruices: and he hath rewarded his meritts in his children; what be those icalous and malicious heads, that enuy our fauours with his maiesty? what censure? what rigour? what law may keepe a King of France, from aduancing to authority some fa- uorites, who reuiue in them the vertues of their ancestors? Moreouer the League makes mention, in what places our fauour hath beene employed: the treaties of the Duke of Ef- pernon in Guienne: his being acquainted with Cleruants negotiation for the Huguenots of Metz: the enterprises he hath made vpon Cambray: his late fauour to the Reisters in their returne: his secret conference with Chastillon, the consultations of that tumult, which hath lately happened in Paris: the taking of Valence, Tallard, Guildstre, and other B places, from the Catholikes of Daulphine, and his practises to stay the yeelding of Aufione. But we say, would to God we had in like sort taken, Chaalon, Dijon, Montrueile, Cambray, and all that are subiect vnto his Maiesty within the heart of France. They tearme vs fa- uorers of Heretikes, And yet wee haue in fixe moneths taken from them by the sword, all their conquests in Prouence (the King, since the death of Henry the bastard, and Grand Prior of France, had giuen this gouernment to the Duke of Espernon) which former Gou- uernours could not doe in twenty yeares. The taking of Sorgues in Daulphine by vs two, during the frozen time of winter: and the ouerthrow of the Huguenots Suisses, by la Va- lette: but especially the last disunion of the Suisses from the Reisters, which made the way for the Duke of Guise, to defeat them at Auneau, and the discontent, wherein the Duke C of Espernon left the King of Nauarre at his departure out off Guienne: are not these suffi- cient testimonies, that their accusations are as friuolous and malicious, as the sale of offices where-with folke charge them? for iustification whereof, the Duke of Espernon offers to present his head at his Maiesties seete, if it be proued that he had euer any such thought in his soule. Contrariwise, who hath during the reignes of Henry the second, and Francis the second, managed the treasure without controll but the house of Guise? whereof the latter follow the steppes of their Predecessors? Who haue forced the King to exact vpon his sub- iects but the warre which they haue kindled and drawne his Maiesty into? what house did euer from so small a beginning grow to so fearefull a greatnesse? To conclude: no man shall blame vs for being Pensioners to the King of Spaine, to haue hindered our King from D the recouery of the Seigneuries of the Lowe Countries, nor to haue stolen away the reuenues of his generall receipts. We will no wayes hinder this goodly reformation: we are not in Court, nor in the Kings presence.

Let vs see the first fruits of this so commendable a gouernement. Haue you left Paris? haue you yeelded it to the King your Lord, and naturall Prince? Nothing lesse: you haue reuol- ted Corbeil, Melun, and Pontoise: you haue (with false perswasions) withdrawne the best Citties of the realme. But we will (in protesting to be ready to deliuer into his maiesties hands, with our liues and honor, all the offices, charges, gouernements and places which it hath pleased him to commit vnto vs) inuite our accusers to doe the like. And if they will pretend in quality of persons: let them vnderstand, that whatsoever either party holds, it E appertaines vnto the King, neither can they keepe it, but at his pleasure. Thus the two bre- thren iustified them-selues, whilest the Court of Parlement makes knowne vnto the King by their Deputies, their grieve for this insolencie, which had forced him to abandon Paris. They appeale vnto his clemency and bounty. They present for an humble excuse of his offi- cers, the weakenesse and feare which had forced them to yeeld to so violent a reuolt: be- seeching him to returne into his city, and to giue rest and content to his Maiesty, order to his affaires, grace to their purple robes, and authority to their offices: and by his presence, to disperse the mutines which diuisions had bred.

For answer. I doubt not (saith the King) but you would willingly haue reformed this disorder, if it had beene in your power: neither of your persisting in the same affection and F fidelity which you haue testified to my fore-fathers. I am not the first that hath beene toucht with such afflictions, neither will I leaue to bee a good father to such as shall be good children. I will alwaies intreat the Parisiens with the quality of a father, as chil- dren that haue strayed from their duty, not as seruants to haue conspired against their mai- ster. Continue in your offices, and receiue from the Queene my Mother the commande- ments and intentions of my will.

Deputies of  
the Parlia-  
ment with  
the King.

The Kings  
answer.

1588.

This answer was soft and cold: but after dinner, he addes a sharper conclusion, and calling backe the Deputies. I know (saith he) wherefore garrisons are set, either to ruine a towne, or for distrust of the inhabitants. But what cause had the Parisiens to presume, that I would ruine a towne, where-vnto I haue brought so many commodities by my presence, as ten or twelue townes would thinke them-selues greatly benefited thereby? and what distrust could I haue of a people whome I loued? of a people in whome I trusted? Haue they lost a loafe, or any thing whatsoeuer by meanes of these pretended garisons? I fought the preferuation of my good City of Paris, and the safety of my subiects, meaning by a strict search, to put out a great number of strangers, whome I knew to be secretly crept in. They haue offended me, yet am I not irreconcilable, neither haue I any humour to ruine them.

But I will haue them confesse their faults, and know that I am their King and maister. If not, I will make the markes of their offence remaine for euer. I will reuoke my Court of Parliament: my Chamber of accountes, Aides, and other Courts of Iustice. I will take from them the Vniuersity, their honours, freedoms, and Priuileges. I will omit no meanes to be reuenged. Not that I am reuengefull, or accustomed to vse severity: but I will haue them know, that I haue as much resolution and courage, as any of my Predecessors. I am no Vsurper, but a lawfull King by succession, and of a race that hath alwaies commanded mildly. Let them not take religion any more for a pretext. Their liues not a more Catholike Prince, nor that desires more the extirpation of heresies, then my selfe. I would willingly loose an arme, that the last Hereticke were paynted in this Chamber. Returne to your charges, and be of good cheere, I will be for you: and let them vnderstand what I haue sayd vnto you.

Now the most desperate Leaguers found, that the absence of the Court made their fare but simple, made their shops without Chapmen, and their trafficke cold: the shame to bee without a King, made the most audacious mutines to hang downe their heads: the violence of rebellion quailed: many found the dealing of Paris too audacious. And now Paris studied to returne to the Kings obedience: when as the Duke of Guise fearing the losse of many of his friends and seruants, resolues to make his peace. He now speaks of nothing but the Kings seruice, the obedience of his Maiesty, the preferuation of the Estate, the reformation of disorders, and the subiects ease, and (by the intercession of the Queene-Mother) seekes his fauour which he had lost. The Queene-Mother terrifies the King. Those of his counsell, (who for the most part are seruants to the Leaguer) keepe him in this humour: and propounds vnto him a general reuolt of his subiects, with the intelligence, and fauour the League had within Chartres, the which causeth him, for his greater safety, to go to Roan. Finally, they cry out against the Huguenots. My Liege (say they) will you loose the name of most Christian, in winking at these heresies which vndermine the truth? will you alone among three-score and one Kings, your Predecessors, suffer so detestable a medly of truth and falshood?

This Councell carries him away against them in whome he should most trust, who lamenting the decay of his authority, and the weakning of his forces, see that his intentions inclined to his owne ruine. He seemes to be in choller with the King of Nauarres party, to haue the League on his side, (but he telleth no man, that he pretends to vse his forces against them-selues) and drawes certaine articles of the reunion of Iuly, whereby he frames his Edict, not so much against the King of Nauarres religion, as to exclude him, in fauour of the League, from thar, which none but G O D could take from him. But whilst they finish these accords, hee sodenly surpriseth the Isles of Charon and of Marans.

The King by this Edict admits no religion, but the Catholike: he promisseth neuer to make a peace nor truce with the Heretikes, nor any Edict in their fauour. He will haue all his subiects to ioyne with him, that by their common forces they might root out the said heretikes. Hee binds his subiects to sweare, neuer to yeeld obedience after him, to any Prince that shall be an Heretike, or a fauourer of Heresie, degrades from all publike charges, either in peace, or warre, those of the pretended reformed religion: promisseth all fauour to the Catholikes, so as they shew them-selues obedient and faithfull, and depart from all vnions,

The Duke  
seekes to  
make his  
peace.

Edict of re-  
union.

1588.

vnions, practises, intelligences, associations and Leagues, contrary to the vnion which he made by this Edict: hee declares them guilty of treason, that shall refuse to signe to this new vnion, or shall afterwards depart from it: and finally hee aboliseth all that was done and past, but (signing this forced Edict) hee wept.

The Leaguers are now wonderfully puffed vp with hope: yet this reuerence of the royall maiesty is so naturally grauen in the hearts of men, as the onely remembrance of the twelfth of May makes their hearts to tremble. They feare the Scorpions taylor, and that the King by his great facility, should determine against them some mournfull Catastrophe in the last act of the Tragedy. And thereupon two things amaze them sodenly: newes comes, that the fearefull and huge Spanish armie, wherein were a hundred and thirty great ships, and twenty thousand fighting men, vnder the command of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, had by fortune of sea, after their departure from the Grongne in Galicia, lost three gallies of Portugall, many were scattered, and many brused and made vnprofitable for the voyage, and were afterwards so encountred by the Admirall, and Drake the vice-admirall, thwart of Portland, vpon the English coast, as they forced them to turne head, and to retire in disorder towards the towne of Calais, (hoping there to ioyne with the Prince of Parma) with the losse of one gallion, which carried some part of their treasure, and also the instructions for the order which the Generall should follow, hauing conquered England.

A bad beginning, for so braue and proud an ostentation, where they promised themselves an absolute victory. But the progresse and end was yet more fatall. The English Fleet presseth them so neere, as they force them to leaue the Rendezuous in confusion: their Generall Galleasse pestered with other shippes, was cast by the current vpon the sands, neere to the Port of Calais, and remained with the artillery in the gouernours power: The rest were scattered by the English artillery. The Spanish armie lost twelue shippes, and aboute siue thousand men, who had no other sepulchres, but the vast Ocean, and the bellies of sea monsters: Finally, taking their course to the north, bending towards Scotland, and Ireland, those seas were no lesse fatall to the Spaniards, for seuentene of their great ships were sunke, and many others cast vpon the sands and rockes, and the rest of this armie was so miserable shaken, as of a hundred and thirty shippes, hardly thirty arriued in Spaine. Where the Duke of Medina had no other excuse vnto his maister, but the ignorance and treachery of his mariners, with the small experience they had of those Northerne seas: the want of succors from the Prince of Parma, the tempests, ship-rackes finally ill fortune, but not one word of the iudgements of God vpon this giant-like attempt, to bring all England slaues to the mountaines of Grenado, or to the mines of Peru.

The second terror for the Leaguers is, that the King will not returne to Paris, howsoeuer they importune him. I will prepare my selfe (saith hee) for the warre against the heretikes: and for the Parliament which I intend to call, and to giue all Princes that are vnit-ed, contentment and satisfaction. They doubt the Barricadoes haue left much spleene in the Kings heart: and to preuent all contrary euents, they thinke it not yet time to satisfie the oath which they had made, to renounce all intelligences and Leagues which they had made both within and without the Realme.

They take new Councells and resolutions at Paris, to maintaine this authority and credit gotten with so many crosses and disgraces vnto the King, and so to presse him, and to subiect his will vnto theirs, as hee shall not see, speake nor moue, but by the eyes, tongue and sinewes of the League: to haue the Deputies of the Parliament house of their faction, with instructions drawne out of the articles of Peronné, Nancy, Nemours and Giniuile.

To vrge the King against the Huguenots, and to solicit him to ease the people by the discharge of taxes, thereby to make him odious, if hee refuseth the first frutes of their vnion: To make them strong at the Parliament, and to that end to send for all the Nobility of their owne faction, and their adherents, to assist with their armes. To hold good correspondence with the Duke of Parma: and to aduertise the King of Spaine, that this accord made with the King, tended onely to effect their common desseins. To retaine Piffer Collonell of the Suisses, and Balagny Gouverneur of Cambray, with the priuate conuocations

Two things  
trouble the  
League.

The defeat of  
the Spanish  
armie at sea.

The excuses  
of the Duke  
of Medina.

The King re-  
fuseth to go  
to Paris.

New resolu-  
tions of the  
League.

1588. conuentions passed betwixt them. To prevent least the Duke of Neuers, whom the King A  
resolved to send into Picardy to suppress the violences of the League, should winne away  
their most trusty friends. To binde the City of Paris vnto the Lord of Villars, gouernour  
of New-hauen, for the summe of thirty thousand crownes yearly, to haue him fauoura-  
ble to their party.

These new Councells bred new teares. The King cannot containe them in subscribing  
of these new articles: but his misfortune forceth him to hazard his estate, to preferue his  
person. Hee knowes well, that these are but imaginations: that his Edict of reuinion will  
be obserued by none, but by himselfe: or so far as it toucheth the subuersion of his crowne.  
And yet too much bounty or too great apprehension makes him scrupulous to prevent it.  
The Protestants offer to try this great quarrell at their owne perilles, so as hee will re- B  
maine a neuter, and suffer them to appose against the mutinies of the League. Hee reiects  
this aduice. *For there is lesse danger (saith hee) to remaine with those which persist in the u-  
nity of our religion, then with those which are diuided, and become heads of new opinions.*

So whether it were of a good meaning or of purpose, he returnes to Chartres. Hesees,  
embraceth and maketh much of the Duke of Guise, and there all his fauours and bounties  
are liberally bestowed on the chiefe pillars of the League. Hee giues the Duke of Guise  
the generall command ouer all the men of warre within the Realme. This was not the  
name and title, but in effect the office and charge of Constable. Hee makes the Cardi- C  
nall of Guise Legate of Auignon, the which hee promisseth to obtaine for him of his Ho-  
lineesse. To the Duke of Mayenne, a goodly armie for the warre of Dauphiné. To the  
Duke of Nemours, the gouernment of Lions, as his father had enjoyed it: and he determi-  
ned to giue the seale to Peter of Espinac Arch-bishop of Lion, to winne him vnto him by  
this great bounty, promising to procure him a Cardinals hat of Pope Sixtus, by the meanes  
of the Cardinall of Gondy, whom he had sent to Rome. Without doubt he had receaued  
more honor by being Chancellor of France, then in being Chancellor of the vnion. (The  
Chancellor Hurault Earle of Chyuerny, and the Lord of Bellicure, and Villeroi, had  
then leaue to attend the Kings pleasure at their houses) He declares the Cardinall of Bour-  
bon the first Prince of the blood, deciding (by a doubtfull speech,) that great question of D  
prerogatiue, betwixt the Vncle and the Nephew, whereon there hath beene so much writ-  
ten and so much disputed: peruertering the ancient order of succession, and making the Car-  
dinall to serue the passions of the League.

The present vnto the King (being but six & thirty years of age) a successor, who had euen  
then passed a Climaftericall yeare of threescore and three. Was it not the Leagues mean-  
ing, vnder the Cardinall of Bourbons image, to raise vp a stranger, and violently to ad-  
uance his tirany, to vsurpe the royalty? To conclude: the King continues, renews and  
amplifies his fauours to all such as haue any credit with the League: he doth nothing with-  
out them, he opens the very secrets of his heart vnto them, and (for their sakes) causeth  
euery one of their partisans to tast some portion of his bounty, and makes shew to beleue  
whatsoeuer they say vnto him. His Councell blinds his eyes, so as hee cannot discerne E  
what is the duty of a good King: they disguise the truth from him, and study onely to fa-  
tiffie their ambition and couetousnesse. So as to please them, euen in this, hee himselfe  
puls out those eyes, whereby he did see most cleare, and giues them leaue to retire to their  
houses, there to throwd themselves from these confusions of state.

The Duke of Espernon was out of Court: but hee had authority from the King, to com-  
mand in the Prouinces of Aniou, Touraine, Poictou, Angoulmois, and Xantonge. Be-  
ing at Loches, he is aduertised that the League practised with some inhabitants to deliuer  
them Angoulesme. He posts thither, & the people receaue him with great honour as the  
Kings Lieutenant. Hee publisheth the Edict of reuinion, his words and deeds testifie no-  
thing but a courage resolute to preferue the Catholick religion. But behold sodainly a  
strange Catastrophe. Some Leaguers had perswaded the people, that hee ment to drawe  
the Huguenots troupes into the Castle, and so subdue the towne. The Maior (being the  
head of the conspiracy) enters into the Castle on Saint Laurence day, vnder colour to pre-  
sent vnto the Duke certaine posts that were come from Court: hee mounts vpe to his  
Chamber, at his entrie hee discharged two pistolls, and seekes to force the house. The  
Duke

The Kings  
Councillors  
dismissed the  
Court.

Troubled  
griued  
Duke  
Esper-  
non in  
Angoulesme.

A Duke was then in his Cabinet, attending the houre of Masse: where he read the history  
of *Pierce Ganeffon*, in old time deere fauored by *Edward* the second King of England,  
preferred before all others in Court, enriched with the Kings treasure, and the peoples  
wealth, but after banished the realme, and in the end beheaded at the sute of the Estates. 1588.

This slanderous libell being printed at Paris, not so much against the Dukes honour as  
the Kings, compared the Duke with *Ganeffon*, and concluded, that vnder *Henry* the third,  
he should end his dayes by the like tragedy. Vpon the first tumult, the Dukes Gentle-  
men siet to armes, and repulse this armed multitude: the Maior beeing hurt with the shot  
of a pistoll through a doore, died within seauen houres after. The alarum flies into  
B the towne. The people arme, storme, and make barricadoes. But the Duke kept the  
Castle: the Citadell was at his deuotion, and might by eyther of them drawe in necessary  
succors to vngage him.

The Seigneur of Tagens, the Dukes Cousin, aduanced with succors: *Bordes* Captaine of  
the Citadell being prisoner among the conspirators, loued the liberty of his place, more the  
his owne life: *Mere*, *Messeliere*, *Macquerole* and *Bouchaux*, sommoning the beseegeed,  
found nothing in them but a constant resolution to die rather then to yeeld: and the peo-  
ple were willing to capitulate, when as *Tagens* by his ariall pacified the sedition: Armes  
were layed aside, and the prisoners of both parts deliuered. The Duke of Guise  
hauing made his peace with the King, and disapoynted his most faithfull Councillors: yet  
C one thorne troubled his foot, the Huguenots Estate. Hee therefore ceaseth not, vntill he  
sees them assailed in Poitou and Dauphiné: and whilst the Duke of Neuers prepared his  
armie for Poictou, hee sends the regiment of *Saint Paule* to the Duke of *Mercaur*, to an-  
noy the Protestants, and not to suffer them to reape any commodity in the country.

The Duke *Mercaur* goes into hafe. Poictou, beseegeth Montagu, repaired by *Colom-  
biers*, whom they of Nants had hourly at their gates. But at the first brute that the King  
of Nauarre was come out of Rochelle to succour Montague, he retires straight to Nants, *Gersey* defea-  
ted. and left the regement of *Gersey*, to make the retreat, the which was overtaken, beaten  
and defeated two leagues from the suburbs of Nants. On the other side, the Duke of  
Mayenne marched towards Dauphiné, but hee planted the limits of his voyage in Lions.  
D Now are two mighty armies in field, the one vnder the Kings authoritie, the other all of  
Leaguers: But this is not enough. The King by a sollemne oth in the Cathedrall Church  
at Rouan, had sworne the execution of the Edict of vnion: he hath sent it vnto the Bishops,  
and commands them to presse the Huguenots in their diocesse, to make profession of  
their faith, & to abiuire their errors in open Parliaments, royall iurisdiccions & commonal-  
ties. This Edict must be confirmed as a fundamentall law of State, and the King prest, to  
assemble the three Estates of the Realme, as hee had promised by the articles of the peace. Conuocation  
*Henry* grants a conuocation, the first day of September at Blois: there (in the presence of  
of the Estates.  
the notablest persons of euery Prouince, Seneschallys and Baylewike,) to propound freely  
the complaints and griefes of euery man, but not meddling with any practises, or fauou-  
ring the priuate passions of any.

But amidst these Commissions from the King, the League wanted no policy to  
send secretly (to them that were most affectionate to the aduancement of theyr  
desseins, and to the most passionate Leaguers of the Realme) articles and remem-  
brances which they should put into their instructions, and labour to bee chosen of the  
Parliament. Soe as in a maner all the Deputyes carried the badge of the League  
and their instructions were conformable to those which had beene sent vnto them. The  
King comes first vnto Blois: hee giues order for the place, and for the Deputyes lod-  
gings. The Duke of Guise follows: but it was a great indiscretion for the Duke to go to  
Blois, seeing the King would not come to Paris. The Deputyes come one after ano-  
ther: but the King finding not the number sufficient to beginne so sollemne an act, hee  
defers it vntill October.

In the meane time, the King studies, by the credit which authority giues him ouer the  
three estates of his Realme, to bring the Duke of Guise into open view, and to receaue pu-  
nishment for all his offences past. And the Duke assures himselfe, that the most part of the  
Deputyes would countenance his cause, & would serue him as instruments to controll the  
Kings

1588- Kings power. So euery one labours to aduance his deffine, and to deceiue one another: A but he which shall be deceiued, will verifie, that there is danger in delay. The fixteenth of October all the Deputies were ready, for the Clergy a hundred thirty and foure Deputies, amongst others foure Archbishops, one and twenty Bishops, and two Generalls of orders: for the Nobility, a hundred and fourescore gentlemen: for the third estate, a hundred fourescore and eleuen Deputies, all lawyers, or Marchants. The seauenteenth day, being the first sitting of the prime wits of all France, rauished euery man with hope to heare rare propositions, and resolutions of great affaires for the reformation of the state. The Kings oration being full of liuely affection, true magnanimity, and pertinent reasons, deliuered with an admirable eloquence and grace without any stay, will testifie for euery, that hee exceeded all the Princes of his age in speaking well, and that hee could grauely, pertinently, and very sodenly make answer to the most important occasions that were offered.

Mantelon  
keeper of the  
scale.

Mantelon keeper of the scale, continued his proposition, commended the zeale and integrity of his maiesties intentions, promised the Estates, that vnder his happy command, they should reape in this conuocation, the same effects which had bene tried in diuers raignes: he exhorted the Clergy to restore the beauty and dignity of the Church: The Nobility, to frame them selues after the mould of piety, bounty, iustice, and other vertues of the French nation, so much honored in all histories: the people to reuerence iustice, and to obserue good orders, to fly wrangling sute, swearing, blasphemies, play, lust, vsury, vniust getting, corrupt trading, and other vices, which be the seedes of troubles, and seditions, and the ruine of flourishing estates. He layes open the Kings great debts, his charge and care to roore out heresies, his religion, piety, and deuotion, ending his speech with a commendation, vnder the Kings obedience, of the vnion and concord, necessary for the maintenance of religion.

Thy Clergy.

Renauld of Beaulne Arch-Bishoppe of Bourges, Patriarke and Primat of Aquitania, thanked the King for his loue to his subiects, and God, to haue installed on the throne of this Crowne, a King endued from his youth, with the spirit of wisdom, to gouerne his people, who had cast the lightening of the high God, euen vpon the face of the enemies of his diuine Maieesty, hauing by diuers and dangerous voyages, through diuers nations gotten the knowledge of affaires, who by his onely wisdom and vertue, had lately dispersed a great and mighty army of strangers, and giuen us hope, that vnder so good and great a King, wee shall see heresie suppressed, peace confirmed, the seruice of God established, Churches and Temples restored, iustice and peace embraced, charity abound among men, and by vnity of religion begin here on earth to reigne with CHRIST, the Idea and patterne of that heauenly kingdome, whereunto we aspire. The Baron of Senecel testified the Nobilities affection to the Kings seruice, confessing, that to him alone belongs to worke those good effects, for the establishment of the honour of God, the Catholike religion, things profitable for the Estate, and necessary for his people, offering in the name of them of his order, the zeale, faith, and duty, which the gentlemen of France haue alwaies borne vnto their Kings, their armes, meanes, liues, and persons, to mainetaine the obedience, honour, feare and respect, wherevnto the lawes both of God and man tie the subiects to their Soueraigne.

the Nobility.

The third  
Estate.

Michell Mureau Prouost of the marchants at Paris, president for the third estate, first thanked God, who had cast his eyes of pitty vpon this realme, in the extremity of their afflictions, then the King to haue yeilded to the humble petitions of his subiects, heard their griefes and complaints, shewed a great desire to restore his people to their former estate, Religion to her former dignity, to rule and settle all orders in their ancient forme, being discorded by this iniury of times, protesting that in so doing their most humble and faithfull seruice should not faile vnto the last breath. And so the first sitting ended.

The oath of  
the vnion  
renewed.

In the second, the Twelofday following the King at the instance of the Arch-Bishoppe of Ambrun, the Earle of Brissac, and the Adiuocate Bernard, speakers for the three Estates, to content the importunity of the League, did againe sweare the oath of the vnion, lately made at Rouan, and making his Edict of Iuly last, a fundamentall law of the Realme, to bind him, them, and al their posterity (yet not derogating from the liberties and priuileges of the Nobility)

A Nobility) hee caused it to bee publicly read by Ruze Seignieur of Beaulieu his chiefe Secretary of State. And to make the memory of so solemne an oath more autentike to posteritie, hee commaunded the said Secretary to make an act, that all the orders of the Realme had sworne in the body of the State, all with one voyce, the Clergy laying their hands vpon their breasts, and the rest lifting them vp to heauen. An oath performed with great ioy, and generall reuiuing of that happy acclamation of, *God save the King*, so many yeares forgotten among the French nation: and followed with a singular testimonie of the Kings clemency, remitting the Parisiens offence, for the common good of the Catholikes of France, and the ease of his people, whose miseries made him treade vnder foote, his iust displeasure. Hold (saith hee to the Prouost of Marchant of Paris) this word assured, as from the mouth of your King, and take heed that Paris fall not into a relaps, which will bee fatal and not recoverable.

But there was a brute spread ouer all France, that vnder colour of this assembly, they practised an exemplary reuenge against the chiefe of the Estates. Aduertisements came from all parts: this feare went from chamber to chamber: the most apprehensiu desired to be satisfied. The Arch-Bishoppe of Ambrun makes report vnto the King. *I knowe (saith the King) the liberties and prerogative of the Parliament: they ought to trust in my word: it is a sinne to grow in zealousie of your King: and these reportes come not but from such as haue no loue to their King, but seeke to make him odious to his people. There shall neuer any cause growe from mee to disturbe this assembly.* In the end, the familiarity and shewes of loue from the King to the Duke and Cardinall of Guise, and (for their sakes) to the chiefe of the League, made them lay aside all suspicion of a bloody act, whereof they were aduertised from all parts. And without doubt, if the League had not stirred vp the coales of forepassed indignities, the fire of his wrath had not perchance deuoured them. This blast past ouer, there are other attempts no lesse dangerous. The League sets them on worke that beares their badge, to hit the marke whereat they aymed. To put the King in disgrace, and to install the Duke of Guise in his throne, (for the King of Nauarre is now by this new fundamentall law, excluded from the royall succession.) But what meane they to doe? The Collosse they seeke to build, shall be their ruine: the fire they kindle shall burne them: the Duke they forge, shall be shethed in their owne bowells, and finally, shall leaue of this League a shamesfull and reprochfull memory. To hit this pretended marke, they must make the Kings actions odious to all the world, reproch to him his vnreasonable prodigality, his dissembling, the oppression of his people, the erecting of new offices, thereby to bandy against him the most apparent families of the third Estate, wronged in the suppression of them: or else (neglecting to redresse it,) they should declare him an enemy to the people, and a Tyrant ouer his realme, and so the people should presently resolute to confine him into a monastery.

Practises to  
make the  
King odious.

They still lay before him the wonderfull coldenesse of the greatest part of the Catholikes to his loue and obedience, seeing themselves forced to liue amongst them that had burnt their Churches, profaned their Altars, massacred the Priests and spoiled their goods. They beeech him to defend the Church, and to prefer the iniuries done to religion, before the violences committed against the state. They propound vnto him, the excessive impositions and subsidies, which had already with-drawne most part of his subiects: and the filthy auarice of strangers, who by continuall inuentions did cruelly impouerish France. They represent vnto him the abuses of the gouernment, in bestowing benefices to al men indifferently, either married, or souldiars, the lust, dissolutnes and ignorance of Prelats: the sale of Offices and places of iudgement. They exhort him not to deale in spirituall causes, or at the least to proceede holily, as it belongs to holy things. To degrad a great number, as well of Prelates, as of ciuill magistrates in soueraigne Courts and inferior iurisdictions, and to punish with death those ministers which by corruption haue crept into the Church, iustice and gouernment, else hee cannot preferue the Estate. In the end, they presse him to reforme the excesse and disorders of his Court, the which are odious to so many Noble spirits, fraught with holinesse, magnanimity and courage, to so many great and rich mindes as bee among the Nobility, which beeing employed, would in few monthes repaire the ruines of this Estate.



1588. Such as find themselves interessed in the cutting off the superfluous number of Officers A and in the buying of their places, diswade the King from this resolution, but to maintaine them in the honours which they enioy vnder the countenance of his Maieſty. The third Estate exhibit their complaints, of the exceſſe of taxes and ſubſidies, wherewith they are oppreſſed of the cuſtomes, forraine impositions, rents vpon ſalt, entries, loane, guffies, increaſe and decreaſe of the priſes of money, with many other exactions and ſurcharges, wherof the king receaued not any benefit, but what was dipt in the bloud of his poore people. The Nobilitie complains of ſeruices done without recompence, and indiſcreet diſtribution of the Kings liberality. The Clergy exclaime, that money which hath bene drawne from them, had nothing aduanced the cauſe of religion.

From complaints of the languishing people, grew the ſuppreſſion of Officers of the new creation, and an intent to eaſe their ſubſidies. But oh politike ſtratagem! The King yeelding to haue them reduced to the yeare one thouſand ſiue hundred ſeuenty ſixe, ſees himſelfe deſtroyed of all meanes to leuy his armies, and to entertaine the greatneſſe of his Maieſties Estate. If hee refuſeth it an occaſion is giuen to mutine the Eſtates, to chaſe away ſuch as are neere his perſon, and to giue him a gouernour.

The Duke of Guiſe on the one ſide, diſwades the King to ſubieſt his authority ſo much: but on the other ſide hee pricketh them forward to be vehement in their perſuites. In the end the King paſſeth this grant of reduction: but hee hopes to make it knowne vnto the Eſtates that with ſo ſmall meanes hee cannot maintaine his royall dignity, nor the warre againſt the heretikes, which they had ſo ſolemly ſworne. They deuife of meanes to make vp the ſtock, and demand an account of ſuch as had gouerned the treaſor, and abuſed the Kings bounty. But whilt they turned ouer their papers at the Eſtates, let vs ſee the progreſſe of the two armies which wee had left in field. That of *Neuers* conſiſted of French, Suiſſes, and Italians, with many voluntary Gentlemen. *Sagonne* was Maſhall of the light horſe, *la Chastre* Maſhall of the field, *Chaiſaigneray*, *Lauerdin* and many others commanded the troups. *Mauleon* was the firſt obieſt of their armes. It is a raſhneſſe to bee obſtinate in the defence of a place which is not to bee held: but it is a treachery to ill intreate them whom wee haue receaued to compoſition. So this firſt victory was bathed with their blouds, who truſting in the force of their courages, neglected the weakenes of their walls. *Montagu* was defended ſome dayes by *Colombiers*, who at the firſt ſaluting the Duke with a furious ſkirmiſh, puts him to ſome loſſe. But the Cannon hauing both ſhaken their walls and their conſtancies, they entred into capitulation, the which was honourably granted the laſt day of Nouember.

*La Ganache*, ſituated vpon the marches of Brittain and Poictou, annoyed both the one and the other Prouince. Let vs leaue the armie there, to ſee how the Duke of Mayenne ſpends his time at Lions. The deſſeins too lightly grounded vpon a peoples mutinie are alwayes ruinous. The Duke of Mayenne knowes it well: and moreouer there is nothing but blowes to bee gotten in Daulphiné. He deſires rather to attend the iſſue of the Eſtates in a pleaſing and delightfull abode: but this ſtay is a great ſcourge to *Mandelot*. He feares to be diſpoſſeſt of his gouernment. It is giuen to the Duke of Nemours, and therefore he wonderfully ſuſpects the Duke of Mayennes preſents. Finally hee grew ſo iealous, as ſurprized with apprehenſion, with the cholicke, a feuer, the goutte, and the ſlixie, hee carried (the foure and twentieth of Nouember) this teſtimonie into the other world, by the mouth of father *Edmond Auger* a Ieſuite, in his funerall ſermon. That hee had neuer ſigned the League, and that hee died firme in his religion and the Kings ſeruice.

Whilt the King laboured at the Parliament, to cut off all difficulties which prolonged the warre, and the Duke of Mayenne being at Lions ſuffered the heat of his paſſage into Daulphine to growtolde, *Charles* Duke of Sauoye foreſeeing the diſſipation of this Eſtate, hee thought that as a ſonne and husband of two daughters, iſſued from the blood of France, hee ſhould be the firſt which ſhould ſet his hand to the diuiſion. The Marquiſate of Saluſes is in the miſt of his territories, he thinks, that for ſuch a prize hee may well breake friendſhip and alliance with the King his neere kiſman, who of meere curteſie had newly deliuered vnto him *Sauignan* and *Pignerol*.

With this deſſeine (ſeeing the Kings thoughts otherwiſe ingaged then beyond the Alpes) he

The Marquiſate of Saluſes ſurprized by the Duke of Sauoy.

1588. he makes a leuy of men, threatens *Geneua*, makes a ſhow to beſiege Montferrat, cauſeth the Marquis of *Saint Corlin* to go to horſe, and on all Saints night ſurpriſeth the Towne of Carnagnole, and then the Cittadell, being vnſurniſhed of victualls, which *Saint Sime* ſucceſſor to *la Coſte* had drawne forth, with hope (ſaid hee) to reſreſh them: to as in leſſe then three weekes he poſſeſſed all the Marquiſate, leauing a reprochfull ſuſpition againſt the Capitaines of the Cittadell, to haue treacherouſly exchanged the double Canons of that ancient arenall of the warres of France, beyond the Alpes, with the double piſtols of Spaine. This conqueſt made the Duke proud, and already in conceit he had deuoured both Prouence and Daulphiné. For a colour he writes both to the Pope & King. That the general reſpect of the Church had made him ſeaze vpon theſe places, leaſt *Des Dignitaires* ſhould make it a retreat and refuge for *Huguenots*: and the priuate intereſt of his Eſtates, which he deſires to maintaine in the puritie of the ancient religion, vnder the obedience of the holy Sea: and by his Ambaſſadour he diſguiſeth this wrong with the goodlyeſt colours that may be. He makes a ſhow, not to hold theſe places, but vnder the Kings authoritie: but in time he vſurpes all acts of Soueraignty: hee diſplaceth his Maieſties officers, beates downe the armes of France, ſets vp the croſſe of Sauoy, and in a brauery he cauſeth peeces of ſiluer to be coyned with a centaure treading a Crowne ouerwhelmed vnder his foote, and carrying this deuſe; *Oportunè*. The King iuſtly moued with this vſurpation, applies this branch to the body of the conſpiracies of the League: he reſolues now to pacifie the ciuill warres, to attend after forraine: and euen then he determines to giue the Proteſtants a peace, and to viſe their aſſiſtance againſt ſuch as make a benefit of the diſcords of the realme. Such as reſpected truly the glorie of the French, gaue him to vnderſtand, that he muſt appeaſe both Huguenot and Liguier, and ſeeke reuenge of this new indignitie: and hunt the Wolfe which breakes into the fold, whilt the Shepheards are at variance. Shall a petty Prince take from a King of France, the pawne which remains to recouer Naples and Milan? foure hundred pieces of Canon, which might beate the proudeſt Fortes of the Spaniards to powder? that ancient ſee of Daulphiné, comprehended in the gifts which Prince *Hubert* made to the Crowne of France, whereof our Kings haue ſo often receiued homage and ſealty of the Marquiſes, and haue often ſeazed thereon for forfeiture and treachery?

D All the Kings ſeruants, all the Courts of Parliament, all the aſſembly of Eſtates, iudge that theſe be the effects of the League, and that this inuaſion is not without the intelligence of the Duke of Guiſe: euen thoſe which fauour his part, cannot digeſt it. But to auoyde this common hatred which was ready to fall vpon him, he beſeecheth his Maieſtie, onely to aſſure his people, and make them to taſte the frutes of contentment, which he had promiſed in the othe of the holy vnion, that hee would quench the fire which the Huguenots did nourish in this realme, and giue him this commiſſion againſt the Stranger, he will be the firſt that ſhall paſſe the Alpes, to make the Sauoyard caſt vp his gorge. But could they hope for any remedy from him, who by his continuall praſtiſes with ſtrangers, had giuen life and motion to the miſchiefe? So the King, conſidering that neyther his Edict of reuſion, nor the othe to depart from all aſſociations, produced the effects were promiſed: and that the League (conſenting to the pernitiſious deſſeignes of the Stranger) had made the way for the breach of the ſaid vnion, he thinks himſelfe no more bound to the othe of this vnion, and euen then deuſeth to be reuenged of all the offences paſt. In the meane time he diſſembles his diſcontent.

E As theſe newes troubled the aſſembly at Blois, the King of Nauarre (ſeeing the praſtiſes of the League had excluded him, whereas he ſhould hold the firſt place) held another in the Towne-houſe at Rochelle, and by their aduiſe he ſent (in the name of the French exiled for religion) a common petition to the Eſtates, beſeeching the King, To reſtore them the liberie of the firſt Edict, which they call of Ianuarie, To appoint a Nationall Councell, where controuerſies of religion may be mildly diſputed, and holily reſolued, To grant them reſtitution, and free enioying of their goods, To ſuffer their petition to be inrowled, and the contents thereof granted by his clemencie, to the end that nothing may be done to their preiudice.

F Nothing leſſe. This petition was directly againſt the principall intentions of the Eſtates, effected to aduance the League. And therefore, not ſatiſfied with the othe which the King

Eccc

had

The Kings deſſeine vpon this ſurpriſe.

Duke of Guiſe diſſembles.

Aſſembly and petition of the Proteſtants.

1588. had made vnto them by the Ediēt of Vnion they wrest from the Kings owne mouth a more particular declaration, touching the perpetuall insufficiency of the King of Nauarre, and other Pinces of the bloud his cousins, adherents (say they) and fautors of Heretickes, to the succession of this Crowne.

The conclusion of this Parliament should haue bene for the good quiet of the Common-weale. And doubtlesse some small number (whose wils were not tyed to the passions of the Leaguers) wished that remedy which had bene practised in former times against most pernicious heresies: which was a free and lawfull Councell, vniuersall or nationall: but the greater part ouer-ruled both the King and the Estates. The League, to ruine the State, will ouerthrow the pillars, which be the Princes of the bloud: and if the branches of *Valois* and *Bourbon*, that is to say, if all the race of Saint *Lewis* be not degraded, they cannot passe ouer the Crowne to the family of *Lorraine*. The King by his Ediēt promisseth to dispose of the succession: but he and the Queene his wife are yet in the vigor of their age, they hope that God will blesse them with heires males. He takes no pleasure they should harpe vpon this string: it is a blemish to his authority, and disrobes him before hee is readie to sleepe: when as a Prince hath named his successor, his testament is made.

Yet he is content to satisfie the violent appetites of the League. He suffers them to dispute of the succession, and (in the assembly of all his subiects) to exclude the lawfull successor: he is content they should propound that which most part of Deputies had already resolved. The Clergie had the fourth of Nouember condemned the King of Nauarre for an Hereticke, the chiefe of them relapse, excommunicate, deprived of the gouernement of Guienne, and of all his dignities, vnworthy of all successions, Crownes and Realmes. The Arch-bishop of Ambrun, the Bishop of Bazas, the Abbot of Cisteaux, and other Clergimen impart it to the Deputies of the Nobility and third Estate: all consent to the first conclusion, and appoint twelue of euery chamber to acquaint the King with their resolutions.

But the King of Nauarre had often giuen them to vnderstand, that he was borne during the permission of both religions, instructed and bred vp in one from the which hee cannot in conscience depart, without better instruction: neither hope nor despaire of a Crowne can draw him to so violent and rash a change: he should thereby incurre the blame of inconstancie, infidelity and hypocricie: he is, and alwaies will be ready to receiue instruction from a free and lawfull Councell. These submissions are full of iustice and consideration: hee defends nothing obstinately, it is the honour and zeale of his conscience that binds him. There is no reason then (said the King) to condemne him without hearing. Let vs consider with iudgement and fore-sight, whether it be expedient to summon him againe to sweare the Ediēt of Vnion, and to declare himselfe a Catholike.

The Parliament is not of this aduice. The Cardinall of Bourbon his Vncle (say the Deputies) hath once obtained absolution for him: the Queen-mother had laboured to win him. The King hath sent Doctores to reclaime him: he is bred vp from his Cradle in this new opinion, condemned by the Councell of Trent and many others. The Consistorie hath receiued him into grace, he is fallen into the error which he had abiured: he is therefore an hereticke: he is relapse, and vnworthy of obedience, vnworthy of respect, and vnworthy to be prayed for. The holy sea of Rome hath declared him a Schismaticke, excommunicate, incapable of the succession of the Crowne: the Estates therefore must ratifie this sentence. To conclude, an Hereticke cannot raigine in France; it is an incompatible thing with the Coronation and oath which he ought to take, hurtfull to the honor of God, and preiudiciall to the good of this Realme. Soft and faire: Nature and the common consent of nations will, that that the accused should be heard. God himselfe, who hath no neede to bee satisfied by humane witnesses, and is not bound to any iurisdiction, would not condemne our first father before he called him into iudgement, examined him, checked and reprooued him, and heard his excuses. Heare then the King of Nauarre: hee may say vnto you, that the Pope by surpris hath noted him of Heresie: hee knoweth not yet any other truth, then that wherein the Queene of Nauarre his mother hath bredde him. If hee hath at any time yeelded vnto the force and violence of the time, hee had not then his will free, and as soone as opportunitie gaue him meanes to retire from Court into his Countrey of Bearn, hee framed his beleeffe to the modell of that which had bene prescribed him: but

1588. A but protesting alwaies the Estates and Parlements of France, that he hath no greater desire in his soule, then to see the seruice of God vnited vnder one Religion, by the meanes of a free and lawfull assembly of the vniuersall Church, or a nationall Councell of the French Churches. The Deputies notwithstanding (especially the Clergie) will allow of no reason. They are for the most part transported with passion, and apprehend nothing but what may aduance the League. If the King refuseth this article, the Duke of Guise will dissolue the Estates, and lay all the blame vpon his Maiestie. He hath so well provided for his affaires, as he holds himselfe master of the Castle of Blois, and of the Kings person. There is neither gate, hall, chamber, nor cabinet, but the keyes are at his pleasure: he hath great forces ready. He checkes them that speakes not to his liking: their voices and consents are forced in the Parliament house; he puts in, and puts out, & doth what he pleaseth. Those whom the King and Parlements hold insupportable, find access and support with him. To conclude, see the first Prince of the bloud, the first of the most ancient, and most famous house that doth at this day weare a Crowne, the first of that royall branch of Bourbon, which onely remains after so many sisters and cousins of Aniou, Alançon, Eureux, Berry, Bourgoingne, Angoulême, and Orleans, and which onely succeeded that of Valois, deprived of the right which nature hath giuen him, without calling him, or hearing his iustifications. The Clergie sayes he ought to be no more cited, his heresie, his incapacity to the Crowne is apparent. The Bishop of Chaalons in Champagne, deliues this conclusion to the Nobility. The Bishop of Cominge, to the third Estate: and the Arch-bishop of Ambrun, to the King, to make a law thereof: and then followed the last and lamentable Act of the Tragedie of a distressed King.

But oh men! the Eternal looks on you, and laughs at your counsels: hee now comes vpon the stage to act his part, and to bring forth effects farre from his thoughts. The King is aduertised from all parts of a great conspiracie against his Maiestie. The Duke of Esperron assures him by letters. The Duke of Mayenne (iealous it may be of his brothers greatnesse) aduertiseth his Maiestie from Lion, by a Knight of honour: and the Duke of Aumale, from Blois it selfe by his owne wife, that the Duke of Guise had very pernicious desseignes: that the houre of the execution did approach: that they resolved to seaze on him D and to leade him to Paris.

These aduertisements kindle a new courage in the King, he meanes to preuent him, and discouers his mind to foure, whom he knowes as faithfull to his Maiestie, as enemies to the damnable proiects of the League. He must suppress this new Starre in the East, whom the people worshipped already. The present necessity will not suffer him to bring him forth in view: the Popes respect retaines him: his oath to protect the Estates, makes him irresolute: the troubles, which this execution will cause in people disposed to the League, makes him doubtfull: yet he must die. He hath no quality in France but of a simple subiect: and yet without the Kings authority, consent or sufferance, he hath built a League, had intelligence with the stranger, leauied men of warre, attempted vpon townes, and broken the public peace.

Hee continues his practises against the oath of the Ediēt of Vnion with the Cardinall *Morofine*, Legate to the Pope, and *Don Inigo* of Mendosa Ambassador of Spaine. He confirms his priuate confederations with the Gouernors of reuolted townes. He published by his declarations, that he hath not taken armes, but for Gods and the Kings seruice: and yet by the surprize of so many townes, he hath hindered the aduancement of the Kings armie in Guienne against the Huguenots. The obiekt of his armes is the safety and religion of the Catholikes, and to depriue the King of Nauarre of all hope of succession to the Crowne: and in the meane time it appeares, that he hath sought the loue of the King of Nauarre: he hath promised to giue him his sonne in hostage, and to meet him with seuentene Princes of his house at the riuer of Loire, to serue him, and make him King of France. Many letters intercepted discouer, that after his Maiesties pardon of many capitall crimes, he renues his desseignes against the King and his Estate. The surprize of the Marquisate of Salusses is by his intelligence. Hee disgraceth the Kings actions, he blames him to haue vnwillingly made warre against the Huguenots: to haue sold the said Marquisate, that vnder colour of recovering it, hee might diuert the warre against the Heretickes. In steade of reducing the

Townes held by the Huguenots, he keeps his Captaines and men of warre at Blois, vpon assurance of a profitable change. He hath caused bookes to be printed in fauor of the lawfull succession of the house of Lorraine to the Crowne.

At the Barricadoes this voice was heard: *It is no longer time to dally, let vs leade my Lord to Reims.* He hath suffered himselfe to be saluted by the people, with cries and acclamations which belong onely to the Soueraigne Prince. He hath vanted that he was able to take the King prisoner, or to do worse although he entred but with eight horses into Paris, being assured of the force and wils of the citizens: he hath seized on the places of strength within Paris: made Gouvernors, Magistrates and Officers at his pleasure: he hath so corrupted the Estates, as the Deputies speake not but by his mouth: they produce nothing but what hath bene first examined in his Councell. Many cry out, that he stayes too long before hee strikes. He speakes no more but in termes of a Soueraigne, with pride, disdain and threats: he hath refused to subscribe the Edict which the King would publish in cases of treason: hee doth already seale Letters-patents with his Great Seale: he forbids the Commons to giue victuals or munition to such companies as the King had sent vnto them: There remains no more, but to confirme in his person that ancient greatnesse sometimes vsurped by the Majors of the pallace: and to deale with the King, as *Charles Martel* had done with *Chilperic*. In the end they represent vnto the King, the Processe of *Salcedo*, a party in his conspiracie, the Councels of Nancy, and of Paris in Lent last, whereof the chiefe point was: To seaze vpon the King: the instructions of the Aduocate *David*: the letters of the Queen Dowager of Denmarke, to the Duke of Lorraine her sonne: the attempt of the Barricadoes, and (to heape vp the measure) the practises, corruptions, and violences done by the Duke of Guise to the Estates. The like and lesse crimes haue in former ages brought more famous heades then the Duke of Guises to the blocke. The Leagues and practises of an Earle of Harcourt, of a Constable of Saint Paul, of a Duke of Nemours, haue brought them to shamefull ends.

Pope *Sixtus*, now liuing, hath of late put to death the Earle of Pepoli of the noblest families of Italy, onely for that he had concealed some banished men in his house. The Duke of Guise himselfe did of late pursue with all violence the disobedience of the Duke of Aniou. His Holinesse hath beleued, that Religion was the onely motiue of the Duke of Guises armes. The Barricadoes, with the vsurpation of the Bastille, and Bois de Vincennes, haue made him to change his beleefe. He himselfe hath said vnto the Bishop of Paris, that the fact was too bold, that the Estate is interested, and that the offence is irreconcilable. Hee hath written vnto the King, aduising him to assure himselfe of the Estates at what price soeuer: that in such imminent dangers, he must seeke out all extraordinarie remedies: and vpon this consideration he graunted the King a Confessor to absolue him of all, reseruing the matter to the holy Sea.

Yea, but the Estates are vnder the Kings oath and protection. Without doubt an oath was neuer broken without repentance. But how is the Soueraigne bound to his subiect, who by rebellion hath violated his oath to his Prince. Necessity forceth the law: great punishments of Rebels haue bene often done in great assemblies. The Kings of England and Poland do practise it well, and our *Charles* hath died his sisters nuptials with more blood then wine. Moreouer, the Duke of Guise hath great credit with the people of France. It is true: but his party hath no credit but with the multitude: the which is a very moueable and inconstant foundation. Men of account, Townes, Gouvernors, and the Kings Officers, mutin not, but by meanes of the multitude, and seeing him fallen that gaue motion to their rebellion, they will containe themselves. *My Lege* (say they who feare least this violent counsell which they gaue him in so vrgent necessitie, should be discouered) *the Duke of Guise will surpriſe you.* They haue already published in Paris, that this is your Climatrical year: they thew forth the razor that shall shauie you: they demand how long they shall suffer you to liue in a Cloyster. The lightning goes before the thunder: the guilt of treason is extraordinarie in the head: so the punishment goes before the instructions and formes of Iustice. One must punish the offendour, and then informe of the offence. The mildest Commonweales, most politicke, and greatest enemies to rigour, haue alwaies, *That whereas the estate is in danger, they may begin with the execution.* In the end the King is satisfied, hauing

remained long in suspence, betwixt the rigour of his reuenge, and the mildnesse of his own disposition. By the Kings countenance, or some words let slip by some one of the foure, they find it dangerous to continue long at the Estates. But the more the Duke of Guise enters into discourse, the more the Kings good countenance dissuades him. And the Archbishop of Lion attending a Cardinals hat within a few dayes from Rome: Retiring your self from the Estates (said he vnto him) you shall beare the blame to haue abandoned France in so important an occasion, and your enemies making their profit of your abſence, wil soone ouerthrow al that which you haue with so much pain effected for the assurance of religion. Mandoth often loofe his iudgement vpon the point of his fall. Aduertisements were come to him from all parts, both within and without the Realme, from Rome, Spain, Lorraine and Sauoy, that a bloody Catastrophe would dissolue the assembly. The Almanackes had well obserued it: it was generally bruted in the Estates, that the execution should be on Saint Thomas day. The cue before his death, the Duke himselfe sitting downe to dinner, found a scroule vnder his napkin, aduertising him of this secret ambush. But (as ambition blinds those whom she hath raised vp to the Pies nest, and the furie of Gods iudgements confounds such as trust in their authority) he writ vnderneath which his owne hand, *They dare not:* and threw it vnder the table.

The Duke of Guise following the counsell of the Cardinall *Morſin*, had the one and twentieth of December incensed the King anew, by some bold and presumptuous speeches. *My Lege* (said he) seeing I find that the affaires decline from bad to worle, and that those things which seemed curable, are growne desperate: I beseech your Maiesty to receiue againe the charge you haue committed vnto me, and giue me leaue to retire my selfe. Hee spake this, to the end that by this discontent he might take an occasion to dissolue the Estates, and bringing the King into an extreame hatred with his subiects, he might play the last act of his long fore-plotted Tragedy. The King had the two and twentieth day following, prepared seuen of his five and forty (they were Gentlemen whom he had appointed to be neere his person, besides the ordinary Archers of his guard) to execute his will, and by many dispatches had assured those townes which he held to be most mutinous. The three and twentieth, he assembles his Councell somewhat more early in the morning then was vsuall, hauing a deuotion to go after dinner, and to spend the holi-dayes at our Lady of Clergy. The Cardinals of Vendosme, Guise, and Gondy, the Arch-bishop of Lion, the Marshalls of Aumont and Retz, the Lords of d'O, Rambouillet, Maintenon, Marcell and Petremolle Superintendants of the Treasor, were assembled. The Duke of Guise comes, and attending the beginning of the Councell, sends for an handkercher: (the groome of his chamber had forgotten to put one into his pocket.) *Peruirt* his Secretary not daring to commit this new aduertisement to any mans report, tyes a note to one of the corners thereof, saying: *Come forth and saue your selfe, else you are but a dead man.* But they stay the page that carried it. *Larchant* Capitaine of the Kings gard causeth another to be giuen vnto him with all speed by Saint *Prix* the chiefe Groome of the Kings chamber. The Castle gates are shut, and the Councell sits about eight of the clocke.

The spirit of man doth often prophetic of the mischief that doth pursue him. So whilest they dispute of a matter propounded by *Petremolle*, the Duke sees strange alterations, and extraordinary distemperatures, and amidst his distrust, a great fainting of his heart. *S. Prix* presents vnto him some prunes of Brignolles, and raisins of the Sunne. He eates, and thereupon the King calls him into his cabinet by *Renoll* one of the Secretaries of his Estate, as it were to confer with him about some secret of importance. The Duke leaves the Councell to passe vnto the Cabinet: and as he did lift vp the tapistrie with one hand to enter, they charge him with their swords, daggers and pertuisans: yet not with so great violence, but he thew the murderers the last indeauors of an invincible valor and courage.

Thus liued, and thus died *Henry* of Lorraine, Duke of Guise: a Prince worthy to be in the first ranks of Princes, goodly, great, tall of proportion, amiable of countenance, great of courage, ready in the execution of his enterprises, popular, dissembling, but couering the secrets of his mind, with his outward behauiour, embracing all times and occasions, politicke in stratagemes, making much of his soldiers, and honoring his Captaines. But a Prince who hath blemished the greatest beautie of his praises by extreame ambition, factious,

1588. a great bragger, vaine in belceuing of South-sayers, who assured him of his greatnesse, and of the change of his family into a Royalty: proud, not able to submit his hopes, euen to those from whome he should hope for his aduancement, giuing men to vnderstand by his inclination, that he was not borne to obey, but to command, and with this desseigne he framed the minds of the French, by his first actions, to beleue that he had parts fit to make a strange alteration in a Realme. But let vs apply that great diuine Oracle, and tremble at the apprehension of the horror of Gods iudgements: *For this cause will I destroy thee in the end: he will put thee out of thy tabernacle, and thy root out of the land of the liuing. The iust shall see it and feare, and shall laugh at him, saying: Behold the man that hath not taken God for his ayde: and succour, but hath trusted to the multitude of his riches, and hath fortified himselfe in vanitie.*

At the noise hereof, the Cardinall of Guise (being amazed) recouers the doore to go away. Larchant staies him with the Arch-bishop of Lion, and lodgeth them in a litle chamber aboute the Kings, lately built for *Capuchins* and *Fenillants*. The Cardinall in the heat of this tumult casts forth some words, which he would neuer haue deliuered being well aduised. They report it vnto the King. The King commands *La Bastide* and *Valançay*, being both of the siue and fortie to kill him. The first excuseth himselfe, the other accepts the charge, and accompanied with sixe others, goes to the Cardinals chamber, to make him a companion of his brothers death: but being readie to do the execution, I know not what cold apprehension quenched this heate, which had moued him to bathe his hands in the bloud of so great a Prelate without respect of his Order.

The Cardinall of Bourbon, the Duchesse of Nemours (mother to the Duke of Guise) the Duke of Nemours her sonne by the second marriage, the Prince *Ginulle* now Duke of Guise, and the Duke of Elboeuf had at the same instant guards appointed them, to be assured of their persons. *Pericard* being kept prisoner, discovered all the practises of the League, and by the instructions he had in his keeping, he informed the King at large of all his masters desseignes. The Earle of Brissac, *Bois-Dauphin* and some other Gentlemen (faithfull to the Duke of Guise) the President *Neully*, the Prouost of Marchants at Paris, *Compagn* and *Cotteblanche*, Sherifes of the said towne, and *Le Roy* Lieutenant of Amiens, were put in prison: therest stayed neither for boots nor spurs to dislodge.

*Rosieux* Secretarie to the Duke of Mayenne, and sonne-in-law to *Armonville* Maior of Orleans, had already by speciall posts, aduertised his master of what had past: and so practiseth them of Orleans, as *Entragues* comming from Blois to bee assured of the Towne, found a generall reuolt. Doubtlesse the Inhabitants were inclined to the Kings obedience, if before he would haue granted them, at their humble suite, another Gouvernor at his Maiesties choice then him, who at the first had engaged them, and afterwards by his wilfulness suffered them to runne into the Labyrinth of Rebellion. It is good to yeeld something to a mutinous multitude, and not to thrust them into despaire. The execution done, the King carries newes thereof to the Queene-mother. *Madame* (saith he) *I will hereafter reign alone, I haue no more companions.* She answered him, *God grant my sonne it fall out well for you: but haue you giuen order to assure the towns where the name and memorie of the Duke of Guise hath credit and authoritie.* This vnexpected speech did wonderfully moue the Queene-mother, but that of the Cardinall of Bourbon gaue her a deadly wound. *Ah Madame!* (saith hee, shee comming to visit him being a prisoner and sicke) *you haue brought vs to slaughter.* Shee excusing her selfe that she had neither consented nor giuen Councell in this action, left the Cardinall doubling his complaints, and transported with griefe she died the first of Ianuary following. At night they draw the Cardinall and the Arch-bishop from their chamber, to lodge them in a streighter and more obscure place, and there to passe the night, whilest that the King (with-held by the considerations of the quality of a Prelate, a Peere of France, Arch-bishop of Reims, Cardinall at Rome, and President of his Order at the Estates) con-

Death of the  
Queene-mo-  
ther.

The Cardinall  
slaine.

sulted either of his execution, or freedome from prison. But Iustice hath no respect of persons: and treason is a worse president in a Cardinall then in a simple Priest. Moreouer, the Cardinall might succeed in his brothers credit, and his threats seemed dangerous if hee liued longer. So the King giues Captaine *Gast* commission to kill him. He craues pardon: but 400. crownes do easily find foure ministers for the execution. The Arch-bishop had his life

saue

A saued, at the humble sute of the Baron of Lux his vncl. The King loued this gentleman and pretended to draw from the Prelate all the Quintessence of the league. The punishment of these two, freed the King of Nauarre from being the cause of the misery of these ciuill warres, seeing the King had thereby noted the first author of these troubles. But this Prince was neuer seene without a singular constancy in his greatest crosses, nor an admirable modesty in his highest prosperities. He vnderstands of the death of two of his mightiest enemies, and would gladly haue seene the Kings wrath and forces turned against the house of Lorraine, whereby he might make his profit in France by the fall thereof, and apply it to his aduantage. But Noble mindes neuer looke on their enemies head, but with a heavy and mournfull countenance. He laments not so much the death but the misery of them of Guise: and yet continues his enterprize which hee had vpon Niort, and the foure and twentieth of December, vnder the conduct of *Saint Gelais*, *Parabel*, *Harambure*, *Ranques*, *Preau*, *Valieres*, and others, hee forced and scaled the towne being amazed, and spoiled it, without any slaughter but of siue and twenty, or thirty men, no rauishing of women, nor iniury to the Clergy. The same daie hee receiued the castle by compulsion from *Mal-* Niort taken by the King of Nauarre.  
*corné*, furnished with siue great canons, and two very long Culuerins, with the which the Lieutenant of the towne, a wicked and a turbulent man, vanted (when they were cast) to salute the King when he approached the walles of Niort. But the great fury of the victors armes, hauing slaine him in the beginning of the fight, was the cause he made not an exemplary compensation, for the outrages and the vnworthy speeches he had vsed against the said King and the Princes of the bloud.

The Duke of Neuers, on the other side battered Ganache, and the fourth of February (hauing spent eight hundred canon shot) he made two breaches, and gaue an assault, with the losse of aboute three hundred men, and growing resolute in this conquest, where his honour was engaged, he lets *Plessis-geste*, capitaine of the place vnderstand that he had wonne reputation inough in the defence of so weake a place, that his obstinacy did preiudice the King of Nauarres affaires: that the King by the execution done at Blois, had sufficiently declared warre against the league, and that he ment to imploy the said Kings forces against them. *Plessis* aduertiseth the King his master: he marcheth to succour him, but his violent D trauell on foote to get him a heate in an extreame cold season, made him stay so dangerously sicke of a feuer at Saint Pere, as the newes of his death was carried to Court. So *Plessis* yeilded vp the towne, his armes and baggage saued. But this royall army came to nothing: the Duke went to refresh himselfe at his house, wauering some moneths doubtfull of his party: and the King of Nauarre (whom God would vie in so confused a time, to bring him vpon the Theater, not as a disinherited child, according to the intent of the Estates, but to teach men that their struiuing is in vaine against the decrees of his diuine prouidence) hauing recouered his perfect health, assured himselfe of the places neere vnto Niort, *Saint Maixant*, *Mallezaye*, *Chastelleraut*, *Loudun*, *Liste Bouchard*, *Mirebeau*, *Vinonne* and others, pretending to doe the King some great and notable seruice.

Ganache  
yeilded to the  
Duke of Ne-  
uers.

E The King by this blow had amazed, but not suppressed the league. Hee had begun well for the warranty of his Estate, but he must not doe things by halucs. In steed of going to horse, making his armes to glister, shewing himselfe betwixt Orleans and Paris, calling backe his army out of Poictou, to oppose it against the attempts of the Duke of Mayenne, and (being armed, and the townes amazed at this great effect) to diuert the mischief which oppressed him within few monethes, he returns to his first remedies, being soft and feareful, against a madde multitude, he is content to send words to retaine his subiects already entered into sedition: he releaseth some prisoners whom hee held least dangerous, continues the Estates, renues the Edict of vnion, and by a generall forgetting of what was past, thinks they will lay downe their armes against him, to imploy them against the King of Nauarre. But a multitude growes madde with mildnesse, and is retained by feuerity. The King finds, that in lesse then six weekes, Tours and Baugency are the frontiers of those Prouinces that were vnder his obedience. And whereas he thought to beginne, he now ceaseth to raigne. So God, who laughed at the vaine attempts of the one, will likewise heape vpon the other, remedies no lesse violent then those he had practised.

Error in State.

Now many awaked from their amazement, and beganne to stirre: the peopled studied of



1589. of new mutinies and new armes. Orleance shut vp their gates: the towne made bar-  
 A does against the Cittadell: Paris shewed the fury of their mutiny against the Louvre, they  
 beate downe the Kings armes, imprison his seruants, and aswel by their ransomes and spoile,  
 as by a voluntary contribution, they leauy a great summe of money for the warre. *Mar-*  
*teau, Cotteblanche, Compan, Roland* and others (deliuered vpon promises to reclaime the Pa-  
 risiens) had contrariwise seduced the people. The sixteene Tribunes (let vs know them  
 by their names, euen as they are set downe in an oration made by the Bourgeses of Paris  
 to the Cardinal *Caictan*) *la Bruyere, Cruce, Buffy le Clere, the Commissary Louchard, Morlier,*  
*Senault, the Commissary de Bary, Drouart* an Aduocate, *Alequin, Emonnot, Lablier, Massier, Pas-*  
*sart, Ondineau, Tellier* and *Morin* a Proctör of the Chastelet (euery one of which had many  
 Agents and followers) like sixteene furies comming out of hell, sharpened their weapons, B  
 and kindled the coales of murder and dissolutnesse, first at Paris, and then in a manner in al  
 the good towne of the realm, being seasoned with the leuaine of these furious tribunes. The  
 Preachers (fire-brands of these furies) came not into the pulpit, but to powre forth repro-  
 ches, and iniuries against the King, and by an Iliade of curses to kindle the peoples mindes  
 to rebellion. The people came neuer from their sermons, but hauing fire in their  
 heads, readinesse in their feet to runne, and disposition in their hands, to fall tumultu-  
 ously vpon such as were not branded with the marke of the league. Hee was neither a  
 good nor a zealous Catholike that had not a bed-rowle of outrages to detest and abhorre  
 that execution of Blois.

Parisiens infor-  
 mer, cics,

The porters at the Palace babled nothing, but a cursing of the Kings life: an Elegy to la-  
 ment the calamity of these two brethren, an Oration in memory of the commendable ex-  
 ploits of the Duke of Guise in Hongary against the Turke, at Iarnac against the Protest-  
 ants, at Poitiers, at Montcontour against the Reistres of *Thoré*, at Vimorrey and at Aune-  
 au. They cried aloud at Paris: that France was now sicke, and could not be cured but by  
 giuing her a drinke with the blood of France. And because they haue not the body at their  
 deuotion, those things he possessest must suffer for it: his furniture at the Louvre, his pic-  
 tures are broken, his armes beaten downe, his Images dragged vp and downe, his great scale  
 defaced: they call him impious, vniust, vilaine, prophane, tyrant, damned. The Colledge  
 of Sorbonne concludes by a publike act of the seuenth of Ianuary, *That the people of France* D  
*are freed from the oath of obedience and fealty which they ought to Henry of Valois, and that law-*  
*fully, and with a good conscience they may arme against him, receive his reuenues, & employ it to*  
*make warre against him.*

The Duke of  
 Mayennes  
 courties,

On the other side, *Charles* of Lorraine Duke of Mayenne, dreaming on his brothers  
 death, provided for the assurance of his owne life, and consulted with the Arch-bishops of-  
 ficiall, the Lord of Botheon Seneshall of Lionnois, and some others of the chiefe, whether  
 there were any safety for him within their towne. We are (said they) bound vnto the King  
 before all others. Make no triall (we pray you) of your seruants, in that which shall be  
 contrary to the Kings will. Arme not your selfe against him: without doubt he will seeke  
 your seruice, when you shall submit the passion of reuenge vnto reason, and will aduance E  
 your house to the good of all France, the which trembles with apprehension of the cala-  
 mities which this warre shall cause. If the people call you, to set them at liberty, you shall  
 abandon them to the spoile: and to defend the Monarchy against the King, you shall make  
 your selfe the head of a confused and monstrous Anarchie. God did neuer forget the  
 protection of Kings against their mutinous subiects. They bee the Images of God, the  
 children of heauen: and whoeuer armes against them, armes against heauen. More-  
 ouer the winde of the peoples fauour, may for a time fill your sailes, and carrie your  
 defeignes violently to sea, but they are inconstant, light, and disloyall. And if they  
 haue shaken off the yoke of dutifull obedience and loue to their King, what shall  
 they doe to a Prince, to whom they shall not bee bound, but as to the Protector of F  
 their mutinies?

They spake truely, for after the triall of all sorts of governments, France must in the end  
 returne to a royaltie: and the Duke (by a commendable resolution) might haue vnited  
 the mindes which his brother had diuided. But when as others represent vnto him the ad-  
 uantage hee should haue to succeed in the fauour, credit, and authority of his brother,  
 and

A and by consequence his owne hopes: he reiects the integrity of the first counsell: coniures  
 all the friends of his house to reuenge, parts from Lions on Christmas day: in his passage  
 he assures himselfe of Malcon, Chaalon and Dijon. The Court of Parliament there, refus-  
 ed to consent to this rebellion, and therefore the chiefe were driuen away, and some impris-  
 oned, others (apprehending the losse of their commodities) did easily submit their neckes to  
 the yoke of a new Democracy. At Dijon he receiued letters from the King, promising to  
 surcease the punishment of forepassed faults, with the death of his bretheren, whom (sayd  
 hee) I haue caused to die, to saue my life from the daunger whereof you did aduertise mee.  
 The Duke (attributing the Kings clemency to some weake and abiect affection, proceed-  
 ing from feare, either to haue him his enemy, or to loose his friendship) growes obdurate in  
 B his resolution, reiects the Kings Officers, giues commission to *Rosne, Saint Paul* and others,  
 to command in Champagne and Brie, and to seize vpon the best places: hee comes to  
 Troyes, where the towne (long before corrupted by the infected humors of the league) re-  
 ceiued him with as great honour as they could haue done their King: and in all places  
 where he passed, they were easily drawne into rebellion, euery towne framing themselves  
 after the modell of Paris and Orleance.

Letters from  
 to King to  
 the Duke of  
 Mayenne.

Three thousand men sent from Paris, to succour the Cheualier d'Aumale (besieged in  
 Orleance by the Marshall of Aumont, with the Nobility of the Court, some troupes of  
 foot and horse, and the Kings gards) had beene defeated nere vnto Estampes, by *Fargis* and  
 C *Montigni*: but the Marshall vnderstanding of the Duke of Mayennes approach, raiseth the  
 siege, and retires to Boigency. In the meane time, the King himselfe in person did view and  
 examine the conclusions of the Estates: but this soden enterprise of the Dukes, made  
 him to leaue the worke imperfect, and to provide for the safety of his person: and for a con-  
 clusion, the fifteenth and sixteenth of Ianuary, he heard the Deputies griefes and com-  
 plaints vpon the disorders which afflicted France:

The Arch-bishop of Bourges, President for the Clergy after the Cardinals death, impu-  
 ted the cause of our miseries to contempt of Religion, which breaking the bonds that tie vs  
 vnto God, had in like sort diuided the hearts and willes of families and commonalties. He  
 greatly commended the Kings zeale to religion: insisted long vpon the abuses of the  
 D Church, which the corruption of the time had bred: the vnworthy promotion of Prelats:  
 the nomination (to Abbacies, and other spirituall dignities) of all sorts of persons, fouldiars,  
 ignorant men, suborned men, gardiens, lymoniaks, women, and children: touching the ali-  
 enation of the Clergy lands, plurality of benefices, vsurpation of the reuenues of Hospi-  
 tals, dep rauation of that goodly ancient order, whereby none might come vnto Comman-  
 deries of the order of the Knights of Saint *Iohn* of Ierusalem, vnlesse hee were a Gentleman  
 of three descents: disorders of vniuersities and monasteries, in former times the nurceries  
 of holy fathers. Then he turned his discourse to the disorders noted in the Nobility of  
 France, who were in former ages the terror of all nations, and from whom neighbour na-  
 tions confesse to haue learned the exercise and profession of cheualry: vpon the excessse  
 E of men of warre: vpon the wasting of the treasure, and other disorders which spring from  
 these first heads: finally he beseecheth the King, to make a good reformation, whereby  
 his people should multiply, Iustice should daily flourish, and peace should bee settled in  
 the Realme.

The Estates  
 dissolued.  
 The Archbi-  
 shop of Bour-  
 ges speech.

*Charles* of Cosse Earle of Brissac, chiefe Pantler and chiefe Fawconer of France, newly re-  
 stored to fauour, and President for the Nobility, shewes that they be not the hands of For-  
 tune, which enuironed his Maiesties fore-head with this double diademe. It is God, who  
 hath established him our King, who had before chosē him King of a more remote nation,  
 for the piety, faith, clemency, and magnanimity wherewith he hath beene endued from his  
 tender age. That heresie, schisme, and discord, which are crept into the peoples hearts, haue  
 F not taken their beginning vnder his raigne, whom God hath raised vp amidst the furies  
 and afflictions of France, to be reuenged by him, and aduanced aboue all the nations of  
 Christendome, who draw their firme support from the stability of his crowne. That the  
 wished victories in France ouer heresie, shall be vnto the King but a continuance of the  
 route and defeate of that fearefull army of Reistres, Lanquenets, Suisses and French Hu-  
 guenots, which (like so many trumpets) proclaime in all places, the honours, praises, and  
 victories

The Earle of  
 Brissac.

1588. victories of his Maieſty. That now thoſe vowes, faſtings, teares, and toyles of the ancient French, are heard, who ſeemed to demand vengeance againſt the fire, fury, and rage of thoſe, who (after ſo many religious ages) haue violated the ſepulchers of their fathers and ours, and would take from amongſt vs that onely religion which the holy fathers haue planted in old time throughout the world.

Then hauing repreſented the zeale and affection of the Nobility to aſſiſt the King to reſtore religion, and the State to their former beauty, following the example and the hereditary vertue of their Anceſtors, who had chaſed and vanquiſhed the Gothes, Vandales, Ariens, Albigeois, Lombards, Sarrazins, Turkes and Pagans: and continuing the defence of the faith, and the victories of the French Kings, haue left no other limits to the reputation of their valour, then thoſe which the Sunne takes in making of his courſe about the earth. He beſeecheth his Maieſty, to fauour the ancient priuileges of the Nobility, to recompence in them the ſeruices of their Predeceſſors: to confirme the military diſcipline of Kings his fore-runners, not to ſuffer any by fauour or purchaſe, to chalenge the title of Gentlemen: to maintaine the priuileges of the Knights of Saint *John* of Ieruſalem, to cut off the ſuperfluities in Juſtice: to moderate the ſubſidies: order the treaſure, eſta bliſh the Magiſtrate, plant diſcipline among ſouldiers, reforme the Church, and to puniſh the enemies thereof. Finally he wiſhed a thouſand happineſſe to the King, and peace to his people. But this braue and commendable humour ſhall not hold him long, but he ſhall returne to his firſt party, by a new defection.

The Aduocate Bernard. Bernard Aduocate of the Parliament of Dijon, began his oration with a ſollemne thanks for the Kings promiſe, fully to execute the Ediſt of the vnion: he exhorted all the townes and ſubiects of the Realme, to vnite themſelues not onely in religion, but alſo in good correſpondency for the Kings ſeruice, continuation of his dignity, and defence of the Eſtate. He diſcouered all the other infirmities of this politike body, the which (beſides the vicer of partialities) haue ſtrangely corrupted it: as Blaſphemies, Adulteries, Witchcraft, Simony, outrage in ſouldiers, inuentors of ſubſidies, and new Ediſts, executors of extraordinary Commiſſions, Brokers, and buyers of Offices, who waſt the treaſure, and bring the people to beggery. An inuectiue againſt ſo many Ediſts regiſtred with this Apoſtil: *By commandements many times reiterated*: ſeeing that in good and iuſt Ediſts, the Soueraigne Princes command is not neceſſary, againſt the treaſure ill employed, and the ſtrange oppreſſions of France. Then requiring a conſeſſion of the Eſtates, hee beſeeched his Maieſty to open the eyes of his wiſdome, for the caſe of his poore people: not to change his godly reſolutions: and to diſmiſſe the Deputies, conſidering the mutinies that were in their Prouinces: to goe and make prooſe (ſaid he) of the effects of their goods willes. But theſe willes were for the moſt part ſubiect vnto thoſe that (vnder a goodly ſhew of warre for religion and the publike good) ſtudied of nothing but rebellion, cruelty, treachery, trouble, and conſuſion. Thus the Eſtates ended, and the King fore-ſeeing the extreame oppreſſion of his ſubiects, in ſo great a leauy of armes, abates the fourth part of their ſubſidies, and ſent to all the Prouinces, to aſſure them of his good intent. But his ſubiects were too much affected to mutinies, too capable of diſobedience, too ready to ſpoile the wife and the rich. The mourning of the Ducheffes of Guiſe, Nemours, and Montpenſier, being ſet at liberty by the King, to bind them to be interceſſors to his mutinous people: the furious cries of *Bouiber, Guarin, Cueil, Roze, Pelleſier, Guinceſtre, Hamilton, Chriſtin, Lucain, Mauclore, Commo't, Fewardent* and other ſuch Preachers (very fire-brands of ſedition) the perſwaſions of the Prouoſt of Marchants, of the Sheriſſes of Paris, and other Magiſtrates of townes, freely releaſed by the King: had too wickedly ſeduced them. But the Duke of Mayenne arriual at Paris, confirmed the Inhabitants more in the execution of the fore-ſaid decree of *Sorbonne*.

The Court of Parliament at Paris imprisoned. This decree (quite contrary to thoſe by the which this College hath ſo often commendably withſtood the vnde and violent proceedings of the Court of Rome, againſt the Eſtate of this Realme) could not take effect, whileſt that maieſticall and reuerent Parliament, the true garden of this crowne, had either force or authority. So one of the ſixteene, *Buffy le Clerc* a poore petty-fogger (lately much honoured, being admitted to preſent himſelfe bare-headed vpon his knee before this reuerent aſſembly) followed by ſome of his acquaintance

1589. A acquaintance and companions, and a band of armed raskalls, enters the ſixteenth of January, armed with a Cuiraffe, and a Piſtoll in his hand, into the great chamber, with an intent to carry away the firſt Preſident *De Harlay*, and the other Preſidents and Councillors, who perſiſting in the fidelity of their charge, might croſſe the mad and fatall deſignes of the league. The whole body aſhamed to ſee themſelues diſinembred by this inſolent and preſumptuous attempt, followed their head. *Buffy* then leads them away all, in triumph, two and two, priſoners to the Baſtille and Louvre. Such as were Royaliſts were kept there, the reſt (which leant to this popular fury) preferred their houſes from the ſpoile which this Tribune had pretended, and were ſent home. Some aduerted of this new Commiſſion, ſaued their perſons, but not the conſiſcation of their goods & reuenues. That man was happy that found a friend where to hide himſelfe, or that could get away diſguiſed in his ſeruants weeds, and ſo march many daies on foote to recouer Tours, or ſome other place of the Kings obedience. All diuine and humane Lawes were ſubverted, reſpect of equity abolithed, and the reuerence of publike authority defaced. The Officers of the Parliament being enlarged, giue the place of the firſt Preſident to *Barnabé Briſſon*: then they make a declaration in manner of an othe, for the entertainment of the vnion. The Princes of Lorraine and many gentlemen ſweare vnto it, the ſixteene ſubſcribe it, one amongſt them prickt himſelfe in the arme, to ſigne it with his owne blood: but remaying lame thereby, he was mockt by his companions.

C The people made a generall counsell of the vnion, conſiſting of forty choiſe men of the three Eſtates, the which was confirmed by the Parliament, to diſpoſe of the publike affaires, and to confer with the Prouinces and townes of the league. For the Church, *Brezé* Biſhop of Meaux, *Rozé* Biſhop of Senlis, *Villas* Biſhop of Agen, *Prenost* Curat of Saint Seuerin, *Boucher* Curat of Saint Benner, *Ambry* Curat of Saint Andrews, *Pelletier* Curate of Saint James, *Pigenat* Curat of Saint Nicholas, *Launoy* Chanoine of Soissons, and ſome-time miniſter at Sedan: for the Nobility the Marquis of Canillac, the Seigneur of Menneville, Saint Pol, *Reſne, Montberault, Hauteſort, Sauſſay*: for the third Eſtate, *Maſſepirault, Nelly, Coqueley, Midorge, Mochault, Baſſon, Marillac, Achart, de Bray, Beau-cler, Bruyere* Lieutenant Ciuil, *Anroux, Fontanon, Drouart, Cruet, Bordeaux, Haluequin, Soly, Bellanger, Poncher, Senault* and *Charpentier*, all Lawiers or men of trafficke. The great men enter preſently into iealouſie of this number, whereas the people commanded: ſo as (by the Dukes importunity and the aboue named Princeſſes) they ad vnto them *Hennequin* Biſhop of Rennes, the Abbot of Lenoncourt, the Preſidents *Ianin, Vetus, Le Maſtre, Dormeſſon, Videville, D'Amours* a Councillor, *Villeroy*, both father and ſonne, *Sermoiſe, Dampierre, La Bourdaſſiere, Le Fay*, and many others, who to carry it away by plurality of voices, called vnto them the Preſident *Le Sueur, Bragelonne* Treasorer, *Roland* a Sheriſſe, and others, who aſſiſting one another with their voices, ouerthrew many things which thoſe that were deputed for the people were ready to decree, for the confirmation of their tyranny.

The Duke of Mayenne (to ſettle his affaires) ſuffers theſe baſe companions to play the petty Kings. Thoſe of the Clergy, exceeding the authority of the Church, doe in their ſermons excommunicate the father that knoweth his ſonne to be the Kings ſervant, and reueales him not to the counsell of the vnion: the ſonne that diſcouers not his father, the wife and the husband that accuſe not one another, the kiſmen and friends that diſcouer not the goods of their kindred and friends being abſent, to be employed in the warres. The Nobility reapes ſome profit of the ranſomes and ſpoiles of the Royaliſts and Politikes. The people condemne, imprison, ſpoile and ranſome, of their abſolute power, and ſell the goods of any that beares not the marke of their enraged faction. This furious combuſtion of Paris, ſets all the realme on fire: townes and prouinces ſawe themſelues after the mould of the capitall City. Chartres begins the dance, expells *Sourdais* their Gouverneur, and receiues *Reclainville* a Gentleman of Beauſe, a partiſan of the League. This towne imports much for the Eſtate of Paris, as one of their chiefe graniers for corne. The Duke of Mayenne poſtes thether, to bee aſſured thereof, and the people receiue him as their Redeemer.

Being arriued there, *Rouan* ſends for him. He goes: and in all places as he paſſeth, they meete him, preſent him their keys, and ſweare to obey him. Thoſe of Mans murder many

1589. many of the Kings Officers and seruants, spoile others, seize vpon *Fargis* their Gouvernour, A and send him prisoner to Paris. Angers was assured for the King: but the Duke of Mercœur Gouvernour of Britan, subdued in a manner all the Prouince to his party. *Thoulousa* murders *Duranti* their first President (a man who in all the fires he had formerly kindled, did neuer shew that he had any tast of a Huguenot in him) and *Dafis* the Kings Aduocate. *Aix*, *Arles* and *Marseilles* plant vp sodenly the Ensignes of the League, and follow the dance with the rest. Lions iumps with them, and growing suspicious of the passage of Col-  
lonnel *Alphonso Corse* (afterwards Marshall of France, vnder the title of *Ornano*) to com-  
mand the army in Daulphiné which the Duke of Mayenne had abandoned, they declare the  
occasion why they take armes, sweare to maintaine good correspondency with the Princes,  
gentlemen and Inhabitants of Paris, and other townes vnited, and to put in execution all  
the Duke of Nemours commandments, who was now elcaped out of the castle of Blois. B  
But we shall see this people as easie to mutine against him, as they were now ready to al-  
low him for their Gouvernour. *Chaulons* retained almost all Champaigne in their duty and  
obedience. *Rosne* was Gouvernour there. But the whole body of the city, aduertised of this  
great execution at Blois, let him vnderstand: that seeing the Duke of Guise his maister was  
dead, his authority was extinct, and that acknowledging no other Soueraigne but the King,  
they would preferue their city from all strange enterprises. Langres deserues an honorable  
testimony, to haue lesse then all other fostered rebels, and to haue constantly opposed  
themselues against all the attempts of the league. In other Prouinces the townes bandy C  
directly one against another, and the most modest affecting neither party, keepe themselves  
from the storme. The King beholds this pittifull Tragedy, acted vpon the Theater of his E-  
state, and thinks yet to reclaime his subiects by mildnesse. He pardoneth, he abolisheth, he  
forgets all, so as euery one will performe the duty of a subiect, and againe promisseth the  
obseruation of his Edicts of vnion, in fauour of the Catholikes, and for the extirpation of  
heresies. But in the end, patience prouoked, turnes into fury. He sees that these Princef-  
ses, the Prouost of marchants, and the Sheriffes of Paris which were dismissed, doe like vnto  
*Noes Rauens*, they cast oyle in steed of water vpon the fires that are kindled. Seeing therefore,  
the more he seekes by mildnesse to reduce these strangers to the right way, the more violent  
they grow in their furious passions: he now vseth his authority, hee makes sundry procla-  
mations, aswell against the Duke of Mayenne, the Duke and Cheualier of Aumale, as a-  
gainst the citties of Paris, Orleans, Chartres, Rouan, Amiens, Abbeuille and other adhe-  
rents, pronounceth both heads and members, disloyal, rebels, guilty and convicted of the  
crimes of rebellion, treachery and treason in the highest degree: degrades them and their  
posterity of all honour, if by the beginning of March they submit not themselues to his o-  
bedience. And to ioyne armes to his declarations, he makes a speedy leauy of twelue thou-  
sand Suisses, by the Lord of Sansy, who molested the Duke of Sauoy vnder the Kings au-  
thority, about Geneva: where hauing taken the townes of Bonne, Gex, Thonnou and their  
castles, he besieged the fort of Ripaille, where the Dukes succours led by Cont *Martine-  
gues*, were defeated, *Martinegues* slaine in battaile, with about 2000. men, and the place E  
yeelded: in the end he calls the Nobility vnto him, sends forth many Commissions to leauy  
soludiers, transports the execution of Iustice to Tours, which was wont to be in his Parlia-  
ment at Paris: he commands his chamber of accounts, and all his Officers of the marble ta-  
ble, to repaire presently to Tours, to attend their charges, and depriues from all honours,  
charges, dignities, and priuileges, all townes adhering to these new reuolts.

This did but kindle more the fires of rebellion. The Duke of Mayenne armes both horse  
and foot, practiseth without the realme, seekes to the King of Spaine, sends out patters and  
Commissions vnder a new seale, vsurpes all the parts of Royall Maiesty, goes to field with  
his troupes, makes choise of the most resolute, and goes to Vendosme with a designe to  
surprise the King in Tours being ill accompanied. All the great councell was at Vendos-  
me, vnder the assurance and word of *Matillé-Benehard* gouernor of the towne. But the rich  
ransomes of these Lords were an inticing baite to a disloyall and wicked foule. He suffers  
*Rosne*, to enter, and deliueis them all vnto him, to dispose as of prisoners of warre. A trea-  
chery added to other crimes which shall cost him his head in the market-place of Vendos-  
me, when the towne is taken.

The Kings  
facility run-  
ned into fury.

The Dukes  
attempts.

The

A The league increased daily, and the King had need to vse the King of Nauarres forces, 1589.  
and where could he find more trusty French-men in so vrgent necessity? To this end hee  
sends to his brother-in-law, *Diana* of Poitiers the Duchesse of Angoulême, bastard daugh-  
ter to King *Henry* the second, and inuities him to make a truce betwixt them, that by their  
common forces they may more commodiously withstand the furious attempts of the e-  
nemies of the realme, *Perce* of Morvay, Lord of Duby Marshall of the campe for the King,  
and *Philip* of Morvay, Lord of *Pléssis Marli*, his brother, superintendant of the King of Na-  
uarres house, treat this truce for the two Kings, and conclude vpon these conditions; that  
the towne, castle and bridges of Sabmur, should bee put into the King of Nauarres hands  
for the safety of his passage and of his forces. That all matters vntill a firme peace were con-  
cluded (the which should bee treated of before the end of the yeere) should remaine in the  
state they were in: and for a retreat for sicke and wounded men, one of the three places  
which should bee reduced by their common forces, provided alwaies there were no head of a  
Seneschawcy nor *Baylswicke*. So the King of Nauarre having placed *Du Pléssis* gouernor of  
the towne, castle and Seneschawcy of Sabmur, and *Du Faur* at *Langeau* vpon Loire, hee freed  
all suspicions, and all impressions of distrust which they gaue him to diuert his interview:  
He passeth Loire, the 28. of Aprill with foure hundred maisters and a thousand Harguebu-  
ziers on horse-backe, to ioyne with the forces of Normandy, Maine and other places that  
attended him: and the last of the moneth doth his duty vnto the King within the park of  
C *Pléssis les Tours*, the one making a great shew of loue, the other of a free and ready resolu-  
tion (laying aside all *sealoufie* and impressions of distrust, whereby some would haue diuerted  
this interview) and both of a singular and mutuall content.

Three daies were spent in discourse and conference. The King of Nauarre had repassed  
the riuer, to cause his foote to aduance: and the Duke of Espernon (who was newly arrived  
with foure hundred horse, and two thousand foot) marched towards Blois, to keepe the In-  
habitants in awe: when as the duke of Mayenne (who staid at Vendosme) seeing the Kings  
forces diuided, and trusting in the intelligences hee had with some great personages about  
the King, makes a march of twelue leagues, and the eight of May appeeres with his Vā-  
guard about the suburbs of Saint Symphorian of Tours, whether the King was gone to  
D walke. Hee was scarce thirty paces from the suburbs, when as a man came running to the  
towne, and knowing his Maiesty. *My Liege* (saith hee) *retire vous selfe, the lea is folloved* E  
*me*. So the King mans the suburbs, with the Regiments of his gardes of *Picardy*, of  
*Rubempré*, of *Gerzé* lately conuerted from the league to the Kings seruice (greened with  
that shamefull flight hee had made vnder Duke *Mercœur*, being elided by the King of  
Nauarre vnto the suburbs of Nantes) hee causeth them to make barricadoes, lets the  
Marshall *D' Aumont* at the gate vpon the bridge, and the Suisses of *Colonel Galati*  
within the towne. Hee sends for the King of Nauarre, who was at Chimon, and the  
Duke of Espernon at Blois. The Duke of Tremouille and *Chastillon* Colonell of the King  
of Nauarres foot-men, arriue within few houres. They fight at many barricadoes on foot,  
E then they made the retreat with the Lord of Grillon, who commanded the Regiment of  
the garde hauing a Harguebuze-shot through the bodie. Their troupes and men of warre  
towards night, whom the King caused to bee lodged in some Islands nere vnto the enemy  
all night.

In the meane-time the Duke of Mayenne beginnes the skirmish, forceth some barrica-  
does, and kills many souldiers. *Gerzé* (seeking with too braue a resolution to keepe the e-  
nemies from taking vp of his hat, which was fallen from him in defending his barricadoe  
with his pike) lost his life. The Duke comes, and about foure of the clocke winnes the sub-  
urbs, and threatned the towne. The Inhabitants trembled, and those with whom the  
Duke had intelligence studied to effect their designes. As the night gaue some rest vnto  
F their armes, the King of Nauarres troupes arriue: the Duke of Espernon did second him.  
As soone as the day beganne to breake, the Duke aduertised of these new succours, burnt  
two great Arches of wood, and the houses at the entry of the bridge, and with a speed e-  
quall to his comming, returned the same waie, leauing a great suspicion against such as  
accompanied the King, to haue sought great meanes to deliuer him without striking  
stroke.

Reconcili-  
on of the two  
Kings.

The King in  
danger.

Successed by  
the King of  
Nauarre.

Ffff

His

1589.

A double  
Henry is a  
double ducat,  
and a carolus  
is but a penny.  
Insolency of  
the soldiers.

His Maieſty aduiſed to giue his enemy a free paſſage to returne. *It were a folly* (ſaid hee A with a pleaſant countenance) *to hazard a double Henry againſt one Carolus*, the which is the Duke of Mayennes name. It is a horror to thinke of the inſolencies, ſpoiles, murders, rauifhings, ſacrilege, blaſphemies, irreligions, which theſe braue Champions (armed for the defence of the Catholike religion) did praſtize in theſe ſuburbs, euen in the Church of Saint Symphorian. The Vicar and the Chapplaine beaten and bound all night, did ſee the coſers broken, the goods carried away, women and maides (that were fled thither as into a ſanctuary) rauifhed: and which is worſe, they ſteale away holy things, as Coſpes and Ornaments of the Altar, the Roabes and Veſtments of Prieſts, and many Chalice of diuers mettals, carrying away thoſe of ſiluer, as belonging to heretikes and royalliſts (as they termed them) and therefore good prize: and the others that were not ſiluer they left behind, being (ſay they) of the vnion. The Cheualier D' Aumale and his people ſhewed themſelues braue artiſans in theſe exploits.

Doubleſſe the vnion hath more diſunited the Church, and more ruined the Catholike religion in few yeeres, then the Proteſtants had done in many. We haue ſcene their ſouldiers (and amongst them many Prieſts and Monkes that had caſt away their frockes) force Vicars and Curats of Pariſhes in Lent (with a dagger at their throates) to giue them calues, ſheepe, lambes, pigs, kids, hens, capons and other fleſh, vnder the names of pikes, carpes, barbles, ſoles, turbots and herings, whileſt the Colledge of Sorbonne, and their Preachers, thunder out againſt their lawfull Prince and Soueraigne. The eſſentiall forme of a zealous Catholike was then, to rob Churches, to rauifh wiues and Virgins, to murder men againſt the Altars, and to ſpoile the Clergy, not to bee the Kings ſeruants, which that age held for a crime, but to vomit out againſt him all the indignities, and all the wickedneſſe, which irreligion and impiety could inuent in mad ſouldiers.

We know the Lion by his pawes. The towne of Arquenay (three leagues from Laval) had a Church guilt and enriched by the Lords of Rambouiller, and at that time filled with all the goods of the Inhabitants. *Commeronde*, with a regiment of ſeuon or eight hundred men (hauing ouer-runne and ſpoiled the country of Aniou, and the country of Laval) comes thither with his men to lodge, in the end of Aprill, who burnt the doores of the Church, ſackt it quite, hauing no reſpect of the feminine ſex: they ſlue a poore man at the foote of the crucifixe, complaining that in the ſame place they had rauifhed his wife: they did their excrements in the holy water ſtocke; perſumed all the Church with their filthineſſe, applied to their owne uſes the ornaments of our Lady, ſold the coapes, the banner and reliques to the Monkes of Eurons: the chalices and croſſe of ſiluer to them of Vague: and to heape vp the meaſure of their villanies (hauing taken the pike of ſiluer and ſome foure and twenty of their holy cakes in it) one of them attired himſelfe like a Prieſt, cauſing ſome twenty of the ſouldiers to kneele downe, and with his hands imbrewed with bloud and ſacrilege, diſtributed them vnto them, and trod the reſt vnder his feete. The like they did within few daies after at Thorigny.

It ſufficeth amongst ſo many to haue noted this horrible impiety in particular, that poſterity may learne, that armes doe not edifie but deſtroy the Altars: and that piety dwels not much among ſuch as follow the campe. The reniue of the two Kings had greatly troubled the Leaguers of Paris. Now they ceaſe not to draw Articles, inſtructions and aduertifements, both within, and without the Realme: they forget nothing that may confirme the building of their conſuſion. They ſend their deputies to Rome, the Commander de Diou, the counſellor *Coquelar*, the Abbot of Orbais, and the Deane of Reims: who iuſtifie their actions to the Pope: demand a Legate; promiſe the publication of the counſell of Trent, beſeech his Holineſſe, to be grations and fauourable to their deſignes, and to the townes of their aſſociation, and to contribute to the charge of this common warre, whereof they muſt beare the chiefe burthen. In deed they had need of much money, F to furniſh the expenſes of ſo many pettie Kings: but ſome filled their coſers, others paid their debts, and ſome bought lands and Lordſhips. Thus the people are the inſtruments of great men, and the theſe whereon all kinde of ſtorimes and tempeſts doe beate.

Liberty exceeded in all places, and rage againſt the Kings authority ſeemed deſperate. The

The Pariſiens  
courſes.

Their petiti-  
on vnto the  
Pope.

1589.

A The fire of this reuolt had kindled the heart and all the corners of the Realme: and generally there was nothing but inroads, ſpoiles, ſurprizing and ſacking: when as ſuddenly many checks amaze the League, and giue hope of a ſpeedie reuiuing of the Kings affaires. The Duke of Montpenſier, aſſiſted by the Lords of Hallot, Creuecoeur, Bacqueville, and *Lar- chant* was in Normandy, with forces for his Maieſties ſeruiſe: and for the firſt fruites, ha- uing defeated the garrifon of Falaiſe, taken three Captaines, cut moſt of their companies in peeces, and diſperſed the reſt, they beſieged the towne, and had brought it ready to yeeld, when as the Earle of Briſſac (who of late did wonders in ſpeaking well at the Eſtates in the Kings fauour) aduanced with about three hundred Gentlemen, and five or ſixe thouſand of them. They lodged in three villages: the Duke forceth two, kills ſuch as make reſiſtance, and chafeſt the reſt with ſmall difficulty. The Earle flies with all his horſe, leauing a thouſand or twelue hundred priſoners, and about three thouſand ſlaine vpon the place, amongst the which were found many Gentlemen.

After this attempt of the Duke of Mayenne, in the ſuburbs of Tours, the King ſends the Lord of Lorges to diſcouer the enemy: the Duke of Aumale hath intelligence thereof, and ſends ſome troupes to charge him. The Lord of Chaſtillon paſſeth at Boiſgencie with two hundred horſe, and as many harguebuziers to ſecond *Lorges*, and cauſeth *Fouque- uille*, who commanded in Chartres. He offers to diſcouer them, they charge him, and kill five or ſixe of his men: he retires in haſt, and giues the alarme to the troupes of Picardy, led by *Saueſe* and *Les Broſſes*, who commanded about three hundred maſters, and a good number of Harguebuziers on horſe-backe, and on foot. The two Commanders, *Chaſtillon* and *Saueſe* are in front one againſt an other. No man makes ſhew to recoyle, and both reſolute to fight. *Saueſe* puts his Harguebuziers before, and placeth his Lanciers in bay, approaching ſoftly without diſbanding. *Chaſtillon* diſpoſeth of his foot, makes two battalions of his horſe, and ſets *Charboniere* and *Harambure* on his left hand, with their companies of light horſes, and then, he aduanceth to the charge. *Saueſe* chargeth reſolutely. His Harguebuziers on horſe-back very nere. *Chaſtillions* footmen receiue them in the like ſort, and with one breath enter amongst the horſe that were come to the charge: they kill many horſes with their ſwords, and looſe but three ſouldiers. *Saueſe* chargeth the light horſemen vpon his right-hand, and breaking the firſt ranks, had vnhorſed *Chaſtillon*, and ſome eight or tenne Gentlemen, but with the loſſe of five and twenty horſe; as theſe ſle and fight on foote, *Harambure* and *Fouquerelles* comes in: they charge *Saueſe* and his men, kill about ſixe ſcore Gentlemen, ouerthrow the reſt, and force through them. Thus broken, without meanes to make a new head, euery man flies, euery one placeth his ſafetie in the heeles of his horſe. *Chaſtillon* goes to horſe-backe, and purſues, chaſing, beating, and killing about three ſcore more in the flight, with all their Harguebuziers. Two Cornets were gotten, and fortie Gentlemen taken, moſt beeing hurt in the conflict. *Saueſe* carried to Boiſgencie, died there of his wounds, not able to bee perſwaded by any meanes to acknowledge the King, or ſcarce to aſke God forgiueneſſe.

*Senlis* had of late daies, by the meanes of ſome good Inhabitants, ſhaken off the yoke of the League. It was a troubleſome thorne in the Pariſiens ſide, being diſtant but one ſmal daies journey to come from their city towards Picardy. To pull it out, the Duke of Aumale goes from Paris, with ſome troupes of *Balagny*, *Chamois*, *Trémont*, *Congis*, *Menneville*, and an army of the Inhabitants choſen out of euery quarter: he beſiegeth, batters it, and makes a breach, but is repulſed from the aſſault.

Now they aduiſe the beſieged to prouide for their ſafeties: when as the Duke of Longueuille appeared, being followed by the Lords of Humieres, *Bonnivet*, *la Noue*, *Girry*, and other Commanders, the duke of Aumale turnes head, and prepares to fight: but *La Noue* (whom the King had eſpecially commanded to aſſiſt the duke of Longueuille with counſell in matters of warre) did ſo wiſely make choiſe of the houre and opportunity to charge, as the duke of Aumale, *Balagny* gouernour of Cambray, and the reſt (putting in praſtiſe the uſe of their long ſpurre-rowels, lately inuented as a mournfull prediction to the League) ſaued

Fff 2

their





1589. knowledge which he had of his wife. The King being aduertized by *La Guesle*, commands A he should be brought the next day, but hee is examined first by *Portail* vpon his pretended acquaintance with his wife, to whom hee answered pertinently, and gaue good obseruations. The next day being come to the Kings lodging; they were called by *du Ioralle* the first Groome of his Chamber. At the first *La Guesle* caused the Iacobin to stay neere the doore, and taking his papers he presents them to his Maiefty, who hauing red them, commands the Iacobin should approach, whom he asked what he would say, to whom he answered that it was a secret thing. Some distrust made *La Guesle* to speake, being betwixt the King and him. Speake aloud (said he twice or thrice) there is not any one here but the King trusts. His Maiefty seeing him make difficulty to speake, commands him againe to B approach. The Baron of *Bellegarde*, maister of the Kings horse, and *La Guesle* (who were alone in the Chamber) retired two or three paces. The King bends his eare, but instead of hearing what he expected, this wretch draws a knife out of his sleue made of purpose, thrusts his Maiefty into the botome of the belly, and there leaues the knife in the wound. The King draws it forth, and with some struiuing of the Monke, strikes him about the eye. Many ran in at this noise, & in the heate of choller killing this monster of men, preuented the true discovery of this enterprife, and the authors thereof, worthy to be noted with a perpetual blot of disloyalty and treason. The Physitians held the wound curable: and the same day the King did write of this attempt, and of his hope of recouery, to the gouernors of Prouinces, C to forraigne Princes, and to his friends and confederates. But feeling that the King of Kings had otherwise determined of his life, he did first comfort himselfe, in fore-seeing that the last hour of his crosses should be the first of his felicities: then lamenting his good and faithful seruants, who suruiuing should find no respect with those whose mindes had bene so abandoned to mischief, as neither the feare of God, nor the dignity of his person could dissuade them from this horrible sacrilege. One thing (said hee) doth comfort me, that I read, in your faces, with the griefe of your hearts, and the sorrow of your soules, a goodly D and commendable resolution, to continue vnited for the preferuation of that which remaines whole of my Estate, and the reuenge which you owe vnto the memory of him who hath loued you so deere. I seeke the last curiously, leauing the punishment of my enemies vnto God. I haue learned in his schoole to forgiue them; as I doe with al my heart. But as I am chiefly bound to procure peace, and rest vnto this realme, I coniure you al, by that inuiolable faith which you owe vnto your country, that you continue firme and constant defenders of the common liberty, and that you neuer lay down armes, vntil you haue purged the Realme of the troublers of the publike quiet. And, forasmuch as diuision alone, vndermines the foundations of this Monarchy, resolue to be vnited in one will. I know, and I dare assure you, that the King of Nauarre my brother-in-law, the lawfull successor to this crowne, is sufficiently instructed in the lawes, to know how to raigne well, and to command E reasonable things: and I hope, you are not ignorant of the iust obedience you owe vnto him. Referre the difference of religion to the conuocation of the Estates of the Realme, and learne of me; that piety is a duty of man vnto God, ouer which worldly force hath no power. Thus spake *Henry*, euen as the last pangs of death carried him within few hours after from this vnto an other world: but (a notable circumstance) in the same Chamber where the counsell was held on that fatall day of *Saint Bartholmew*, in the yeere 1572. By his death he extinguished the second parcell of the third race of *Capets*, in the branch of *Valois*, leauing the crowne to the third Roiall branch of *Bourbons*, wherevnto the order of the fundamentall law did lawfully call him.

His manners. A mild and tractable Prince, courteous, witty, eloquent and graue, but of easie access, deuout, louing learning, aduancing good wits, a bountifull rewarder of men of merit, desirous to reforme the abuses of his Officers, a friend to peace, and capable of counsell, but weak and yeelding in aduersities, & by that means making his enemies ouer-bould in their ambitious designs. Finally a Prince who deserued to be placed amongst the worthiest of this Monarchy, if voluptuousnesse, luxury and excessive prodigality to some of his fauorites (the which might without enuy haue bene diuided amongst many men of honour,) had not made him negligent and carelesse of the politike government of his Estate, and so blemished the goodliest graces which nature had planted in his soule.

THE

THE  
THIRD PARCEL OF THE  
THIRD RACE OF CAPETS, IN  
the royall Branch of the *Bourbons*, beginning  
at *Henry King of Nauarre*, and the fourth  
of that Name, of France and of *Nauarre*.

*Our King shall iudge vs, and go before vs, and shall condeit our battels for vs.*

AND

*God hath anoynted thee ouer his inheritance for Prince, and thou shalt deliuer his people from the hands of their enemies that are about them.*

AND

*The Lord his God is with him, and a crye of the Kings victory in him.*

HENRY

HENRY the fourth, before King of Nauarre, the  
first of the third Royall branch of the  
*Bourbons 63. French King.*



**B**ehold the Theater of mans life: diuers passions appeare in diuers acts, hatred, rebellion, infidelity, treason, and fury shall play a long and Tragick rowle in many scenes. But as our new successor hath eaten the bitter rootes in his youth, so in his age he shall reape the sweet fruits of vertue, being honored, feared, and respected both of his owne subiects and strangers. God gouernes the being of this world by course and temper of diuers seasons. Men reape not before they haue sowed, neither doe they sow before they haue laboured. Thus he gouernes the society of mankind by certaine degrees; that man may know, that he deserues not the sweet, that hath not tasted of the sowre: & that the force of his wit can no way aduance the happy successe of his Estate, without the helpe and grace of that great Gardien, who by miraculous meanes preferres Estates from apparent ruine.

This reigne hath two parcells. The beginning is painefull, full of crosses, and confused: vntill that our Henry (solemnly installed) be acknowledged lawfull King by all his subiects: for till then, the most impudent and passionate, called him the *Bearnois* in disdain: others more modest, left him his first title of King of Nauarre, or at the least, of Prince of Bearne. But the successe will teach vs, that euen now the Lord would succour this Monarchy, and in despite of all the violent oppositions of man, make our King to triumph over all domesticall and forraigne insolencies, which had disallowed him for the lawfull successor, and almost dispossessed him of his Realme.

Doubtlesse, we must confesse without flattery, that France had need of this Prince, to roore out (like another French *Hercules*) those hideous monsters which made it horrible and fearefull to her owne children: to restore the French to the greatnesse of their reputation, and this crowne to her former beauty. It is of him that the Princes of our age, and of future

A future ages shall learne to be Capitaines. He himselfe alone hath made more war, then all they haue scene together. Let vs also obserue a great conformity of his raigne, with that of *David*, in afflictions and blessings, and wishing that God would make him equall in the zeale of pietie and iustice, (the chiefe and firmest pillars of a Royalty) let vs hope, that with a holy ambition, (besing borne a King) he will shew himselfe: and that hee might long raigne happily, to the glorie of God, the good of his subiects, and the health of his owne soule.

But let vs see, by what degrees the fundamentall law of this estate calls him to this Monarchy. *Lewis* surnamed Saint, 44. French King, had many sonnes. *Philip* his successor surnamed the Hardy, *Peter* Earle of Alançon, *Robert* also Earle of Alançon by the death of *Peter*, and *Robert* Earle of Clermont in Beauuaisin: the first and last haue left issue: the two others died without heires, and before their father. *Philip* hath left by order successiue in direct line masculine and lawfull, or collateral from the nearest to the nearest kinne, all our Kings which haue continued in the third royall race; euen vnto *Henry* the third King of France and of Poland: by whose death (the name and family of Valois being extinct) the law seekes to the line of *Robert* Earle of Clermont in Beauuaisin, and finds not any one nearer then the house of Vendosme, whereof our *Henry* was the sole and lawfull heire-male, as descending in the direct masculine and lawfull line from the said *Robert*. For *Robert* had by *Beatrix* the onely daughter and heire of *Archibauld* Earle of Bourbon, *Lewis*, whose lands were erected to a Duchy in the yeare 1329. *Lewis* Duke of Bourbon, and *Mary* the daughter of *John* the 18. Earle of Hainault, had *Peter* Duke of Bourbon, and *James* Earle of Ponthieu, Constable of France. *Peter* had by *Isabel* the daughter of *Charles* Earle of Valois, *Lewis* and *James*. *Lewis* surnamed the Good Duke of Bourbon, had by *Anne* Countesse of Auvergne, *Lewis* Earle of Clermont, who died without children, *John* and *James*. *John* duke of Bourbon had by *Bonne* Duchesse of Auvergne and Countesse of Montpensier, *Charles*, and *Lewis* Earle of Montpensier, father to *Gilbert*, of whom issued *Charles* the last Duke of Bourbon. *Charles* Duke of Bourbon had of *Agnes* the daughter of *John* Duke of Bourgonne, *John* and *Peter*. *John* the second of that name, married *Joane* of France, daughter to *Charles* the seuenth, and dying without lawfull heires of his body, the name and armes of Duke, went to *Peter* his younger brother. *Peter* the second of that name, Duke of Bourbon had of *Anne* of France the daughter of *Lewis* the eleuenth, one onely daughter, *Susanne* the generall heire of Bourbon, who was wife to the aboue-named *Charles*, the youngest sonne of *Lewis* aboue-named Earle of Montpensier, and brother to *Charles* Duke of Bourbon. But no children growing from this marriage, the branch of the eldest sonne of *Lewis* created Duke of Bourbon, ended in this *Charles* Duke of Bourbon, and Constable of France, who died at the siege of Rome, and the Duchie of Bourbonnois being incorporate to the Crown, we must seeke the line of *James* of Ponthieu (they also giue him the titles of Earle of Charolois and *La Marche*) Constable of France, the youngest sonne of *Lewis* the first Duke of Bourbon. *James* had by *Joane* the daughter of the Earle of *S. Paul*, *John* his successour Earle of *La Marche*. *John* had of *Katherine* the onely daughter and heire of *John* Earle of Vendosme, issued from the Dukes of Normandy, and Earles of Aniou, *James* King of Naples, who leauing none but daughters, transported his right of inheritance to *Lewis* his youngest brother. *Lewis* had no children by *Jane* of Rouilly his first wife, the daughter of *Ralf* Earle of Montfort, and of *Anne* of Montmorency, but of *Jane* the daughter of *Guy* Lord of Guare, and of *Anne* heire of *Lanall* and *Vitry* in Brittany, or of *Mary* the daughter of *Engerard*, Lord of Coucy and of *Isabel* his wife, the daughter of *Edward* King of England, according to some opinions. By his second marriage, he had *John* his successor, and Earle of Vendosme the second of that name. *John* the second had of *Jane* of Beaujeu (or of *Isabel* of Beauuais, daughter to the Lord of Pressigni) *Francis* his successour, and Earle of Vendosme, and *Lewis* Prince of *La Roche-sur-yonne*, who of *Louise* of Bourbon the daughter of *Gilbert* of Bourbon, and sister to *Charles* last Duke of Bourbon, left *Lewis* of Bourbon Earle of Montpensier, who was father to *Francis* of Bourbon Duke of Montpensier, which was father to *Henry* the last Duke of Montpensier, Prince Soueraigne of Dombes, Daulphin of Auvergne, Lieutenant generall for the King in Normandy, and husband to *Katherine Henriette* of Ioyeuze, (a Prince whose vertues France did admire) to *Francis* were borne, by *Mary* of Luxembourg,

1589. Luxembourg, Countesse of Saint Paul, and daughter to Peter of Luxembourg; Charles A Earle, but created Duke of Vendosme by King Francis the first: Francis Earle of Saint Paul, (who by Adrian Duchesse of Estouteville had Francis, who died young) Lewis Cardinall of Bourbon, Autoyette wife to Claude of Lorraine Duke of Guise, Louise Abbess of Font-Eureaux. Charles the first, Duke of Vendosme, had by Francis, or according to some others, by Louise the daughter of René Duke of Alençon, Lewis who died at the age of seuen yeares, Anthony who succeeded in his right, and was afterwards King of Nauarre, Francis Earle of Anghien famous for that great battell of Cerifolles, and flaine by chance, at la Roche-Guion, Charles Cardinall, Arch-bishop of Rouan, John, who died at the battell of Saint Quintin, and Lewis Prince of Conde, who made another stocke of the elder Princes of Bourbon. Anthony had by Joane of Albret Queene of Nauarre (daughter to Henry the second of that name King of Nauarre, and by Marguerit of Orleans sister to Francis the first of that name King of France) Henry the fourth of that name French King, by his fathers right, and the second of that name King of Nauarre by his mother. B

The amazement was great in the Kings army, and mens hearts extremely danted with sorrow and griefe, when as our Henry was by the common consent of the army, and as the necessitie of the time and place did suffer, publicly proclaimed King. Some resolved to retire as neuters, to see how the chance of armes would fall: others aspired to change their partie, and made a scruple to follow a King of another Religion. A scruple which neuer entered into the minds of our first Christians, who fought against the forraigne enemies, vnder the ensignes of Clouis, and other Pagan Kings. The Duke of Espernon retired himselfe: many troupes followed his example: few continued firme and constant to reuenge the outrage whereunto the deceased Kings last words had so kindly inuited them, and whereunto euerie French-man ought to haue an especiall regard. C

Ioy at Paris.

At Paris there was nothing but ioy and mirth, bone-fires, songs, feasts, masks, pastimes, and cursing the memorie of the King. The wicked Monkes picture was suddenly made, hee was canonized as a new Martyr, and deliuerer of the Church from the oppressions of a tyrant: all that were allyed vnto him, were enriched with almes and publicke contributions: that by this bayte others might attempt the like against the King that succeeded. The Duke of Mayenne (not daring to take vpon him the title of King) caused it by publicke proclamation to be giuen to Charles Cardinall of Bourbon, then a prisoner: and coyned both gold and siluer, with the picture of King Charles the 10. And disguising the vsurpation of his authoritie, he accepted the title which the generall Councell of the Vnion gaue him, of Lieutenant General of the State, and Crowne of France. An absurd title, strange and ridiculous; for a Lieutenant is he which holds the place for another, who (by his absence or other let) can not performe the function of his person. But who can maintaine, that a man may be Lieutenant to an Estate, to a Crown, to a thing without a soule? It is against the rules of Grammar, and against the termes of State, who giue the titles of Regent, and of Lieutenant General for the King, and to tolerate that of Lieutenant in the Estate and Crowne of France. This was properly to conceiue mountaines, and to bring forth a ridiculous moule. D

The Kings declaration.

On the other side, the King seeing the diminution of his forces, testifies his intention by a publicke declaration to the Princes and Noblemen of the army; he assembles the chiefe of the Nobility: he lets them vnderstand the deceased Kings will touching religion, by a generall or nationall Councell, whereof he protests to follow the instruction. I giue leaue, said he, to all such as would leaue me, so to do: yet I am forrie they are no better French-men, for their owne good and safetie. I haue friends enough without them to maintaine my authority. God hath neuer left me, and will not now abandon me. He hath not begun his so miraculous a worke, to leaue it vnperfect: not for my sake alone, but for his owne names sake: and for so many soules afflicted in this realm, whom I desire and promise by the faith of a King, to releue, so soone as God shal giue me the means. But how grievous is this to me, that am your lawfull King, and who leaues you in the liberty of your religion, to see you go about to force me to yours by vnlawfull means, and without former instruction. E

This declaration retained them that were least scrupulous in their duties: and his promise not to alter any thing in religion, might haue shaken many of the League. To crosse him, the Duke of Mayenne publisheth an Ediēt of the 7. of August, in his name & the Councells, of

A of the holy Vnion established at Paris, attending a generall Assembly of the Estates of the Realme, to vnitte (said he) all French-men that were good Christians, for the defence and preferuation of the Catholike, Apostolike, and Romish Church, and the maintenance of the royall Estate, in the absence of their lawfull King, Charles the tenth of that name. For whose liberty, he inuited them all to armes. But he desired no more the liberty of his pretended King, then our Henry did to force Religion, the support whereof serues them for a goodly cloake.

Some Parliaments grow iealous of these sodaine changes in the State, and seeme to entertaine the people in doubt and feare of the subuersion of their religion. That of Bourdeaux commands all men vnder their Iurisdiction, by a decree of the 19. of August, to obserue inuiolably the Ediēt of Vnion to the Catholike, Apostolike, and Romish Church: and declarations were thereupon made. That of Tholoua is more violent. They decree, that yearly the first day of August, they should make processions and publike prayers, for the benefits they had receiued that day, in the miraculous and fearefull death of Henry the third, whereby Paris was deliuered, and other townes of the Realme: forbidding all persons to acknowledge Henry of Bourbon the pretended King of Nauarre, for King: declaring him incapable euer to succeed to the Crowne of France, by reason (said the decree) of the notorious and manifest crimes contained at large in the bull of Excommunication of Pope Sixtus the fifth. Without doubt the authoritie of the Soueraigne court, is much blemished in pronouncing a decree which they must reuoke by a contrarie sentence. Thus the league kindled anew the fires which the siege of Paris had some-what quenched: the Kings troupes decreased hourly, sicknesse diminished their numbers and the Duke of Mayennes increased. The King therefore diuides his armie into three: one vnder the command of the Duke of Longueuille into Picardy: the other into Champagne vnder the Marshall d'Aumont: and he is aduised to passe himselfe into Normandy, with twelue hundred horse, three thousand French foote, and two regiments of Suisses, as well to receiue succours out of England, as to assure some places and passages fit for his desseignes, but with direction to ioyne at need. In his passage, he causeth the Kings bodie to be conducted and left at Compiègne, & reduneth to his obedience, Meulan, Gisors, and Clermont: hee receiues from Capitaine Roulet both the place and the hearts of the Inhabitants of Pont de l'Arche, foure leagues from Rouan, a passage very commodious for the trafficke betwixt Rouan and Paris. He visits Deepe: confirms the towne of Caen, forceth Neufchastel to yeeld, hauing (by Hallots and Guirry his Lieutenants) overcome the succours that were sent thither, and slaine seuen or eight hundred men vpon the place.

Violent decrees.

The King raiseth his siege from Paris.

His conquests.

All these surprises could not draw the Duke of Mayenne out of the walles of Paris. But when as he sees the King lodged at Dernetal, a league from Rouan, and the towne of Eu vpon Bethune brought to his obedience: at the instant request of the Duke of Aumale, and the Earle of Brissac commanding within Rouan, he goes to field, with about three thousand horse and fiftene thousand foot, French, Germains, Italians, Flemings and Spaniards. He promiseth the Parisiens to pursue, beseege, take and bring the Bearnois prisoner, and makes them already by supposition to hire shops and windowes in Saint Anthones street, to see him passe in chaines vnto the Bastile. He passeth the riuer of Seine with this mighty army, and recouers Gournay (beeing lately taken by the Duke of Longueuille) Neufchastell and Eu, and then he aduanceth to stay the course of the Kings prosperitie, who triumphed in Normandie.

The Duke of Mayenne tolloves.

This proceeding made the King imagine, they should not part without blowes, and full of that generositie, constancy, and ready resolution which he did alwaies carrie in accidents which did seeme dangerous, sends for his Lieutenants, the Duke of Longueuille, and the Marshall d'Aumont, to approach, for that he foreses a dangerous fit in the Estate which was very sicke. The King parts from Deepe, and marcheth towards the Duke: he lodgeth at Arques, three miles from thence, betwixt two hills diuided by the riuer of Bethune: at the foot of the one is the village, and the castell which commandeth it. He viewes the situation, and finds it fit to receiue the enemy. And not to loose the aduantage which time or industrie might giue him, he casts vp a trench of seuen or eight foot deepe on the top of one of the hills: raiseth the defences, furnissheth it with arillerie, and foure companies of Suisses: provides



1589. guides for the safety of the village, casts vp trenches vpon the weakest places of approach: and a thousand paces off neere to the riuers side where the enemies shold passe, he lodgeth eight hundred French harguebuziers in an hospitall, to cut off the enemies passage. The Duke (whose army was now about thirty thousand men) chooseth rather to leaue the shortest way, then to fight for this passage: and passing the riuier about, hee incampes on the other hill right against Arques, and three daies after, the 16. of September, marcheth against the Pollet, a suburbe of Diepe, where the Lord of Chastillon did fortifie, leauing some number of horse, and troupes of foot to guard his hill and lodging of Martinglife.

There is no such policie as to strike first, and to charge the enemy while he consults, being irresolute whether he shall fight or retire. The King knowes it well: his owne experience hath often tryed it. He therefore sends to view this army, to discouer their forces, and to obserue their countenance. He leaues the Marshall of Biron to command at Arques, and lodgeth in a mill, which they had intrenched vpon the approach to this suburbe. There they make a furious skirmish. But the Leaguers hauing lost nine or ten Capitaines, and a great number of their most resolute souldiers, they had no will to proceed. They leaue the place, and lodge at the nearest village to the suburbes of Diepe: an open place, without defence or houses. So many discommodities were scarce tolerable. *Chastillon* also dislodged them soone, and made them to seeke another quarter.

On the other side, the corps-de-gard (lodged in the guest-house) would not suffer the enemy which kept both the hill and the lodging, to approach neere the riuier side. Being impatient then to haue such vigilant neighbours, they resolute to charge this corps-de-gard, and to become masters of either banke, that they might approach more freely to the trenches at Arques. The Marshall sees them come, and drawing them on by light skirmishes, makes them beleue they shall haue the better: but suddenly with a furious charge hee scatters them, some here, some there: and many seeking to saue themselves from the fight drowne in the riuier. So this army is charged in three places at one instant: at the mill by the King: at Martinglife by *Biron*, and at the Pollet by *Chastillon*. These first amazements whet their corages. They are daunted for this first checke. Battailes are variable, and it may bee, a second attempt will giue them a more happy successe. Being thus resolute, the Duke leaues that great desseigne he had vpon Diepe, and propounds to set vpon the guest-house. Three or foure volleys of our Cannon (said he) will beat it downe. They shot, but prenaile nothing: and seeing their attempts vaine, they leaue force to flie to surprizes.

The 21. of September they passe the water in the night, without drum, without trumpet, and without light, they put themselves in battaile, and meane at the breake of day to worke some great effect. But they haue a vigilant enemy, who will see all, know all, and do all: the King causeth a long trench to be drawne from the toppe of his hill vnto the guest-house, and mans it with foure companies of Suisses and Lansquenets, and some French, supported by the Earle of Auvergne, (who in this warre gaue braue and singular proofes of his valour) commanding three companies of light-horse, and three other companies of men at armes, seconded also by the companies of the Princes of Condé, and Conty, and on the toppe of E the trench he placeth the Marshall of Biron with the companies of *Chastillon*, and of *Malig-ny*, (afterwards Vidam of Chartres) and a good number of the Nobility.

All these companies march by the fauours of the Canon (which played from the castell to their aduantage) and charge the Duke of Mayennes corner, ouerthrowes *Sagonne* with some horsemens, dead vpon the place, and disperse the rest. But a new supply forceth them to retire. The Suisses of Colonel *Galatti* stay their violence. The Lansquenets of the league (degenerating from the ancient constancie of the Germaines) approach neere the trench, but seeing themselves weake, and engaged with the hazard of their liues, they make offer to yeeld vnto the King. Those within the trench giue them their hands to receiue them. The King seeing them ioyned with his men, runs to charge them, not knowing they had called F vpon his name. But seeing his Maiestie, they yeeld themselves, and lay downe their weapons. Hee receiues them, and assures them of the pay they had gotten in fighting against him. Seeing themselves freed from danger, and the King, *Biron* and the other troupes of horse, fighting here and there, and that the bodie of the Dukes horse aduanced to charge the Suisses, they turne their armes against them which had newly given them life: they charge

Notable exploits at Arques against the League.

The first charge in three places

The 2 charge

Treacherie of the Lansquenets of the League.

A charge the Marshall of Biron's troupe, make them abandon the trench: become masters and commanders thereof, spoile all the Kings souldiers, take the Ensignes of his Maiesties Suisses and Lansquenets, and deliuer this trench vnto the Leaguers: but they shall not long enjoy it.

For the King seeing that the treacherie of these villaines had made the issue of the combat doubtfull, (seconded by the Duke of Montpensier and his Cornet, and releued with five hundred shot led by the Lord of Chastillon) hee comes furiously to charge, imbrues his sword with the blood of many of them, takes many prisoners, driues them out of the trench and presently plants two Canons there, which shot into the battalions of the enemies Suisses that made the retreat, and strikes such a terror among them, as in short time all leaue B him the place of battaile, being couered with the carcasses of his rebels.

Doubtlesse this spittle-house should be honoured with an eternal triumph. It is the place where they thought haue driuen the King into an extremitie, either to suffer himselfe to be taken at Diepe, or to seeke his safety beyond the seas. It is the place where the veins of the League being opened, they poured forth streames of that blood and vigour which maintained their first iolity. It is the place where five hundred horse, twelue hundred French foote, and two thousand Suisses, had, as it were, prodigiously triumphed ouer thirty thousand men, who with a Gyant-like brauerie, boasted to bring either dead, or bound hands and feete, the greatest King, the greatest Captaine of the world, who like a lightning finding nothing that might withstand the furie of his victorious armes, dispersed and suppressed with the point of his sword, the presumptuous and rash attempts of his mutinous subjects. The Earle of Belin (one of their Marshals of the field) was taken prisoner: many souldiers, but a greater number of men at armes: many Gentlemen, and more Commanders serued as a prey to the birds of the ayre, and the beasts of the fields. The King lost the Earle of Roussy, fixe or seuen Gentlemen, and some souldiers.

Some few daies after, the King doubting (his troupes being but small) might be beaten from their lodging at Arques, he abandoned that quarter, and lodged them neere vnto Diepe vnder the fauour of the Castle. The Duke of Mayenne finding that lodging abandoned, passeth with his whole army vnto the other side of the towne, within halfe a mile: hee plants fixe Cannons, and about mid-night shootes into the port of the towne, to keepe them from issuing forth. The King vpon this alarme, cast vp a trauers before the port, to blind their sight, and sends speedily into England, to hasten the forces which hee expected from the Queene, the which were 4000. men, vnder the command of the Lord *Willoughby*. But some few dayes after (these troupes being ready to land) the Duke of Mayenne (seeing all his attempts prooue vaine) dislodgeth, and thinkes he hath done much for his reputation, if (by some volley of Canon against Diepe, where the King was, and then against Arques) he publisheth throughout all France, that he is master of those townes without entering. In the end, toiled with the Kings continuall skirmishes, and toucht with apprehension at the first newes, hee hearing of the Earle of Soissons approach, (who had cunningly escaped out of prison) of the Duke of Longueuils, and the Marshall *D'Aumonts* with their troupes, he went to seeke his safety beyond the riuier of Somme. To assure (said he) those places which by the treaty of Arras he was to deliuer vnto the Spaniard, and then returning to Paris, did nothing memorabile, but established his Councell of sixteene, and forty, the which afterwards he reuoked and disannulled all he could, as we shall see in the course of the History. In the meane time (to busie the Parisiens) those three Ensignes which the trecherous Lansquenets had by a traiterous stratageme stolne in the trenches, brought forth twenty other counterfeits, which the Dowager of Montpensier, sister to the Duke of Mayenne, caused to be made at Paris in the Lombards street. This was a patterne of the subtil deuises of that woman, who euery morning suborning some new post, made him to go forth at one gate, and to enter at another, as bringing still some aduertisement of happy successe, which he sent vnto the Curats to deliuer in their Sermons. And by these politike stratagems, intreated the people in their disorder, and fleeced the purses of the most credulous.

The Dukes retreat made the King suspect that he retired for an aduantage, and that marching to defeat the supplies that came vnto him, he would returne, putt vp with greater courage, and new hopes. His Maiestie therefore leaues the Marshall of Biron at Diepe with

1589. the armie, and resolues to goe meete the Earle and the rest with foure hundred horse. Being A ioyned, he takes the Towne and Castell of Gamache, and recouers the Towne of Eu. This bayte might haue drawne the Duke; but he found his abode in Picardie more safe, and *La Fere* which he deliuered into the Strangers and enemies hands, made him continue the intelligence he had with the Duke of Parma, whereof we shall shortly see strange effects. So the King returning to Diepe, prouided for the affaires of Normandie, leauing the Duke of Montpensier there, (with the forces he had brought) for his Lieutenent generall: he received from the Queene of England foure thousand men, money, and munition belonging vnto warre.

The King approaches to Paris.

With this supply his Maiestie parts the 12. of October, and alwaies coasting the enemy, comes to passe the riuer of Seine at Meulan, and marcheth directly to Paris, with a double desseigne, either to fight, or at the least to draw the Duke out of Picardie. The last of October he arriues about Paris, and diuides his troupes into three battalions. The first had foure thousand English, two regiments of French, and one of the Swisses, vnder the command of the Marshall of Biron, for the suburbs of Saint Victor, and Saint Marcell. The second was of ten Regiments of French, and strangers committed to the Marshall of *Montmorency*, for Saint James and Saint Michel. The third, ten regiments of French, one of Lanquenets, and one of Swisses, commanded by *Chastillon* and *La Noue*; for Saint Germaine, Bussy, and Nefle. He giues to either of these troupes a good number of Gentlemen on foot well armed, to support the foot-men, in case of resistance: and behind either of them two Canons and 2. culuerins. The King commanded the one, the Count *Saiffons*, and the Duke of Longueuille the other. He cauleth the trenches and ramparts without the towne to bee viewed, and the next day by the Sunne rising, he sets vpon them, and forceth them in lesse then an houre: seven or eight hundred souldiers slaine in the streets; thirteene peeces of Cannon carried away, fourteene Ensignes taken, and much spoile gotten; did verifie the saying: That all comes to one end to him that can attend. Here *Chastillon* did not forget to inuite his friends to reuenge the blood so vnworthily spilt at those bloody Parisien mayns, but by the effusion of his blood, who now suffers for others.

At this new and sudden terror of the Parisiens, the Duke of Mayenne posts to the city with the greatest part of the army. His Maiestie (to see if he would sally forth) presents himselfe the second and third day following, in the suburbs, and without the suburbs, in view of the Cittie, and then afterwards towards Linas vnder *Montleheri*: but all was in vaine. Thus beeing content to haue taught the Parisiens, that he wanted no meanes to punish them, but desired rather to reduce them to obedience by mildnesse, the King went and tooke the Towne and Castell of Estampes, where *Clermont* of Lodesue, with about three-score Gentlemen or more, had shut vp himselfe vpon the Duke of Mayennes word, to vngage him with all the rest of his army.

Heere the Queene Dowager sent a petition to his Maiestie, beseeching him to do iustice of that cruell and execrable murder committed on the person of the deceased King her husband. The King sent this petition to the Court of Parliament, remooued to Tours, to the end that his Maiesties Proctour generall requiring it, they should frame indictments against such as were held culpable, protesting neither to spare care nor force, to take that iust reuenge which reason and his dutie required. Doubtlesse the horror of this sacrilege had so wonderfully mooued some of the officers of the Court, as, if they had beene beleued, the Order of the *Jacobins* had by decree beene rooted out of France, their Couent at Paris pulled downe, and a pillar set vp as a perpetuall monument, and the hangmen of France should haue beene afterwards attired like *Jacobins*. The Queene Dowager hath long pursued the rooting out of them. But the memorie of Ancestours is venerable, and their Sepulchers religious. Seuentene Princes and Princesses of the house of Bourbon, buried in the Monasterie of the *Jacobins* at Paris, haue chiefly preserved and kept the Order and their Couents.

The Kings new conquests

The King seeing that by no meanes he could draw forth his enemies, he sends backe the Duke of Longueuille and *La Noue*, to refresh themselves with their forces in Picardy, *Giurinto* into Brie, and passing farther into Beaulle, takes Ianuille by composition, then from *Chasteaudun* he sends to inuest Vendosme, his ancient patrimony. *Maillé Benchard* commanded about

1589.

A about foure hundred men of garrison, and eight hundred Townesmen armed against their Soueraigne and lawfull Lord. The Artillerie had no sooner made a hoale of foure paces wide, but the Souldiers impatient flie to the assault, takes the Castle, and so enters the Towne pell-mell with the garrison, so as his Maiestie seeing himselfe in lesse then halfe an houre in possession both of Towne and Castle, he gaue the inhabitants their liues, but the Souldiers the spoile.

The treacherous part of *Benchard* to the great Council, (as we haue said,) with the treachery of a vassall and subiect, and the seditious preachings of *Iesse* the Friar, were the cause that these two principall motiues of rebellion suffered for the people: the one beheaded vpon the pavement, and the other hanged. *Lauerdin*, *Montmorency*, and *Chastillon* became wife by the example of *Vendosme*, and opened their gates to the Marshall of *Biron*, who entered into the Towne with all his companie very peaceably.

The King seeing himselfe nere vnto Tours, goes thither: the people receiue him, the 21. of the moneth with an admirable shew of ioy, he giuing the same day audience to the Ambassador of *Venice*, who in the name of the Seigneury, congratulates his Maiesties happy comming to the crowne, with offer of seruice and loue to the King, and crowne of France. Beaulle, Dunois, and Vendosme, beeing subdued, the Kings army marcheith into Maine: the Earle of Brissac vnderooke to succour Mans, which the King threatned: to that intent he aduanceth with two regiments, and some horse to *la Ferté Bernard*: but terrified with the noyse of the Canon, he returnes, and contenting himselfe with a pillage of forty horse, and some baggage of his Maiesties *Reistres* which he met by chance, he proclaimes his victories at Paris. *Bois-Dauphin* commanded in Mans, accompanied with a hundred Gentlemen, and twentie Enseignes on foote, who in thew would die with their armes in their hands, rather then suffer the King to enter. But must they cause the people to spend a hundred and fiftie thousand Crownes to fortifie the Towne and suburbs, burne so many houses without the Towne, to yeeld it at the thirde voley of the cannon? Learne oh yee people! that great men play with you, as with a tenise ball: and be not wedded to any other party, but that of your Souereigne and lawfull Prince. You run rashly into a bad action: they fortifie you at your own charge, and you are the meanes to vndermine your selues.

D The taking hereof, caused the Castles of Beaumont and Fouteuoyes to yeeld, with the Townes of Sable, Laual, Chasteaugonthier, Mayenne, Alanson, Falaise and many others in the Prouinces of Touraine, Aniou, Mayne, Perche, and Normandy. So as in lesse then two moneths, his maiestie marched with his army (furnished with many cannons, and a great number of Strangers, English, Swisses, and Germans) about eight score leagues, haue achieved many memorable seeges, taken fourteene or fiftene good townes, assured many Prouinces: and in all places as he passed, *He came, he saw, and ouercame*. Thus our Conquerour made the round of a third part of his Realme, not finding any let to stay the course of his prosperities: when as the Court of Parlement at Rouan, no lesse violent and presumptuous then that of Tholoufa, pronounceth them guilty of treason both against God and E man, and the Estate and crowne of France, that had opposed themselves against the holy vniou: and all Royallists and their successors deprivied of all prerogatiues of Nobility, their offices to be void, and not to be recouered: them as vnworthy to possesse any offices, benefices, or dignities, and all their goods forfeited. These armes were too weake to terrifie his maiesties seruants: this decree did little aduance the League. And the Duke of Mayenne (seeing the King farre off, partly through shame, partly through despaire, and importuned by the Parisiens) was constrained to pacifie their exclamations by some great exploit. But the taking of Bois de Vincennes and Pontoise ended all his Conquests.

An vnjust and treacherous decree.

So many new triumphs did wonderfully amaze the Leaguers: the people grew weary with the burthen of imposts, the spoile of souldiers, and a thousand calamities that did oppress them. To maintaine them in the gulfes of this confusion, the mutinous and corrupt tongues of the Preachers charmed the blind with an impression of many intelligences both within and without the Realme, by the hope of a speedy & great succor from Spaine, by the publication of many libells, which they most furiously vied as fire-brandes to feede this combustion, and by counterfeit deuises they made the Kings name and his actions very hatefull vnto the multitude.

1590.

The King in the meane time, continued the course of his victories in base Normandie, A where hauing taken Honfleur a Port towne, he came and raised the sege of Meulan, where the Duke of Mayenne had lien fifteene daies, beeing distant from Honfleur about thirtie Leagues, where he offered him battell. The aduantage (beeing twice as many in number as the King) could not draw him to it. The memorie of Arques was yet too fresh, and the supply of fifteene hundred Lances, and fure hundred harguebuziers which the Duke of Parma sent him, vnder the command of the Count Egmont, made him forbear. Whilest the duke goes to ioine with his strangers, the King takes Nonancourt, and then beseegeth Dreux.

Siege of Dreux.

In the beginning of March the Duke turnes head towards Manté, to passe the riuier eight B Leagues from Dreux. His Maiefty hath intelligence thereof, and giues him leaue to approach within two leagues. To giue and winne a battaile is indifferent vnto him. He causeth his armie to march towards Nonancourt, to view the foard of the riuier of Eure, which runnes there: he himselfe treades out the place of battaile: he imparts it to the Duke Montpensier, the Marshalls of Biron and Aumont, to the Baron of Biron Marshal of the field, and to the chiefe Captaines of his armie: he makes choice of the Lord of Vicq for Sergeant Major of the field: he appointed the Rendezuous for his troupes, at the village of Saint Andrew, foure leagues from Nonancourt, vpon the way to Yury, and the place of battaile in a great plaine neare vnto it. All these old souldiers found the place chosen with so great iudgment and militarie wisdom, as they altered not any thing.

The King hauing deliuered it vnto the Baron, to appoint euery man his place, said: *It is no desire of glorie, nor motion of ambition, nor appetite of reuenge, that makes me resolute to this combat, but the extreame necessitie of my inst and naturall defence, the pittie of my peoples calamitie, and the preseruatiou of my Crowne. Let vs refer the euents of this enterprize to the eternall providence.* Then afterwards lifting vp his eyes to heauen: *Thou knowest, O God, (said he) the since: itie of my thoughts. I beseech thee put me not in the number of those Princes, whome thou hast forsaken in thy wrath, but of those whome thou hast chosen to reparaire the ruines of a desolate Estate, and to releue my miserable people oppressed with the violence of warre. O Lord I yeeld my selfe to the disposition of thy holy and infallible will, and desire not to live; not to raigne, but so farre forth as my life may be to the aduancement and glorie of thy name, and my authority the raigne of vertues, and the banishment of vices.* These and such like religious words, mooued all the campe to prayers and workes of pietie, euery one according to his deuotion.

The disposition of the Kings army.

This done, the King disposeth his army according to the plotte which he had layed. He diuides it into seuen squadrons, and in euery one three hundred horse, flanked on either side with footmen: the first he giues to the Marshall d'Aumont, with two regiments of French: the second to the Duke Montpensier with fure hundred Lansquenets, and a regiment of Suisses. The third to the Earle of Auvergne and Guiry, either of them commaunding a troupe of light horse, and on their left hand foure Canons and two Culuerins: The fourth to the Baron of Biron. In the fift were fure ranks of horse, and sixe-score in a front, Princes, E Earles, Barons, Officers of the Crowne, Knights of the Order, Noblemen, and Gentlemen of the chiefe families of France, besides those which the Prince of Conty and La Guishe, great Master of the Artillerie brought that day. His Maiefty was in the head of this troupe shining in armes, like the Sunne amidst the seuen Planets: hauing on the side of him two battels of Suisses, with the regiments of his guards of Brigneux, of Vignoles and Saint Iohn. The sixt to the Marshall of Biron, with two regiments of French: the seuenth were about two hundred and fiftie Reistres. These squadrons were all in a front, but somewhat bending at the ends, in forme of a Cressant. There was nothing more terrible, then to see two thousand French Gentlemen armed from the head to the foot.

The Duke of Mayenne appeared a farre off, and had taken a village betwixt both armies: F but his Maiefty forceth them to dislodge, and wearies them with skirmishes, to draw them to fight: and the approaching night leaues our warriours burning with desire to haue the day call them to the field, to make prooffe of their seruice and duties to their King and contrie. At the breake of day, the men at armes were in their squadrons, the souldiers in their Battalions, and by nine of the clocke euery man did fight in his gesture, in his threats and words.

1590.

A words. At the same instant the enemy shewes a bodie of about foure thousand horse, and twelue thousand foote, and almost in the same forme, but most glittering, with more feathers, more men, and lesse courage, almost like a Cressant. The Dukes Corner was about two hundred and fiftie horse, augmented with the like number by the Duke of Nemours, who ioined with him, and was almost in the midst of his squadrons as that of the Kings, but flanked with two squadrons of Lanciers that came out of the Low-countries, who were about eighteenth hundred horse marching all together. On the side were two regiments of Suisses couered with French foote, then two lesse squadrons of Lances, seuen hundred on the right hand, and fure hundred on the left, two Culuerins, and two Bastards.

The Sunne and the wind might haue greatly amazed the Kings armie. To preuent this inconueniencie, his Maiefty aduanceth about an hundred and fiftie paces, gettes both the Sunne and the wind, and findes the enemies number greater then he esteemed. But this multitude serues as a spur to euery Captaine to encourage both himselfe and his men. The King goes to the head of his Squadron, beginnes his first worke by prayer, exhorts and encourageth them with a countenance full of Maiefty, ioy, and constancie: *Marsuault* arrives and giues him intelligence, that the Lords of Humieres, and Mouy are within two thousand paces of the field. But the King had well obserued the point of his happinisse; and will not giue his enemy that honour, to strike the first stroke.

Hee that beginnes well, hath halfe ended, saith the Prouerbe. Hee commaundeth C *La Guishe* to discharge his Cannon: it pierceth through the thickest Squadrons of the enemies, and shootes nine volleys before theirs could beginne: fure or sixe hundred light-horse, French, Italians, and Wallons, aduance with a full carriere, to charge the Marshall d'Aumont on the one side, on the other side their Reistres charge the Kings light-horse. The Marshall ioynes with them, and makes them turne their tayles presently: their groue of Reistres is so violently repulsed and driuen backe, as they turne suddenly to rally themselves behind the other troupes. Another Squadron of Lanciers, Wallons and Flemmings (seeing his Maiesties troupes separated some-what from the rest which the Reistres had charged) come hottely vpon them. The Baron of Biron makes it good, and not able to charge them in the front, takes them behind, pierceth a part of them: the rest breaketh away like a billow against a rocke: the Baron had two wounds, one in the arme, and the other in the face.

The first charge.

A second charge.

Now comes the Duke of Mayenne with his bodie of horsemen, in the which were the Dukes of Nemours and Aumale, hauing vpon their wings foure hundred Carabins, (which were Harguebuziers on horse-backe, armed with Murriens and Plaisirons) who make a furious salley fure and twentie paces off vpon his Maiesties troupes. This done, the King parts like a violent lightning from the head of his Squadron, beeing sixe hundred horse, hee chargeth two thousand of the enemies: hee breakes them, scatters them, and is so ingaged amongst the thickest of them, as (notwithstanding the great plume in his Caske, and that in his horses head, which made him apparent) hee remained a good quarter of an houre vnkowne euen to his owne people, in this great forest of Lances, amidst a great shower of strokes, giuing a good testimonie, that if before hee could do the office of a great King and Captaine in ordering, so could he now performe the duty of a braue souldier, and resolute man at armes in fighting.

A bloudie charge.

But about all, of a most mild and mercifull Conquerour: who in this bloudie fight, did found forth that gracious speech. *Sauet the French, and downe with the stranger.* Doubtlesse hee is well kept whome God keeps. Some were greatly attonied and amazed, others trembled and quaked, hauing lost the sight of the Kings Maiefty. This great bodie, whose foundation was so much shaken, beganne to wauer: those who euen now presented their faces so furiously with the poynts of their Launces and swords, do now shew their heeles, cast away their armes, and trust to their horses. His Maiefty beeing freed from this presse, hauing with twelue or fifteene in his companie, taken three Cornets, and slaine the Wallons that did accompanie them, and returning to his Squadron a triumphing Conquerour, hee filled the armie with exceeding ioy, and the armie the ayre, with that louing crye of *God save the King.*

The Suisses remained yet whole, but abandoned of all their horse, and laid open. They G g g g 3 propound

1590. propound to send the French-foot on the right hand, who had not yet fought to breake them. But the respect of the ancient alliance of that Nation with this Crowne, made the King to grant them life, and receiue them vnto mercie Laying downe their armes they passed to his Maiesties side, & those French that were with them, enioyed the like clemency. But the time his Maiestie lost in pardoning the Suisses, did greatly fauor their retreat that fled, and gaue the Duke of Maienne leysure to passe the riuer of Eure, to breake the bridge after him, and to recouer Mante in safety. The Marshall of Biron stood firme without striking him, yet did he more terrifie the enemy then any other: for seeing this troupe of rescue whole, they supposed that this old souldier hauing beene practised in so many batailles in his life time, would easily breake them, and make the victorie absolute. Hereupon the Marshall d'Aumont, the Earle of Clermont, the Baron of Biron, and other Commanders, returned from the chase, gather together their troupes, and ioyne with the King. And the King hauing receiued his forces that came out of Normandy, makes a bodie, leaues the Marshall of Biron with the army to follow him, sends the Earle of Auvergne before, takes the Baron of Biron on his right hand, and another troupe on his left: and accompanied with the Prince of Conty, Duke Montpensier, Earle Saint Paul, Marshall d'Aumont, the Lord of Tremouille, and many others, pursued the point of his victorie, chasing, beating, and killing, vntill that the broken bridge (diuerting them a League and a halfe out of the way, to passe at the foard of Anet, and the horses (whose legs the Reistres had cut to stop the way) hindring the pursuit, and the approaching night, ended the victorie.

Loss of the  
Leaguers.

The disorder was great in the retreat of the vanquished, and the slaughter great in the furie of the fight: about fise hundred horse were slaine or drowned, and about foure hundred prisoners. The Count Egmont, the young Earle of Brunswike, *Chastaigneray*, and a great number of other Noblemen slaine, *Bois-Dauphin*, *Mesdaunt*, *Cicongne* (who carried the white cornet to the Duke of Mayenne) *Fontaine Martel*, *Lonchamp*, *Lodouan*, *Falandre*, *Hengueffan*: the Marshals of the field, *Treuzay*, *Casteliere*, *Desimeux*, and many other French, Germanes, Spaniards, Italians, and Flemings were prisoners, whereof the most part being graciously released, did afterwards abuse the Kings bounty by a reuolt, who neuer could practise that viciuill maxime of State, a dead man neuer makes warre. There were twenty Cornets taken, the white Cornet, the great standard of the Generall of the Spaniards and Flemings, the cornets of the Colonel of the Reistres, three-score ensignes of foot of diuers nations, and the foure and twenty of Suisses which yielded. All the foot-men which yielded not, or were not drowned, were cut in peeces. All their artillerie, all their baggage carried away. Such as fled into the woods found lesse mercie in the peasants, then in the men of war. The Duke of Mayenne faued himselfe in Mante, and gaue the Towns-men this floute for their comfort, that the Bearnois was slaine; or litle better. The Duke of Nemours, *Bascompiere*, the Vicount of Tauennes, *Rosne*, and some others tooke the way of Chartres. To conclude, his Maiestie pursues them almost to the gates of Manté, finding the waies (notwithstanding his lets) full of runners-away which remained at his discretion. And if those of Manté persisting in their first resolution, to keepe their gates shut, had not yielded to the Dukes earnest request, both he and all his followers had fallen into the victors hands. Thus God poured out his wrath vpon this army: thus a handfull of men defeated many Legions: thus the French spoyled Perou euen in France. On the Kings side were slaine *Clermont* of Entragues, Capitaine of his Maiesties guards, *Tsch Schomberg* Colonel of the Reistres, fighting then vnder the white Cornet, *Loneaulnay* of Normandie, being three-score and twelue yeares old (an honourable graue for that braue old man) *Crenay* Cornet to the Duke of Montpensier, *Felquiers*, and at the most twenty Gentlemen more. The Marquis of Nefle being hurt, died within eight daies after. The Earle of Choisy, the Earle of Luden, *d'O*, *Monlouet*, *d'Auvergne*, *Rosny*, and some others were lightly hurt.

Lost on the  
Kings side,

In this battaile they obserue three chiefe things. The first, the Kings firme resolution to giue battaile, with an assured confidence, that the sincerity of his intent, and the equitie of his cause should be fauoured with the assistance of heauen. The second, that at the very instant of the fight it seemed that the earth did bring forth armed men for his seruice: for on the eue and the day of battell, there came about sixe hundred horses vnto him vnexpected. The third, that of two thousand French Gentlemen, onely 1200. did fight: twelue hundred put

1590. Aput to rout an army of foure thousand horse, fresh, well mounted, and well armed, and twelue thousand foot. Without doubt the eternall God of armes doth neuer forget the right of Princes, against their rebellious subiects: and a braue resolution, with a wife command giues a happy end to batailles.

1590.  
Conquests af-  
ter the victory

The next day by the sunne rising the Vidame of Chartres went to field by the Kings commande ment, to get some intelligence of the enemy. In the sight of Manté hee caused *Daurd* of Villeneuve a Gentleman of Quercy neere vnto Cahors, to aduance, whom hee knew to be full of courage and zeale to his Maiesties seruice, hauing seene him many times in good places, and lately very actiue to pursue the victory without care of bootie, like vnto many others. Gold doth many times cause him to bee hated that loues it, and spoiles doe litle aduance the spoilers; But goodly actions, leaue a fauour of immortall praise in generous mindes. *Villeneuve* resolues not to returne without some certaine newes. All the country was amazed; No man appeared. Hee approcheth neere vnto the towne, to talke with the first hee should meete. Some labouring in the Vines, seeing him armed and wearing a white scarfe, they runne and giue the alarum at Manté. The Inhabitants runne in heapes to the port with all sorts of armes. Hee heeres a great tumult in the towne; and therevpon takes an occasion to sound their awills. Hee pricketh on his horse to the turne-pike, and cries out that he came from the King to know their intentions: That he hath his armes open to receiue them with clemency that fauour the Iustice of his cause; and his sword ready to force them that thinke to pull from him the Inheritance which nature and law had giuen him.

God blessed his desaigne, and disposed the hearts of this people to follow the better way. About two hundred of the chiefe Inhabitants, come to him to the port. Hee shewes them the Iustice of his Maiesties armes, exhorteth them to renounce all forraigne leagues, and not grow obstinate, through the perswasions or promises of such as pretend to rauish the crowne, against all right and reason, and to consider that this warre was meere for state, and that religion was onely a maske: witnesse the Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates, which say masse daily in the army, with all libertie. That they should deliuer their resolutions freele, the which beeing reported to the King they should feele the effectes, which a people merites of a most mercifull and conquering Prince.

Being thus perswaded, and seeing the King armed with right and force, all ioyntly lift vp their hands, and protest to liue and die in the fidellity, which good and loyall subiects owe vnto their lawfull Lord, and that by their true obedience, they would wipe out rebellion wherevnto they had suffered themselves to bee carried, in the common deluge which had drowned the other people of the Realme. The Duke of Maine beeing aduertized by a strange captaine of the garrison, of the other which hee had seene giuen by the Inhabitantes, from the which hee could not diuert them neither by threatnes nor violence: In steed of assuring himselfe of the Towne, as hee might well haue done, hauing many souldiers with him, both horse, and foote considering that to settle his fastie vpon the vncertaintie of a popular friendship is to build vpon a quick-sand: Hee retires by the opposite Port without any trumpet, leauing the souldiers in so bad termes with the Inhabitantes, as feare putting winges to their feete, they followed the Fortune of their Commander. Thus by the industrie of this Gentleman (worthie doublelesse to bee registred in our Historie) the towne of Manté importing much for the bridge which it hath vpon the Riuer of Seine, came without charge or losse of men vnder the Kings obedience, who the next daie made his entrie there with all signes of ioy. Vernon another bridge vpon the same riuer did in like manner plant the banner of France. And the Heauens seemed to poore more blessings vpon our *Henry*, and to make his way easie to an absolute Royaltie: for the Earle of Rendan (chiefe of the League in Auvergne) was the same daie of the battaile of Yury, shamefully chased from the siege of Issoire, slaine in battaile, his troupes cut in peeces and his Artillery taken, by the Lords of Curton, Roignat and Chasseron.

Another bat-  
telle gotten of  
the League.

As they had abused the Mantois with a vaine assurance of his death, whom they durst not looke vpon nor encounter, so with the like practises they must delude the Parisiens. The Duke



1590. Duke of Mayenne, his Sister of Montpensier, and the other heads of the league, deceived of A their hopes, published by printed bookes, that at the first assault at Dreux, the Bearnois had lost about five hundred men, that their wounds had made a greater number vnfit for their armes: that the Marshall of *Biron* was wounded vnto death. That in an other encounter nere vnto Poissy the vnion had gotten a great victory. That in the battaile of Yury, the combate had bene long, and the losse almost equall. That if the Bearnois bee not dead, he is little better. But such as (glad to haue saued themselves) came to Paris, marred all, in verifying the contrary, making the people to hang downe their heads, and to wish for peace by a still and mournfull muttering. The fire-brands of hell in their pulpits made the losse farre lesse then it was, giuing them an assured hope of speedy and new succors from Spaine, for the restoring of their Estate and destruction of the Maheulties, so they then called such as did fight vnder the Kings Ensignes. B

And the Duke of Mayenne after he had made a certaine practise vpon the towne of Senlis (for the which twelue as well captaines as souldiers, and many others beeing ingaged in the same conspiracy, past through the hang-mans hands, the third day of Iuly) went into Flanders, to the Duke of Parma: that is to say he went to ruine his honour and reputation, for beeing a maister at home amongst his owne country-men, hee went to make himselfe a seruant and slaue to an ambitious proud man, who hath often in skorne made him attend at his Cabinet doore, and lacquay after him, before hee could receiue an answer of any matter of small importance: to the great griefe and disdaine of the French Gentlemen, that did accompany him, who scorned to imbase themselves to those proud humors. Doubtlesse it was necessary the Duke should try the insolency of strangers, the better to know the courtesie of the French, and submit his armes and person to the King his Soueraigne and lawfull Lord: the meanes whereby hereafter hee shall abolish the memory of things past.

Aduersity makes the wilfull more obstinate. The Court of Parliament at Rouen, for execution of the former decree, puts to death the seventh of Aprill, some prisoners the Kings seruants: and three daies after they declare all those persons guiltie of high Treason both to God and Man, that followed the King of Nauarre (so spake the decree) and would not yeeld to King *Charles* the tenth of that name, ioyne with the Vni- D on, and carrie armes vnder the Duke of Mayenne. Whilest these threaten by their decree, and the Duke goes to begge releefe, the King beeing at Manté laboured to reduce the Parisiens to reason by mildnesse. But these trumpets of sedition, imputing this delaie to want of courage, perswaded the people, that shortly their sworne enemy should haue worke enough, and that at length hee should bee ruined, that a little patience would giue them a great victorie: that they must not yeeld to any Article whatsoever: making impudent allusions to the name of his familie, who is now seated in the throne of this Monarchie.

Siege of Paris. These insolent exclamations brought the King about Paris. Paris is accustomed to liue from hand to mouth: the benefit of the Halles, the place Maubert, and other market-places, is the cause that the most part of households doe not know what prouision meanes. And the chiefe of the League had so settled this former beliefe in the citizens mindes, as of a hundred, foure-score and nineteene had neglected to prouide for things necessary to endure the toyle of a siege. So as the taking of Manté, Poissy, Pontcharenton, Corbeil, Melun, Montreau vpon Seine, and Lagny vpon Marne, brought Paris in few moneths to extreame necessity. *Compiègne*, *Creil*, and *Beaumont* stopt the riuier of Oise.

Erronious decision of Sorbonne. But the ordinary cries of the Preachers: the practises of the chiefe, and the Ladies of the league, and the erroneous decision of the faculty of Sorbonne, giuen the seventh of May in the third generall congregation, held to that end in the great Hall of the said Colledge, prohibiting all Catholikes according to the law of God, sayd they, to receiue for King an Heretike or fauourer of Heretikes, relaps and excommunicate, although he doe afterwards obtaine by an outward iudgement absolution of his crimes and censures, if there remaine any doubt of dissembling, treachery, or subuersion of the Catholike Religion. Condemning all them for Heretikes, forsakers of Religion, and pernicious to the Church, that should suffer any such to come to the crowne. All these made the multitude more obstinate against the extreamest

A extreamest miseries which the rigour of a long and painfull siege may cause. Besides this decision, they had yet stronger restraints to bridle mens tongues and actions that fauoured the floure de Luce in their hearts. The sixteene tribunes set spies to obserue the speeches and countenances of such as they suspect: that is to say, of such as wish for peace, and haue not lost the remembrance of the true Princes of France. And if any one chance to say. It were good to treat of a peace. He is a politike: hee is a Roialist, that is to say, an heretike, and enemy to the Church. They spoile, imprison, yea put to death, such as doe not applaud this horrible tyranny.

The Duke of Nemours, in the Duke his brothers absence, commanded at Paris, and for his chiefe counsellors he had, the Popes Legat, the Ambassador of Spaine, the Archbishop of Lion, the bishops of Paris, *Rennes*, *Placencia*, *Senlis* and others. *Panigarole*, bishop of Ait, *Bellarmin* and *Thyrens* Iesuits, who with diuerse processions, fastings, voves and supplications, betwixed the people in their greatest famine: many zealous doctors, curats, priests and monkes tooke armes, and the friars with their Breuiaries in open musters were admired by some, and laught at by others. The Cheualers *D'Aumale*, with some others, laboured by sallies to annoy the Kings troupes, who content to repulse them, hoped their bellies would shortly make their tongues to sing a new note. The Duke of Mayenne on the other side courted the Parmesan: and the King of Spaine proceeded so slowly in his succours, as the best iudgements did perceiue, hee rather sought to entertaine, then to quench their thirst. C

The Parisiens in the meane-time had leisure to sharpen, but not to satisfie their appetite. The corne and other prouision of the publike, was wasted the first moneth. Such as had any prouision in their houses, kept it very secret, and others that trusted too confidently to the words of the chiefe Commanders and Preachers, perished of hungar, or at the least indured much, struiuing against the cruelty of famine. All passages by water were cut off, the taking of Saint Denis depriued them of the plaine of France, and but for the passports (which a little fauour or money obtained easily of the captaines and gards) the citizens had in few weekes bene brought to the Kings discretion, who yeelded good for euill, suffered them to carry victuals for the Duke of Nemours, the Ladies and others who practised his D ruine, except *Nitri Gobert*, who by his ordinary sallies had often conference with the King to produce in the end great effects for his Maiesties seruice, and by his returne to the Royall party euaporate the bad fauour of foure thousand crownes which had carried him to the mutines faction in the greatest necessity of the Kings affaires.

Their misery grew extreame in the third moneth of the siege. There were a hundred thousand people dead of hungar, griefe and pouerty, in the streetes and hospitals, without releefe, and without pittie. The suburbs ruined, beaten downe and wast. The city needy and solitary. The rents of the Towne-house (being the chiefe liuings of many families) were extinguished: their lands about the City wasted and desolate, the Vniuersity forsaken, or seruing to lodge peasants, and the Schooles for stables for their cattle: the Palace not frequented, but by some idle persons, the grasse growing whereas before they could hardly goe for presse. The shops either without worke-men, or without trafficke. No corne, no wine, no wood, no hay vpon the riuier. Nothing passed but was subiect to the garriisons of Saint Denis, the fort of Gournay, Cheuruze and Corbeil: the Halls were empty, no marchants in market-places, no meanes to make money, nor to get meate. To conclude, see this Queene of cities, this little world, this Paris without Peere, wast, desolate, and at the last gaspe, and (to augment the disorder) many reliques were eaten, the Jewels and the crownes of ancient Kings molten, and for a peece of bread, many Wiues and Virgins doe willingly abandon their bodies, and their honours to the souldiers.

But all these miseries and horrors cannot moue these hard-hearted Pharaocs. The sixteene, the forty, and the chiefe of the faction, betwix the people, as it were with a sleeping potion which benums the members, to cut them off by peece-meale when they bee asleepe, that hauing sucked the bloud, the vitall heate, and the hearts out of their bodies (as they haue done the siluer out off their purses) they might confine their insolent tyranny, without controul: They force the Parliament (being subiect to the houses of Spaine and Lorraine) to publish a decree the fifteenth of Iune, *Forbidding vpon paine of death all men to* A forced decree of the Parliament at Paris. *speake*

The misery of the Parisiens.

A forced decree of the Parliament at Paris.

1590. *speake of any composition with Henry of Bourbon, but to oppose themselves by all means, yea A with the effusion of their blood. And the Preachers did still feed them with hope of a speedy deliuey.*

A mutiny of  
the people,

Deputies sent  
to the King.

But the bellie hath no eares: the people are not fed with paper, or with the Duke of Mayennes promises, nor with his trumpets. They haue already eaten dogges, cats, horses, asses, moyles, herbes, rootes, and any thing that might quench the rage of famine in such extreame dispaire. They come tumultuously to the councell assembled in the palace, to requere a peace. They prouide for this mutinie by a sillie reliefe of eight or tenne daies. At the end whereof a great number appeare armed in the same place, and demand peace, or bread. *Gou*, a capitaine in the towne, steps forth to feed these famished people with words, but no bread, and for his reward hee was wounded in the shoulder with a sword, whereof he died within few daies after. The Chanallier *D' Aumale* flies thither, and followed by a troupe of men at his deuotion, shuts the Palace gates, imprisons them that were armed, and hangs two, out of the whole multitude, to suppress the like fits of this dispaireing people. These popular mutinies had confounded the chiefe Leaguars, if they had not preuented it. To this end, they assemble with the chiefe of the citie, and notwithstanding the decision of the Sorbonne, and the decree of the Court, they resolute to send the Archbishop of Lions, and the Bishop of Paris to the Kings Maiesty, to seeke some meanes of pacification.

Before they part, they will haue leaue from the Legat, least they incurre some Ecclesiasticall censure. The Legat consults with *Panigrola*, *Bellarmino*, and *Tyrens*, whether the Parisiens did fall into excommunication, being forced by famine to yeeld vnto an Heretike Prince. If the Deputies going to such a Prince, to conuert him; or to better the Estate of the Catholike Church, were comprehended in the excommunication of the Bull of Pope *Sixtus* the fifth: the Doctors answer no. Thus the Deputies come to the King, to Saint *Anthonyes* in the field. The King heares their speech, tending to a generall peace for the Realme, or a particular for Paris, if the Duke of Mayenne will not seeke a Generall; But what can they hope to obtaine of a King of France and of Nauarre, treating with him but with the simple quality of King of Nauarre?

The kings  
answer to  
the Deputies

Your Councell (said his Maiesty) contradicts it selfe, demanding peace of him, whom they will acknowledge but for a King of Nauarre. I will, and desire peace, to ease my people, but not according to your propositions. I loue the city of Paris as my eldest daughter, and will do her more good then the requirers, so as she be thankfull vnto me, and not to the Duke of Mayenne, nor to the King of Spaine. The brute of the Spanish succors for Paris do not amaze me. I know the practises of Spaine, and with the helpe of heauen will conuert them into smoake. Paris & the Realm of France are not fit for King *Philips* mouth: I will giue the Parisiens eight daies to consider of their yeelding, and of the Articles of peace for the whole realme. Vpon their refusall, I know well how to vse a Conquerors right against the chiefe motiues and fauorers of rebellion: the constancy of them of *Sancerre*, the dispaire and victory of the *Gantois*, whereby you magnifie them of Paris, is impertinent: for those of *Sancerre* were prest to these extremities by the violences of such as would take from them their goods and liberties, their religion and liues. Contrariwise I will giue the Parisiens life, which *Mendoza* the Ambassador of Spaine takes from them by famine. As for religion, in forme your felues of these Princes and Noblemen Catholikes, if I doe force their consciences in the exercise of their religion, or otherwise. The comparison with them of Gant is not good. The Parisiens haue sufficiently shewed their courage, in suffering their suburbs to be taken. I haue fife thousand Gentlemen with mee, who will not bee intreated after the *Gantois* manner. I haue likewise God, and the equiuy of my cause. Make a faithfull report of my words to them that haue sent you.

With this answere, and other speeches testifying the Kings good meaning, and the small feare he had of the League, these Deputies goe to the Duke of Mayenne: and hee sends them backe to the King, and giues great hope to incline to a peace. But, *hee not amazed at this treaty* (said he to the Parisiens, by a Secretary of his, going after the Deputies) *I will rather die then make a peace.* And being aduertised, that Paris would shortly be forced through want to yeeld vnto the King. *The taking thereof (answered he) shall be preiudiciall vnto him:*

this

A *this conquest shall disperse his army, and then we shall preuaile easily.* But his Maiesty would neither see, nor suffer the ruine of his capitall city: and his meaning was not to seize vpon Paris in such sort as his enemies supposed. It greued him to see so many ill aduised people: And if the Dukes of Mayenne and Parma, comming to succours them, would hazard a battle, he hoped by their ouerthrow to bring the Parisiens vnto reason.

Thus the Duke thought to abuse the King with deuises, and vnder a colour of treaty win time, in fauour of the besieged. But the King being aduertised, that the Duke of Mayenne was parted from Bruxelles, and tooke the way to Paris, followed by *Balagny*, capitaine Saint *Paul* and other troupes, his Maiesty aduanceth with a troupe of horse, and marcheth seuen teene Leagues, to incounter him: and missing them but one houre, he forceth them to flie B into Laon. The Duke fortifies himselfe there with his forces, and approaching vnto Meaux, he giues a generall hope of a bataille. The King goes againe towards him: but hee findes the Duke fortified betwixt two riuers, attending the Duke of Parmaes comming, who beeing come, renues this first hope, and with this defeigne he goes to lodge at Clay and Fresnes, fixe leagues from Paris. The King raiseth the siege, comes to meet him, appoints the Rendezuous for his army: the next day, the thirtieth of August, on the plaine of Bondy in the way to his enemies, hee chafeth their quarter maisters from Chelles, who began to marke out their lodging, and forceth a troupe of eight hundred horse to retire into the body of C Chelles, about six thousand horse, in the which were fixe Princes, two Marshals of France, many Noblemen, more Commanders, more great capitaines then are in all the rest of the world, foure thousand French Gentlemen (whom the bare shew of a combat doth draw more cheerefully to the place of bataille, then to a gallant wedding) and eightene thousand foote French and strangers. The Duke of Parma standing vpon a hill to view them. *Deshefe* (said he to the Duke of Mayenne) *these ten thousand men, which you assured mee would bee so easily overcome? there appeares about fife and twenty thousand in the best order that I haue seene.* This Duke made more account to saue one of his men, then to kill ten of his enemies. So resoluing not to hazard anything, they change their swords and lances, into shouels and pick-axes, and intrenching themselves in the Fenne, auoided the danger; D and preferred his army: neither could skirmishes nor alarums make him abandon his trenches.

On the eight day of the moneth, the mist was great, and the winde being contrary, carried away the noise of the enemies canon. The Dukes laying hold of this occasion, make a bridge of boates, besiege Lagny vpon Marne, a weake towne, lying behind their backs, and halfe a mile from their campe: they batter it, and take it by force, but not without an honourable and vertuous resistance of three hundred men that kept it, but holding it not gardable they razed it. To draw them out of their fort, his Maiesty makes shew of a great enterprize against Paris: he makes his defeigne knowne, that he will attempt it by escaladoe: and the tenth daie at night goes from the campe with a good troupe. But they keepe E themselves within their Fennes, yet could they not long subsist in this straight, where they endured all wantes: and hungar in the end would driue the Wolfe out of the wood. The King offered them bataille in vaine: hee attended the tryall of the Dukes forces in vaine. Hee therefore mans those places hee held about Paris, sends backe some of his troupes into Touraine, Normandie, Champagne and Bourgongne, and retaines a sufficient armie to annoy his enemies.

This proceeding drawes the Dukes to field, to free Paris. Parma calles himselfe a Redeemer: and to make his profit of this aduantage, hee besiegeth and taketh Corbeil by force, and killes all that hee findes in armes. *Rigaude* (a braue and valiant captaine) commaunded there, and hauing no time to fortifie so great a power, hee found there F an honourable Sepulcher. For dying at the breach, hee performed the duetie of a faithfull and valiant seruant to the King. But the Parmesan lost the Marquis of Renty, with a great number of men, blemished his reputation, and weakened his army: for whilst that he wastes time, the King makes new defeignes, which shall bring the league into greater difficulties.

Euen then the Agents of *Philip* would haue filled his good City of Paris (for so the Spaniard

1590.

The King  
goes against  
his enemies.

The siege of  
Paris raised.

The King of  
fers bataille.

Lagny taken  
by the Dukes.

1589. Spaniard called it) with numbers of Spaniards and Walons. But on the one side the plague was great, and victuals very scant: and on the other side; the forces of *Maurice* Earle of Nassau prevailed in the Low-countries: the Queene of England sending great succours thether. And the sixteene tribunes of Paris seeing themselves at some more liberty, thanked the Duke of Parma, giuing him to vnderstand, that his aboad at Bruxelles, would be more pleasing and more safe for him. His army decayed visibly: he sees himselfe in the midst of an inconstant multitude, and to dismember his forces to leaue any with the Parisiens, were to loose them, to draw the King vpon him, and to be in danger of an overthrow. So in the end of Nouember he gathers together his troupes, and makes his retreat, being pursued, tired, and beaten with daily losse, euen to the frontiers of Arthois, by the King, the Dukes of Neuers and Longueuille, by the Baron of Biron, *Gurly*, *Parabell* and others. To reach strangers, that France cannot be taken nor ruined, but by it selfe.

He had no sooner turned his backe, but Corbeil and other small places held by them, returned to the Kings obedience : the garrisons placed there by them, repaied the French bloud lately shed at the taking thereof : and Paris fell againe into new confusions and like necessity. The Duke of Mayenne was greatly troubled to afflit the Parmesan in his retreat. During the which, the Marshall of Biron tooke Clermont in Beauvoisin for his Maiesty, of five or six other townes, and twenty forts or castles, possessed by the enemy. The Duke of Parma being out of the Realme, the King made his entry into Saint Quentin, being receiued with an honourable entertainment, and exceeding ioy of the Inhabitants : and the tenth of December, he was aduertised, that *Humières, Boissière* his brother-in-law, and *Parabell*, had forced Corby, scaled the walles, fought with the garrison, slaine all men of defence, and conquered the towne for his Maiesty.

We have conducted a mighty enemy out off the Realme: let vs now obserue some particular exploits, for which wee would not interrupt the continuance of our History. The Leaguers forces consisted of men, who sought their priuate profit in the confusion of the Estate, and by consequence, wished for nothing but increase of disorders: so all their designs tended onely to spoile and desolation: to the preiudice of the Kings subiects, but to no advancement of their party. In Daulphiné those of Vienne fought in the month of March, to shew some effects in fauour of the crosses of Lorraine. Those which had the Floure de Luze printed in their hearts, assure the towne for the King. The Colonel *Alphonso*, and *Des Dignieres* goe to succour them: and from thence goe and take Pont of Beauvoisin, and Saint Laurence du Pont, possessed by the League.

voisin, and Saint Laurence du Pont, possessed by the League.

In the meane-time, the Marquis of Saint Sorlin, brother to the Duke of Nemours, hath an enterprise vpon Vienne. These two Commanders flie thether with speed, and repulse the enemy. *Alphonso* desires to see how he carries himselfe in his retreat, hee falls into an ambush laid by the Baron of Senecey, is taken prisoner, and paies afterwards forty thousand crownes for his ransom. *Des Diguieres* tooke the townes and castles of Briançon and Dexilles, and entred vpon the territories of the duke of Sauoy. Then in November he besieged and forced Grenoble a Parliament towne, to set vp the armes of France, and to change their affections, which inclined to the factions of strangers. So wee may say, that Dauphiné was the first Prouince of the Realme, wholly subdued to the King from the league: the which was chiefly performed by the valour and diligence of the Lord of *Des Diguieres*. In Normandy the duke of Montpensier tooke Honfleur, and forced the Leagueurs to leaue the field. Thus the league decreased in diuers countries: and to giue them a mate, the King did sollicite a leauy of Reistres in Germany, by the Vicont of Turenne. On the other side, *Gregory Sfondrate*, lately installed in the Pontificall Chaire, and a Partisan of Spaine, reuiued the hopes of the League, promising a succour of fifteene hundred horse, and eight thousand foote, vnder the command of *Francis Sfondrate* his Nephew. During these preparations, the Cheualier *D' Aumale* attempts vpon Saint Denis, scales the wall by night, enters the towne without losse, and held himselfe for maiister thereof, when as the Lord of Vicq, a valiant, wise, and resolute Gentleman, comes into the streete, chargeth the Knight, laies him dead vpon the place, kills most of his followers, and puts the rest to flight. This Knight was one of the chiefe of the League, violent, hardy and valiant, but of a strange disposition, insupportable and dissolute.

The

The

A The King tyred the Parisiens with continuall alarms, and new enterprises, but rather to terrifie them then to ruine them, and to giue them occasion to open their eyes, and to consider of their estate. They grow so amazed, as they wall vp Saint *Honoris* gate, vpon an aduertisement that the Kings troupes would make some great attempt the twentieth of Ianuary. The Parrisiens feare, serueth the Agents of Spaine for a pretext to draw in some regiments of Spaniards and Neapolitaines, attending some great succors from the Duke of Parma. The hope of these new succours from Spaine and Italy, serueth the chiefe of that faction, as a bridle to restrain the Parisiens. But the more to incourage and content the whole body, *Gregory* the foureteenth of that name, assisted by many Cardinalls doth againe  
B excommunicate the King and his adherents: he sends a monitory to the Cardinall of Placentia his Legate at Paris, by *Marcellin Landriano* his Nuncio: and for the effect of his purposes and promises, he begins to arme, to nourish (in steed of quenching, as a common father) the combustions of this realme.

On the other side (the Castilian having priuate intelligence with the Duke of Mercœur) the Spaniards land in Brittainy, and fortifie Blauet a port of the sea: and thereby in a manner dismember the whole Prouince, vnyted to the Crowne vnder *Charles* the eight. The king sent *La Roue* to make head against them: and retrying to Senlis, hee tooke the way to Brie accompanied by the Duke of Neuers, (who hereafter shall be of the Kings party, vpon the assurance the Cardinall of Bourbon gaue him, that he might without scruple of conscience carry armes for his King, although of a contrary religion,) he makes a shew to beseege Prouins, Sens, or Troyes; then with a fodaine change he giues out, that his meaning was to goe to Tours, to redresse some disorders: but he commands the Marshall of *Byron* (who returned from the conquest of Caudebec, Fescamp and diuers other places for his Maiesty, to make a shew to passe through Beause, to ioyne with him, and that sodenly he should turne and inueit Chartres, before that any greater forces should enter.

Chartres was enuiroined the tenth of February, befeeged, battered, and assaulted, but valiantly defended almost two moneths & a halfe. *La Bourdaisiere* commanded there, who hauing endured some assaults, it was propounded in the Kings Councell to raife the seegge: but the Earle of Cheuerny, (lately restored to the office of Chancellor by his Maiesty,) did vehemently impugne it, hauing an especiall interest in the reduction of this towne, by reason of some lands he possessed thereabout, he aduiseeth the King to giue a generall assault: insists vpon the dishonor and preiudice it would bring to the Kings affaires, and the commodities hee should receiue by the taking thereof, being one of the keyes of Paris, which might greatly settle his estate, and annoy his rebels. The Lord of Chastillon, (comming from rayfing of the seegge of Aubigny, which *La Chastre*, chiefe of the League in Berry had befeeged) promisseth the King that if hee will make him his Lieutenant on this side the riuer, he will deliuer it into his power within eight daies. His Maiesty giues him this commande. He makes a bridge of wood, the point whereof reached vnto the breach, that they might come couered to handy-stroakes with the enemy. This new engin amazeth them, and draweth them to composition: the which they obtayned on Good-friday, vpon condition to yeeld within eight daies, if they were not releued. The Duke of Mayenne would not loose the certaine, to runne after the vncertaine. He held Chasteau-Thierry so straightly begirt, as the Vicont *Pinard* was forced to capitular with him before the King could come to his succour. So the King lost Chasteau-Thierry, and in exchange tooke Chartres, a goodly and a strong place. There came forth about six hundred men with their armes, horse and baggage, and the nineteenth of Aprill the King made a triumphant entry in armes, appointed a garrison, restored *Sourdis* to his gouernment, reduced Aulneau and Dourdan, to his obedience, and then went to refresh himselfe at Senlis.

Let vs now see some other finifter accidents, which in time fhall helpe to ruine the league. A thousand horfe, and eightene hundred Harguebuziers, Prouençals, Sauoyards and Spaniards, feeke to fubdue that Prouince for the Duke of Sauoy. *La Vallette* inuities *le Dignieres* to do the King herein a notable feruice: hee goes, and both ioyntly charge thefe troupes of ftrangers and baf tard French, they kill foure hundred maifters and fifteene hundred Harguebuziers, take many prifoners, and carry away fifteene Enfeigns, winne many horfes and much baggage, and loofe but one Gentleman and fome twenty fouldiers.

**Hhh**

## This

## REFERENCES

1591.

This done *Les Diguieres* returns into Daulphiné. Being gone, the League recouers new A forces in Prouence by the fauour and credit of the Countesse of Sault: but she had neyther force nor vigour able to countenance the factions of Spaine and Sauoye. The Duke of Sauoye lately returned from Spaine, growes ielous of some intelligences preiudiciall to his Estate, and sets gards both ouer her and the Lord of Crequy her son. She is cunning, counterfeits her selfe sicke, conceales her discontent, and in the end finds meanes to escape with her sonne disguised to Marseilles.

In Poitou.

In Poitou the gouernour of Loches, hauing taken the Castle of la Guierche, the Vicont of the sayd place preffeth his friends, intreats the Duke of Mercœur, assembles all he can, to recouer his house. The Baron of Roche-pose ioyned with some other Commanders of the Country for his Maiesties seruice, comes and chargeth the Vicont, kills a. B. boue three hundred gentlemen, his best footemen, and aboue seauen hundred naturall Spaniards that were come out of Brittain, to succor the Vicont. The Vicont after he had maintayned a little fight, flies to a river by, where thinking to passe in the ferry-boate, the presse grew presently so great, as boate, and passengers sunke. *La Guierche* with many other gentlemen slaine or drowned, did almost equall the number of the Nobility which died at Coutras.

Then the Princes, and Noblemen, Catholiks, following the King, did sollicite his Maiefty to turne to the Catholike religion, and had by the Duke of Luxembourg sought to appease the bitternesse of the Court of Rome, against the estate of this realme. The Dukes C returne with small hope: the petitions made vnto the King, to prouide for his dutifull subiects of both religions: to preuent the new attempts of *Gregory* the fourteenth and his adherents, to the preiudice of this Crowne, were the cause of two Edicts made at Mante in the beginning of Iuly: the one confirmed the Edicts of pacification made by the deceased King, vpon the troubles of the realme, and disanulled all that passed in Iuly: 1585. and 1588. in fauour of the League.

The other shewed the Kings intent to maintain the Catholike, Apostolike and Romish religion in France, with the ancient rights & priuiledges of the French church. The Court of Parliament at Paris, resident at Tours and Chaalons in Champaigne, hauing verified these D Edicts, did presently disanull all the Bulls of Cardinal *Caictans* Legation, and other Bulls come from Rome the first of March, proceedings, excommunications and fulminations, made by *Marcellin Landriano*, terming himselfe the Popes Nuntio, as abusive, scandalous, seditious, full of impostures, made against the holy decrees, Canonickall constitutions, approved Councells, and against the rights and liberties of the French Church. They decree, that if any had beene excommunicate by vertue of the sayd proceedings, they should be absolved: the said Bulls and all proceedings by vertue thereof burnt in the market place by the hang-man. *Landriano* the pretended Nuntio (come priuely into the realme without the Kings leaue or liking) should be apprehended and put into the Kings pryson, and so to proceed extraordinarily against him. And in case he could not be taken, hee should be summoned at three short daies, according to the accustomed manner, and tenne thousand E frankes giuen in reward to him that should deliuer him to the Magistrate. Prohibitions being made to all men to receiue, retayne, conceale or lodge the said pretended Nuntio, vpon paine of death. And to all Clergie men, nor to receiue publish or cause to be published any sentences, or proceedings comming from him, vpon paine to be punished as Traytors. They declared the Cardinals (being at Rome), the Archbishops, Bishops and other Clergy men, which had signed, and ratified the sayd Bull of Excommunication, and approved the most barbarous, abhominable and detestable Parricide trayterously committed on the person of the said deceased King, most Christian and most Catholike, deprived of such spirituall F liuings as they held within the realme, causing the Kings Proctor generall to seaze thereon, and to put them into his Maiesties hands: forbidding all persons eyther to carry or send gold to Rome, and to prouide for the disposition of benefices, vntill the King should otherwise decree.

Thar of Tours added this clause to their decree: they declared *Gregory*, calling himselfe Pope the fourteenth of that name, an enemy to peace, to the vnion of the Catholike Apostolike and Romane Church, to the King and to his Estate, adhering to the conspiracy

A conspiracy of Spaine, and a fauour of rebels, culpable of the most cruell, most humane, and most detestable Parricide, committed on the person of *Henry* the third of famous memory, most Christian and most Catholike. The Parliament of the League, did afterwards condemne and cause those decrees to be burnt at Paris, which were made against the Bulls, and Ministers of the Romish sea. So one pulled downe what an other built vp. During this contrariety of Parliaments, there falls out a crosse to diuide the intentions of the Spaniard, and Lorraine without the realme, and of the Dukes of Mayenne and Nemours at Paris. Euery one by diuers practises affected this Crowne, and euery one tryed all his wittes to set it vpon his owne head. But these men had diuided it amongst them, giuing the rest to B vnderstand, that they fed themselues with vaine hopes. To cast more wood and oile into the flames of their diuision, and to ruine one by another, matters were so handled, as the fifteenth of August, the young Duke of Guise escaped out of prison in Tours, and nor far from the riuer, found a troupe of horse appointed by the Lord of La Chastre, to conduct him. This escape caused many bonfires, and greatly reuiued their hearts, who held this Prince fit to make a King of the Vnion. But the cleere-sighted thought with reason, that his arrivall at Paris would rather ruine then aduance their party, and the deuises and practises of other pretendants, must needs soone kindle an extreme and common ielousie amongst them.

The Duke of Guise escapes.

Wilest these consult with their most trusty friends and seruants, what effects might C grow by this new accident the King in the same moneth besieged Noyon in Picardy, defeated the succours sent by the league, foure times, killed their most resolute men at armes, tooke many Prisoners, put the rest to flight, and at the Duke of Mayennes nose (who to auoyde this checke, which the League was like to receiue, attempted vpon Mante, sought to force his Maiesties Suisses lodged at Houdan, and approached neere to Noyon, but would not fight) heaping shame vpon his enemies, he forced the besieged to yeeld to his obedience: and moreouer went and dared him to fight before Han. Whilest on thother side the Prince of County reduced Sellies in Berri to the Kings obedience, at the winning whereof hee wonne more honor, being strongly scituated in a marish, then *Malherbe* and in the keeping of it: for he suffered it to be recouered within two months by him that D had lost it.

Noyon taken by the King.

Let vs returne into Daulphiné, to be hold the most memorable, and most fatall defeat for the enemies of this crowne, the most vertuous expedition of armes, which for these many yeares hath most broken their desseignes vpon Prouence and Daulphiné, and most E weakened the League in those Prouinces, which the Sauoisien affected: *Don Amedeo*, bastard brother to the Duke of Sauoy, *Don Oliuares* chiefe of the Spaniards, (whome the Duke had lately obtained of King *Phillip* his father in law,) the Marquis of Treuic and others, conducted twelue or thirteene thousand men, by the plaine of Poontcharra, neere to the Castle of Bayard, in the valley of Grasiuodan. Doubtlesse the place should ruine the memory of that incomparable Knight, who by the valour of his armes, hath in former times E wonderfully tyed the realme to commend his merits: the Lord *Les Diguieres* meets them, chargeth and defeats them, leauing two thousand five hundred slaine vpon the place, carries away many prisoners, and most of the Commanders, takes eightene Enseignes with Red Crosses, and makes booty of all their baggage, which amounts to aboue two hundred thousand Crownes, in Chaines, Jewels, Plate, mony, both golde and siluer, horse and armes. Two thousand Romaines and Milanois, which had saved themselues with Conte *Galeas* of Bel-loyeuse their Commander in the Castle of Aualon, were the next day at the victors discretion: sixe or seauen hundred were cut in peeces, the rest were sent to a place of safety, with white wands in their hands: and then sent home into Italy, with an oth neuer to carry armes against France.

The army of Sauoy defeated.

F The King seeing, that neither by the taking of Noyon, nor by any other baite, he could draw his enemies to fight, doth presse them yet more neerely. To this end he commands, that Paris should be restrained on all sides, both by water and land, and enioy no commodities, but by the mercy of the neighbour garrisons (the which hee enterrayned, vpon the tributes and customes imposed vpon victuals, which they suffered to passe to Paris: and by this meanes empied the inhabitants purses, stript them, and drew out of the City H h h h 2 necessary

The Popes Bull disanulled.



1591.

necessary commodities for his troopes,) then with one part of his army, he marcheth into Normandy, surpriseth Louiers and then resolueth to beseege Rouan, the inhabitants whereof seeming no lesse obstinate then the Parisiens, where-vpon he made a voiage to Diepe, to prouide for all things necessary for this seige, from thence he sent an Ambassador to intreate the Queene of England to assist him at this seige with foure thousand men for three moneths, and to haue the Earle of Essex to command them, the taking of which towne imported very much he said for the Trade of the English Marchants. The Queene did willingly grant these succors, and the Earle came at the appointed time with foure thousand foote, and a hundred and fifty horse as gallant troupes as could be scene: the King in the meane time was in Picardy attending his Germaine army which came vnto him vnder the command of the Prince of Anhalt. The English lay idle and halfe of the time was spent that was limited for their stay: at the last the King sent the Marshall of Biron to ioine with them with part of his army, who beseegeing Gournay with their ioyned forces they tooke it by composition, and then vpon the Kings arriuall they went to inuest Rouan, where at their first sitting downe the garrison made a gallant sally vpon the English quarter, but they repulst them and beate them into their towne as valiantly, but the English lost in this skirmish Maister *Walter Deuoreux* the Earle of Essex brother, a gallant yong Gentleman and of great hope. This seidge grew long and the inhabitants cried out for succours being reduced to a very desperat estate. So the King of Spaine sends to the Duke of Parma, commands him to leaue the government of the Low Countries to Cont *Mansfield*, to go and free Rouan, and to imbrace such occasions as should be offered. Wherevpon he parts from Bruxelles with 4000. foote, and 3000. horse: and fortified with the succours of Italy, and 3000. Swisses, he marcheth by small journeis, for he wisely conceiued that his maister sent him into France for the same considerations, that he wold haue giuen him the conduct of his army by sea into England, and vnder this shew of armes he practised an other designe: to cause the estates of the League to giue the Crowne of France to the Infanta of Spaine, whome the father promised to marry with one of the heads of the party, whom the estates should name.

This tended greatly to the preiudice of the Duke of Mayenne, for he was married: and the eldest sonnes of *Lorraine*, the Dukes of Guise and Nemours were to marry. He is therefore now resolutely determined to crosse the 16. Tribunes of Paris, who with their Champions carried away the peoples voyces, and aboue al others, did feed the Spaniards hopes in this realme, to whome (inticed by the gold of *Peru*, and his prodigall promises) they had already solde the Capitall City. The 16. growne hatefull through their tyrannous authority, feare to be soone suppressed: they resolute to preuent it, and rather to vnhorse the Duke, the better to aduance their affaires according to King *Phillips* intentions. One thing seemed to aduance their desseigne: they held prisoner one named *Brigard* a Proctor of the towne-house, accused to haue had intelligence with the King, and for letters written to his Maiesty. *Brigard* escaped out of prison: they suspect the President *Briffon*, and the Councillors *Larcher* & *Tardife*, to haue fauored his escape. In this fury the 15. of Nouember, they seaze vpon these 3. venerable persons, hale them to the Chastelet, cause them to be strangled in the close prison, and the next day, hang vp their bodies at the Greue, with infamous writings on their breasts. This execrable fact might haue extended farther, and made the like spectacle of any one that should in any thing haue controuled the actions of these homicides. The Duke of Mayenne (who treated with *Parma*) posits to appease this tumult. He sends for *Espritel*, *Francis* of Ardilly a gentleman of Beause who commanded in the Loure in the absence of *Riuande* his kinsman, asking him if there were an executioner prouided. This had bin sufficient to amaze the most constant, if he were not assured not to haue failed against the comandement which the Duke had giuen him at his departure, nor to obey any but the Lord of Belin. He offers his hand to *Ardilly*, and commands him to cause those which he should send vnto him to be presently hanged. *Cruce*, *Louchart*, *Hamellne*, *Auroux*, *Emonnet*, *Ruffe le Clerc*, and many others of the 16. which could not be found in the heat, escaped the gibbet. *Cruce* had bene first hanged if the Bishop of Triest had not purchast his pardon from the Duke of Mayenne. *Louchart* had escaped this mischiefe if he would haue accepted the honor which the Duke offered him to make him commissary of the victuals in the army. I will not (said he proudly) goe out of Paris.

Division between the Duke of Mayenne and the sixteene

Execution of sixteene Tribunes at Paris

1592.

A You haue men about you to whome you serue as a buckler, if your presence were not, we would make them change their Language. *Hamellne* seeing *Louchart* strangled, made a long prayer in French. *Emonnet*, a violent man, struggled much with the Hangman that bound him, thinking they would onely terrifie him: *Hamellne* being led towards his companions he desired to be confessed, protesting before all the assistants, being about forty, that he was not culpable of the president *Briffons* death: yet that God had worthily punished him for that he had in a night wickedly slaine a Secretarie belonging to the *Cheualier d'Aumale*, whome he had scene receiue two hundred crownes in gold which he had. *Auroux* excused himselfe that he was not of *Loucharts* practice although he had solicited him, that he tooke his death in good part, for many other great offences which he had committed, but he named them not. Thus these foure rascalls were hanged in the Lower Hall of the Loure, the which they call *Saint Louys* Hall, and by him, who for that he had made no refusal to put them secretly to death and without any ordinary forme of proceeding, whome the beauty of their Scarlet Robes made reuerent and to be respected, shalbe hanged within few yeares after with other confederates of that cursed attempt, when as after these furies the capitall city of this realme shall acknowledge her lawfull Lord, and the Court of Parliament recouer her former dignity, to reuiue these miserable wretches opprest at this day by the damnable commands of these Tribunes. The Duke of Mayenne by this execution shortned their number, weakened their authority, and maintayned his owne as well as he could, and to pacifie the people, guilty of this mutinie, he published the tenth of December, an abolition of things past in this disorder. The King in the meane time made his necessary prouisions for the siege of Rouan, and appointed his store-houses at Caen, Pont Larche, Ponteau de Mer, and other places. On the other side, the hope of speedy succours from the Stranger, the presence of *Henry* of Lorraine, eldest sonne to the Duke of Mayenne, and the arriuall of the Seigneur of Villars, with 600. horse and 1200. Musketers, made the Cittizens to persist in their rebellion: & the Parliament, to forbid all men by a decree, in any sort to fauor the party of *Henry* of Bourbon, vpon paine of death: ordaining that the oth of the vnion made the 20. of Ianuary, in the year 1589. should be monthly renewed in the generall assembly made to that effect, in the Abbay of *Saint Owen*, with comandement by the sayd Court to the inhabitants, to obey the Lord of Villars, Lieutenant to the sayd *Henry*, in all he should command for the preseruatiou of the towne. Moreover *Bauquemare* then first President, procured that all the Inhabitants should sweate before *La Londe* Mayor of Rouan, to reueale all such as by word or deed should fauor the King of Nauarre, to bee exemplarily punished. *Villars* hauing got footing within Rouan, he presently displaced his superior: settles his authority, expells all such as he suspected, fortified *Saint Catheryns* mount, and did all acts of hostility against the King, anoying his army what he could, the which besides the obstinacy of the beseegeed, was to encounter with the extreame rigour of the winter, sickness, and want of victuals. But they surpassed all these difficulties cheerefully, and the beseegeed were ready to yeeld, when as newes comes that the Dukes of Mayenne and Parma had taken Neuschastell, (abandoned by the Kings garrison) and were lodged at Franque-Ville halfe a dayes iourney from Rouan. The Duke of Guise, *la Chastre* and *Virry* his Nephew led the foreward. The Dukes of Mayenne, of Parma and *Sfondrate* Nephew to *Gregory* the 14. the battaile. The Duke of Aumale, the Earle of Chaligny, brother to the Queene Douager, *Beisaulphin*, *Balaigny* and *Saint Paul* the reuerward: *Bossempierre* and *la Motte*, Lorrains, led the Suisses and the artillery. Whilest that the King made a necessary voiage to Diepe, to frustrate some intelligences of his enemies, the Marshall of Biron drawes forth seauen peeces of artillery to Bans, a village about Darnetall, plants them in three places, and puts himselfe in battaile, to receiue the Duke of Parma, who should come to lodge in the valley on that side, and by his countenance, made them thinke that he had a desire to fight. The King arriues, continues in battaile almost thirty houres, and prouokes his enemy by continuall skirmishes. But he was encountered by a cunning temporiser, who passing with his troupes wide of Darnetall, made the king to deuise a new stratageme, to drawe him on more, and to engage him, as it happened soone after. The King dismisseth his Nobility, but with charge to be ready at the first command, & by continual skirmishes kept Rouan from any releefe, from the twentieth of March to the 21. of Aprill. In the end the Dukes

H h h h 3

of

A treacherous decree of the Court of Parliament of Rouan.

1592. of Maycenné, Guise and Parma, seize vpon Caudebec, from whence the garrison was dislodged, and the same day they come to Rouan, but stay not many howers, neither had they means to victuall it. His Maiefty seeing that Rouan was not supplied with victualls, passeth at Pont-Larche, cauleth his army to a pance towards Fontaine-le-Bourg, and sends for all his garisons of Louuiers, Mante, Meulan, Vernon, and other places neere, so as fortified with about 3000. horse and 6000. foote in lesse then 6. daies, he turnes head towards the village of Iuetot, where the Dukes of Mayenne and Guise were lodged, charge them forward and defeats it quite, chaseth the Dukes about two leagues from Parmaes quarter, leaving their baggage and plate in the possession of *La Guisché*. The first of May he takes from them an other lodging, leaues about sixe hundred Leaguers dead vpon the place, and loofeth but 5. souldiars and 18. or 20. hurt. All these checkes should draw the Dukes to fight: but Parma seeks onely to free himselfe from the King, and the rest had no desire to make tryall of their valours. They held themselues very close intrenched and fortified within their Campe issuing forth no more then they had lately done neere vnto Lagny. The King preffeth them, and takes from them all passages both for victualls and retreat. They likewise intrench a great wood, and to stoppe the Kings approach, lodge there 2000. Spaniards and Wallons. In sight of their whole army his Maiefty forceth this intrenchment, and had it not bene for a smal number who by great speede recovered the army) had defeated the whole troupe. For ten daies space the King tyred them with continuall skirmishes during the which he views the situation of their Campe and the 10. of May he made choise of such forces as he held necessary, and by five of clocke in the morning chargeth a quarter which the leaguers held to be most safe, and without resistance, kills about 2500. men vpon the place, carries away about 2000. horse, and winnes all the baggage. To conclude, this warre brought forth nothing so memorable as that which was done at Caudebec, at Iuetot and at Aumale. But for a prooofe of the perpetuall assistance and fauour of Heauen to our King, amidst this thundering of artillery, and so many showers of shot, his Maiefty was hurt with a Harguebuse in the reynes: but yet so miraculously, as the force of the bullet was spent in the emptines of the aire, and lay betwixt his armour and his backe, giuing the King this lesson by a diuine aduertisement, *My Lord, husband your life more sparingly: it is necessary for your subjects.* The Duke of Parma escaped not all these encounters without a musket-shot in the arme: the wound did accompany him to his graue.

In the end blowes, hunger and extreame thirst, forced these Dukes to take their way to Paris in confusion, from whence Parma (carrying no tokens of victory) passed through Brie, recovered Arthois, and so went to refresh himselfe at Bruxelles: then in the end of the yeare he died in Arras, as he returned from the Spaw. His reputation began to decay. He had preuayled little in France, and *Conte Maurice* did daily take something from him in the Low Countries. He had bene aduertised, by a great soldiars and a man of iudgement, that hauing taken the Towne of Antwerp (against the opinion of all the world) in the yeare 1585. he would shake hands with warre. Doubtlesse this Prince should haue ended his labours by this great seruice done to King *Phillip* his maister, as the most glorious triumph, which Spaine had long time seene.

The enemy  
defeated at  
Iuetot.

The King miraculously  
hurt.

The Dukes  
retreat.

The death of  
the Duke of  
Parma.

The death of  
the Marshall of  
Biron.

Thus the Duke of Parmas troups by land were weakned, and those hee had imbarcked were fought withal, some taken, and the rest sunke by the Hollanders. So *Sfondrate* came to consume his troups in France. Thus France escaped at this time the proud threats of her ancient enemies. Rouan pressed with as great necessity as before, bought corne out of Villars store-houses, at his owne price, whereby he got an infinit treasure. The King weighing well the toile his Nobility had endured dismissed some, and reteyned the most resolute, and to hinder the Parmesan from attempting any thing, he sent the Marshall of Biron to follow him at the heeles. Who loath to remaine idle, beseegeth, battereth and takes Espernay. But Espernay must be the fatal place to end his labours, and by his death breake off some other desseins which his Maiefty had, who to stoppe the entry of another army of strangers (which King *Phillip* at the intreaty of the chiefe of the League, nothing sorry for the Duke of Parmas disgrace, whose pride they could not beare) determined to send, vnder the conduct of the yong Duke of Parma, assisted by the Duke of Feria, vntill the comming of the Arch-Duke *Ernest*, brother to the Emperour *Rodolphus*, gaue order for the most vrgent affaires

Affaires of his realme: hee diuided his forces into the most conuenient places, to set vpon the League, where they had greatest strength, and laboured to effect some intelligences hee had within Paris. But the period of his happines was not yet come. During these practises, the Duke of Mayenne surprised Ponteau de mer: and to get more bagges of double pistols, he treats againe with the Agents of Spaine, touching the assembly of their Estates, to make the Crowne electiue, against the fundamentall Law of the realme. But he had his desire apart, and the greatest part of the Parliament was tired with this hidious confusion, vnder the which their scarlet robes could not appeare so beautifull, as vnder a stately Royalty: and the chiefe of the third Estate inclining vnto peace, abhorred these tedious furies of the League: The Duke of Nemours for his part layed the foundation of a petty Monarchie at Lions, but hee built it vpon the sand. He was now installed in the Towne which *Maugiron* had sold him treacherously, considering the shew he had made of faithfull seruice to the King, and the towne and Castles of Vienne in Dauphiné, the which he had receaued to the prejudice of the truce, which was then betwixt them of Lions and Dauphiné. Beeing assured of these good places, he goes to field, but with more brute then fruite: for he did not fortifie his party, but by the taking of Saint Marcellin and Echelles, places of weake resistance: and doubtlesse *Belliere* won more honour in the defence, then the Duke did in the conquest of the last. The Colonnell *Alphonso*, and *Les Diguieres*, vpon assistance of the truce were farre off, the one in Prouence, the other in Languedoc, where both opposed themselues against the forces of the League. This breach recalled them soone into Dauphiné, where with their ioynt forces they recouer that which the Duke had taken, not daring to oppose himselfe. In the end *Les Diguieres* hauing thrust the Duke of Nemours out of Dauphiné, (who by fauour of the forces of Sauoy, thought to settle himselfe there) enters into Piedmont, in the month of September, fortifies Briqueras, batters and takes the towne and Castle of Caours, chargeth the Dukes men at Vigon, forceth and defeats them. The Duke of Sauoy posts to Turin, and seeks to take the fort begonne at Briqueras by scalado. Hee is repulst with dishonour and losse. They charge him in his retreat, but some feare of an ambush made them retire. And *Les Diguieres* (hauing left the Lord of Piët. to commaund in Piedmont) returns to Grenoble, whether the affaires of the Prouence did call him.

On the other side seeing the armes of Spaine had preuayled so little on the land, they must try if some enterprize by sea would repayre their former losses. The Gouvernour of Fontarabye had long practised vpon Bayonne with a Phisition named *Blancpignon*, who had intelligence with a Spaniard that had liued long in the Towne, and vnder borrowed reames of arte, did by letter negotiate the surprise of Bayonne, and the rooting out of all the Kings officers and seruants. Their treason was so well aduanced, as a fleet of shippes with an armie at land, was ready for the execution, when as by God permission *La Hulliere* Gouvernour of Bayonne surprised the Lacquay comming from Fontarabye with letters of credit to the Traytors, who being taken and beheaded afterwards, discovered soone the whole practise: but the Spaniard chose rather to die then to write those letters hee was required, to giue direction to the attempters, and to lay a plot for his companions.

In October, the Duke of Bouillon followed with 400. horse and 200. harguebusers, before the towne of Beaumont, defeated *Ambise* great Marshall of Lorraine, Lieutenant generall to the Duke, accompanied with eyght hundred horse, and two thousand foote: hee slew the Commaunder, and about 7. hundred others, tooke their artillery, their ensignes, and their Cornets, sent home foure hundred Lansquenets, with white wands, and lost not one man of marke. A small fish called *Remora* stayes a great ship: so a paultry hens roust ruines the League in Languedoc and Quercy. The Duke of Joyeuse (brother to him who died at Courtras), hauing spoiled the Country about Montauban with 6. hundred maisters and foure thousand foot, French and Lansquenets, in the end became maister of Monbequin, Mombartier, Monbeton, and tooke Barre by composition: but in reuenge of 80. souldiars he had lost before it, (contrary to his faith) he puts most of them that yeked to the sword. A treachery which caused his brothers death, and for the which, the vengeance of God shall soone confound this man. The fort of Saint Maurice came in like sort into his power, and then hee besieged Villemur. The Lord of the place called *Reniers*, commaunded about two hundred and fifty souldiars, whome the Lord of *Thémines* Senechal

1592.  
The Kings  
proceeding.

The Duke of  
Mayennes.

The Duke of  
Nemours.

*Les Diguieres*.

Bayonne at-  
tempted by  
the Spaniards.

Defence of  
Ambise.

Duke of  
Joyeuse

1592.

Themines  
surprised and  
defeated.

Seneshall of Quercy (a wife and valiant Gentleman) releued suddenly with fixe and forty men, as well Cuirasses, as Harguebufiers, led by the Seigneur of Pedoue: and then (being ioyned with the Duke of Espernon) hee caused *Ioyeuze* to raise the siege, recouered Mauzac and some other small places thereabouts.

But whilest his troupes sleepe at their ease, after the order and maner of the French, with too great confidence and contempt of the enemy, the Duke of *Ioyeuze*, sets vpon them with all speede in the night, kills foure hundred, hurts a great number of them, and but for the wisdom and aduise of *Themines* had slaine all the rest, and gotten two Cannons of *Montauban*. This done the Duke of Espernon retires into Prouence. His brother *La Valette* died in February, and the Estate of Prouence required the Dukes presence beeing *Gouernour*. *Ioyeuze* layes hold of this occasion, and the tenth of September retournes and camps before *Villemur*. *Reiners* commits the place to the Baron of *Mauzac*, to *Chambert* and *la Charze*, wife and valliant Commanders in warre: and goes himselfe to gather together some succors at *Montauban*. The Seigneur of *Desme*, is happily there with some forces, and without any stay puts himselfe into *Villemur*. *Ioyeuze* made his battery of eyght Cannons, and two Culuerins, when as *Themines* accompanied with fixe score Maisters, and 200. Harguebufiers, marcheth courageously to succor them, causeth his horsemen to light, and sends their horses safely backe to *Montauban*, and so with great dexterity, thrusts himselfe into *Villemur*. And in good time; for the next day, the 20. of September, *Ioyeuze* gaue a furious assault, but it was valliantly defended, with great losse to the enemy. At the same instant *Themines* giues an alarm with foure Trumpets, which hee had brought with him, chargeth *Ioyeuze* fiercely, and defeats a regiment newly come from *Tholouse*, with a supply of powder, bullets, pikes, and iron forks.

Hereupon the Marshall of *Montmorency* *Gouernour* of *Languedock* supplies the beseged with some troupes led by *Leeques* and *Chambault*, who aduertised of new forces, come to *Ioyeuze*, attends some dayes for *Missillac* *Gouernour* of *Auuegrne*, to ioyne with him. *Ioyeuze* meanes to preuent them, and before they ioyne with the *Auuegrnac*, to set vpon them. Hee chargeth them at *Bellegard*, and finds the beginning succesfull and pleasing, but the end foule and mournfull: for hee left the field and returned with great losse. D

Notwithstanding hee meanes to amaze the beseged, and by the Councell of *Onoux* and *Momberault*, politike Captaines, he makes many fires in his Campe, as a signe of victory and ioy: but *Themines*, *Leeques* and *Chambault* did but laugh at this policy. *Missillac* arriues at *Montauban* with a hundred Maisters and a good number of Harguebufiers. *Ioyeuze* hauing his troupes then disperfed, some before *Villemur*, others in field against the Kings seruants, all the Commanders resolute to fight with him. *Missillac* leads the forward, *Chambault* the battayle, *Leeques* the reerward: and the neeneth of October, they resolutely set vpon the Dukes first trench, by the regiments of *Clouzel* and *Montoisson*, garded by two hundred souldiers, and presently succoured by foure hundred others, they force them and chafe them: to their second trench, after an houre and a halfe fight vnder their Commander. The rest of the Kings armie comes violently vpon them. *Themines* issueth out of *Villemur* and chargeth them behind. He leaues the place, & retires farther off to *Condomnes*, where his Campe & artillery remained. His men seeing themselves pursued, take this retreat for a flight: they grow amazed, all disband, all fly in disorder, feare makes them to loose their iudgement, and the most part casting themselves into the riuer of *Tar*, (the bridge of boats which *Ioyeuze* had made beeing vncapable of so great a presse) desired rather to try the fortune of the water, then of the victors sword. They cut the bridge, which was in a maner the death of all them which had trusted in this violent Element. *Ioyeuze* disapoynted of the vse of the bridge, leapes among the rest into the riuer of *Tar*, beeing full of them that fled, and the *Tar* swallowing vp his body, as the rest, leanes his soule to seeke the place of his destiny. The Victors passe the foard, and charge them that did swimme in the water, pursue them that fly, cut all in peeces they incounter, and of so great a number bring but forty three prisoners.

The Duke of  
Ioyeuze drow  
ned.

The death of about three thousand men ruined the League in *Languedoc* and *Quercy*. Three Cannons, two Culuerins, two and twenty ensignes, and all the baggage, were the spoyles of this so memorable day. And to make it the more memorable, the victors

lost

1592.

A lost but tenne men, whereof foure, beeing not well knowne, did by mistaking run like fortune with the vanquished. Thus *Villemur* hauing indured aboue two thousand Cannon shot, was fully deliuered, with the losse of seauenteene souldiers only. The Dukes body was drawne out of the water and buried in *Villemur*, and the Kings armie, consisting of fixe hundred maisters, and two thousand and fixe hundred shot, besides those which remained in the place beseged, retired, (hauing purchased great honour) to their garrisons. Thus the Leagues affaires began to languish: the impatiency and lightnesse of people (who promise vnto themselves much, and suffer little) did quench this great heat which was lately seene in good townes, and the whole party runs headlong to their ruine. They did no more

B take for paiment the assurance which was giuen them, to prouide shortly for this common disorder: & by an assembly of the Estates, proceed to the election of a king, who should raise the pillars of their Estate, and restore the good order and harmony that should be betwixt them. The zeale of the new Pope, *Clement* the eyght, moued them very little. The forces and pistolets of Spaine grow hateful vnto them. The actions of the Duke of *Mayenne* are detested, they abhorre the tyrannies which other petty Kings would practise in their Provinces, and did well foresee, that the ambition of great men would soone thrust the people into the gulfe of vtter ruine: finally euery one begins to lift vp his head, and to desire peace. They speake of it in the open Parliament of the League. The chiefe of the City ioyne with them that are desirous of quiet, and in the end procure an assembly of the City of Paris, in the midst of Nouember. They speake very plainly, to end these troubles, and to send to treat with the King to that end and purpose: besides (by the death of the Cardinall of *Bourbon* lately deceased,) the preferring and aduancing of the vnckle before the nephew, which they pretended, was no more of force.

The League  
declines.

The Duke of *Mayenne* seeing himselfe ready to be disapoynted, goes to the towne-house, intreats the assemblie to referre the decision of that poynt to the Estates, and to forbear to deale therein. Otherwise (sayd hee) I shall haue reason to thinke that the authors thereof are ill affected to our party, and will deale with them as with the enemies of our religion. Notwithstanding all his threats, it was decreed, that attending a conuocation of the Estates, they should send vnto the King to obtaine a free trafficke betwixt them and the Townes of this Realme. The Duke not able to impugne this conclusion seemes to allowe thereof. This was to recover some life after a long numnesse and faynting, and to returne to the way of obedience: But the Legat of Rome (a pensioner of Spayne, and the chiefe of the League) hoping to drawe the affayres to another course, calling from all parts the Deputies of Townes confederate to assist at the Estates at Paris, they sought all meanes to mortifie these motiues of charity to theyr Countrey which reuiued in the most modest. And the better to aduance theyr desseines, they publish a certaine writing in forme of a Bull, commaunding and giuing authority to the Cardinall of *Placentia* to assist and to confirme the future election of a new King. This doth sufficiently discover that which hitherto they haue concealed and kept secret, couering (with the pretext of religion) their wicked and damnable conspiracy: which opened the gates to the ouerthrow and ruine of all order and humane society, instituted by God, especially of this most famous and flourishing Monarchy, whereof the fundamentall Law consists cheefly in the order of the lawfull succession of our Kings.

The Court of Parliament (beeing remooued from Paris to *Chaalons*,) by a decree of the eyghtenth of Nouember, (confirming the request of the Kings Proctor generall,) allowed of his appeale from the graunt of the sayd Bull, and authority contained therein, the publication and execution thereof, and whatsoeuer was therein contayned. They decreed, that *Philip* of the tittle of Saint *Onuphrins*, Cardinall of *Placentia*, should beey cted to plead against the sayd appeale. They exhorted all men not to suffer themselves to be infected with the poyson and witchcraft of such rebels and seditious persons: but to continue in their duties like good and naturall French-men, and to retaine still the obedience and loue they owe vnto their King and Countrey, not adhering to the practises of such as (vnder the colour of religion) would inuade and trouble the Estate, and bring in the barbarous Spaniards, and other vsurpers.

A sentence  
gainst Clement  
the eyght his  
Bull.

The did expressly inhibit and forbid the keeping of the sayd Bull, to publish it, to ayde

or

1592.

The Popes  
Bulls disap-  
pled.

or fauour the said rebels, or to transport themselves into any townes or places that might bee assigned for the said pretended election: vpon paine for the Nobles to be degraded of their Nobility, and they and their posterity to bee declared infamous and base, and for the Clergy to loose the possession of their benefices, and to bee punished as all other offenders, guilty of treason, troublers of the publike peace, traytors to their Countrey, without hope to obtaine pardon, remission or abolition. And all townes not to receaue the said rebels and seditious to make the said assembly, to lodge, intertaine or harbour them. Moreover they decreed, that the place where that resolution had beene taken, together with the towne of the sayd assembly, should be quite razed, without hope to be reedified, for a perpetuall memory of their trechery and treason: Commanding all persons to set vpon such as should transport themselves to the sayd towne, to assist at this assembly: And to the Protector generall to informe against the authors, and procurers of such monopolies and conspiracies made against the Estate.

This decree was but laughed by the heads of the League, and did nothing daunt their priuate hopes. Euery one makes his faction apart. Euery one desired to sit in his maisters chayre: and not one would bee a seruant or Companion. The Dukes of Guise, Mayenne, Nemours, and Sauoy, the Marquis of Pont, sought by sundry practises to get the voyces of the pretended Estates. The instructions found in the cofers of the Baron of Tenisley, after his defeat by *Vaugrenan*, who commanded for the King in Saint *Iohn de Laune* in Bourgoigne, did sufficiently discouer the high proiects which certaine bad Councillors made this yong Prince to conceiue. But about all, the Duke of Mayenne, supposing that after the death of the Duke of Parma, (whom hee feared as very opposit to this authoritiy,) this occurrent would giue him meanes to recouer his credit, began to play the King within Paris, hoping the Estates would prefer him before the yonger: or at the least, the title of Lieutenant generall to the King of Spaine, could not escape him in the conquest of the realme. For the first fruits of his absolute power, hee forceth the Presidents and Councillors remaining at paris to receiue *Rosne* one of his most trusty friends, with the title of Marshall of the crowne and Gouverneur of the Ile of France, dignities fit for a Nobleman of a better house and quality. And to bridle the Parisiens who demanded peace, he caused on Christmas Eue, going vp to the Pallace (the city beeing in armes,) the foresaid decree against the Popes Bull to bee openly burnt, then by a publike declaration hee inuited all the Catholikes of the Realme to vniue themselves, and to forsake the obedience which they shewed to a Prince, whose profession and perseuerance made him incapable, and appoynted the conuocation of the Estates on the feuenreenth of Ianuary following at Paris. There ioyntly to seeke (without passion said hee or respect of any mans interest) the remedies which they should thinke in their consciences to bee most profitable for the preservation of religion and the Estate.

But what Estates? Like vnto those of Troyes, where they disinherited *Charles* the seauenth, the true and lawfull heyre of the Crowne, as excommunicate. Estates chosen almost of all the scemme of the people, of the most mutinous and seditious: corrupted by money, and all pretending some priuate profit in change and inuocation. A Parliament compounded of men, which eyther enioyed the benefice, the office, or the house of their neighbour, or that had stolne his goods or detained his reuenues, or (to conclude) that feared by a peace to bee toucht for some committed crimes, bankerouts, infamous and wicked. Estates where there appears not one Prince of the blood, no Chancellor, no Marshall of France, no Presidents of Soueraine Courts, none of the Kings Proctors generall in his Parliament: few men of reputation, knowne to haue loued the peoples good and their owne honours. No men of marke and account: without whom they could not assemble, nor hold any iust and lawfull Estates. Finally a Parliament, where they see none but passionate strangers, gaping after France, greedy of the blood and wealth thereof, ambitious and reuenging women: corrupt Preefts, licentious and full of vaine hopes. No Noblemen of worth, but three or foure, who already had resolved to abandon that faction: all the rest were beggarly, louing warre and trouble, during the which they eate the poore mans bread, not able to maintaine their owne traines in time of peace, An Italian Legat, and vassall to a strange Prince, (who in this quality neyther can nor ought to haue any place)

1593.

A place) sent to hinder the liberty of voyces, and to authorise such as had promised him to do wonders for the affaires of Rome and Spaine. A Cardinall of Peluë, a Frenchman by nation, but pleading the cause of the King of Spaine and the rights of Lorraine. The Duke of Feria, and Mendosa Ambassadour of Spaine had their Agents and Aduocates, by whom they gaue them to vnderstand, that the King of Spaines intention was only, to haue a King chosen that might pacifie the troubles of the realme, deliuer them from their enemies, defend them against all assaillants, and restore the Crowne to her first beauty. And representing the voluntary bounty of the Catholike King, and the great effects of the succors giuen by him vnto France, wherein he had employed about sixe millions of gold, he would inferre, that none but he was capable of this election: or else in regard of him, the *Infanta Donna Isabella*, to whom, the sayd Ambassadour durst maintaine, that by the Lawes of nature, of God and of the realme, it did belong. Doubtlesse from the Insolent proceedings and proud desseins of strangers, the soueraigne author and gardien of Estates caused the preservation of this monarchie to grow. They commended this Ambassage, and received it with honour. But the pretensions of this *Infanta* were reiectd at the first, as a proposition contrary to the fundamentall laws of the realme. His Agents seeing themselves frustrate of this first demand, they frame a second, vpon the election of the Arch-duke *Ernest*, first brother to the Emperour, to whom the King of Spaine promised to giue his daughter to wite, when as the assemblee had declared her Queene of France. But what should become of so many Competitors growne vp in France? So this proposition finding no man willing to entertaine it, remayned frutelesse.

The desseins  
of Spaine.Craft by  
some men  
of honour.

Now some thinking to giue the last mate to the Kings good fortune, vrge a third expedient: That if they giue this Crowne vnto the Noble *Infanta*, and to him of the Princes of France, comprehending the house of Lorraine, whom the King of Spaine should choose, they would cause this election to be seconded with an army of eight thousand foote and two thousand horse, and within few monethes to be fortified with the like numbers, which soone should reduce France wholly and peaceably to these new Kings: that they would giue a hundred thousand Crownes monethly, so long as the warre should last, to entertaine tenne thousand foote, and three thousand horse within the realme. Was not this to feed mens mindes with fancies, dreames and imaginations? But no man giues his voice to this last proposition. Doubtlesse there was no proportion to recompence the succors sent by *Philip* to the reuolted townes, with the Crowne of France.

Contrariwise many hauing their mindes meere French, knew well that this proposition was to make matters irreconcilable, and to bring an immortall warre into France, and therefore with a feruent zeale, and great affection they opposed themselves against the reception thereof: hoping the eternall prouidence, who had so often raysed France from most gricuous falls of warre, and from greater infirmities, would now preuent these latter dangers, otherwise then by the subuersion of the lawes which were made to support it. The declaration which his Maiesty opposed to that of the Duke of Mayenne, did much preuaile to fortifie those good mindes in their commendable resolution, and prepared their hearts generally to conceiue a great hope of a speedie peace. For the King discouering the practises of his rebellious subiects, namely of their heads, and the Dukes treachery, presuming to assemble the Estates of the realme, which may not be called but by royall authority, and for matter of religion, hee protesteth that besides the Conuocation of a Councell, if there may be found any better or more speedie meanes to come to the instruction which they pretend to giue him, to diuert him from the exercise of his religion, to that of the Catholike and Romish, he will willingly embrace it with all his heart, giuing leaue to the Princes, Officers of the Crowne, and other Noblemen that did assist him, to send their Deputies to the Pope to deale in this instruction, and to be pleased therewith; and blaming the Leaguers who had hindred the effects, hee layed a good foundation of the obedience which his subiects prepared for him. Declaring moreover this pretended assemblee at Paris, to be attempted against the Lawes, against the good and quiet of the realme: and all that should be treated or concluded therein, abusive, and of no force. Terming the Duke and his adherents in that case, guilty of high treason, shewing that he could maintaine his authoritie against all vsurpers.

The Kings  
declaration  
against the  
Leaguers.

But



1593.

But offering pardon to all townes, Commonalties and persons seduced by the chiefe of the League, and exhorting them to remember themselves, hee made his subiects begin to tast that great and admirable clemency, whereby hee hath wonne the hearts, and brought the affections of the French to a perfect and most voluntary obedience.

The conference at Surere.

To this declaration of his Maiesty, the Princes and Noble-men Catholikes that were about him, added another, which they sent to these pretended Estates, and required that some should be deputed on eyther part, to resolve of the fittest expedients to pacifie these troubles, for the preferuation of the Catholike religion and the Estate. The Duke of Mayenne and his party accept of this conference, so as it may bee done by Catholikes onely, and it began the twenty ninth of Aprill at Surene neere Paris. Whilest the good Cardinall of Bourbon liued, hee was an instrument for the League: now hee is dead, religion is their onely pretext. And the more the King giues them hope of his conuersion to the Romish Church, the more violent they are to drawe the people from this beleefe.

Cross by the court of Rome

The Legat seemes to crosse it, and by a publike exhortation full of iniuries against his Maiesty, hee labours to perswade the French, that the King long since dismembred from the body of the Church, was most iustly pronounced incapable of the Crowne. Then opposing himselfe against the decrees of the Parliaments of Tours, and Chaalons, made against the monitories of *Landriano*, hee extolles his maisters prayfes, condemnes the Parliament which had condemned his Bulls, magnifies the Estates of the League, who reiect-ed an obstinate heretike and relaps, with a resolution neuer to yeeld vnto him, for (said he) such is the Popes will and pleasure. But why a relaps and obstinate, considering the due submission which our *Henry* makes to yeeld to better instruction? The Pope himselfe will harken soone vnto him, and all the Consistorie will blesse his resolution.

The answer of the Estates to the Partis of Spaine.

Both the Duke and Legat preuaile little in their deuises. Those which held the first place in this assembly, and had no other care but to preserve this Monarchy, found this expedient: that to frustrate the former propositions, they should say to the Duke of Feria and other ministers of Spaine, that it would be now out of season, and dangerous to make this election: and that the assembly reserved the conclusion thereof, vntill they might see an army ready, by meanes whereof their resolutions might be supported and put in execution. Courage! This clame promiseth that we shall soone anchor in a safe harbour. And that which aduanceth the shippe of our estate with a more prosperous gale, that great and Magnificent Senat of France remayning at Paris, resumes their credit, and the beauty of their scarlet robes: they exhort the Duke of Mayenne to imploy his authority of Lieutenant, that vnder colour of religion, the Crowne fall not into strangers hands, against the lawes of the Realme, and to provide speedily for the peoples quiet: and by a decree of the eight and twentieth of Iuly, they declare all treaties made, or to be made to that end, voyde, and of no validity, as being made to the hurt and prejudice of the Salique Law, and other fundamentall Lawes of State.

A decree of the Parliament at Paris.

This decree did wonderfully incense the Duke of Mayenne and the agents of Spaine, especially against the President *Le Mostre* who deliuered the speech: who encountering all their chollers, left them to bite vpon the bridle. But see now the fatall blowe, which ruines that third party, by the which Catholikes were ready to thrust the realme into new combustions, and cuts off all difficulties, as well in them which made a scruple to fight vnder the ensignes of a king of any other religion then their own, as in others which had so long time shadowed their mutinies, and rebellions with this goodly pretext. The king, after the taking of Dreux, satisfied in his conscience, by the instruction of the Archbishop of Bourges, of *Re-ne Benoist* Curate of *S. Eustache* in Paris, and of some other doctors, desires to be admitted in to the bosome of the Catholike, Apostolike and Romish Church, and the twenty fife of Iuly made a publike & sollemne profession at *S. Denis* to the said Arch-bishop, assisted by *Charles* Cardinall of Bourbon, Arch-bishop of Rouan, and Nephew to the deceased, nine Bishops, with many other prelates and religious men: he protested to liue and die in the sayd Catholike religion, swearing to defend it against all men: he made profession of his faith, and performed all ceremonies requisite in so sollemne an act: and then he receiued absolution and blessing, with an admirable ioy and acclamation of the people.

The Kings conuersion.

Presently

1593.

A Presently after this sollemne act, his Maiesty sent the Duke of Neuers, the Marquis of Pisani, and *Henry* of Gondy Bishop of Paris to the Pope, to yeeld obedience by them to the holy see, and to testifie that he desired no lesse to imitate the example of Kings his Predecessors, and to deserue the title and ranke of the first sonne of the Church by his actions, then they had bene careful to get it and preserve it, and to beseech him to allow of his conuersion, and to countenance it with his owne blessing. This is that great action of State which the chiefe of the League most feared: for what could they now obiekt against the King, to contradict his right, and to terme him incapable of his inheritance? See now by what subtilty they seeke to crosse his Maiesties affaires, and to support strangers. They complaine first of his sodaine change, and say they may not trust him: that his Holinesse must beginne and end this worke. That the King should make all submissions to the Sea of Rome, and attend if the Consistory would declare him capable to gouerne the Realme of France. That hauing commandement from the conclave they would aduise to doe what should be reason. Vntill the which were effected they would not treat any more with the Kings deputies, and till that this change of Religion which the King had made, were approued by the Pope, whereof afterwards they would take aduise, for assurance of the preferuation of the onely Catholike Religion in this Realme.

The Duke of Mayenne hauing (to his great prejudice) so often tried the proud insolencies of the Spaniards, and since knowne that their practises tended onely to feed a perpetual fire of diuision among the French, by meanes of the election of a new King, whom they promised to marry to the Infanta, had often protested, that when he should see the King returne into the bosome of the Church, from the which his Religion had excluded him, hee would presently yeeld him obedience as his most humble seruant. The Kings conuersion doth now free him of this imaginary scruple. The King himselfe offering him offices, and honourable aduancements, seekes to drawe him out of those snares from the which hee would willingly bee freed. But he is so farre engaged as hee can hardly retire himselfe: and some hope that the decisions of Rome, the resolution of the Estates, the conclusions of the Colledge of Sorbonne, and the practises of Spaine, would yet worke some good effects in his fauour, doth with-hold him from accepting of his Maiesties offers.

But on the other side hee cannot digest the aduancement of the Duke of Guise, whose marriage with the Infanta the Partisans of Spaine did solicit, as being heire to his fathers pretensions. And to ouerthrow it, hee seemes in generall termes to approue so great an honour done vnto his Nephew: but requiring for his owne particular so high and difficult things, he giues them easily to vnderstand, that he will not subiect his will, to the appetites of Pope *Clement*, nor of *Philip* King of Spaine, neither yet to the decision of the Estates whilest that he crosseth the propounded election of the Duke of Guise. The conference at Surene giues the subiect meanes to tast the liberty of the fields and the sweetnesse of peace, concluding the last of Iuly a general suspension of armes on either side for three moneths, E a meanes which shall soone reduce whole Prouinces with-drawne from their ancient obedience. In the meane time, the more the Agents of Spaine see their practises disapointed, the more vehement they are that the Court of Rome should giue no audience to the Kings submission.

They oppose themselves by the meanes of the Ambassador of Spaine at Rome, against the negotiation of the Kings Ambassadors with the Pope. They speake of his Maiesties conuersion, as of a counterfeit thing, to deceiue the Church, and after his confirmation to ruine the Catholike Religion. To conclude, they doe their best to quench these coales of charity, which were kindled in the peoples hearts, and cause the Pope to reiect this faithfull and willing obedience, whereby the King will shew himselfe a successor of the piety of *Charles*, *Charlemagne*, and *Saint Lewis*, as well as heire of their scepter.

But see one of the most violent attempts of the league, which had almost dissolued this harmony, which was prepared by a general reconciliation of the French among themselves, and of them to their lawful and soueraigne Lord. The 26. of August *Peter Barriere* borne at Orleans, was taken prisoner at Melun, where his Maiesty was then, by the discovery of a Iacobin a Florentine, to whom hee had confessed himselfe in Lions (the Priest reuealing this

Iiii

crime

The Duke of Mayenne seeks to crosse his Nephew.

Execution of Peter Barriere.

1593. crime incurre no Ecclesiasticall censure) he confessed, that seduced and perswaded by a Capuchin of Lions, and afterwards confessed by *Aubry Curate of Saint Andrew des Arts* at Paris, by his Vicar, and by *father Varade* a Iesuite, he was come thither expressly to murder the King. And in truth the wretch was found seized of a sharpe knife with two edges: and for this cause he was pinched with hot pincers, his right-hand burnt off, holding the said knife: his armes, legges, and thighs broken, and his body burnt to ashes and cast into the riuer.

The like treason practised by the Duke of Mercuer, whereof the chiefe were the Marquis of Afferac of the house of Rieux, the Seigniors of Crapadant and Bois-marin, had intrapt *Henry* of Bourbon Duke of Montpensier (who made warre in Britan for the King) and the Parliament of Rhenes, if the discouery in time had not brought these three heads to a publicke scaffold, and many others to the Gallows.

Reuolt at  
Lions against  
the Duke of  
Nemours.

Whilest the Agents of Spaine labour for this election, and their partisans doting will doe as the frogges, who weary of their quiet King, made choise of the Storke, who in the end deuoured them all: the Duke of Nemours made his faction apart, and seeing that by the nomination of these goodly Estates he should be excluded from his pretensions: knowing moreover that his brother on the mothers side, did crosse all his designs, and bare him no good affection, he resolved to canton himselfe in his gouernment, and by many and sundry forts both on the water and on the land, to plant his fortunes there. Already the Cittadels and forts hee held at Toissay, Vienne, Montbrison, Chastillon in Dombes, Belleuille, Tisy, Charlieu and else-where, threatned all Lionois with seruitude, if the Lord of Saint Iulian would haue sold him Quirieu for ready money: whom in the end (thrust on by the perswasions and presence of their Arch-bishop, sent by the Duke of Mayenne with this Commission among others) they force into his house, & the eighteenth day of September put him with a gard into a straight prison in the castle of Pierre-ancise, from whence in the end disguised, (playing the part of a groom of the Chamber, which carried forth the excrements of his maister) hee passed through the gardes turning away his face more for feare of being knowne, then for the ill smell: and elcaping from them the three and twentieth of March following, being dispossessed of all his meanes, and expelled from his places, he went and died in Auecy, a house of his owne, in the county of Geneua in Sauoy, not without suspicion of being poysoned at a feast that was made him.

Assembly at  
Mante.

This generall surceasing of armes prolonged vnto the end of the yeere, and Religiously obserued on either side, brought a great quiet to France, and gaue the King leysure to assemble some of the chiefe of the Realme at Manté, to consult vpon sundry affaires, and particularly to heare the complaints of such as stood in doubt of the Kings change in Religion, and were greued at diuers contrauentions of his Maiesties Edicts, whereby they suffered many wrongs in all Prouinces: for the partisans of Spaine, for their last refuge, continually exclaymed of the incompatibility of two Religions in France, and many inclined to this opinion: that the King ought not to be admitted, but he should promise expressly to banish all such as made profession of any other Religion then that which hee did embrace: or at the least to abolish all publicke exercise. But the King employed all his care to vnite his people in concord: and this new change did nothing alter the affection which hee did beare indifferently to all, as a common father of his subiects.

Thus armes were laid aside, whilest the Lord of *Des Dignieres* hauing beaten the Sauoyard in diuers encounters, in Prouence, in Daulphiné, vpon the frontiers, and in Sauoy vpon his owne land, conquered many places in Piedmont, and lately succoured Canours which the Duke had besieged two months, gaue great hope to force this neighbour enemy soone to yeeld what he had lately vsurped of this crowne, if he had bene supplied with men, munition and money, and if some priuate seeds of new combustions had not drawne him away, to quench those fires which threatned to consume Prouence.

By

By what meanes and degrees, the townes subiect vnto the league, returned to the obedience of this crowne: and the Spaniard chased out of the Realme.

1594.



But courage oh my country-men! After a long and sharpe Winter, wee begin to seele a pleasant spring. As the Sunne rising on his horizon increased in heate and brightnesse, so the people are ready to imbrace the French liberty: their naturall affection to their lawfull Prince reuiues: now we shall see them which made the wound giue the remedy: the French striue now to submit themselves vnto their King, and the King to receiue his subiects with an admirable clemency and fatherly affection. The Lord of Vitry giues the first checke to the Spaniard. The sundry conferences hee had had with his Maieity before Paris and else-where, doe now worke a great effect: for deliuering the towne of Meaux to the King as a New-yeeres-gift, he gaue a plausible beginning to this yeere, and made the way for the Lord of La Chastre, his Vncle, at Shroffside to bring vnto his Maieity two goodly Duchies at once, of Orleance and of Berry. And to summon Monsieur *De Villars* to follow these commendable examples, he writes vnto him, I haue giuen a New-yeeres-gift vnto the King, Monsieur *de la Chastre* hath feasted him at Shrouetide: shew you your selfe vnto him on horse-backe at mid-lent: which letter shall soone take effect. Some townes practised by the heads of the league demand a continuance of the truce, but it was onely to prolong the miseries of France. The King therefore doth publish a declaration, shewing the wicked and damnable practises of the Leaguers, who vnder the continuance of a truce, would confirme their tyranny. Hee prescribes to all in generall one moneth of respit to acknowledge their lawfull King, and to performe all necessary submissions, to be restored to their charges, benefices, goods and liberties. He condemnes the rebels, and reuokes his pardon the time being expired. The brute of this declaration, and the Kings preparatiues to punish the obstinate, terrified the heads, and the most part of the townes and Comonalties, yet hee was content to hold the staffe, but not to strike: and the prouidence of God conducted the worke of this restauration, by other then violent meanes. The Duke of Mayenne sought all meanes to auoide this blow, but hee had no forces able to preuent it. So this vnion, cimented together with so many shifts, othes and coniurations, is dismembred on all sides: the most obstinate apprehend their totall ruine, if they persist in their rebellion.

Preparations  
of obedience  
to the King.

Meaux begins.  
Orleance and  
Bourges  
condit.

## The Kings Coronation.



Here was one thing very necessary to seale the generall approbation of the Kings lawfull authority. Hee was not yet anointed, nor crowned, and the want hereof, (as if the Coronation were the essentiall forme of a Royaltie) serued yet as a maske to many to with-hold their obedience. It is good in some things to please the peoples humor, and doubtlesse the end will shew, that this solemne action did serue as a bright Lantern, to guide them to the port of obedience, which had resolved to yeeld.

And, for that the rebellion of Reims had shut the gates against him, Chartres was the Rendezuous of this solemne ceremonie, and the Abbay of Marmoustier furnished the Oyle, which they keepe Religiously in the holy viall, with the like vse and vertue, as in former-times *Rapin* was annointed at Soissons, *Lewis* the fourth at Lions, *Hugues* at Compienne, and *Lewis* the yong likewise at Chartres. Thus was our *Henry* anointed in Chartres by *Nicholas Thou* bishop of the same place, the 27. of February, in the presence of

1594. the Prince Conty, the Earle of Soissons and the Duke of Monpensier, Princes of the blood, A of the Dukes of Longueville, Luxembourg, Retz, of Vantadour, and of the Earle of Saint Paul. Of the Bishops of Angers, Orleance, Nantes, Maillezais and Beauvais. The Marshall of Matignon supplied the office of Constable; The Duke of Longueville of Lord Steward, and the Earle of Saint Paul his brother of Lord Chamberlaine. The next day his Maiesty receiued the order of the Holy Ghost by the hands of the Bishop of Chartres. Let vs now see the fruits of this solemnity. The towns and commonalties of the league begin to tremble, and the most part determine to send their deputies to his Maiesty, being resolved to receiue his commandments.

The fruits of his Coronation.

Attempts of the Marquis of Saint Sorlin against Lions, and of the Spaniards.

Lions reduced

Misfortune is good for some thing. The Marquis of Saint Sorlin, brother to the Duke of Nemours, being yet a prisoner, afflicted the Inhabitants of Lions with all acts of hostility. The King of Spaine, on the other side confirmed his intelligences more strictly with them of his faction: and gaue them assurance by the Duke of Terra-nova, gouernor of Milan, of a leauy of twelue hundred Suisses, the which with other forces he would thrust into the towne, vnder pretext to succour it against the violences of the Marquis, but hauing drawne them in amongst the Inhabitants, he should through the fauour of the partisans of Spaine, make himselfe master of the towne. Lions was now ready to fall vnder the rule and tyranny of a stranger: but God stirs vp meanes beyond mans reason. Some good men alwayes wel affected to France in their hearts, with the consent of foure sheriffes, resolved to seeke the meanes to draw the towne to his maiesties obedience.

They acquaint Colonel *Alphonso* with their enterprize, who giues them assurance of his fauor and succor in so good an occasion. The seuenth of Ianuary hee comes to the suburbs of Guilloriere with goodly troupes. And the same day betwixt three and foure of the clock in the morning *Iaquet* one of the Sheriffes, assisted by the Seigneurs of Liergues and clock in the morning *Iaquet* one of the Sheriffes, assisted by the Seigneurs of Liergues and *de Seue* (followed by a good number of armed men) force a gard placed at the foote of the bridge vpon Saone, and constrain them to leaue the place. The towne is in armes, they make barricadoes in their streetes. Such as were of this enterprize, repaire to the quarters that were assigned them: euery man desireth the liberty of France. They seize vpon the Arcenall, and on the most factious officers and captaines of the towne. All the people wear white scarfes and fethers. That happy cry of, *God save the King*, sounds in the ayre. D They make bonfires in al places, they burne the armes and liuery of Spaine, Sauoy and Nemours, and the picture of the league in forme of a witch, and set vp the Kings in all places. Herevpon *Alphonso* entred the towne, accompanied with *d'Andelot*, *Cheurseres*, *Saint Forient*, *Basheon*, *la Liegue*, *Baume*, *de Mures*, with many other gentlemen of the country: and for the finishing of so good a worke, hee depose the suspected captaines of the towne, receiued the oath of fealty to the King of such as hee did substitute in their places: and afterwards the councell of the towne did resolve and swear neuer to admit any Italians or Sauiouyfiens to publike charges: nations which had most nourished the fire of vnciuill rebellion within their city. The like broile in a manner recovered the obedience of the towne, and Parliament of Aix in Prouence to his Maiesty. The Duke of Espernon built a Cittadel E there, to keepe them in awe, with whose humors they could not well agree. Moreouer hee was not in good termes with the King, and seemed to pretend some inuouation to the prejudice of the Kings affaires. The nobility of the country grew also in hatred against him, and from their secret discontents grew to open armes to expell him the country, wherevpon they made a protestation for their taking armes against him, as followeth.

It is most certaine that the alteration which hath happened in this Prouince, hath produced diuers effects in the hearts and opinions of men: some wil iudge one way some another, as their passions and humors doe lead them: the most calme (without percing into the grounds of these affaires) wil condemne these stirs, and blame them as new seeds of troubles and diuisions, and wil say that it is to make this Prouince fall (before her full recovery) into a more dangerous relapse. Those which are more cleere-sighted will commend the diligence of such as haue foreseene the dangers, wherevnto they see this weake and languishing body ready to fall, if they should suffer this last and mortall accident to seize vpon them. Amidst this multitude there may bee some (yet few) who gaping after the prey of

A of their desolate country, and more carefull to gather vp the peeces of her ship-wrecke, then to stretch forth their hands in the midst of the waues and tempest, will mock at those that cast themselves into the maine sea to preferue it. But without doubt such as haue the liuely impressions of the Kings seruice, and of the loue of their deere country, will extoll vnto Heauen this braue and generous resolution: The which hauing beene ioynly vnderaken by the whole Nobility of this country, or the greatest part thereof, they thinke it their duty to: publish the causes and to make knowne to the world, the Holy and iust intention which moueth them to distract themselves from the obedience and command of the Duke of Espernon, and to take armes to oppose themselves against the execution of his dangerous and pernicious designs.

B Wee must necessarily confess that the Graces of the diuine bounty, haue beene particular and the effects of his admirable prouidence wonderfull, in the preservation of this Prouince during her troubles and calamities, whereof wee haue alwaies scene a certaine care of his supreme power, as if with an angry hand, he would chastise it, and with the other full of pity, draw it out of the gulfe of miseries: for if euer Prouince were set to sale by the ambitious designs of Gouernours and neighbour Princes, it seemes that this hath beene more hotly pursued, and with greater violence then any other, by the vnmearured ambition of these famished and turbulent spirits; So as it hath runne many fortunes, and wee haue scene it almost drownd in a miserable gulfe of seruitude and tyranny. But as soone as the building thereof was raised, and that it seemed to haue some forme and increase, God did sodainely suffer it to be ruined euen to the foundation.

Notwithstanding it had scarce crept out of one extremity, but soone after we haue scene it enter into greater perplexities, whether it were so expedient, as if her preservation depended of the diuision which hath alwaies ballanted and held in equality the powers of diuers parties: or else that the chastisements ordained from aboue were not fully accomplished: hence it happened that this poore Prouince being newly deliuered from the greatest seruitude which did euer threaten it, and being escaped as it were miraculously out of the griping tallants of our nearest neighbour: Euen then when thee thought to take some rest, and breath from her miseries. Behold at the same time arrives the Duke D of Espernon, who after the decease of the Lord of La Valette his brother, making vse of the troubles of France, wrested by importunitie from the King the authority to command his army in this Prouince, for although his Maiesty had full knowledge of his honour and carriage, yet was he so surcharged with warre, and had so many crosses, as hee could not then vse his free and voluntary disposition: But for verie notable considerations suffered himselfe to bee ouerwaied by the violent pursuite of the said Duke. Notwithstanding the King a most wise Prince, and who hath the case of his people in singular recommendation, would neuer grant him the Gouernment of this Prouince, but onely the commandment of the army, weakning politickly by this meanes his authority, whom he knew very able to vsurpe more then did belong vnto him, and taking from E him the meanes to execute the secret threats which he made to rebell if he did not content him: thinking alwaies to put in practise his antient custome to obtaine all things by importunity from Kings, and by force from Gentlemen which had serued the King vnder the command of his deceased brother.

The townes fearing some new alteration in the country, if the said Duke should bee discontented (for that the gouernment of many good places were in the hands of Gascones) to cut off all occasion of troubles, they did write vnto his Maiesty in fauour of the said Duke, who cannot deny but at his arrivall and since, he hath beene alwaies assisted by the said Gentlemen and many others, which ranne vnto the Kings seruice with all affection, obedience, and fidelitty, as if the King had beene there in person. But they staid not long before they discovered his high conceptions, and the strange designs which hee hatched: for his violent and vnymited ambition could not bee dissembled, nor finde any vaile for to couer it. Then they beganne to obseue in all his actions a particular Project of an absolute and soueraigne command: in his publike speech the Kings name was still vsed, but in priuate hee had wordes tending to alter the devotion of his subiects: words vnfitting for the mouth of an Officer of the crowne, and

1594-

for one that had bene so fauorably aduanced to so great wealth and dignity by the bounty of our Kings; yet he makes the Kings seruice his pretext, prostituting his authority to settle his tyranny; Many men of honour and worthy of credit can witnesse: the chiefe discourses which they haue heard to their great griefe: And no man is ignorant that in the treaties which he hath made to end the troubles of this Prouince, hee hath alwaies sought in his secret Articles to suppress the Kings name, and hath giuen to them of the league great assurances. He did not much regard the Kings interest, so as hee might giue authoritie to his owne particular. Finally he made them silently to know, that no man could bee in fauour with him vnlesse he were in disgrace with the King, and resolued with himselfe to forget the name. But knowing that he could not possesse the hearts of the Gentlemen with so vnjust a condition, and that they would be wonderfully estranged at these vnlawfull attempts, he resolued to seeke the assurance of his desseignes else-where, then in their assistance: for the execution whereof he sent to seeke support, and to contract alliances and confederations in Spaine and Italy with Princes that were enemies to his Maiesty. Euery man knowes the bishop of Mirepoix voiage into Italie, and the subiect thereof. Euery man knowes that the Dukes Agent hath bene seene in the court of Spaine, treating of matters of great importance: euen then at the same time he beganne to murmure, falling vpon the pretext of Religion, and maintayning that the Kings conuersion was impossible. Hee seized vpon the best places of the Prouince, and especially of those which had giuen greatest proofes of their fidelities to the Kings seruice, as being most suspect to him, and least assured. Hee causeth strong Cittadels to bee entertained at the charge of poore people, whom he sleaeth to the bones to effect his desseignes, and doth intreat them more cruelly then if they were townes conquered by force from some barbarous enemy, and giues them Gouvernours of his owne nation, for the most part men of meane callings. As for the Nobility he deprives them of charges and authority: seekes by all meanes to take from them both credit and courage, insults ouer them with iniurious words; contemnes them with proud and disdainfull countenances, and keepes them backe from the knowledge of affaires: Notwithstanding he forceth them to assist and serue him at their owne charge. Hee will haue them tied to his boot, and that they ruine themselues in following him, and yet he will not in any sort honour them, nor acknowledge their merits: And if they seeke another party with any of the Kings seruants, he opposeth himselfe, and becomes a mortal enemy to them that doe it. To conclude, he will not consent that they employ themselues to any other thing then to the infamous seruitude wherunto he would subiect them. But on the other side if we will consider the oppressions of the people, what discourse and what time would serue to represent the rigorous vsage which they haue received? Who could haue the patience and the heart to set downe particularly the insupportable oppressions which they haue endured? Who could relate the excessiue impositions which the said Duke hath laied vpon them, and the infinite summes of money which hee hath exacted? It may bee truly verified by vnreprouable witnesse, which shall bee produced in time and place, that the expences which hee hath made, and the money which hee hath consumed in one yeere, within the Prouince, exceeds all that hath bene spent since the beginning of the warre vnto this day: and yet there hath bene no memorable seruice done for his Maiesty, or for the quiet of the Prouince. May wee boldly say that the gifts and presents which hee hath made in one yeere, by assignation vpon the people of his owne authority, and about the ordinary impositions for the warre, haue amounted to the sum of two hundred & fifty or three hundred thousand crowns: yet it is most true, and will be verified by the *mandates* which he hath made. Who euer heard speake, of so monstrous a prodigality, that a small Prouince contayning about the twentieth part of France, hath bene forced to surmount the greatest bounties of Kings, after so great ruines and desolations, and that this excess is one of the least partes of the charges and extorsions which they haue indured since his comming. Poore Prouince! what sinne, what offence hath made thee so guiltie, that thou shouldest incurr so seuer a punishment, and that the generall fluxe of this flourishing Estate, should bee vomited out of this greedy body into thy bosome, as a contagious poyson into the extremities, by an expulsiue vent, to the end it might worke vpon thee his last rage and furie? And what more cruell torment

1594-

A torment could afflikt thee, then to be condemned to glut (by the exhausting of thy means) that couerous and insatiable hunger, which neither the bountie of the most prodigall Kings, nor the rich treasures of France, could euer satisfie? What streames of wealth would disalter this insatiable thirst, which the wealth and bloud of the people, so often sucked by this horle-leach, could neuer quench? If our predecessors had written that which wee haue seene by effect, of his infinit excess and expences, wee should hold it for a fabulous discourse: and it may bee that which we shall leaue to posterity will not be receiued for truth. For to affirme that in a little barren country, such an one as Prouence is, after the spoils of a cruell warre of five yeares continuance, being at the last gaspe, should be able to pay in one yeare three or foure millions of crownes, for Subsidies and Impositions to the Duke of Espernon to make warre: and that moreover the souldiers haue liued at discretion, spoiling friend and foe indifferently, with all liberty, and that his expence hath in a manner equalled the leuie of money. If we had not wherewith to proue it, it were better to be silent, then to aduance a thing so excessiue and incredible.

There will remaine many other things to speake of the odious behauiour and damnable desseignes of this audacious spirit, who flies so high a pitch vnder the blind fauor of a great fortune, that he presumes there is nothing impossible vnto him, nothing forbidden him, and that all that is vnder heauen owes him obedience and homage. But now occasion is offered to note succinctly the most important points, and to discouer by this litle pattern the rest of his violent and reprooued actions, and from thence we shall draw liuely reasons and infallible arguments, to condemne the basenesse of them that should be so bad seruants to the King, and so vngratefull to their countrie, as not to oppose themselues (with the hazard of their liues) to the inuasion of this dangerous plague. As for vs, hauing well considered all these things, and foreseeing the traine of a thousand more dangerous inconueniences: we haue thought that the tytle which we beare, the honors and fauors which we, and our predecessors haue receiued from our Kings, and the naturall bond which wee owe vnto our Countrie, doth inuite vs to embrace these affaires, whereon, hauing often consulted, and duly examined the reasons of either part, in the end it was concluded, that this disease wold by litle and litle grow incurable, and that the onely remedy did lye in the points of our swords. That there was neuer warre more profitable, more iust, nor more honorable, wherein consists the vrgent necessity of the Kings seruice, the releefe of the people, and the preservation of the common liberty. If any one will accuse vs for taking armes, without his Maiesties expresse commandement, and propound, that wee might haue sought some milder remedies, then to fly to violence: we will answer, that the onely consideration of the good of his seruice, hath made vs rather to take this course then any other: for if wee had begun by the way of complaint and petition to his Maiesty, it had but exasperated the sayd Duke, and made him more resolute in his enterprises, for the execution whereof wee haue knowne him so obstinate and vehement, and so bad an obseruer of his Maiesties commandements, as it could not enter into our thoughts, that he would euer obey any thing that should be inioyned him, contrarie to his desseignes, the which he would neuer giue ouer for any consideration, but would rather violate the truce in many Articles which might preiudice his priuate affaires. How preiudiciall then would it be for the King, if complaining of his oppressions, we had bene the cause that the Duke of Espernon (fearing that his Maiesty would call him backe) should on the other side (as it was in his power) leaze on the best Townes of this Prouince, and expell his Maiesties good seruants? Can wee enter into these termes without wonderfull danger, or the King prouide for our complaints without the hazard of this Prouince, considering the troubles and ciuill diuisions wherewith France is yet afflicted? Were it not better to preuent, and surprize him, then to suffer our selues to be preuented and suprizd? was it not more expedient for the Kings seruice and our quiet to assaile him rather then to threaten him? to breake the chaines which held vs bound, then to enter into a perpetuall slauerie? Do we not know that in desperat diseases there must be desperate cures, and that when there is question of great and dangerous enterprizes, wee must rather execute then propound them. We are so farre from offending the King in this sodaine taking of armes, as we maintaine, that we haue herein, giuen him a worthy prooffe of our affection and loyalties, wherein he receiues two of the greatest seruices that could be done



1594.

done him in France. The one is in freeing this important Prouince from the hands of the Duke of Espernon, one of the most dangerous enemies that he hath among his subiects. The other is, that the chiete towne of the Prouince, a Court of Parliament, and an infinite number of men of honour and quality; which were of the League, haue by this taking armes, found meanes to returne with safety vnder his Maiesties obedience, from the which nothing detained them, but the apprehension of the Duke of Espernons rigour: so as there is not any Prouince in France, where as the Kings name is so much honored and respected at this day, nor his authority more firmly settled then in this. An example of great importance for the rest of France, and which will make all them resolute to acknowledge their naturall Prince which are yet wavering.

Finally, we haue that confidence in the bounty of our King, such hope in his clemency, and such assurance in his perfections, as we assure our selues, not only to be aduowed when he shall heare our iust complaints and griefes: but also that of his grace he will also free vs: for it belongeth not but to his royall and victorious hand, to pull away the bonds wherewith we are yet fettered in the knots of this hard tyranny. And the better to make knowne the sinceritie of our iust and holy intentions, attending his Maiesties pleasure, wee haue thought good to haue recourse to Monsieur *Des Diquieres*, as to one of the worthiest seruants his Maiestie hath, and whose merits for so great and worthy seruice, should haue purchased more credit: to the end that he might so examine our actions and proceedings, as he may make a true report vnto his Maiestie, who cannot find a more faithfull witness, nor more capable of the affaires of this Prouince: whether he hath made many voyages, and done memorable exploit of armes for the preferuation thereof. And in the meane time the better to attaine vnto the good whereat we ayme, and remembring the great miseries and calamities which haue afflicted vs heretofore: we are resolute to forget all our ancient hatreds and factions, as well generall as particular: to burie the memorie thereof, and to vnite our selues together for the Kings seruice and vnder his good pleasure, with so strict a bond of loue and friendship, as it may neuer be broken. And with this goodly vnion, wee implore first the ayde of God, and then the assistance of all good men, whom we inuite to this holy and commendable worke, and to the participation of so pretious a glorie. For where shall we find Crownes worthy to honor their vertue, which shall attempt so high an enterprife, in seeking to shake that great Colosse of fortune, which was held indomitable, and which no man durst attempt? what prayes can worthily extol the valor of the Prouengals, to haue had the courage to assaile that audacious spirit, who contemned Kings, and whom all France feared? Can there be a worke more worthy of memorie to future ages, more profitable for the Kings seruice, and of greater merit, both before God and men, then to ouerthrow this tyranny, which would dismember the royall authority, continue the war, massacres, and disorders, deuoure our goods, rauish our liberties, and make our poore countrie desolate for euer? Let vs all then ioynly with one will and consent take armes: let vs put on our cuirasses with a braue and obstinat resolution: let vs neuer lay them down vntill we haue restored the Kings authority in this Prouince; chased away disorders and oppressions, freed the people, and redeemed the libertie of our country with the price of our bloods, to reduce it wholly vnder the command of that great and inuincible Monarch, to whom we are most happy to belong, and that it hath pleased God to make vs to be borne vnder his raigne. And by the same meanes let vs ioine all together in humble prayers, to the end they may be of more force to moue his Maiestie to grant vs this full deliuerance so much desired. It is impossible but that generous mind which hath bene so mild and pittifull vnto his vanquished enemies, would be moued at the miserable spectacle of the calamities which did afflict his most faithfull subiects, and will disperse the clouds of our miseries by the bright Sunne of his royall bounty and fauour.

Hereupon they had called vnto them *Les Diquieres*, and the King commands him to go with speed, and to oppose his forces against the Dukes in Prouence. Hee wanted men, money, and necessary provisions, to entertaine that which he had exploited in Piedmont: hee therefore furnisheth the places he held, as the time would suffer him, and goes to crosse Espernon, razed the fort he built against the towne of Aix, and reduced the inhabitants to their ancient obedience.

The

1594.

## The miraculous reduction of Paris to his Maiesties obedience.



Middest so many happy Catastrophe's for the restoring of this Monarchie, some notable inhabitants of Paris, which loued the *Flower de-Luce* in their soules, made the way to free it from the rule of strangers: but many difficulties crossed the meanes they gaue vnto the King, who employed all his desseigns to recover the ancient throne of his Predecessors, but by the mildest meanes he could. Paris was neuer without some Prince of the house of Lorraine: and aboue foure thousand French, Spaniards, Italians, Lansquenets, and Wallons, kept the City in subiection. Seeing then that of many enterprizes not any one could succeed happily, neither might they attempt it by open force, without a horrible effusion of blood, and bringing the City in danger of extreame desolation, a surprize was therefore necessarie.

It was now almost readie to be effected, by the meanes especially of the Lord of Belin C Gouvernor of Paris, of *Martin Langlois*, Seigneur of Beaurepaire one of the Sheriffes of Paris for that yeare, and some others, of whom they had assurance for the execution of their proiect, as well of the citty, as of the souldiers practised long before. But the Duke of Mayenne being aduertised that the said *Belin* had intelligence with the King, puts him from his gouernement, and doth substitute in his place the Earle of Brissac: and to fortifie the garrison with strangers, he causeth foureene hundred naturall Spaniards to approach. By this displacing of the Lord of Belin, all their first desseignes are made frustrate: but the Earles humor was found apt to vnite them. He sought the meanes to bring to light the effects which he had resolute, to purge the ill opinion of times past. As *Langlois* attended some fauourable opportunity to discover himselfe to the said Earle, his Maiestie sends him D word that he is agreed with him, that he should not feare to open himselfe vnto him, touching the meanes he had plotted with *Belin*. He confers with the Earle, lets him vnderstand such as be of the intelligence, and they resolute together, That to bring the King in without effusion of blood (as he desired) the eue before the execution, they shold carry some stufte to the new gate, that vnder colour to wall it vp, they should draw away the gabions that stopt the gate: that in the night they shold cut away the earth which stopt that of *S. Denis*, and so seaze on the one and the other. That the Sheriffe *Nerat* with his children should take Saint *Honoris* gate, whereof he had the keys, and draw in a good number of men of war, to fauour the enterprife, and that by Saint *Denis* gate should enter another troupe of sufficient armed men, as well to seaze on the gate, as on the rampart of either side, to make a E barre betwixt the Spaniards and the Wallons, and keepe them from ioyning. They keepe two gards neare Saint *Denis* gate, one at Saint *Eustace* Crosse, and the other at the Temple. At the same instant the garrisons of Melun and Corbeil should enter by boate at the Bulwarke by the Celestins, and shold be receiued by *John Grosfier*, and by the Seigneur of Chenuallerie, the first beeing Capitaine of the sayd bulwarke, and the other Lieutenant generall of the artillery remaining in the Arcenall. And to auoid a popular tumult, a brute should be spred abroad of a peace betwixt the King, and the Duke of Mayenne, whom (vnder color of the peoples iealousies of the Spaniards, which he had caused to approach vnto Beauuois) they had found meanes to send him out of Paris, with promise to cause them to retire. That ouer night they should giue tickets to the chiefe whome they knew desirous of a peace, (as for the multitude of factions, and the partisans of Spaine, they durst not speake openly vnto them to bring in the King, and some that were desirous of peace, could not rest assured of his clemencie and bounty) by the which they should be aduertised of the accord, and intreated to arme with their friends for the bringing in of the Deputies of either part, which should come in the morning to make the publication, and resist the Spaniards that would oppose themselues. So it was decreed, and so executed.

This

1594.

A bold and  
adventurous  
execution.Paris obeys  
the King.

This order being resolved on, it was imparted to those with whom the enterprise had been long before concluded, by the means of the Lord of Viques then Governor of Saint Denis, to whom the greatest honour is due, both for that all the associates did rely upon him and daily were advertised and encouraged by him, and also for that he did carry himself so wisely in Saint Denis, as he was more Governor of Paris, than of Saint Denis. The nineteenth of March, the Secretaries of the Lords of Brissac and Saint Luke carry it to Senlis to the King, with a plot of the Cittie, setting downe the places of the strangers guards, and of their partisans. They are searched going out of the towne, but they remember not to looke into their gloves, where their instructions were written by the hand of the said *Langlois* the Sheriffe. The King gives them aduice for the execution, the night before the two and twentieth day of the moneth, about foure of the clocke he finds all things ready, and the new gate, and Saint Denis gate at his deuotion. He enters with his troupes led by the Lords of Hunieres, Belin, Viques, and Fauas, at the same gate by the which the deceased King parted mournfully out of Paris. At the same instant the Lord of Vitry comes with a troupe of men at armes to Saint Denis gate, beates backe the strangers, who made resistance vpon the rampar, enters the towne, sets guards at the gate, and on the rampars, then passing through Saint Denis street, he encounters his Maiestie, whose troupes were come to Saint Michels bridge, and before the Pallace.

Thus according to the oath which his Maiestie had taken of the Captains of euery company, Not to do or suffer any insolencie or outrage to any citizen, but to such as should obstinately make resistance, all his troupes enter without disorder, without murder, without spoile, and by their perfect obedience testifie how great his authoritie is that commaunds ouer them. The King being seized of the Louure, the pallace, both Chastelets, and other chiefe places of the city, and assured of the Duke of Feria and his Strangers, he went armed with his caske on his head, with an incredible concourse and ioy of the people, to our Ladies Church, and there gaue sollemne thanks to the Soueraigne Protector of this Monarchie: who hauing as it were, led him by the hand, by such extraordinarie and miraculous means, into the Capitall city of the Realme, gaue him hope that he should soone chase the stranger out of his inheritance, and peaceably enjoy the throne of his predecessors. In the meane time the Earle of Brissac, *John L'huillier* Master of the accounts, and Prouost of the Merchants, with the Sheriffe *Langlois*, accompanied with the Heralds, went through the Cittie, proclaiming the Kings generall pardon: causing them to take white scarfes, and gaue tickets printed at Saint Denis, containing an abolition of all offences past. So as in lesse then two houres, all the city was quiet, euery man went to his ordinarie exercise, the shoppes were opened, as if there had beene no alteration, and the Towns-men grew familiar with the men of warre. There was nothing but signes of wonderfull ioy and loue: the bitterness of the proud and insolent command of the Spaniard, made the Parisiens to tast the sweetness of the fatherly rule of their Kings, and those detest him as an enemy, who lately feared and respected him as a master.

A happy and famous day, wherein the people (lately so contrarie and full of crueltie) E reduced to that miserie, as they durst not sigh in their miserie, exceeding glad to see a means to enjoy their ancient libertie, know not with what acclamations to receiue their peacefull and gracious King, who by his wonderfull clemency, washing away the blemishes where-with Paris had beene vnworthily polluted, made the Inhabitants of slaues cittizens, restores them, their wiues, children, goods, honors, Magistrates, and liberties, and giues peace to them who lately held it a crime to demand bread onely, and capitall to demand bread and peace together. His Maiestie suffered the Duke of Feria, *Don Diego* with other Commanders and men of warre, to depart with their baggage, their matches out, and their armes downe. The Bastile made some shew of resistance: but as all was prepared to force it, and that their victualls (which were purposely kept backe) beganne to faile them, *de Bourg* hauing the commaund thereof, yeelded it three dayes after: and his Maiestie to recompence such as had serued him in this enterprise, gaue them great gifts with many Offices and aduancements.

He confirmed all the companies of the Cittie, and disanulled the declarations which had been published in the moneth of March 1589, he restored the Lord *de O* to his government, from

1594.

A from the which the generall reuolt had expelled him: he appointed him to go to the town-houle, to take an oath of the Officers in the presence of Master *Francis Miron*, one of the Kings priue Councell, Master of Requests, and President of the great Councell; Ouer-seer of the discipline of the Kings armies, and appointed to assist him. And the Earle of Chiuerney Chancellor of France, assisted with the Seigneurs of Ris, Pontcarre, Miron and other Councillors of the Priue Councell, and Masters of Requests of the Kings house, to the number of twelue, went to the pallace, and caused the letters of re-establishment of the Court of Parliament to be read, and at the instance of *Loisell*, appointed in the absence of the Kings Officers, they tooke the oath of all the Presidents, Councillors, and Officers of the said Court, before the returne of the Parliament remooued to Tours, in the yeare 1589.

B And so in like sort to other companies, the chamber of Accounts, Court of Aydes, and chamber of the money, to whom Councelors were sent to do the like as to the Parliament, and to continue their places and dignities, with the other Officers resident at Tours, whom this happy reduction brought within few weekes after to their ancient seat of Iustice. Paris being freed from the command of strangers, and reduced vnder the obedience of their naturall and lawfull King, it was needfull to repaire that which the libertie of warre had changed, touching the lawes and grounds of the Estate, and the rights and honours of the Crowne. To this end, the Court of Parliament lately established, reuokes, and disanuls by a decree of the 30. of March, all other decrees, orders, or oaths giuen or made since the 29. of December, 1588. to the preiudice of the Kings authoritie, and the lawes of the realme, decreeing that as things forced by violence, they should remaine suppressed for euer. And especially they dis-anulled all that had beene done against the honour of the deceased King, as well during his life, as after his decease: forbidding all persons to speake of his memorie, but with honour and respect: commanding to informe of the detestable parricide committed on his person, and to proceed extraordinarily against such as should bee found culpable.

They reuoked the authoritie giuen to the Duke of Mayenne vnder the title of Lieutenant generall of the Estate and Crowne of France, forbidding all men to acknowledge him with that quality, to yeeld him any obedience, fauour, comfort, ayde, vpon paine of high D Treason. They likewise enioyned the Duke of Mayenne, vpon the like paines, and other Princes of the house of Lorraine, to acknowledge King *Henry* the fourth of that name, for King of France and Nauarre, for their King, to yeeld him the obedience of faithful seruants and subiects. And to all other Princes, Prelates, Noblemen, Gentlemen, Townes, Commonalties, and priuate men, to forsake that pretended faction of the League, whereof the Duke of Mayenne had made himselfe the head, and to yeeld vnto the King, obedience, feruice, and fealty, vpon paine to the said Princes, Prelates, Noblemen, and Gentlemen, to be degraded of their Nobility and Gentry, and they and their posterity declared base, with confiscation of bodies and goods: and the razing of their Townes, Castels, and places, that should infringe the Kings Ordinances and commandements. They reuoked and disanulled E all that had beene done or decreed by the pretended Deputies of the assembly held at Paris, vnder the names of the generall Estates of the Realme as void, done by priuate persons, chosen or suborned for the most part by the factious of this Realme, and partisans to the Spaniard, hauing no lawfull power: forbidding the said pretended Deputies to take vpon them this quality, and to assemble any more in the said Cittie, or else-where, vpon paine to be punished as troublers of the public quiet, and guilty of high Treason. They inioyned such of the pretended Deputies as were yet resident at Paris, to retire home to their houses, to liue there vnder the Kings obedience, and to take the oath of fealtie before the Iudges of those places. Moreover they decreed, that all processions and sollemnities instituted during the troubles thereof, should cease, and in stead thereof, the two and twentieth day of March F should be for euer celebrated, and the same day a generall procession should be made after the accustomed manner, where the said Court should assist in their scarlet robes, as a remembrance, to giue God thanks for the happy reduction of this said Cittie to the Kings obedience.

As the Vniuersity by their trecherous decision had before countenanced and supported the Parisiens insolencies and mutinies, so now by their humble and due submission, of their owne

A decree against the  
League and  
the Duke of  
Mayenne.The voluntarie  
submission  
of the Vniuersity.

1594.

owne proper motion, they seeke to repaire the crime they had committed. *James d'Ambaise* A Doctor in Philosophie, chiefe Rector, chosen since the reduction of Paris, the Deane and the Doctors of Sorbonne, the Deanes and Doctors of other faculties, all the members and officers of the Vniuersitie, come to the King to yeeld him a testimonie of their loue, and finding him in the chappell of Bourbon, prostrate before his Maiestie, they acknowledge him their true and onely naturall Prince, sweare to be obedient and faithfull seruants to him for euer, and beseech him (as to his other people which submit themselves like good and loyall subiects) to extend his fauour vnto them. The Kings own disposition did moue him, but the place did inuite him to this pardon. He protests before God, to be as ready to remit the offences of others, as he desired Gods diuine Maiestie to be mercifull vnto his. So hee receiued them, and sent them home gratioously, granting them this Edict following.

### The Kings Edict or Declaration, vpon the reduction of Paris vnder his obedience.



**H**ENRY by the Grace of God, King of France, and of Nauarre, to whom these presents shall come, greeting: As it hath alwaies beene our desire and intent, (since it pleased God to cal vs to this Crowne) to settle a good and assured peace in this our Realme, to the end that the disorders, violences and miseries of warre ceasing, God might be serued according to his holy commandements, and the authority of the lawes and of our iustice restored, vnder the protection whereof, the three Estates of our Realme may happily enioy with peace that which doth iustly belong vnto them. To attain vnto the which, we haue (as euery man knoweth) employed all our meanes, with the hazard of our life, preferring death before the blame and infamy which would iustly fall vpon vs, if we should suffer the vniust vsurpation and dissipation which some pretend to make of this Crowne. And not to omit any thing which is in the power of a good Prince, for the settling of peace and vnion among our subiects, so necessarie and so much desired of all good French men, we haue with much patience supported and given vnto the publike, the offences and rash attempts of many, who without this respect, haue deserved severe and exemplarie punishments: We haue for this consideration after the victories, pardoned them which haue attempted against our life. And for the great compassion which we haue had of the capitall City of our Realme, to auoid the saeke, and spare the blood of many good Cittizens which did not participate in the wicked desseignes of such as did nourish rebellion, we haue chosen rather to be frustrate of the obedience which was due vnto vs, then to see innocent men which dwell there, with the women and little infants, and so many goodly buildings, exposed to the violent rage and fury of fire and sword. Hauiug moreover, for this consideration granted in Iuly last a generall truce for three moneths, during the which the Deputies of that party which doth not obey vs, did assure vs that they would send speedily vnto the Pope, to haue his aduice vpon the resolution which they were to take, in the conclusion of a good and durable peace and reconciliation with vs, who am their King and naturall Prince. Wherein they also promised to employ themselves with all loyaltie and affection, to settle a peace in this Realme, the which made vs more easie to yeeld vnto the said truce, although we knew well how much we were prejudiced thereby, and what great advantage wee might haue had by armes: hauiug (during the parle of peace) taken Dreux in view of the chiefe of their party, beeing assisted by their Protectours of Spaine. At which time we wanted no meanes to presse the Citie of Paris in such sort, as necessitie should in the end haue aduiled them to shake off the yoke of such as had so long tyrannized, and insolemly abused their miserable patience. But we yeilded of our authoritie, to the end the Pope might be satisfied, and truly informed of all our actions, to whome our intent was to haue recourse to discouer our wounds, and to implore his ayd, fauor, counsel, and assistance: and to that end wee made choice of our deare and welbeloued Cousin the Duke

1594.

A Duke of Neuers, a Prince full of all vertues, wisdom, piety, and of great merit: who preferring the seruice of God, and the good of this Estate, before the discommodities of his health, and the tediousnes of the way, had coragiously vnderaken a voyage to his Holines. And as for the Deputies of the said party, whom they promised confidently to send with al expedition, We do not find that during the truce, they made any accompt to dispatch them. And notwithstanding that since the conclusion of the said truce, wee haue not discouered in all their actions, but desseignes prejudiciall to the publike good of the realme, with whose spoiles they pretended to cloath and to enrich themselves with the bloud and meanes of good and loyall French men: there being fallen into our hands a certaine oath made by the chiefe of the said party, in a manner at the same time when as they signed the truce, and promised to treat faithfully touching a good peace, and to reconcile themselves vnto vs, and to that end to send to Rome to haue the Popes aduice: The said oath containing, that they would neuer treat any peace with vs; wherein they suffered themselves to bee so transported by the passions of the King of Spains Ministers, as they made no reseruatiou of the Popes authority, vnto whome they said they would send: wherwith being iustly incensed, notwithstanding at their great instance, & to iustifie our actions vnto the Pope, we granted them a prolongation of the truce for two moneths. But conceiuing how little they desire to see an end of the miseries of this Realme, with the authority they haue vniustly vsurped ouer part of it: iudging also by their cunning delaiies, that they seeke nothing but to prolong the miseries of France, and to assure their vniust vsurpation: We hauiug therefore with the aduice of our Councell, refused a prolongation of the truce for 3. moneths more, which they required of vs, with such importunity, as we haue iust cause to beleue, that this pursute was not to purchase a peace, but rather that during the said time the King of Spains forces, beeing come vnto the frontier of our country of Picardy, they should haue better meanes to reuiue the war, to the ruine of our good and loyall subiects: the which God by his grace wold not suffer, causing vs to see plainly (by the letters which were intercepted) their wicked desseignes to continue the miseries of this our realme. His diuine bounty hauiug taken the defence of our iust cause into his protection, moued an infinit number of our good subiects to acknowledge their natural duty, in the reduction of the towns of Meaux, Lion, Orleans, Bonrges, Pontoise, and others to our obedience. But the memory shall neuer be lost of the happy reduction of our good city of Paris, the chiefe of our realm, which hapned the 22. of March, with such mildnes, and order, as not any one citizen can iustly complaine of wrong. The peoples ioy and acclamations, which haue seen their King so much desired, was not lesse, then if they had had the same security which is giuen them by these presents, of our grace, fauor, protection, and forgetting of things past, with assurance that the merits of such as shewed themselves faithfull to our seruice shall neuer be forgotten. The which considering, and the speciall bounty wherewith it hath pleased God to fauor vs in this occasion, we hold our selues bound more then any men liuing, to make our actions pleasing to his diuine providence. For this cause, acknowledging that there is nothing makes vs more like vnto God, then clemency, forgetting freely all offences past: we declare by these presents, that we receiue into grace, the citizens of our good city of Paris, and of our speciall fauor and royall authority, do abolish all things hapned in the said city, during, and by reason of the present troubles, the which we will shall remaine extinct, and held as if they had neuer hapned. And to this end, with the aduice of the Princes and Noblemen of our Councell, we haue ordained, as followeth:

1 First, we will and ordaine, according to the Edict of Pacification, made by the deceased King, our most deare Lord and brother, in the yere 1577. and the declarations made since by vs, for the obseruation thereof: That in the city and suburbs of Paris, or within ten leagues round about, there shall be no exercise but of the Catholike, Apostolike, and Romish religion: Wee forbid all men expressly, not to molest the Clergimen in the celebration of diuine seruice, and the perception of the fruites and reuenues of their Benefices, whereof by these presents we put them in full possession: We will & command, that all they which since these present troubles haue seized vpon Churches goods and reuenues belonging vnto the said Clergy, residing within the Diocesse of Paris, as well of those which are within it, as in any other part of our Realme, and which detain them, shall restore them full and quiet possession, with such right, liberties and securities as they had before they were dispossessed.

Kkkk

2 And

1594.

2 And for a more ample and perpetual declaration and testimonie of the singular loue and affection which we beare vnto our good city of Paris, we do restore it to all her ancient priuiledges, rights, grants, freedoms, liberties, and immunities, which heretofore haue beene giuen by Kings our Predecessors, the which we do grant anew, confirme, and continue by these presents, to enioy and vse hereafter, as they haue done in former times, and before these present troubles: as well in that which concerns the Vniuersity, the City, the Prouost of Marchants, Sheriffs, and other officers: as al other Bodies, Colledges, and Companies, of what quality soeuer, which haue beene there established before the said troubles.

3 And to take away all causes of future sutes and quarrels, by reason of things past during the said troubles, we ordaine, that all which hath past in the said city of Paris, and therabouts, in regard of that which may concerne the said Inhabitants, and others which were within the city at the time of the reduction thereof, (who within 8. daies after the publication of these presents, shall take the oath and make the premises contained in our declaration heretofore published in our Parliament at Tours) since the beginning of the present troubles, and by reason thereof vntill this present day, shall remaine extinct, both the taking of armes, enterprizes, and forcing of towns, taking of money from Receiueurs, of tythes, and customes of Salt, of all Impositions of money whatsoeuer, coyning of money, practises, leuying of souldiers, exploits done by them, leagues, negotiations, and treaties made both within and without the realm: sales of moucable goods, cutting of woods and timber, fines, booties, ransomes, and all other acts of hostility, and generally all other things done in publike or priuate, during the present troubles, or by reason thereof: for the which the said Inhabitants, nor any of them, shall not hereafter be questioned with, pursued, or molested, in any sort whatsoeuer. And to this end wee will, that they shall remaine quie and discharged, imposing perpetuall silence to our Proctor generall, and all other persons: Vve do also expressly enioyne them to forsake all leagues, treaties, assotiations, practises, and intelligences, both within and without the Realme, contrarie to our authority, vpon paine to bee punished as guilty of high treason. And to auoid all occasion of quarrell betwixt our subjects, we forbid them by these presents, to iniure or prouoke one another, either in word or deed, by reason of that which hath past during the said troubles, but to liue peaceably together, like brethren, friends, and fellow-citizens, vnder the obseruation of our Edicts, vpon paine for those that shall infringe it, to be presently punished, and without any other forme of proceesse, as troublers of the publike quiet.

4 We ordain moreover that all decrees, commissions, and executions thereof, sentences, iudgements, contracts, and other acts of Iustice giuen betwixt persons of the same partie, and betwixt all others which haue willingly contested, as wel in soueraigne Courts, Prouostie of Paris, presidiall Court, and other iurisdictions of the said city, Prouosty, and Viconty, during the said troubles, shall take effect. And there shall be no question made for any that haue bin put to death during the same, by the authority of Iustice, or by the law of arms and commandement of their leaders. And all decrees, sentences, and iudgements giuen against them that were absent, holding a contrary party, were they ciuill or criminal, in all the soueraigne Courts of this realme or iurisdictions thereof, shall be void and of none effect: as also all iudgements and sentences giuen against the Earle of Brissac, in regard of the party which he hath held, shall be reuoked, and withall the grants made by vs or our predecessors of any thing belonging to them, in consideration of the faithful seruice which he hath done vs, and to the generall of this realme, in the reduction of our good city of Paris vnder our obedience: and whereas some of the said Inhabitants haue been put to death, for some causes during the said troubles, we will, that the said executions shall not preiudice the honour and memory of the dead: and that the confiscations which our Proctors haue, or may pretend, shall be of no effect, to preiudice their widowes, children, and heires.

5 We will, and our pleasure is, that all the said inhabitants which shall performe the said premises, and submissions, and take the oath, shall return into the possession of their goods, offices, dignities, and reuenues, wherefoeuer they be, reuoking all gifts and graunts made thereof to the preiudice of them to whom they did belong, or of their widowes and heires.

6 And concerning seizures which haue bene heretofore made of the goods, lands, rents, & reuenues, of the said inhabitants of Paris, & other places of the said Prouosty, & Viconty, which

A which shall performe the sayd promises and submissions shall remaine void. And wee giue vnto the sayd Inhabitants, a full discharge of the said Seizures, and do acquite them of all that may be due vnto vs by reason thereof: Notwithstanding any other former grants, the which we reuoke and disanull, without any regard to bonds and promises not discharged, made by Labourers and Farmers, as well to Donotaries, as to Commissaries and Farmers of Iustice, the which shall remaine void. And as for debts due vnto the said Inhabitants, we will, that without regard of any former grants made, (the which we in like manner reuoke) that they may constrain them that are bound vnto them by bills, promises, bonds, or transports in the same manner as they might haue done before the said troubles.

7 Al prouisions of Offices made by the duke of Mayenne, shall be void and of no force. B And yet they which haue obtained the said prouisions by death, or by resignation by them of the same party, (except the Offices of Presidents in our Soueraigne Courts) shall be maintained in their said Offices by our letters of prouision which shall be granted them without paying fine. As also al new Officers erected by vs touching the Impost of Salt, shall be in like maner confirmed, which hauing obtained prouision from the D. of Mayenne shall be void.

8 They that haue bin prefer'd by the D. of Mayenne to Benefices not consistoriall, being within the said city, and void by death, shall be confirmed, taking from vs all necessarie Expeditions: and those which haue bin granted them by the D. of Mayenne shall be voide.

9 And in regard of such Inhabitants as were not within the cittie at the time of the Reduction thereof, wherefoeuer they were, shall enioy the like benefite with the rest, if they retorne within one moneth after the publication of these presents, performing the said submissions, to liue there vnder our obedience.

10 Any of the said Inhabitants which shall depart the city with our Passports, to retire themselves into any other places of our obedience, shall enioy their goods without trouble or molestation, carrying themselves modestly, not doing any thing contrary to the dutie which they owe vs, and performing the submissions and promises aboue mentioned.

11 To ease the said Inhabitants during this present year, the debtors of any of annuall Rents shall not be forced to pay about the Arrerages of the said yeare, quarterly, without preiudice to precedent Arrerages, for the which there shall bee an order made to releuee D them as much as may be.

12 That Accompts made at Paris during the troubles by any Accomptant before the Officers of the Accompts which haue resided there, shall not be subiect to reuision, if it be not in case of the ordinance.

13 Our meaning is not to comprehend in this Edict, that which hath beene committed by way of theft, and without warrant, for the which wee giue all men liberty to seeke their remedies by the way of Iustice, as they shall thinke good: In like manner all they are excepted which shall be found guilty of the execrable murder committed on the person of the deceased King our most deare Lord and brother, and of conspiracie against our life: as also all crimes punishable betwixt men of the same party.

E We command our louing and faithfull Chancellor, Officers of the Crowne, Dukes, and Peeres of France, and all other Noblemen of our Councell, and Masters of Requests of our household deputed by vs, to cause these presents to be read, published, and enrolled in our Court of Parliament, Chamber of Accompts, Courts of Aydes, and in all other places where it shall belong: We will and command, that the contents thereof shall be inuiolably kept and obserued, notwithstanding any oppositions, or Appellations, Edicts, Declarations, Decrees, Judgments, Letters, Commandements, Defences, and other things to the contrary: to the which we do for this regard derogate; for such is our pleasure. And to the end it may be firme and stable for euery, we haue caused our Scale to be set to these presents.

Given at Paris in March, 1594.

Signed. HENRY.

F Paris gaue example to all the rest of the Realme. And the first fruites of this happy reunion began to ripen in the hearts of other Towns and Commonalties. So the moneths of Aprill and May were spent to receiue the submissions of diuers Prouinces, and drawing to the kings obedience, many captains, Gentlemen, Noblemen and other chief pillars of the league: so as euery bird hauing his fether, the Crow in the fable remained in the end naked:

Kkkk 2

The



1594.

Diuers reductions in diuers places.

The Lord of Villars submits himselfe to his Soueraigne Lord, and yeelding him the townes A of Rouan, New-hauen, Harfieu, Montiuillier, Ponteau de mer, and Vernueil: he obtaines in exchange the office of Admirall of France, and hereafter resolues a most obstinate warre against the Spaniard. But a sad accident shall soone frustrate the desseignes hee made with his Maiestie. Abbeuille hath bene alwaies called the Cittadell of Picardie, lying at the mouth of the sea. *Muspin* the Maior, and some Inhabitants, had resolued to giue a great checke vnto the League: but the feare of the duke of Aumales factions restrained them, and the seditious impressions of Preachers, (who throughout the Realme, haue bene the greatest motiues of these last mutinies) made this their good will fruitlesse. The king beeing aduertised thereof, did hazard *Franc*, one of the Secretaries of his chamber, who was borne at B Abbeuille, to sound and discover the end of their intentions.

He parts in Aprill, and vnder colour to visit his friends, he behaues himselfe so discreetly in his negotiation, that in lesse then eight dayes they resolued in open assembly to send their Deputies to yeeld themselves at his Maiesties feete, who in token of so good a seruice, ennobled *Franc* and his posteritie, and augmented the priuiledges of the Towne. In the same moneth, the Inhabitants of Troyes expelled the Prince of Iauille, and recalled the Lord of Inteuille, their ancient gouernor for the King. The Townes and Prouinces contend, who shall haue the honour to returne first to their due obedience, from the which these popular furies had withdrawne them, Sens, Poitiers, Agen, Villeneuve, Marmande, and other Townes of Gasconie, and in a manner all that had followed the dance of Orleans and Paris, do now frame themselves to their tune. And all this is done in few weeks. The most factious of the party, did still feed the fire of rebellion in some townes of Picardy: Amiens and Beauvois wauered: the Spaniard possessed Laon and La Fere, places of importance in that Prouince: and the Count *Charles* of Mansfield had euen now besieged and taken Capelle, a small towne, but strong, in the Duchie of Thierafche. The King beeing aduertised thereof, went home to their trenches, to draw them forth to fight: but making no shew to come forth, to get that by force, which he could not obtaine by reason, he besiegeth Laon, defeats the succors at sundry times that come to the besieged, kills about fiftene hundred of their men in sundry encounters, and taking the towne by composition in the end of August, he ends (by this act) the furies of ciuill wars without hope of reuiuing, and then returnes triumphing to Paris. Chasteau-Thierry, before the siege, and after the siege of Laon, Amiens, Beauvois, and all the townes in Picardie (except Soissons and La Fere, which the Duke of Mayenne and the Spaniard held) did shake off the strangers yoke, and took the oath of fealty to the King. Cambray did likewise acknowledge him, and gaue his Maiesty such aduantage, as his enemies remained without meanes to maintaine the war, and without hope to obtaine their peace. The Duke of Mayenne in the meane time entertained all his friends and intelligences at Bruxelles: but the supplies of men and mony which hee drew from thence, were not able to stay the course of the Kings prosperities. He therefore retired himselfe into Bourgongne, to assure such places as were yet at his deuotion.

Contrariwise, his neere kinsmen retiring themselves, left him almost alone to treat E with the Spaniard. The Duke of Nemours made his accord at the Castle of Pierre-ancise, but beeing escaped the 26. of Iuly, as we haue said, death deprived him of the vse of his liberty, as we shall see hereafter. The Duke of Guise did first testifie, that he desired nothing more then the Kings seruice, and drawing in the moneth of Nouember to his Maiesties seruice his breethren with himselfe, many Noblemen, the City of Reims, and many other places, it did greatly shake this monstrous building, which was now ready to fall to ruine.

The Duke of Guise reconciled to the King.

Processe against the Iesuits renewed.

The Sect of *Iesuites* had as chiefe pillars of the League, mightily supported it vnto this day, and by all meanes labored to aduance the Spaniard in France: they had spread throughout the whole Realme, the furious effects of the fire which they had kindled, and continued in priuate confessions (as lately in their Sermons) to disgrace the memorie of the deceased F King, and the Maiestie of the King now reigning: and to encrease it, the principall of their Colledge, and some others, had lately approoued, countenanced, and perswaded that execrable attempt of *Peter Barreere*. The Vniuersitie of Paris grounding the renewing of their ancient Processe against the Iesuites, vpon these considerations and motiues, demand the rooting out of them. Some great men, and of the chiefe men of Iustice, sue for them: the

Cardinall

1594.

A Cardinall of Bourbon supports them: The Duke of Neuers makes their cause his owne. The respect of their learning, care, and diligence to instruct and teach youth, did moue them: and a very vrgent cause must draw the Court of Parliament (whose authority notwithstanding they did contemne and reiect) to prononnce and declare this great decree, the which an accursed and detestable attempt, by one of their owne disciples, did in the end extort. They procured that the cause might be pleaded secretly, for that (said their Aduocat) to defend my Clients, I shall be forced to speake some things offensive to many which haue lately turned to the Kings seruice. But their pleadings are to bee read in Arnault against them, and *Perforis* for them, both graue and learned Aduocates.

By the reduction of so many Prouinces, Townes, Commonalties, and priuate Noblemen, the League shall be now confined into some corners of Bourgongne, Picardy, and B Brittany, where the Spaniards (to haue alwaies footing within the Realme) entertained the hopes of the Duke of Mayenne and Mercœur. The first began to fall from them: but the other (grounded vpon some vaine pretentions of the Duchie, where he gouerned by reason of his wife) hoped to preuaile, if not of all, yet at the least of a good part. The Queene Dowager his Sister, laboured to make his peace: but he delayed the time, knowing that in his greatest extremity he should find grace with the King. The Spaniard beeing brought into Blauet by his meanes (a fort which the situation of the country had made almost impregnable, as if they had built a fort neare vnto Croisic, to shut vpe the entry of the port at C Brest, they had also made another right against it on the other banke) hoped, that beeing chased out of the other Prouinces, he should yet hold this as a pawne for the mony he had disbursed. His Maiesty sent the Marshall *d'Aumont*, and Generall *Norrice*, a braue Commander of the English, to encounter him, who fortified with a Fleete, vnder the command of Captaine *Forbisher*, they became Masters of Quimpercorentin and Morlay, and then they forced the new fort at Croisic, and slue (but with the losse of men, and of the said *Forbisher*) foure hundred souldiers, to whome the guard was committed: which seruice was chiefly performed by the English, to their immortall praise.

War in Brittainie.

France grew quiet, yet must they employ the souldiers, and carry the warre into the Spaniards country. It seemed this would free the Realme, but seldom doth it bring forth the D effects that are expected. Yet for a triall, the King agrees with the Estates of Holland and their confederates, to invade the Duchie of Luxembourg with their common forces. The Duke of Bouillon, now Marshall of France, and the Count *Nassau*, seeke to enter in October, but they find the passages stopt, and the Count *Charles Mansfield* before them, who by the defeat of the Hollanders troupes, made this attempt fruitlesse. On the other side, the King seekes to keepe the frontiers of Picardy safe from the Spanish forces, and threatened Arthois and Henault, that if they fauoured the forces of Spaine, which molested Cambray and the countries thereabout, he would make violent war against them. The Estates of those Prouinces make no answer to these threats, framing their excuse that they could draw no direct answer from the Arch-duke *Ernest*, Lieutenant generall for the King of Spaine in the Low-countries, who soone after perswaded the subiects of the said countries to arme, and to invade France. The better to know Picardie, and to iudge of what should be necessary against the attempts of this new enemy, the King makes a voyage to the frontier, and then returns to Paris, to celebrate the solemnity of the Knights of the Order of the holy Ghost, and to receiue the Ambassadors of Venice, *Vincent Gradenigo*, and *Iohn Delphino* being sent to congratulate the happie successe of his affaires, and *Peter Duodo* to succeed *Iohn Mocenigo*. At his arriual he receiues three good aduertisements: That the Marshall *d'Aumont* had taken from the Spaniard one of the places he had fortified in Brittainie: That the Spaniards thinking to enter into Montuail, hauing giuen fifty thousand crownes to the Gouernour, had bene repulsed with the losse of fife or sixe hundred men: And that the Marshall of Bouillon had ioyued with the army of Count *Maurice* in despite of Count *Charles*.

F But oh monstrous prodigie! the onely remembrance should make our heire to stare, and our hearts to tremble. The 27. of December, the King beeing booted in one of the chambers of the Louvre, hauing about him his cousins the Prince of Conty, the Count *Soissons*, and the Earle of *S. Paul*, and a great number of the chiefe Noblemen of his Court, bending down to receiue the Lords of Ragny, & Montigny, who kist his knee, a yong man called *Iohn Chastel*, Kkkk 3

The King hurt in the face.

1594. *Chastell*, of the age of eightene or nineteene yeares, the sonne of a wollen Draper in Paris, a Nouice of the Iesuites, encouraged by their instructions, and thrust on by a diuellish furie, creeps into the chamber with the presse, and surprizing his Maiestie as he was stooping to take vp these Gentlemen, in stead of thrusting him into the belly with a knife, as hee had determined, he stricke him on the vpper lippe, and brake a tooth. This wretch was taken, and confessed it without torture. The King vnderstanding that hee was a disciple of that schoole. *Must the Iesuites then* (said he) *be iudged by my mouth?*

A decree against the  
murderer.

Thus God (meaning by this cursed and detestable attempt) to countenance the pursue of the Vniuersitie of Paris against that sect, *John Chastell* hauing declared the circumstances of his wicked intent, was found guiltie of treason, against God and man in the highest degree, and by false and damnable instructions (holding that it was lawfull to murder Kings, and that the King now rainging was not in the Church, vntill he were allowed by the Pope) was by a decree of the Court condemned to do penance before the great doore of our Ladies Church, naked in his shirt vpon his knees, holding a burning torch of two pound weight, to haue his armes and legges pinched at the Greue with burning pincers, and his right-hand holding the knife wherewith he fought to commit this parricide to bee cut off, his bodie to be torne in peeces by foure horses, burnt to ashes, and cast into the wind, and all his goods forfeit to the King. The said Court decreed by the same sentence, That the Priests, schollers, and al others terming themselves of that societie, (as corrupters of youth, troublers of the publike quiet, and enemies to the Kings state) should depart within three C  
dayes after the publication of this decree, out of Paris, and other places where they had Colledges: and within fiftene, out of the Realme, vpon paine after the said time to bee punished as guilty of high treason, all their moueable and immoueable goods to be forfeited, to be employed in godly vses, forbidding all the Kings subiects to send any schollers to the Colledge of the said societie without the realme, there to be instructed or taught, vnder like paines as before.

The Decree was executed the nine and twentieth of the said moneth. *Peter Chastell* the father, and *John Gueret* schoole-master to this murderer, were banished, the first for a certain time out of Paris, and fined at two thousand Crownes, the last for euer out of the realme, vpon paine of death. The fathers house standing before the pallace, razed, and a pillar erected containing (for a perpetuall monument) the causes of that ruine. Amongst the writings of one named *John Guignard* of Chartres, were found certaine outrageous and scandalous libels against his Maiestie, made since the generall pardon granted by him at the reduction of Paris, for the which he was executed the 7. of Ianuary following. Experience hath often taught, that armes produce greater effects abroad in the enemies countrie then at home, and that the goodliest triumph is sought farthest off. Our vnciuill confusions were forged chiefly in Sprinc, and the Iesuites had beene the chiefest worke-men. One *Francis Iacob*, a scholler of the Iesuites of Bourges, had lately wanted to kill the King, but that hee held him for dead, and that another had done the deed. And this horrible attempt of late vpon the sacred face of his Maiestie, (wherein he was miraculously preserued) doth witnesse, E  
that they were the chiefe fire-brands. So the King grounding the necessitie of his armes vpon these considerations, after he had rooted this Sect out of the Schooles, which they held within the Iurisdiction of the Parliament of Paris, hee published a declaration for the making of warre against the King of Spaine. Without doubt the reasons were very apparent and manifest, and the beginning more fauorable then the end.

War proclaimed  
against  
the Spaniard.

The Marshall of Bouillon begins this new warre: he enters the Duchie of Luxembourg with an armie of a thousand horse, and foure thousand foote, and at the first puts to route eleuen Cornets of horse of Count *Charles* neere to Wirton, kills two hundred and fiftie vpon the place, makes the rest to leaue armes, horse and baggage, and to saue themselves in the next Forrest. *Philip* likewise for his part proclaimes warre against our *Henry*. The Duke of Lorraine on the other side, hauing taken a truce with his Maiestie, the Baron of Auffonuille, with the Seigneurs of Tremblecourt and Saint *George* (who before made warre vnder him) now take the white scarfe, they enter the County of Bourgongne with a thousand horse, and siue thousand foot, and at the first they seaze vpon Vezou, Ionuille, and other places.

Behold

Some Lorraines  
serve the  
King.

A Behold the fire which threatens two Prouinces: but the Spaniard suffers them not to be consumed, as men presumed, that being busie to quench it, he would leaue Picardy in quiet. He commands the Archduke *Ernest*, that with the hazard of the Low-countries he should transport all his forces into Picardy, and moreouer causeth the constable of Castille gouernour of Milan, to passe the Alpes with a great army of Spaniards and Neapolitans, who recovered the places, and forced the Lorraines, to disperse themselves.

1595.

The Arteficiens and Hannuyers, fore-seeing the desolation which the continuance of this warre would cause, solicited the Archduke to seeke some meanes to quench it: but death cuts off the course of his enterprife. The Earle of Fuentes (that is to say Fontaines) aduanced them couragiously, causing the gouernour of Arrhois to enter into Picardy with a thousand horse, and sixe thousand foot. Behold rough seas and great stormes, which violently beat vpon our great Pilot: but in despite of their attempts, he shall guide his ship to a safe port, and bring his enterprises to an end. *Vienne, Niz, Autun, Beaune and Dijon*, did happily assit him: let vs see the successe. The Duke of Nemours escaped from prison, assembled a good troupe of souldiers, horse and foote, and drawing to him three thousand Swisses which wintered in Sauoy for the defence of the country: with these forces he pretended to subdue the Prouinces of Lionois, Forest, and Beauueilois, and to reuenge the disgrace he had receiued in Lions. For a beginning, he had reduced to his deuotion, Thisi a strong castle in Lionois, Vienne in Daulphiné, Feur, Montbrison, Saint Germaine, and C  
Saint Bonnet, townes in Forest: and by this restraining them both aboue and beneath the Riuer, hee made an account either to bring Lions to some extreinty of victuals, or to cause some tumult among the people, who should giue him entry into the citie. Being ready to effect his desseignes, the Constable parted from Languedoc, to ioine with the King, he resolues in this encounter to doe him a notable seruice. Hee comes into Lionois, followed with 1000 horse, and 4. thousand choise. Harguebuziers, happily for the preseruacion of the country: for he presently staied the course of the Duke of Nemours prosperity, who posting to oppose himselfe against the Constable (hauing made a voyage to the Constable of Castille, with hope to haue authority ouer these forraine forces, and to dispose of them for the execution of his desseignes) fortifies Saint Colombe, a small village at the foot D  
of the bridge of Vienne towards Lionois, lodgeth some troupes there, and the rest he puts in garrison into the towne.

Spaniards in  
Picardy.

The Duke of  
Nemours  
makes warre  
against Lionois.

This great multitude of men shut vp in Vienne, makes their victuals grow scant: they likewise want other necessaries and munition for warre. The Constable cuts off al means from them. The Swisses mutine for want of pay, and beeing called home by their Colonels, goe to ioine with the forces of Sauoy, which the Marquis of Treffort commanded, being Lieutenant generall for the Duke of Sauoy, on this side the Alpes. To curbe Lions more straightly, the Marquis came to winter his men at Mountluel, a small towne of Sauoy, three Leagues from Lions. The Constable preuents him, and surprising the towne, dis appoints the Marquis, lodgeth his men drie, and leaues the Sauoyien subiect to the injuries of the aire, and ketpes him from attempting any thing against Lions.

E The Constable aduertised of some discontent betwixt the captaines of the strangers that were in Vienne, and the Seigneur of Disimieu a Gentleman of Daulphiné, who commanded in the castle of Pipot, the chiefe fort of the said towne, hee practiseth *Disimieu*, lets him vnderstand of his dueitie to the Kings seruice, his naturall Prince, his duty to his country, and the profit he shall bring by the reduction of this towne, to so many people threatned with foraine oppression. *Disimieu* giues care, and without any great difficulty, hauing passed his word to the Constable, suffers the Seigneur of Montoisson to enter the castle with a troupe of Harguebuziers. The Constable parts the foure and twentieth of Aprill, with eight hundred Harguebuziers, three hundred horse, and many Gentlemen, as well of the country, as his owne followers: and marcheth toward Vienne. The Marshall of Ornano doth likewise meete him, with siue hundred Harguebuziers, and two hundred maisters. All F  
flew themselves about Vienne at noone-day. Then *Disimieu* giues the Siegneur of Cheylart, and *Dom Prince de Colonnell* of the Italian foot (that were there in garrison) to vnderstand, that beeing well informed of the sinister practise and charge they had to seize vpon his person, hee had resolved to yeeld the towne and castle vnto the King: yet would hee  
not

1595. not put it in execution, before he had obtained a safe conduct for them and their troupes. A  
*Montjoie* shewes himselfe with his troupe, and makes *Cheylart* and *Vincenzo* to accept the condition that was offered them. They goe forth, and take the way to Sauoy, garded by a company of light-horse. *Dismaieu* brings them vnto Saint Blandine, where the Constable attended him, and there takes the oath of obedience and fealty to the King. Towards night the Constable entred Vienne, and receiued the towne and castles of Pippet and La Bastie in his Maiesties name. So Vienne, the onely Sanctuary of the Duke of Nemours, the Rendezuous of strangers, and the Port of Daulphiné to neighbour Prouinces, caused the quiet of al the country, and neighbors about. Since the which the duke alwaies droopt, being contemned, hated, and frustrate of his attempts: and finally he ended all his griefes by a mournfull and lamentable Catastrophe.

As all things succeeded happily for the King, the Marshall of Biron hauing taken Beaune in view of this great army of the Constable of Castille, Autun and Nuys in Bourgogne, hee puts himselfe into Dijon, being called by the Inhabitants, hee chased away the Vienne count of Tauannes troupes (who held the Inhabitants shut vp in a corner of the towne) fortified their barricadoes against the castle, and did beleaguere it, attending his army, which made haste to returne out of the Franche Conté. His Maiesty fore-seeing, that the Constable of Castille being free, after the recouery of Vezou, should bee employed by the Duke of Mayenne, to succour the castle of Dijon, wherein consisted the chiefe hope of his rising, makes hast to Troyes, giues solemne thanks for so happie a victory, and C  
 takes his way to Dijon, arriues there the fourth day of Iune, carrying with him the execution of a designe, more miraculous then all the rest. Without doubt our posterity may put this History with the fabulous tales of the foure fennes of *Aymond*, of *Rowland*, *Olmer*, and others, if wee set not downe the truth, with the chiefe circumstances: for is it not a dreame, an enchantment, and a fabulous tale, that foure-score Cavaliers, but true French Gentlemen, generous, and well led, haue amazed and put to flight, two thousand horse? But what durst not this braue Nobility doe, hauing in the head of them so incomparable and valiant a captaine, and a King so well beloued and respected of all?

The Castillian had already passed his troupes and Artillery, vpon bridges of boares at D Grey: when as the King hauing fortified the Inhabitants with a thousand men, commanded by the Earle of Thorigny, he viewed the castle of Dijon, the fort of Talon a canon-shot from the towne: and all the approaches, whereby the enemy might attempt to succour the castle, made choise of a place of battaile fit to stay him, and where to make forts for the restrayning of the said castle: he resolues to free him of halfe his paines, and to meet him in the midde-way, with a double intent, the one to fight with him at the passage: the other, to giue the assailants time to finish their trenches against the castle. For the execution heereof, hee assigns the Rendezuous at Lux vpon Tille and *Fontaine Françoisse* to a thousand horse, and five hundred Carabins, whom hee would vse in this rare stratageme: and the same day partes with the onely companie of the Baron of Lux, and some E  
 a thirtie horse, and comes to Lux, and from thence to *Fontaine Françoisse*, putting a troupe of foote into two castles which are in the village of Saint Seine vpon the riuer of Vigenne, to stoppe the enemies passage. It was the directest and best waie to come to the succour of Dijon.

Wonderfull  
effects of the  
Kings armes.

A league from *Fontaine Françoisse*, the Marquis of Mirebeau giues his Maiesty intelligence, that hee hath encountered with two troupes of three or foure hundred horse, which made him retire in hast: that he did thinke to haue scene some wings of the army behinde, but he had no leisure to discover them plainly. He spake truth, for all the Castilians army was aduanced to seize vpon the passage of Saint Seine. Some weak spirit, or lesse generous then our *Henry*, would presently haue resolued to make an honourable retreat: but this did kindle his courage, and increase his desire to see their countenance. Hee sends the Marshall of Biron with the company of the Baron of Lux, to discover if it were the armie, or some other troupe that went to the warre, and himselfe followed the Marshall about three-score horse vpon a hill, mid-waie to Saint Seine, situate at the foote thereof on

A on the one side, so as the villages cannot see one another. The Marshall resolues to chafe them, to see what the enemy did behind. He sees the enemies army comming to the said village, and nere vnto a wood fast by, about three hundred horse, which had beat backe the Baron of Ausonuille, whom his Maiesty had likewise sent before with a hundred horse, to see if the enemy marched or staied.

Thee (supported by their whole army, which followed them at the heeles) put forth one troupe on the right-hand, and an other on the left, who make a shew to charge the Marshall, that they might obserue what forces followed him. To frustrate their expectation, he catcheth the Marquis of Mirebeau to stretch forth at large on the one hand, and the Baron of Lux on the other, and then assured that the enemies army followed, he beganne to B  
 make his retreat towards the King. The enemy presseth him, taking this retreat for a kind of flight: But he retired onely, to charge more furiously. The Baron of Lux sees a troupe, which aduanced before their army, and enters so horly amongst them, as his horse being slaine, hee remains engaged in great danger, if the Marshall had not fallen on them with so rough a charge as they were constrained and forced to turne their backs. Heere-  
 vpon issue forth from the woods, many troupes of horse, which in all, with them that marched before, made about twelue hundred. The Marshall (discouering them) retires more speedily, as well to aduertise his Maiesty that all their army followed, as also to tell his Maiesty, that hee had meanes with his horse to fight with theirs before their foot could ar-  
 rive. Before he could deliuer this vnto the King, the troupes of the Baron of Thiangies, C  
*Therissier*, *Villiers*, *Hondan*, and a company of Carabins ioyned with him, whom hee had chased, and force him to turne head, but with twenty horse onely, for the great number of enemies at the first view had amazed most of them which followed the Marshall. Hee chargeth, and ouerthrowes the first hee encounters. But two wounds, one on the head, with a sword, the other with a Lance which razed the skinn of his belly, made the victory for a while doubtfull. Without doubt his braue resolution and wise command encouraged many that were amazed, and confirmed that, which in shew tended to ruine. The onely feare which they had, least he had more men in the village or thereabouts, then he had made shew of, kept the enemy backe, and made them to attend the rest of the army which aduan-  
 ced: in the meane-time they put them into five esquadrons. His Maiesty sees himselfe en-  
 gaged to fight, and hath small meanes to make it good, for the troupes followed easily, and the houre of the Rendezuous was not yet come. The King notwithstanding aduanceth a troupe of horse which newly arriued. But discouering this great cloud of enemies ready to charge them, they retire to his Maiesty.

The wildome  
and valour  
of the Marshall  
of Biron.

An aduent-  
rous charge.

One torch may kindle many lights. If our *Henry* had wanted resolution: if his valour had not bene able to heat these cold and frozen hearts: if numbers had exceeded his courage, hee had bene wonderfully perplexed. It was a shame to retire, a rashnesse to aduance, and dangerous to make a stand. There was perill to fight, or not to fight. Hee chooseth rather to exceed the limits of valour, then to be noted of any cowardise. He ad-  
 uanceth to them that fled, and causeth some to turne and to ioyne with his troupe: The Lord of Tauannes arriues with his company, increasing his number, which are about two hundred horse, but not yet well ioyned. Herevpon the Duke of Mayenne appeares vpon a hill, and sends forth three esquadrons against his Maiesty, which flanked him on the right hand, the one of three hundred horse, the other of two hundred, and the third of a hundred and fifty, and two others against the Marshall of Biron.

The King aduanceth, with about foure-score horse, and chargeth the first Squadron so violently, as he giues them no leisure to thinke to fight, ouerthrowes the second, and disperseth the third, with about five and twenty horse, which remained with him (the rest pursued the victory) strikes terror into all, and leaues the vanquished no other safety, but to die by the hands of so incomparable a Conqueror. The Marshall of Biron seconds this admirable victory with a great resolution, who followed with about fifty horse, defeated the two esquadrons that came against him, one after another, within threescore paces of the Duke of Mayenne, who stood firme on the hill with his troupe of three hundred horse, whether the run-awaies fled, thinking there to be in safety.

The King and the Marshall charge them ioynly, force them, put them in rout, and pursue

1595.

A notable  
victory.

pursue them vnto the corner of the wood. Here the King findes their battailions of foot, A and great store of muskets and other shot planted alongest it, with foure hundred fresh horse, sent to receiue the Duke, a hundred paces from their battailions. So his Maiefty makes a stand, and the enemies freed from him begin their retreat. The Kings horse follow them to the top of the hill, and there put themselves in bataille. The King hauing taken breath in the place from whence he parted to goe to the charge, diuides his men into two troupes, one for himselfe, the other for the Marshall. Here, about a hundred French gentlemen take the place from fiftene hundred horse, and by this meanes the King was master both of the enemies bodies, and of the place of bataille. His Maiefty gathers together such as were dispersed, to make the better shew. Herevpon arriues the Earle of Clermont, B Verry, the Kings light-horse, those of *Cesar Monsieur*, the Duke d'Elbeuf, the Earle of Chiuerny, the Cheualier d'Osse, the Lords of Risse and Aix, which made about sixe hundred horse of his bands of Ordinance, all greued that they had not followed the fortune and valour of our King, to be partakers of the honor which he had won.

A shamefull  
flight.

With this supply he turnes to ouer-take them that fled, and pursues them two leagues, nere vnto Grey: but nor able to follow this shamefull flight hee was content his glory should surmount their shame, and that his valour had vanquished their force: and vsing this famous victory with piety, hee let all the world know in his person, that it is not the sword, nor the arme that strikes, nor the number of men, that preserues Kings in the midst of armes: but that high Providence, which fighting with the one hand for the iust cause of lawfull Princes, against the attempts, and violences of vsurpers and Tyrants: and holding victories in the other, decides the quarrels of Soueraignities, by the equity he finds in Princes armes vniustly oppressed, and makes it manifest that the admirable enents of batailles consist and relie not onely in number or force, but in the free disposition of his fauours, vnto a people whose miseries he will shorten, which the continuance of warre hath bred in a diuided Estate.

The enemy returned to lodge at Saint Seine, and dislodging the next day with feare, they repassed the water vpon their bridges, leauing both the one and the other side of the hill at the Kings deuotion, who without doubt had giuen them a great checke vpon this retreat, if his footmen had beene with him, and the horses lately arriued could haue endured the toyle in the vehement heat of the sunne. The Duke of Mayenne and the Castilian lost in this charge sixe-score men slaine vpon the field, three score prisoners, and two hundred hurt. His Maiefty, onely foure slaine, and one prisoner. But for a notable circumstance, and a signe of the especiall care of God ouer his person, hee performed these exploits without any other armes then his cuirasse alone, and was well assisted to their great commendation by the Dukes of Guise and Elbeuf, the Lord of Tremouille, and the Marquises of Treynel and Pizany, by the Lords of Inteuille, Roquelaure, Chasteauvieux, Liencourt, Montigni, Mirepoix and others. And in despite of all the furious attempts of the league, the castle of Dijon, and in a manner all Bourgongne was soone after reduced to the Kings obedience: and now the third time, he freed his realme from strangers. The King in the end E inuades the cuntry, forceth one of their lodgings in the view of the Constable of Castille nere vnto Grey, becomes master of the field, takes Aspremont and many other places: hee had forced their chiefe forts, if the Suisses had not intreated him to retire his army, and to suffer that Prouince to inioy her ancient liberty.

The Princes absence did imbolden them that were light-headed to discover the rash imaginations of their braines. The Colledge of Sorbonne was not it so well purged of factious humors, but their yet remained some leuaine of sedition and scandal. For *Florentine Jacob* an *Augustine* Monke maintained in his disputation in the Colledge of Sorbonne, vnder *Thomas Blanzey* Doct or in Diuinity and principall of the Colledge of Calui; That without doubt all Spirituall and Temporall things depend vpon the successor of Saint *Peters* F Chaire, whereas *Clement* the eight at this day, the great and most soueraigne Bishop, Lieutenant to God on earth, for he hath Spirituall and Temporall power ouer all. And all in generall, Cardinalls, Bishops and others of what estate and condition soeuer, ought to obey him, and adhere perpetually vnto him as the members vnto the head. And that the Church hauing the power of two swords, grants vnto Kings and Magestrates the vse of the temporall

1595.

A temporall for the defence of the good and rooting out of the wicked. But the Court of Parliament, the true seat of Royall Iustice, ready and carefull to maintaine the estate against such as would shake it, in that which concerns the affaires of the crowne, declares by a decree of the nineteenth day of Iuly these two Articles to be false, scismatical contrary to the word of God, holy decrees, canonically constitutions and lawes of the Realme, tending to the rebellion and the trouble of the publike quiet, wherefore the Monke being conducted from the prison of the Consergery vnto the Sorbons hall; the Deane, Sindre, Doctors, Lyceniats and Batchelors, being assembled by the found of the bell, he declared (being beare-headed and vpon his knees, *Blanzey* also, assisting beare-headed, but standing) *That rashly and made secretly he had propounded the said positions to be disputed off, and maintained by him in his Ordinary Act, for the which hee was sorry and demanded pardon of God, the King, and Iustice.* The questions were torne in peeces, and defences made to all Batchelors to present the like against the Kings power and the obedience which all his subjects owe him, the establishment of the royall Estate, and the rights of the French Church, and to the Deane, Sindre and Doctors of the faculty, to receiue them, nor to suffer them to be printed nor disputed, vpon paine to be declared guilty of high treason, and vnworthy to inioy the priuiledges granted to the faculty of Diuinity, by the Kings predecessors to the King now reigning, and confirmed by him. And to eternize the memory, the court ordained, that this decree should bee written in the Registers of the said faculty, and read euery yeere at C the first assembly of the Sorbonne by the Beadel of the said faculty: inioyning the Sindre to certifie the Court of the reading thereof, within three daies after it should be done, vpon paine of disobedience: This present decree was executed by *Iohn Forget* one of the Kings priuy counsell, and President in his court of Parliament, *Stephen Fleury*, *Ierosme Angenouff*, *Ierosme Anrox*, and *Prosper Baum* counsellors in the said court, and deputed Iudges to that end, in the presence of his Maiesties Procter general, who by a graue and Maiefticall admonition did shew zeale and affection to conuince the error and rashnesse of any one that would attempt to make a breach in the royall and soueraigne authority, to weaken the temporall sword, which God onely did put into their hands for the preservation of the good and punishment of the wicked.

D Whilest the King continues his victories, the Marshall of Bouillon executes a dangerous enterprize, but of importance, vpon the towne and castle of Han. Han opened the way for the Spaniard from the fronter vnto Beauvais and Amiens: but this surprize cunningly performed, did wonderfully anoy them, and not one Spaniard of those which had it in gard escaped either death or prison. Six score naturall Spaniards, and six or seuen hundred captaines and souldiers of diuerse nations were slaine, and three or foure hundred prisoners. But all this scumme of men could not recompence the death of that braue and generous Nobleman *Humieres*, one of the chiefe actors in the enterprize, as much lamented first by the King, then by the Nobility, and generally of all France, as his vertues and merits had made him commendable and necessary for his Maiesties seruice. *La Croix* E master of the campe, *Mazieres* Lieutenant to *Suruille*, and *Boycourt* captaine of *Humieres* gard, were companions of his valour, and graue. The towne was taken for the King, with the death of some twenty other gentlemen, and about a hundred souldiers. But the Spaniard soone after reuenged this surprize vpon Casteler, but more sharply vpon the towne of Dourlans, for hauing put to rout the fuccors which the Marshall of Bouillon sent, slaine the Admirall of Villars and many gentlemen, they tooke the towne by assault (not for want of men or munition, but by their bad order, and the intelligence which the Commanders in the towne had with the enemy) and entred it with such great fury, as they had no respect of sex or age: hauing no reason for their horrible cruelty, but the fresh remembrance of their companions. *It is* (cried they) *to reuenge those of Han.*

Han surprized  
for the King.*Humieres*  
slaine.Casteler and  
Dourlans for  
the Spaniards.

F The Duke of Neuers, the Marshall of Bouillon, and the Earle of Saint Paul, Commanders of the Kings troupes, hauing diuided the charge amongst them, to incounter the Spaniards, the Marshall and the Earle went to provide for the places about Bollogne, and the Duke for those vpon the riuier of Somme. Passing by Amiens, he finds the people and chiefeest so amazed, that to assure them, hee was forced to lay aside the quality of his person, and to promise to put himselfe into Corbie, foure leagues from Amiens, to defend it if the enemy



1595. enemy approached. He enters it the third of August, views it both within and without, takes A  
a survey of the quantity of munition, and of the number of mouthes, and provides as time  
and necessity would permit him for things necessary for the preservation of the place. The  
Spaniard had an other designe: for the first day of the moneth he parts from about Dour-  
lans, and taking the way betwixt Peronne and Corbie, seems to threaten Saint Quentin or  
Cambray. So the Duke leaves Corbie, but doubtfull whither the Spaniard went: yet ad-  
uertised by the Vicont d'Auchy, governor of Saint Quentin, that the enemy approached to-  
wards him, he goes to defend Saint Quentin. He is no sooner arrived, but newes comes, that  
the Earle of Fuentes is lodged about Cambray, to besiege it with seenteene thousand  
men, and three-score and two peeces of artillery. The Lord of Balagny, Marshall of France,  
by his articles of capitulation with the King, confirms this advice by his letters of the e-  
leventh, twelfth, thirteenth and foure-teenth of the moneth, and requires to be soderly re-  
leueed, for the pitifull Estate of Dourlans terrified the people: the towne was it provided  
of men, this huge number of canons, and this fearefull multitude of soldiers, strooke a ge-  
nerall terror among the citizens.

Cambray be-  
sieged.

But to reuiue their spirits, who were ready to yeeld obedience to a new Lord, the Duke  
of Neuers sends them his onely sonne, the Duke of Rethelois, assisted with the valour and  
wisdome of the Lords of Vicques, Buihy, Trumelet, Vaudecourts, Sugny, Fleury, Chaltrey,  
and others, with about three hundred and fifty horse. The Peasants by their bells giue the a-  
larum from village to village, and a paltry bridge of wood at Anne, two leagues from Cam-  
bray, staying their troupe, gaue the Earle of Fuentes meanes to put his horse in battaile al-  
most directly in the way where the Duke should passe. He auoides it, and going aside en-  
counters a gard of five and twenty Lances, making a stand on this side of a hollow-way: hee  
chargeth them, cuts them in peeces in the fight of their horse, which could not succour  
them by reason of the said way, and passing on, hee falls into a troupe of two hundred and  
fifty horse, marcheth directly to them, scatters them, goes on his way, and comes to the  
towne-ditch. The Inhabitants know him and receiue him with much honour, and ioy to  
see so braue succors.

Cambray yeel-  
ed to the  
Spaniard.

But it was too weake against such a number of assailants: the King was farre off, the E-  
state of Bourgundy kept him occupied: the affaires of the Prouince of Lionois required  
his presence. The Inhabitants of Cambray began to decline in affection: they were mal-  
content with the tediousnesse of the siege, and the ruine of their houses by the canon, and  
of the constraint to take certaine money made of copper, and not suffer them to imploy,  
it, carrying on the one side the Kings armes, as Protector, and on the other those of the  
Lord of Balagny, created Prince of Cambray by the Articles of his redition. On the  
other side the enemy made strange attempts, and gaue horrible threats against the be-  
sieged. They shut their eares against all perswasions, and make a disloyall resolution to  
yeeld, and hoping for better viage and more liberty, they open the gates to the enemy. The  
Duke of Rethelois, Balagny, Vicques, and others flie into the Cittadell. The Duke would  
retire his sonne, and makes the besieged despaire of any speedy succors. So the ninth of  
October Balagny signed the capitulation, offered by the enemy: but with so much griefe  
and sorrow, as the same night he signed it, his wife being a woman of a great spirit died, not  
able to endure that so precious a Jewell as Cambray (whereof she was newly created Prin-  
cesse) should fall into the Spaniards cruell hands.

Thus this ancient member of this crowne was lost: Thus the onely triumph of a sonne  
and brother of the Kings of France was blemished. Doubtlesse had it not bene for the  
impatency and disloyalty within, the fault of some great men that might haue preuented  
this mischiefe, all their attempts had bene in vaine: for the Earle of Fuentes was ready to  
build forts about the towne, rather to vanquish them by a long siege then by assault. And  
the King hastned his entry into Lions, to come to their speedy succour. The Duke of Neu-  
ers died soone after, greeued on the one side for so great a breach made to this Estate,  
and satisfied on the other, that his sonne had shewed himselfe so valiant in the conduct of  
the succors he put into the towne.

The King seeing the Constable of Castille shut vp into Dole and Grey, being loath to  
hazard a battaile, he went and made his entry into Lions the fourth of September, assured  
the

A the Prouince, provided for the troubles of Prouence, nourished not so much by the league,  
as by the discontentments and partialities of some which had no intelligence with them: he  
receiued *Sis Dauphin* to his obedience, with the towns of Chasteaugontier in Aniou, and  
Sable in Maine, and for recompence of his seruice, honored him with the place of a Marshall  
of France. Then he granted a generall truce throughout the whole Realme, to the Duke of  
Mayenne, which after so many stormes, and so many tempests, shall in the end bring vs to a  
safe port, so necessary to quiet the diuisions of this Realme.

The King being prest to make a generall truce, and cessation of armes through out his  
whole Kingdome, vpon the assurance which the Duke of Mayenne hath giuen him to cause  
it to be obserued by all them which doe yet make warre, as well vnder his authority as in the  
B name of the vnion: his Maiesty desirous to ease his subiects of the oppression of warre,  
hath granted them these Articles, following.

1 First that there shalbe a good and firme truce and cessation of armes throughout  
the Realme, Countries and Seignories thereof, and of the protection of the crowne of  
France, for the space of three monethes, to beginne, in the Gouvernements of Lionois, For-  
rests, and Beauuailois, where as his Maiesty now is, and in the Duchie of Bourgondy, sixe  
daies after that these present Articles shalbe signed: within the which they shalbe proclay-  
med within the townes of Lyon, Dijon, Chaalons and Seure. In the Gouvernements of  
Daulphiné, Prouencé, the Isle of France, Bourbonnois, Niuernois, Auvergne, Chartres, and  
C Orleance, eight daies after the date thereof. In the Gouvernements of Champagne, Picar-  
die, Normandy, Britan, Berry, Tourraine, Mayenne, Lymoges, high and low Marsh fife-  
teene daies after. And in the Gouvernements of Guyenne, Languedoc, Poyctou, Xaintonge,  
Angoulmois, Metz, and the country of Metz, twenty daies after this present accord: And  
yet it shall end generally the same daie.

2 All persons both Clergy Nobility and Inhabitants of towne and country, may during  
the present truce, gather their fruits and reuenues, and inioy them wherefoeuer they bee,  
and may re-enter into there country-houses and castles, which they that hold them shall be  
bound to yeeld vnto them, and to leaue them free without all let, vpon condition that they  
shall not cause any fortification to bee made during the said truce, alwaies excepting those  
D castles wherein there is any Garrison imployed for the warre, the which shall not bee restor-  
ed: yet the Proprietaries shall inioy the fruits and reuenues depending thereon, notwith-  
standing any guists and ceasures which haue bene made.

3 The labourers and husbandmen, may with all liberty follow their labour, and accus-  
tomed workes, and shall not bee hindred, nor molested in any sort, vpon paine of death for  
them that shall doe the contrary.

4 Euery man may freely passe throughout the Realme, without any constraint to take a  
passport: And yet no Marshall enter into any towne or place of strength of a contrary  
partie, but with these armes, that is, a foot-man with his sword, and a horse-man with his  
sword and Pistol or Harguebuze, sending first to aduertize them that command there: who  
E shall be bound to giue them leaue to enter, vnlesse the qualitie and number of the Per-  
sons minister iust cause of ieaousie of the surety of the places where they command: which  
is referred to their Iudgement and discretion. And if any of a contrarie party shall en-  
ter into any of the said places, without declaring themselves, and demanding leaue,  
they shalbe good prize. And to preuent all controuerfies which may growe, they that  
command in the said places, granting the said permission, shalbe bound to giue it in writing  
without charge.

5 The money of taxes and impositions set vpon Marchandize and other commodities,  
shalbe leauied during the said three monethes, as they bee at this present: neither shall they  
be augmented but by his Maiesties commissions, and without preiudice of the Accords, and  
F particular treaties, already made for the perception and leauy of the said money, the which  
shalbe entertained and kept.

6 Notwithstanding the said money shall not bee leauied by anticipation of quarters,  
but onely for the quarter running, without his Maiesties permission, and by the officers of  
the elections, who in case of resistance, shall haue recourse vnto the Governor of the  
nearest towne, to bee assisted with forces for the charges whereof they shall not exact  
but

1595. but one fould vpon the Liuer of those summes for the which the constraint shalbe made. A

7 As for arrerages of the said taxes, and taillon there shall not bee leauied aboute the quarter that is in being, and during the same, vnlesse it be one other quarter of that which is of the present yeere, without his Maiesties permission.

8 That during the present truce, there shalbe nothing attempted vpon the places of either partie, nor any act of Hostillity done: And if any one should so farre forget himselfe as to doe the contrary, his Maiesty will cause reparation to bee done for his part, and punish the delinquents as troublers of the publike quiet, as also the Duke de Mayenne shalbe bound to doe for his part: And whereas hee shall not haue meanes to doe it, to abandon them vnto his Maiesty to be pursued and punished as aboue, neither B shall they be releued or assisted in any sort?

9 In like manner if any of the said Dukes partie refuse to obey the contents of these present Articles, hee shall doe his best endeauor to force him: And if within fiftene daies after requisition made they shall not obey, it shalbe lawfull for his Maiestie to make warre against him or them that shal thus refuse, neither shall it be lawfull for the said Duke, or any that depend of him, to assist or succour them in any sort what soeuer.

10 It shall not be lawfull to take any places, during the present truce to fortifie them, although that they were not held by any one.

11 The Prouost Marshalls, shall doe their duties in apprehension in the conrey and in fragrant delights, without distinction of parties, with charge to send them to those Iudges C to whom the knowledge should belong.

12 It shall not bee lawfull to quarrell or challenge one another by *Duels*, or assemblies of friends, for any difference that hath happened by reason of the present troubles, be it for the taking of men, houses, cattaille, or any other occasion whatsoeuer, so long as the said truce shall continue.

13 The Gouvernours and Lieutenants generall, and others commanding in euery Prouince, shall assemble, after the publication of these present Articles, or shall depute commissioners in their behalfe, to aduise what shall bee necessarie for the execution thereof, for the good and ease of them that are vnder their charges: And whereas it shalbee held profitable and necessarie, to adde, correct or diminish anything for the particular good of the said Prouince, they shall aduertize his said Maiestie and the Duke D of Mayenne.

14 These present Articles are granted, not meaning they shall preiudice the Accordes and perticular Orders made betwixt the Gouvernours, and Lieutenants generall of Prouinces by his Maiesties commandement, and the consent of the said Duke of Mayenne, and others that haue power to doe it.

*Made at Lions the 23. of September 1595. and signed by the King and Duke of Mayenne.*

E

God raiseth vp a great meanes from beyond the mountaines, to make the way easie for a generall peace and re-vnion of people distracted from his Maiesties obedience. The Pope mooued in the end to see the eldest sonne of the Church, and the chiefe Christian Prince prostrate at his feete, shewes himselfe a true father of Iustice, to vanquish the difficulties and oppositions, whereby the Ambassador of Spaine had crost his Maiesties constant and iust pursute, since the time of his conuersion. The 18. of September he opens the streames of his blessings vpon our Kings head: and all the Colledge of Cardinals, all the people, all the city of Rome, crie out with that happy acclamation, *God saue Henry of Bourbon King of France and of Nauarre, most great, most victorious. God saue the most Christian and most Catholike. God saue the chiefe sonne of the Church.* F

The Pope  
blesseth the  
King.

Few daies after the newes of this sollemne action, the King went from Lions in post by night, to goe to the succor of Cambray, but the effects were not answerable to his care and good will. The Cambresiens had already conceived some hope of greater libertie, they hoped to get much by the change, and yelded their neckes to a new command. There is  
neither

A neither meanes, counsel, nor reason, that can stay a multitude, when as a disordered appetite or freedome doth transport them. His Maiestie findes other worke to imploy his forces: hee sought to roote this forraigne power speedily out of Picardy, which held his hands bound, and insulted ouer him: *La Fere* is the chiefe and most important fort of the Province, he besiegeth it and finds therein an obstinate and inuincible resolution. Perseuerance is necessary in all actions of warre, but especially in the siege of townes, and there is no place which the munition & the situation makes impregnable, but time & famine will force, subdue and bring vnder. Whilest the King leaues the besieged nothing free but the aire, and drives them to all extremities, the Duke of Mayenne on the other side (seeing his retreats in a manner all lost, and that he is in disgrace with the Spaniards) sues for his Maiesties fauour, and vpon his simple word hee promisseth to come vnto him wheresoeuer he pleased. B The Marquis of Saint Sorlin, now Duke of Nemours, by the death of his elder brother, yelds with the like facility.

1595.

La Fere be-  
sieged.The Dukes of  
Mayenne and  
Nemours re-  
ceiued into  
grace.

Neuer Prince did more easily remit the wrongs were done him. The King grew more cold then was requisite in a siege of such importance, to attend the treaties of the one and the other. He commended the first, for the affection he had shewed to preferue the realme entire hauing not done, nor suffered it to be dismembred, but of some places, in the great declining of his Estate, and declares that he had alwaies heard that the second had no part in the troubles and diuisions of the realme, by any designe preiudiciall to the Estate. This C reunion of the Duke of Mayenne performed at Monceaux in Brie caused the yelding of Soissons, Pierrefont, Chaalon vpon Soane, Seurre in Bourgongne, and some other places, to the Kings obedience, wherevpon the King made an Edi& as followeth.

Henry by the grace of God &c. As it is the duty of a good King to loue his subiects, as his children, to intreat them as his owne, and to thinke that their felicity is his: God and men are witnesses, that since it pleased God to cal vs to this crowne, we haue had no greater desire then to free our selfe of this charge. For hauing found this Realme full of factions, warre, and diuisions, more dangerous then haue beene heretofore, we haue neither spared our blood to defend our authority, nor our clemency to forget wrongs which haue beene done vs: to the end wee might soone free our Realme from oppressions and ciuill warres, D the very spring and mother of all miseries. Wherein we confesse that wee haue beene no lesse assisted by the grace and blessing of God in the one, then in the other. For if hee hath often giuen vs victories ouer our enemies, hee hath also giuen vs a will and meanes to vanquish them by mildnesse, that haue made themselues worthy; so as we may say that we haue no lesse aduanced the re-vnion of our subiects by clemency then by armes. And therein we haue beene chiefly moued by the great loue wee beare vnto our owne particular interest or aduantage. Vwe haue also had a great regard vnto the causes which haue incited many of them to arme, being grounded vpon the care which euery man should haue of his soules health, the which we haue held so much the more worthy of commiseration & E excuse, for that wee doe acknowledge as a true Christian, that there is not any thing hath more power ouer vs, then this bond. Wherefore hauing often tried by our selfe that force doth rather fortifie then change the resolution of man, in matter of Religion, and that it is a grace which is infused into vs, not by our owne iudgements, nor by any other, but by the onelie bountie of the cuer-lyuing God and by the working of the Holy Spirit.

Assoone as we had any breathing from our great toyles, by the aduantages which God hath giuen vs ouer our aduersaries, wee drue vnto vs Prelats and Doctors of good life, and learned in the Holy Scriptures, to instruct vs in the truth of the Catholike Religion, whereof God by his Grace hauing made vs capable, with a firme resolution to perseuer therein vnto the death: wee haue since had no greater desire then to participate in the F vnion and societie of the Catholike Apostolike and Romish Church; and our reconciliation with our Holie Father the Pope; and the Holie Sea, as all men may see by our actions, and the continuall pursuites which wee haue made: The which haue beene so crost, by the ordinarie practizes of our enemies, and their power at Rome, as if our constancie and reason had not mooued and fortified the vertue and singular bountie

1595. of our Holy father (who like a common father did onely regard the good of Christian Religion) we had neuer attained to the happinesse of his holy blessing, nor of our reconciliation so much desired, for the quiet of our conscience, and the better satisfaction of our subiects, moued only with the zeale of Religion. Wherein we haue great cause to praise God, and to magnifie his holinesse and equity, who by his wisdom and bounty hath confounded the insolency and falshood of our enemies: Wee haue no lesse cause to admire Gods diuine providence in that it hath pleased him to make the way of our saluation, the surest meanes to winne the hearts of our subiects, and to draw them to obey vs, as hath beene seene soone after our vnion to the Church, and euer since continued.

But this worke had not beene perfect, nor the peace absolute, if our deere and wel-beloued cousin the Duke of Mayenne, chiefe of his partie, had not followed the same course, as he was resolu'd to doe, when as hee saw our Holy Father allow of our reuinion: The which hath made vs to like better of his actions then before, to take in good part the zeale which hee had to Religion, and to commend his desire to preferue the Realme, the which hee would not suffer to bee dismembred, when as the prosperity of his affaires seemed to giue him some meanes: As also since beeing weake, hee chose rather to cast himselfe into our armes, and yeeld vs the obedience, which God, Nature and the lawes commanded him, then to seeke other remedies which might continue the warres, to the great preiudice of our subiects: The which makes vs desire to acknowledge his goodwill, and to loue and intreat him hereafter as our good kinf-man and faithfull subiect. And to the end that both hee and all Catholikes which shall imitate him in this dutie, may bee the better confirmed, and others incited to the like resolution: And also to the end that no man may hereafter seeme to doubt of the sincerity of our re-vnion to the Catholike Church, and vnder that pretext stirre vp new seeds of dissention to seduce our subiects and draw them to their ruine: Wee declare and protest that our resolution is to liue and die, in the Catholike, Apostolike and Romish Religion, wherof wee haue made profession: our intention is also to procure the aduancement thereof with al our meanes, and with the like care and affection, as the most Christian Kings our Predecessors haue done, by the aduise of our good and loyall Catholike subiects, as well of those which haue alwaies assisted vs, as of others which haue since yeelded vs obedience, maintrayning notwithstanding the publike tranquillity of the realme.

1 In the meane time wee will that in the townes of Chaalons, Seurre and Soissons (the which wee haue left as townes of suertie to our said cousin, for sixe yeeres) nor in the Baylie-wike of Chaalons, wherof wee haue graunted the gouernment to one of his sonnes, beeing seperated for the said time from that of Bourgondie, or within two leagues of Soissons, there shalbe no other exercise, but of the Catholike, Apostolike and Romish Religion during the said sixe yeeres, nor any person aduanced, to publike charges and offices, which shall not make profession of the said Religion.

2 And to the end the re-vnion vnder our obedience of our said cousin, and of all those which shall imitate him in this dutie, may bee absolute and perfect as it is fit, as well for our seruice, and the quiet of al our subiects, as for the honour and safety of our said cousin, and of others which would inioy this present Edict: wee haue and doe reuoke all Edicts, Letters-patents, and declarations, made and published in our court of Parliament at Paris, and other places, and iurisdictions, since the present troubles and by reason thereof: And all iudgements and decrees made against our said cousin the Duke of Mayenne, and other Princes, Noblemen, Gentlemen, Officers, Communalities, and priuate persons of what quality soeuer, that will take the benefit of the said Edict: wee will and our meaning is that the said Edicts Letters-patents, and Declarations, shalbe drawne out of the Registers of the said court, and other places and iurisdictions, to the end the memory thereof may bee suppress'd and extinct.

3 Wee forbid our subiects of what qualitie soeuer, to reuiue the memory of things past, during the said troubles, nor to iniurie one another by word nor deed, the delinquents to bee punished as troublers of the publike quiet: To this end wee will that all markes of dissention, which might breed any bitterness amongst our said subiects, being brought into our townes and other places since the present troubles, and by reason thereof,

A thereof, shalbe taken away: inioyning all Maiors, Consuls, Sheriffes and other officers to haue a care thereof.

4 Wee will also and ordaine that all Clergy men, Gentlemen, Officers and all others of what quality and condition soeuer, that will acknowledge vs with our said cousin the Duke of Mayenne, shalbe restored to their Goods, Benefices, Offices, Charges and Dignities. Notwithstanding all Edicts, gifts of their goods, rents, and debts, and prouisions of their offices to any other persons, sales, confiscations, and declarations, which haue beene made and in-rold: All which we reuoke and by vertue of this present Edict doe put them in full possession thereof: vpon condition that our said cousin and they, shall sweare fidelity and obedience vnto vs, and shall presently depart from all leagues, practises, affociations, or intelligences, made both within and without our Realme, and shall promise hereafter not to make any vpon what pretext soeuer.

5 Our said cousin, with the Princes, Noblemen, Clergy, Gentlemen, Officers and other Inhabitants of Townes, Communalities, and Borroughes, which haue in any sort followed and fauored his party and shal come and acknowledge their duties with him, within the time limited by this present Edict, shall not be called in question for things past and committed by them during the present troubles, and by reason thereof: And we will that all iudgments and decrees which haue or may bee giuen against them for this respect, with all proceedings, and informations shalbe voide and of no force, and shalbe taken out of the Registers without any exception, except crimes which are punishable in the same party, and the murder of the deceased King, our most honored Lord and brother.

6 And notwithstanding hauing often consulted vpon this fact, with the aduise of the Princes of our blood, and other Princes, Officers of our crowne, and of many Noblemen of our counsel: And hauing since examined the informations made during the space of these seven yeeres: By the which it hath appeared vnto vs that the Princes and Princesses our subiects which had fallen from the obedience of the deceased King our most honored Lord and brother, were not any way charged: we haue and doe declare by these presents, that the said exception shal not extend to the said Princes, and Princesses, which haue and shall acknowledge the duty whereto they are bound vnto vs, according to this present Edict: Many other great considerations mouing vs therevnto, and the oth which they haue taken not to haue consented vnto the said murder: we forbid our Proctor generall both present and to come, and all others to make any pursuite against them, and to our Courts of Parliament and al other our Iudges and Officers to take knowledge thereof.

7 Moreouer all they that haue been put out of our townes, since the reduction of them to our obedience, by reason of the present troubles, and for such causes as should be remitted by the present Edict, or were absent at the reduction thereof, & are yet for the same causes, being desirous to inioy the benefit of the Edict, may returne into the said towns and inioy their houses, goods and dignities, notwithstanding al Edicts, Letters and Decrees to the contrary.

8 Our said cousin the Duke of Mayenne, and the noblemen, gentlemen, gouernors of officers, communalities, and other priuate persons, which haue followed him, shalbe in like manner discharged, of al summes of money leauied and taken by them for what cause soeuer and in like manner they that haue furnished the said money shalbe acquitted and discharged.

9 In like manner they shalbe discharged of all acts of hostility, leauies and conduct of men of warre, coyning of money, casting and taking of artillery and munition, as well in publike Magazines, as in priuate houses, surprizes, ransoms, fortifications, raylings of townes and castles, enterprizes, burning and ruining of Churches, and suburbs of townes, erecting of counsels, iudgments & executions thereof: priuate commissions, as well in ciuill, as criminal causes, voiajes, intelligences, negotiations & treatises both within and without our realme.

10 They which haue executed the charge of Commissaries general of the victuals, vnder our said cousin, & vnder the noblemen commanding in the priuate Prouinces of our realm, the which shall obey vs according to the present Edict, and within the time limited, shalbe freed from al question, for all sorts of munition, victuals, horses, furniture and other things done by them for the execution of their charge during the present troubles, neither shall they be answerable for their Deputies, Clerks and other officers, imploied by them, neither

1595. shall they be bound to yeeld any account of their offices, but onely bring a certificate from A our cousin, that they haue serued faithfully the execution of their charges.

11. All memorials, letters and publike writings, since the first of Ianuary 1589. for what cause soeuer, shall remaine suppressed, and the authors shall not be questioned with, imposing silence in that respect, aswel to our Proctors general and their substitutes, as to all priuate persons.

12. Our pleasure also is that their shall be no search-made against the Siegnior of Maigny, his Lieutenant, and the souldiers of our said cousins gard, hauing assisted at the death of the Marquis of Maignely, which happened against the will, and to the great griefe of our said cousin, as hee hath protested. And the said fact shall in that respect bee abolished, neither shall they haue any further need to obtaine any other letters, or more ample declaration: the like shalbe for those which haue obtained letters frō our said cousin for that fact, the which haue bin verified by him which did hold the place of great Prouost in his traine.

12. All sentences, iudgements and decrees, giuen by Iudges of the same party and betwixt men of the same party, or others which voluntarily contested, shalbe of force, and not be reuoked by our courts of Parliament, or other Iudges, but in cases of appeale, or by some other ordinary course: And whereas any reuocation, or cessation hath bene made, it shal now remaine void and of no force.

14. The time which hath run since the first of Ianuary 1589. vnto this present, shal not auale any person of diuers parties, to purchase them prescription, or pre-emptiō of instance. C

15. Al that hath been executed by vertue of the iudgments, or publike acts of the counsell, erected by our said cousin for ransoms, allowing of pardons, remissions, and abolitions, shal take place without any reuocation, for that which concernes priuate persons.

16. Such as haue bene aduanced by our said cousin, to offices being void by death or resignation, in townes which shall acknowledge vs with him, as also of offices, of the receiuers of salt newly erected in the said townes, shalbe maintained therein, in taking prouision from vs, the which we wil cause to be giuen them.

17. And in regard of those which haue bene preferred to the said offices by our said cousin, the which haue bene void in townes which heretofore haue followed his party, were it by death, resignation, or new creation, made by vs, or our predecessors, who haue since followed our said cousin, and not sworne obedience to vs according to our Edicts, returning now to our seruice with him (who are peticularly set downe in a rowle signed by vs) shall in like manner bee maintained in the said offices, taking prouisions from vs: The like shalbe done for benefices, specified in the said rowle.

18. If there be any suite vpon the prouision of offices, within the townes which shall acknowledge vs, with our said cousin, granted by him, betwixt persons which are yet of the said party, or one of them, and shall acknowledge vs with him, he that shall obtaine a declaration of our said cousins intention, shalbe confirmed, so as he bring the said declaration within six moneths after the publication of this present Edict.

19. And for that they which haue bene preferred to offices, by death, resignation, new creation or otherwise, and haue paid their fines to the receiuers of the casualties on the party of our said cousin, may pretend some remedy against him, or them, that haue received the said money, either to be maintained in the said offices, or to haue their money restored: we haue and doe discharge by these presents our said cousin, and the said treasurers and receiuers, from all actions and demands, which may be intended against them in this respect.

20. All they that shal acknowledge vs with our said cousin, which haue inioyed the fees, rights, and profits of any offices, fruits of benefices, reuenues of houses, lands and signiories, rents and any mouable goods and rights belonging to them of the contrary party, by vertue of the gifts, ordinances, commandments, rescriptions and quitances of our said cousin the Duke of Mayenne, shall not bee subiect to any restitution, but shall remaine fully discharged; They shal not in like maner, demand nor challenge any thing of that which hath bene taken from them by our commandment and authority, and received by our other subiects and seruants, excepting of either party the mouables which shalbe found in being, the which may bee challenged by them to whom they doe belong, paying the price for which they were sold.

21. In

A 21 In like manner Ecclesiasticall persons, which shall acknowledge vs, with our said cousin, and haue not yet taken the oath of allegiance, hauing payed their rithes to his Receiuers, with the money for the alienation of their temporall lands, shall not bee called in question for what is past, but shall be fully discharged, and in like manner the Receiuers which haue made the payment.

22 All summes of money which haue bin payed by the commaundement of our said cousin, or of them which haue had charge of the treasure vnder him, to any persons, or for any cause soeuer, by the Treasurers or Receiuers, which haue the managing of the publike money, who shall acknowledge vs with him, shall bee allowed in our Chambers of Account, without any exception, for that the forme and order of Finances hath not bene duly obserued: and the accompts which haue bene made, shall not be subiect to reuision, but in case of the ordinance: We wil that for the reestablishment of all parties raised, and held in suspence, all letters and necessarie vallidations shall be giuen them. And as for Accompts yet to make, they shall be heard in our Chamber of Accompts at Paris, or else-where, whereunto they shall not bee constrained within one whole yeare. And our said cousin, nor the Treasurers, Receiuers, and Accomptants, shall not bee answerable in their owne names, for the Commaundements, Rescriptions, and Quitances, which they haue giuen for matters depending vpon their charge, vnlesse they haue bound themselves particularly.

C 23 The Edicts and Declarations made by vs vpon the reduction of the payment of Rents constituted, or Annuities, shal take place for them that shall make vse of this present Edict, neither shall any one pretend, that they are deprived of the benefit of the sayd Edicts and Declarations, for that they haue not satisfied, within the time prefixed by them: and the time shall not runne against him, but from the day of the publication of our sayd Edict.

24 And for that the widowes and heires of such as are dead, of our said cousins party, may be called in question and molested, by reason of things done during the troubles by their husbands, and them to whom they are heires: We will, that they shall enioy the same discharge, granted by the precedent Articles, to all those that shall take the oath of allegiance with our said cousin.

D 25 All those that will enioy the present Edict shall be bound to make declaration within fixe weekes after the publication thereof, to the Court of Parliament, where they dwell, and shall take the oath of allegiance: that is to say, the Princes, Bishops, Gouvernors of Provinces, Officers, and others hauing publike charges, in the hands of our most deare and faithfull Chancellor, or of the Parlements where their charges lye, and the rest before the Bayliffes, Seneshals, and other ordinary Iudges, within the said time.

E 26 Vpon a declaration made vnto vs by our cousin the Duke of Mayenne, for the towne of Marseille, and others of our country of Prouence, which haue hitherto followed his party, and will obey vs with him by vertue of this present Edict. We haue ordained and promised that they shall enioy the contents, which are inserted in secret Articles, granted by vs vnto our said cousin.

27 Moreouer, desiring to giue all occasions to the Dukes of Mercure, and Aumale, to returne to our seruice, and to yeeld vs obedience, after the example of our said cousin the Duke of Mayenne, and at his most humble suite: We haue in like manner declared, that we will willingly looke vpon their demands, when they shall present them vnto vs, and shall acquit themselves of their dutie towards vs, so as they do it within the time limited by this present Edict. And we will, that the execution of the Decree made against the said Duke of Aumale in our court of Parliament, shall presently surcease, vntill that wee haue otherwise ordaine<sup>d</sup>, meaning to reuoke and suppress the said Decree, if the said Duke of Aumale doth acknowledge vs as he ought, during the said Terme.

28 Knowing with what affection our said cousin, employes himselfe to reduce such as remaine of his partie to our obedience, and by that meanes to settle the Realme in peace, we haue bene also pleased, that the Articles which concerne our deare and louing cousin the Duke of Joyeuse, and the Marqueses of Villars and Mont-pezat, as also the Seigneur of Estrange, who doth now command in our towne of Puy, with the Inhabitants of the sayd Towne,



1595. towne, the Seigneurs of Saint Offange, Gouvernor of Roch-fort, *du Plessis*, Gouverneur of A Craon, and *La Senery*, Gouvernor of Ganache, hauing beene scene and resolued on in our Councell, vpon the memorials which they haue sent to that end, the which our said cousin hath presented vnto vs, We will, that what hath bene thereupon accorded, shall be obserued in euery point; so as our said cousin shall make it appeare vnto vs within sixe moneths, that they haue accepted that which we haue granted vnto them, and that within the same Terme they shall take the Oath of allegiance: otherwise we meane not to be tryed to the obseruation of the said Articles.

29 Hauing regard, that our said cousin hath engaged himselfe and some of his friends and seruants, in many summes of mony, set downe in a Scedule, and signed by him, amounting to the summe of three hundred and fifty thousand crownes, the which he informed vs was employed for the warre, and others of his party, and not any thing conuerted to his owne priuate vse, nor of his friends and seruants which stand bound, whereof desiring to discharge him, and to giue him the more meanes to do vs seruice: Wee promise our sayd cousin to acquit the said debts specified in the said Scedule, vnto the summe of three hundred and fifty thousand crownes principall debt, and seven and twenty thousand, sixe hundred and fifty crownes for the arrerages of some part of the said debts, the rents and arrerages being cast vp, for the time specified in the said Scedule, signed by vs, and by our said cousin, and to discharge him wholly with his said friends and seruants, which stand ioyntly bound. And to this end to cause to bee payed vnto him within two yeares, in eight payments quarterly; the first quarter beginning the first day of this present moneth of January, the summe of one hundred twenty one thousand and fifty Crownes, the which we haue ordained shall be assigned vpon some generall receipts of our sayd Realme, to bee employed alwell in discharge of the said debts, with the rents and interest, as of the arrerages thereof, vnto the time specified by the sayd Scedule, signed by vs, and our said cousin: And hereafter to cause the sayd rents and interests to be payed, vnto the full extinction thereof. And as for the other debts contained in the said Scedule, signed by our said cousin, remayning of the three hundred and fifty thousand Crownes: Wee promise to our said cousin, to returne and deliuer vnto him the promises, contracts, and bonds made by him and his friends, and seruants, within foure yeares, without paying any arrerages or interest, or else to giue him within the said time valable iudgements of the invaliditie of the said debts: so as our sayd cousin, his friends and seruants shall be wholly discharged. And vntil the said promises and bonds shall be restored vnto him, We will and ordaine, that neither hee nor his friends and seruants which stand ioyntly bound, shall be constrained to pay all or any part of the said three hundred and fifty thousand Crownes, nor the arrerages or interest of the sayd rents. And that all letters of Surcease, Interdiction, and Euocation in our Councell of State, shall be dispatched whensoever need shall require, vpon the extract of this present Article.

30 Moreouer, desiring to free our said cousin the Duke of Mayenne of all interest, towards the Suisses, Reistres, Lansquenets, Lorraines, and other strangers, to whom hee hath bound himselfe, as well for the leaue of men of warre, as for the seruice which they haue done, during their abode in his partie: we promise to discharge him of all the summes for the which he stands bound, as well in his owne priuate name, or as chiefe of his said party, and to put them with the other debts of the Crowne, according to the verification which hath bene made by the deceased Seigneur of Videuille, Intendant of the finances, and by the Esleuz of the said Countrey of Bourgondie, for the regard of the said Suisses, Reistres, Lansquenets, and Lorraines, since the said verifications, reuoking and disanulling by these presents, the bonds which he hath contracted in his owne name for that regard: And particularly to the Earle of Collate, Colonnell of the Lansquenets, and other Collonels and Captaines of the Suisses and Reistres, so as he shall not be molested by vertue of the said bonds, seeing there came not any thing to his priuate profite: so as he shall haue all letters and necessarie prouisions concerning the same.

31 The secret Articles which are not inserted in this present Edi&t, shall be inuolubly obserued: and vpon the extract thereof, or of any of the sayd Articles, signed by one of our Secretaries of State, all necessarie letters shall be dispatcht.

Comman-

A Commaunding our Councillors, our Court of Parliament, and all other Chambers, Courts, Iudges, and Officers, euery one in his Iurisdiction, to cause these present Articles to be read, published, enrolled, and inuolubly obserued without breach, and all they to whom it shall belong to enioy the contents thereof, causing all troubles and lets to the contrarie to cease: for such is our pleasure. And to the end it may be firme and stable for euer, we haue set to our hand and Seale. *Given at Fontain-bleau in January. 1596.*

Signed. HENRY.

B THIS Reduction of the Duke of Mayenne serued the Marshall *d'Aumont* as a spur to crosse the exploits of the Duke of Mercœur in Brittany. Hee had lately seized vpon Chaize, a place situated betwixt Normandy, Maine, and Brittain, and from thence commanded the neighbour Prouinces; stretching out his wings thirty leagues round about, without contradiction. They of Caen did first complaine of it: the Marshall *d'Aumont* aduertised of this prize by the Earle of Montgomery, sends for Capitaine *Gentill* (whose merits haue giuen vs subiect to make an honourable mention of him else-where.) *Gentill* gets leaue of the King, and goes to view Chaize in a darke night, but he could find no meanes to force it, beeing seated high, emioured with steepe rockes, a riuer, and two pooles, hauing no approach nor entrance, but by two narrow Cawseys, whose issues must bee discovered by light. He returns thither at a full Moone, and finds no other expedient, but to open the wall by the force of his Engines, by the meanes of a little hole which hee found close to the ground. Yet this place is fortified with a double ditch, flanked by the dungeon, and hath but a very narrow Cawsey to passe vnto, and to descend into the ditch by Moone-light, in view of a Sentinell set right ouer it. Circumstances able to discourage the vndertaker, if some inward motion of a diuine assistance had not fauoured his designe. Hee vndertakes it, moued with the excesse and violences of this insolent Garrison, consisting for the most part of Spaniards, and roguish strangers. The Earle of Montgomery, and the Seigneur of Roches his brother, led many of the Nobility thither with sufficient forces. At their first approach the Sentinell giues the alarme: the Garrison is presently in armes and man the walles. The first petard dischargeth within the hole: all runne thither to defend the entrie: foure others follow as speedily as their shor. *Gentill* applied a great mortar, when as behold the wall opens, and giues them meanes to enter. He calles for a Saulsige to scatter them that came thronging to the breach. *Des Roches* brings it vnto him, but he is stricken dead with a musket shot. *Gentill* cast the Saulsige among their feet, it burnes some, lames others, sets fire of their furniture and powder, dischargeth their peeces, and makes a terrible spoile. *Gentill* cast himselfe desperately into the breach: the Earle of Montgomery seconds him, preferring the publike profit of this victorie, before his priuate griefe for the death of his brother. All the troupes strue to go in, and pourue their enemies vnto the entrie of the Dungeon. The Engines beeing speedily prepared to force them, induced them to capitulate, euery one to depart with a white wand: leauing the place to the discretion of the Earle Montgomery, and to *Gentill* a desire to make other enterprises in Brittain, the which he had effected, if the Duke of Mercœur had continued in rebellion against the King.

The hazard and burthens of rebellion, ruined the Duke of Aumale onely: hee would be more willfull then all the rest. He therefore grew so incensed against him, as the Court of Parliament at Paris made his processe, declared him guilty of treason in the highest degree, his picture to be drawne in peeces with foure horses, all his goods forfeited to the King, adiudged his goodly house at Aner to be razed to the ground, and for more detestation of this trechery, the trees about it cut off by the waste. But he sought his safetie with *Albert* Cardinall of Austria at Bruxelles, lately come to succed the Arch-duke *Ernest* his brother. *Albert* assures the besieged in La Fere, to free them: but he suffered the succors that shold releue them to be defeated. And the Earle of Fuentes hauing manned the Townes of this

new

1596. new conquest, went to winter in Haynault, and gaue the King means to dismisse most part A of his horse, to be ready in the Spring against the Cardinals desseignes. In the meane time he assembled the Estates of Picardy, Bolognois, Vermandois, and Thiersche in Amiens, prouided for the estate of the Prouince, and punished some Captaines with death, whose couerousnesse had partly bin the cause of the former losses.

Whilest that our *Henry* assisted now by the Duke of Mayenne in person, brings them of La Fere to be ready to submit vnto his Maiestie, behold the beginning of this new yeare, sowes the seedes which shall bring forth most profitable fruites for the perfect restoring of this Estate. The townes and whole Prouinces desire a generall deliury, and nothing staies the effects, but that some gouernours will haue the honour, to see the canon at their gates, before they treat of their accord: others set their places to sale. A filthy traffick, fit for the confusion of this age, but vnworthy of all good order, vnworthy the duty of good subiects, and vnworthy of the liberty and honour of the French Nobility. The King reducing them by force, which will not voluntarily returne to their duties, he willingly giues care to the mildest and shortest course. He should spend more mony to get more honour, but hee frames himselfe after the example and modell of *Charles* the seuenth, whose two raignes had many conformities. He desires rather to buy a place for money, then to beseege it with much more charge, and great losse of men. The people suffer great losse, and oft times the issue is doubtfull.

The Duke of  
Ioyeuze.

The first fruites of this new yeare are most happy in generall, and most honourable for C the chiefe authors thereof. The Duke of Ioyeuze holds the first ranke. It is hee which shall take againe his profession of a *Capuchin*, whereunto he was vowed after the death of his wife: and by the deasse of the last Duke of Ioyeuze his brother, (drowned neere to Ville-*mur*) had left it to succeed in the name, gouernement and estate of the deceased. Without attending of any force, he yeelds freely to his Maiesties seruice, and the King opening his armes and heart, makes him partaker of his especiall fauors, honouring him with the title of Marshal of France, and one of his Lieutenants general in Languedoc in the towns, places and countries, he brings to his obedience: giuing him this testimony, that the onely zeale and profession of his religion, had made him take armes, without any other pretension whatsoeuer. By his example the Officers of the Court of Parliament remaining at Tholousa D for the exercise of Iustice, the Capitouls, and all the rest of the citizens, together with all other people of the Prouince of Languedoc, which held the contrary party vnder the authority of the said Duke, make knowne vnto the King the desire they haue to yeeld obedience and duty to his Maiestie, and their resolution to perseuer therein.

7 holousa  
yeelds.

The Duke of Guise did second this happy beginning of the yeare, and doth sweeten the sharpnesse of those losses which the Spaniard had caused vs lately to suffer. He was still vigilant to embrace all occasions that might settle his affaires in his gouernement of Prouence, wherewith the King had newly honoured him; hauing already, with the helpe of the Lord of Les Diguieres, reduced Cisteron and Riez to the obedience of this Crowne, and Martegues with the Tower of Boue, seated at the mouth of the sea, the towne and cittadell E of Grasse, with the helpe of the Earle of Carces, and the Lord of Croze: he finds a fit opportunity, to make knowne vnto his Maiestie, that he had quite forsaken the alliance and correspondence which he had with the Spaniard.

Marseilles.

*Lewis* of Aix, and *Charles* of Casau commanded in Marseilles with great authority: violent men, and of the Spanish faction. They bargained with *Philip* to sell him this towne of importance, the port of al the Prouince, and the key of one of the chief entries of this realm, where the Emperor *Charles* had often knockt, yet could neuer get it open, and for the execution of their designe, had already caused some Spanish gallies to approach, vnder the command of Prince *Charles Doria* of Genoua. All such as were fled out of Marseilles, propounded some enterprises vpon the town to the D. of Guise, but all were weak, and of small possibility, yet had he purchased some reproch to faile in his seruice to the King, if hee had not attempted some one. *Peter* of Liberta commanded at port Reale: a man of courage, and full of affection to the Kings seruice. He acquaints the Duke of Guise with his resolution, either to kill or to shut out these two Tribunes, who euery morning at the opening of the gates went with their gards to walk without the towne; that laying an ambush nere vnto the gate,

A gate, it would be easie to seaze on, to be masters of the port, and so consequently of the Towne. The Duke thinks well of this enterprize: he takes the name of the gate and of the person, for a presage of good fortune. The gate is called Royall, and the liberty which the Predecessors of the undertaker had in old time purchased to the towne of Calui in Corteca, from whence they came, had deserued this goodly surname of *Liberta*. But the Dukes nere abode at Aix, held these two petty Tyrants in perpetuall distrust. To free them of this iea-  
lousie, he retires from Marseilles, to employ his forces in some place which might breede no distrust in them. He doth therefore beseege and take the townes of Hieres, Saint Tropez, and Draguignan: blockes vp the Cittadels, undertakes the siege of La Garde, a small Towne, but with a strong castle, which the Duke of Espernon held, being a corriuall to the Duke of Guise, in the gouernement of Prouence: batters the place, makes a breach, and giues two assaults, and euen when as they held him farre engaged at this seege, he riseth, retires his Cannon, comes to Toulon the fifteenth of February, giues the Rendezuous to all his troupes, at ten of the clocke at night, at *S. Iulian* two leagues from Marseilles: he approacheth, and sends his Sentinels of horse before to aduertise him of the signe which *Liberta* should giue him, which was to shut the wicket after the Tribunes, or one of them as occasion serued. It was a faire day, when as these Consuls being aduertised that they had discovered fiftene souldiers, two hundred paces from the gate, *Lewis* of Aix goes forth, and to discover them, he causeth twenty muskets of his guard to aduance. *Barlemew* of Liberta puts to the wicket, and shuts *Lewis* out, and *Casau* within. *Manon* Leader of the Dukes Sentinels, seeing the signe giuen, sends eight horsemen to charge these musketiers, and aduanceth with the rest towards the gate by another way: the foot-men present themselves to the charge, as was resolved, but in stead of good reception, the canon and small shot playes on them from the towne. *Casau* meaning to go forth with his guards to follow his companion, *Peter* of Liberta thrusts him sodainly through the body: his musketiers charge *Liberta*, his brothers assist him, the Captaines, *Hernien*, *Laurence*, *Imperiali*, and some few others, to whom he had imparted the enterprize, disperse these gards, and set vpon the gate, crying, *Liberty by the King*: and by the authority of this name assured many which were vncertaine what party to follow: then with *Liberta* they set themselves to gard the port. *Lewis* of Aix D seeing himselfe shut out, and these vnknowne men comming to charge him, found meanes to get ouer the wals, and to enter the towne by a boate which he found happily, and beeing accompanied by *Fabio* of Casau, the sonne of *Charles* that was slaine, and five hundred of his friends and partisans, he comes to force the gate on the towne side: but being repulled, he goes to the corps-de-gard that was before the towne-house. Here, by some rumor that he heares, he takes an impression of the peoples ill affection towards him. To free himselfe, he makes shew to go to the other guards, and so goes to sea with *Fabio*, to get Saint Victors port, and to assure himselfe of the rest. Some of his friends march after him, some disperse themselves in the town, and some begin to cry, *God saue the King, and Liberty*. It rained sore, and the Duke of Guise amazed at this long protraction in the towne, thinking the E intelligence had bene double, thought to retire his men ingaged in fight, against the musketiers of *Lewis* of Aix, when as *Imperial* and *Laurence* come to assure him that *Casau* was slaine. Then began his troupes to march into the towne, and for his better assurance, the President *Bernard* in the open street assembles what honest men he could, and ioynes with the Dukes men, promisseth them that were armed before the town-house, life, liberty, and freedom: then going to another gard nere to the hauen, and to *S. Johns* Church, where at the first broile about a thousand men were together in armes, by meanes of the like promise he easily drew all this multitude to sound forth that happy cry: *God saue the King, and Liberty*. These two troupes beeing assured, they visit three or foure other gards, whose attempts were to be feared: some they change, doubting such as commanded, leaving such as they F knew desired to be freed from the command of strangers. So as in lesse then an houre and an halfe, they were all dispersed that lately fauoured this new tyranny. Thus the Flower-de-luce, which an vnwholsome wind from Spaine had till now blasted at Marseilles, recovered its ancient beauty, and the white scarfes, which feare had kept in their coffers, or made them to reiect, were now put on.

A hardly resolu-  
tion.

*Charles Doria* grows amazed. He dreames of nothing but of his retreat: but so surprised

1596. as he forgot part of his company. The haue seemed too little to carry forth their least A cock-boate, feare and amazement had so daunted them. The Capitaine of *S. Johns* tower, and that of the Moores-head, might haue stayed them, or at the least hindered their escape: but they were stricken with the like terror, expecting the last act of this Tragedy.

The Seigneur of Bauffet, Capitaine of the Castle of *Idf*, fought to annoy the stranger with his Cannon, but being farre off he did them small hurt. *Lewis* of *Aix* had thrust himselfe into *Saint Victors* Abbey, and *Fabio* of *Casau* into our Lady of *La Garde*, but so amazed as they could not thinke of their owne safeties. Twelue hundred Spaniards being along the haue, retired to enter into their Galleys: but this generall terror had so daunted them, as they saue themselves without any remembrance of their men. The Duke of *Guise* charged them by the Baron of *Sel*, Lieutenant of his company of men at armes, and *La Pierre* Capitaine of his gards, who slue a great number vpon the place, and got aboute a thousand muskets, harguebuzes and pikes, and the onely Ensigne which they had, which feare made them forget to their great shame and confusion. The Duke entring into *Marceilles* without any troupe, made knowne vnto the people the freeness of his affection, and the assurance he had of them: he confirmed all things for the Kings seruice, disappointed the designs of the factious which remained in the towne, and by his presence did so amaze all the garrisons thereof, with the Towers and Forts, as they submitted themselves to his discretion, and obeyed the King.

Doubtlesse this young Duke wonne much honour in this action, namely, that the soldiers entred without effusion of blood and without spoile, restrained by the respect of his presence, they were contented to haue the houses of *Aix* and *Casau* for their booty. On the other side, those of *La Fere* (hauing nothing free but the ayre which cannot bee kept from prisoners) suffered (with the hope of succors) the extreamest discommodity which might afflict a place strictly beleeged. The Cardinall of *Austria* (newly come from Spaine into Flanders) promised to deliuer them. Men supposed this Prince hauing made no profession of a military life, would find small credit among martiall men, who rather follow actions then words, and the example then discipline. But hee will teach vs that the surest stroakes come from the head: and if the old Duke of *Guise* could by a gallant stratageine recover a Towne from the English, most important for the Estate of this Crowne, hee in like sort by the like exploit will make himselfe the terror of all *Picardy*. He departs from *Bruxels*, and giues it out that he will succor *La Fere*. For his first fruites, hee findes means to giue them some releefe of men and munition in March. Then in Aprill he causeth his army (being very strong) to turne head towards *Calais*, beleageeth, batters, and takes both towne and castle by assault, against all the resistance of the beleeged, and puts many French Gentlemen to the sword, being sent to supply the castle. The Seneschall of *Montimart* commanding the French, and *Aluarez Oforio* the Spaniards in *La Fere*, hauing for the space of fiue moneths endured all the toiles of war, and seene the riuer within the towne to rise two or three foote by the labour of men, had the 22. of the said moneth, by a good composition, somewhat recompensed this so notable a losse, if the Cardinall had planted here the limits of his victories. But continuing the prosperity of his armies, whilst the Kings are wearie, and demand rest after so great a toyle, he goes in the beginning of May, and camps before *Ardres*, a very strong towne, and notwithstanding their great defence, became Master thereof the 23. of the moneth, and resolues to people these townes, of his new conquest, with strange Colonies, and prepares to adde vnto them, that of *Hulst* in Flanders. In the meane time the two armies spend the rest of the Sommer in light roads, one into anothers country.

Calais and  
Ardres taken  
by the Span-  
ards.  
  
La Fere lost.  
  
  
  
War in Ar-  
thois.

In the beginning of September the Marshall of *Biron* enters *Arthois*, takes the castle of *Imbercourt*, encounters with fiue cornets of horse, of the Marquis of *Varambon*, followed by fiue or six hundred horse of combat, chargeth them, he kills all that seek to withstand the violence of his armes, puts the rest in rout, takes the Marquis prisoner, and afterwards had forty thousand crownes for his rancome: filled the whole country with feare: then inuading the County of *Saint Paul*, he tooke and spoiled the towne and some other places.

The Cardinall busied at the siege of *Hulst*, hearing that the Marquis was taken, hee sent the Duke of *Arctot* to command in his place. As he enters into *Arras*, the French assaile it on the other side, spoile the country about it, and (laden with bootie) the Marshall retires safely

A safely to the frontiers of *Picardy*. Being discharged, he returnes to *Bapaume*, spoiles *Hebuterne*, *Benuiller*, *Courcelles* and other places, defeats such as would make resistance, and carries away more spoile then at the first. And seeing the Duke of *Arctot* incamped neere to *Arras*, vnder the fauour of the Cannon, intrenched carefully and loath to hazard any thing, knowing that he was to deale with one of the happiest and most valiant warriors of Europe, they fire all, and reuenge (as oportunitie would suffer them) the Spaniards outrage in places lately taken: they make a roade towards *Bethune* and *Therouenne*, bring away many prisoners, furnish their places with Cattell at the enemies cost, and without any resistance go and campe in the plaine of *Azincourt*. The Duke supplied with eight hundred foote, ioyned to the regiment of Colonel *Bourlote*, parts from *Arras* the fift of October, and goes and incamps at *Saint Paule*. The Marshall leaues him there, returnes into *Arthois*, runnes vnto *Douay*, spoiles all: then returning into *Picardy*, hee gaue the Duke of *Arctot* means to recouer the Castell of *Himbercourt*: who content with this conquest dismissed his army, and disposed of his companies into garrisons. Then by the means of the Duke of *Bouillon*, the alliance was confirmed and sworne betwixt the King, the Queene of England, and the vnited Prouinces of the Low-Countries. For matters past there is no remedy and the Politicians hold, that there is no Law more vnprofitable, then that which tends to reforme what is past. The King therefore to settle his affaires, and to provide for the future, resolute not to suffer these new Colonies of *Dourlans*, *Capelle*, *Casselet*, *Cambray*, *Calais* and *Ardres*, and with the new yeare, to renew a deadly warre against the Spaniard, which might not be attempted without a mighty army, nor the army leuied without treasure, the which he could not recouer without the helpe of his subiects, he assembled, in manner of a Parliament, the greatest and most discreet of the three orders of his realme, at *Rouan*, the fourth of Nouember, where the inhabitants, of their owne voluntary free will, spent foure hundred thousand crownes to make his Maiesty an honorable reception, where he receiued the Garter (a marke of the order of England) by the hands of the Earle of *Shrewsbury*.

His Maiesty desired to deserue these two glorious titles of *Deliuicer* and *Restorer* of his estate. At his coming to the Crowne, he had found France, not onely in a manner ruined, but almost all lost for the French: but by the grace of the Almighty, by the prayers, by the good counsell of his loyall Subiects, (who make no profession of armes) by the sword of his Princes and of his braue and generous Nobility, by his paines and labour, he had preserued it from losse. *Let vs saue it now from ruine* (said our King, speaking to the assembly) *Participate my deere subiects wish me in this second glory, as you haue done in the first. I haue not called you, as my Predecessors did, to make you, approue my will. I haue caused you to assemble to haue your Counsell, to beleue them, and to follow them: finally to put my selfe into your hands. A desire which seldom commands Kings that haue white haire, and are Conquerors. But the loue I beare vnto my Subiects, and the exceeding desire I haue to adde these two goodly titles, to that of King, makes me to find all easie and honorable.* The sharpenesse of winter had layd armes aside, and the excessiue raine caused many inundations, whereof amongst others followed that of the millers bridge at *Paris*, which sinking on *Saint Thomas* night, was the losse of three hundred persons, slaine in the ruines of the building, and drowned in the riuer. Whilst they examine the resolutions taken in this honorable assembly, and that the King prepares for a mighty army to chase the Spaniard out off *Picardy*, behold the Capitall city of this Province, strong of fear, and wel fortified, where his Maiesty pretended to make his Arcenall and store-house for the warre against the Stranger in *Arthois*, and other Prouinces of the Low-Countries, was surprised in the day time, the people being at a Sermon, without force, and without defence, by the practise of some factious; and the carelesse baseness of the Inhabitants, who standing vpon their ancient priuileges, had refused to receiue the *Suisses* into garriison. *Hernand Teillo* Gouernour of *Dourlans* for the Spaniard, aduertised that the cittizens of *Amiens* (a proud people, and little practised in armes) would not receiue the garriison that the King offered them for the preseruacion of their towne, hastens the effect of those intelligences he had there, and on munday the 10. of March he attires 40. or 50. souldiars like peasants, laden with many burthens, & armed vnderneath with daggers, and short peeces, and marcheth with about seuen hundred horse and fiue thousand foote:

An assembly  
at Rouan in  
forme of a  
Parliament.

M m m m

he

he laies his ambushes neere vnto the town, and the next day sends his disguised souldiars to A the gate of Montrescut, following a cart; which being vnder the portcullis, one of the pretended peasants cuts the horse trace, and by the great disorder of the horse, hinders the liberty of the gate. The others presently discover their armes, seaze vpon the Corps de gard, and giue a signe to the ambush. The ambush comes, horse and foote enter into the towne, and goe directly to the market-place: the troupes enter, take the forts, and seaze vpon the Arçenall and munition which the King had lately sent, and in the end compound with the townesmen for the redeeming of their goods. But at length they had both cloth and siluer, and those of Amiens shal not tast much of the Spaniards command, but the sharpenes thereof will make them desire the mildnesse of the French. The great bell of Beffroy did ring at the first tumult, as it was their manner: but few were moued thereat. Some heard the Sermon, others slept at their ease, and some were contented to shut their shoppes and to retire themselves into their houses. The Earle of Saint Paul was then in the towne, but seeing the small care and indeuour of the Inhabitants to resist this foraine inuasion, he gets him-selfe out of Amiens with al speed, and retires to Corby. This affront had in shew made the realme without all hope of recouery, and without meanes to assayle, for the effects of all the Kings desseins seemed disapointed in their beginning. They thought Amiens could not be recovered but by surprise, and that the hope to take it would be lost with the enterprife, and now the Spaniard began to thinke that Amiens should be the bounds of the Country of Arthois, as in former time vnder Phillip Duke of Bourgongne. But when as the affaires require a present remedy, our Henry wants neither courage nor counsel. They were hopes built in the aire. His Maiesty doth speedely beseege it, giues order that no greater forces may come to raise vp these mountaines of pride, which built the honor of their nation vpon the shame of such a losse: he batters it with fise and forty Cannons, makes the Marshal of Biron Lieutenant in his army, beseegeth it on the strongest part, restaines their sallies, keeps them within their trenches, and approacheth in such sort, as by the midst of Iuly, they might hurt one another with stones: then lodging vpon the ditch, and cutting off the beseeged daily in their sallies, or by other stratagems, he made Hernand to hast the Cardinall to his succour.

Amiens besee-  
ged.

Enterprife;  
vpon Perpig-  
nan.

Some place of importance taken from the Spaniard might in shew serue as a reprimall. Captaine Gentill, of Geauaudan, tried all his wits and inuention for this desseine, for the effecting whereof hee went by night to viewe the Towne and Castle of Perpignan in the Conty of Roussillon, and found no difficulty but to leuy men without alarume in the country. Languedoc might furnish sufficient, being the frontier, but the Spaniard entertained many secret Spies. Gentill therefore thinks it best to take them in more remote places, two hundred horse were to be leuied in Poitou, who vnder a collour to ioyne with the Duke of Guise, take their way by Guyenne to Beziers, and should giue no ielousie in regard of their small number. And two thousand foote leuied in Viuarz and Geauaudan by the siegneures of Fosseuse and Chambauld should crosse base Rouergue vnder collour of putting themselves by the Kings commandement into Bayonné, (whither by the common brute the Spaniard was bringing an army) and by the rocky and hidden waies should descend on the side of Beziers, soone after the taking of Perpignan: faigning to take the way to Thoulouze to recouer Bourdeaux, and from thence Bayonne. This resolution being taken, Gentill imparts it to the Seignuer of Plessis Mornay at Saumur, & to the Constable at Paris. They allow of it, and he, assuring himselfe to take the Castle at the first without Perard, during the long nights, hee might from the Castle (being furnished with about thirty peeces of Ordinance) thundring in to the enemies trenches, bring his troupes into the town, and the Bruite of this vnexpected news would haue armed twenty thousand men in Languedocke in eight daies to invade all the country of Roussillon. The King him-selfe heald it feasible, and caused dispatches to be made to Gentill, as well for himselfe, as for Fosseuse and Chambauld. But at the instant poursuite of the Bishop and inhabitants of Mende, for his Maiesty hauing commanded that the Cittadell should be demantled, and Fosseuse Governor of the place pretending recompence for some charges, before he would suffer the Cannon to be transported. The king commanded the Duke of Vandrador to besiege him within Mende in the moneth of August, and to force him to that which he would not willingly yeeld vato.

The

A They of Perpignan thinke this siege attempted to surprise them, and stand vpon their gardes: notwithstanding his Maiestie giueth order for another leuie in Languedoc by the Lords of Spondillan, Conas, Montbasen, Legues and other chiefe men of that clymat; but whose actions being neere the Fronter, could not be hidden from the enemy. Thus Gentill seeing his desseine anticipated from the longest nights to the shortest in the yeare, and that those of Languedoc were employed therein, he thought it could hardly be successful. The marshall D'ornano had the conduct of this enterprife. Ten or twelue thousand men followe him confusedly as to a certain victorie. But the most part are thrust on with the glistering of the doubloons of Spaine, and with a desire of spoyle. And can we wonder if heauen doth not blesse those enterprises where the consideration of priuat gaine doth march before that of the publicke good? he was not come out of Daulphiné where he was Gouverneur, before all the neighbour Prouinces were posselt of it: and aduertisements were come out of Spaine to them that were threatened. Vpon their approaches to the towne, the Marshalls guide wandred in the night. The Pettards were brought neere vnto the Towne gate, but the rolling bridges to ioyne vnto the draw-bridge could not be made redie before day. The Towne was barricadoed euen vnto the gates, and the Cannon planted. All the whole countie did shine with the fires that were made, this enterprife being vndertaken with too much bruit; and some of the chiefe commanders swallowing vp al the best spoyles of an imaginarie conquest, learned, that it is a rashnesse to deuide the Bares skin before the Beast be taken: moreouer reason would not but the author of a goodly enterprife should haue the principall conduct, to the end that he should either reape the honour of his exploit, or the blame of his errour. Gentill is knowne to bee capable for such effects, and if many during our inciuill warres had performed the like stratagems both in qualitie and quantitie to him, France had not so long groaned vnder the burden of her miseries. All France did in the meane time runne to the siege of Amiens: all Europe attended the issue, and did iudge that the end thereof would be the beginning of our slauerie, or of our libertie. But whilest the plague afflicts the besieged, that many and sundrie exploits of war diminish their numbers; and many remaine vnprofitable, by reason of their wounds, let vs wander a little into some other prouinces both within and without the Realme, whereas their war hath any thing common with ours. The want and dearth of victuals afflicted Brittanie in the moneth of May, and forced the Marshall of Brissac in Iuly to deuide and separte some troupes which he had assembled and gathered together, to preserve some parishes about Rennes which the enemies threatned to spoyle. The Lord of S. Laurence, lieutenant for the Duke of Mercœur in his armie, desirous to visit the said Duke lately come to Chasteaubriant, and to giue him newes of some braue stratagem, takes fixe companies of men at armes with his own, the regiment of Tremereuc, brother to Saint Laurence, 40. harguebuziers out of euery companie of the garrisons of Dinan, and some other troupes both of horse and foot, making 600. or 700. men, and comes to lodge at Maure 7. Leagues from Rennes. The Lords of Tremblay, la Troche, Teny, la Courbe, Beaumont, and Pomeray, being lodged at Messac vpon Villaine, 3. Leagues from Maure with some forces, march by the Marshalls commandement, their Colonel, to fight with Saint Laurence: they find he was dislodged, follow and ouertake him within 300. paces, charge the troupe led by Tremereuc, appointed to make retreat, kill about 60. and force the rest to flie to their maine strength. They presse them in such sort as they must either suffer themselves to be murdered without resistance, or else fight: they turne head, take a place of aduantage, in a field well ditched about, & there make some resistance. But seeing Tremereuc brother to Saint Laurence already taken prisoner, La Pomeray Captaine of Dinan, and Vieux Ville flaine vpon the place, with about 150. souldiars, and some members of companies, all giue way, all flie, all are put to rout, and the most part falling into the peasants hands, find lesse mercy with them, then they had done rigour with the victors. This was the twentieth of Iuly. On the other side, as the Spaniard had set one foot into Picardie, so did he long labour to cast the other into Campagne, and had many desseins vpon the Townes lying vpon the riuier of Meuze, Mesieres, Sedan, Mouzon, Villefranche, Rocroy, and Maubert-Fontaine: but the care and loyaltie of the gouernours, hauing alwaies made frustrate the hope of his enterprises, he now conuerts his open force into secret intelligences and dishonest practises.

Effects of the  
warre in Brit-  
taine.

In Camp-  
gne.



1597.

Villefranche is a very small towne, or rather a corps de gard made of foure square bastions, built by King *Francis* the first, to serue as a barre against the incursions of the Bourguignons (so they call all the King of Spaines subiects lying vpon this frontier, and euen those of the Duchie of Luxembourg) and falling into strangers hands, it opened them the gate to enter into Champagne, and gaue them an assured retreat to fauour their inroads. To this intent *Gaucher*, late one of those souldiars which they call of Fortune, being come within ten yeares to some credit by armes, practiseth with some souldiars of the garrison, to sell and deliuer him the place. These souldiars giue eare to this trafficke, entertayne *Gaucher*, but with as crosse a hope, as his name was vntoward and ominous, for they impart the matter to *Tremelet* Gouvernor of Villefranche, commaunding one companie of men at armes, and threcof foot. *Tremelet* by this trafficke pretends a great effect for the Kings seruice, B commands the souldiars to deale more plainly with this Captaine, imparts it to the Earle of Grandpré, to Rumesnil, and to Estuicaux Gouverneur of Mouzon, Maubert, and Sedan, and drawes from them assistance of men, and meanes to frame a double intelligence. These marchants treat with *Gaucher*, agree vpon the time and houre to deliuer their ware, they receiue some money in hand, and take his word for the rest.

Gaucher de-  
teated.

The fourth of August at night was appointed for the execution, and for a signe a Cannon should be discharged. But *Rumesnil* had the night before brought in a supplie of men, needfull for the preseruatiou of the place, and with the rest he lay in ambush halfe a league from the towne, as *Gaucher* should passe. *Gaucher* approcheth, he causeth all his troups to light, a quarter of a league from Villefranche, puts a part of them very secretly into the ditch, and followes with the rest, to second the first attempt: but at all aduentures he causeth his horse to be led after him. The first enter by fauour of the souldiars: the signe is giuen, and being giuen, those which thought to surpris, find themselves surprisid: all are put to the sword, consumed by wild-fire, or drowned in the ditch. *Rumesnil* comes out off his ambush at the same time, chargeth *Gaucher* behind, kills him three hundred men vpon the place, and suffers few of the enemies to escape, through fauour of the night: finally, of fure or fixe hundred men which he brought, scarce fiftie escaped death or imprisonment, and had it not bin for the horse which *Gaucher* held readie to fauour his flight, he had not escaped the victors hands.

Warre in  
Sauoie.

Let vs passe into Sauoie, and see the progresse of the Kings forces, the taking of places, D and victories obtained. This warre shall helpe much for the recouerie of Amiens, for they diuert the forces of Sauoie from molesting of the King in sundrie places at once: for the managing whereof, the Lord *Les Diguieres* parted from Court in the end of March, with the title of the Kings lieutenant general, gathers together about 600. horse, and 5000. foot, in the moneth of Aprill, May, and Iune: enters into Maurienne, a Countrie depending on the Duchie of Sauoie, the high way to Piedmont and Italie, surpasseth with much labour and toyle the difficulties of the wayes, rockes, and steepe hilles: in the end he recouers the toppe of the mountaine, finds there a Corps de gard of 500. men well fortified, and with his tyred armie chargeth them with such furie, as the enemye nor able to withstand their force, is constrained to quit the place. Presently the armie comes to S. Iohn of Maurienne, E the chiefe towne of the Countrie, and seisseth on all the valley.

Maurienne  
taken.

These conquests as sodainely executed, as wisely attempted, thrust on the Conquerour to go and fight with certaine Spaniards which were sent into Flanders to oppose against the prosperous successe of *Cont Maurice*: but the bridges being broken and the waters verie great, stayed his passage. Hereupon newes come, that *Don Sanchio* Earle of Salines, generall of the Duke of Sauoies light horse, is about Braçorant with a part of the Dukes armie. *Les Diguieres* marcheth thither, chargeth the Earle, makes him to quit the Castle of Saint Michell, and some other villages where he had fortified himself, chafeth him by *Mont-Senys* into Piedmont, and so hotly, as the most part, to make themselves more light, cast away F their armes. Being thus peaceably possessed of all Maurienne, he fortifies Saint Iohn and the Castle of Saint Michel, and seisseth on all the forts that might serue for the safetie of the Countrie.

To stay the Conquerours course, the Duke of Sauoie passed the mountaines, by the valley of Ault with three thousand Italians, and a good number of horse, and came by Chamberly

1597.

A Chamberly into Tarentaise, where his armie remayned vnder the commaund of the Earle of Martinengues, consisting of eight hundred horse, and fixe thousand foote: he came and incamped beyond the riuer of Isere (yet vnder the fauour of the Cannon of Montmelian) at the Castle of Saint Helena. *Des Diguieres* continues his conquests, hee approcheth within musket-shot of the Duke, besiegeth and takes the tower of Aiguebelle, the castles of Rochette, of Villars-Sallet a house of the Earles of Montmaieur, de L huile and Chamoux, and besiegeth the fort of Chamoussier, being defended by *Philippin*, bastard brother to the Duke of Sauoy, places very commodious and profitable for victuals and forrage, and which stopt the passage from Sauoy into Maurienne.

B Here newes comes to *Les Diguieres* that the Duke raiseth a fort on the other side of Isere, to assure the passage for his army, and meanes to lodge at Caumoussier, a place of great advantage for him, which might greatly annoy the Kings army and the passage betwixt Daulphiné and it. This fort was of a triangular forme, made defensive and raised the height of a pike in one night, it was garded by 600. choise souldiars out of the whole armie of Sauoie, and fortified with many gentlemen of the dukes Court. *Les Diguieres* vewes it, & propounds it in Councell, and according to their aduice that were about him, salutes it with some volleys of Cannon shot, opens it at one point, sends two thousand harguebuziers, commanded by the Lord of Crequy his sonne in law, who seconded by a troupe of horse, enter furiously into the fort, and in despite of their obstinat resistance, and the force of foure pieces which played incessantly from the other side of the riuer along the flanks of the said fort, they carried it in sight of the Duke, and kil by the sword and water about 400. men, and many of the Dukes gentlemen, who was in person in his army beyond the riuer of Isere, and so razed the fort. The Baron of Chauuierieu borne in the Countie was slaine there, the Colonel was taken prisoner, and the Castle of Chamoussier yeilded the next day by composition. The towre of Charbonniere, a place strong of situation, which couers Aiguebelle, and might be made fit to annoy Montmelian, seeing their Captaine and many others slaine with the Cannon came likewise into the victors power.

The Castle of Aignille remayned yet, a strong place both by nature and art, vpon the side of a mountaine, inaccessible of one side, hauing on the other side a double ditch, with a D thick ramparre betwixt both. Yet was it taken after two hundred Cannon shot. This place assured all Maurienne, and that which lies beyond Isere to his Maiesties obedience from *Mont-Senys* vnto *Montmelian*. The supplies the Duke expected, caused the Lances of Sauoy to remaine in quiet. Being now fortified with two thousand five hundred Suisses, and as many Spaniards and Neapolitans, he comes with all this army to lodge about Montmelian, and resolues to set vpon the Kings army. To free him of some part of this trouble, *Des Diguieres* turnes towards him with his forces, and comes to incampe at Mollettes halfe a league from Montmelian, the riuer of Isere being betwixt them. The Duke passeth the riuer vpon a bridge of boates made neere vnto that of Montmelian, and lodgeth at the Castle of Saint Helena, right against Molette, places some-what high and within Cannon shot E one of another, separated by a great meadow and a fenne; at the first they salute one another by skirmishes, and if the Sauoisiens had done what they might, they had greatly annoyed our men, who were not lodged nor scarce arriued. The night approaching ended the combat, with the losse of a hundred good men, and gaue meanes to the Kings troups to take breath, and prepare to be reuenged with vsurie. The next day the Duke shews 1500. foot, and 1500. horse, in bataille in this great meadow, but with such aduantage, as no man might charge them. *Des Diguieres* intrencheth himselfe at the foote of the meadow: euery master of the campe, euery Captaine takes his quarter, and by the care of the Lord of Crequi commanding the foot, the Kings campe was in short time out of present danger, which seemed to threaten their ruine. In the meane time they faile not on either side to trie their F swords, and pistolls, two to two, three to three, troupe to troupe, and nothing but a simple ditch, yet deepe and full of water, keeps the two armies from a bloudie fight.

Thus for some daies these warriors inflamed their resolutions, when as the Duke of Sauoy propounded to his Councell a great disscine, for the execution whereof the foureteenth of August by eight of the clocke in the morning, he secretly drawes three thousand men into a great wood, neere to the trenches of the Kings army, lodgeth his Suisses with a battaillon

1597.

of foot on an other side, sets his horse in a vallie, and encouraging them by his presence, causeth about two of the clocke, a Cannon to be discharged, for a signe of a cruell and bloody battaile, but fuller of passion then of iudgement. The losse fell vpon himselfe: the Kings troups, both horse and foot, were with a firme resolution prepared to withstand their force. They come to skirmish: the noyse of the Cannon drownes all other sounds, the fire of the shot inflames the ayre and seemed for fūe houres together to dazell the light of the Sunne. the meadow is couered with dead carcasses, the enemies blood dies the brooks, and inflames our men to fight. The Seigneure of Crequi receiues a musket shot in the right arme: but the Lion is chafed and stormes at the sight of his owne blood. So retyring himselfe apart vnder a tree to be drest, he returnes speedily to his companions, and burning with a generous heat of reuenge, shewes that he is a right heire, both in blood and vertue to that braue Lord of Pontdormy, who hath so often heretofore died his sword and arme in the blood of the stranger being enemye to this Crowne. About twelue hundred men flaine or hurt made the day famous, and made the Sauoisien loose all desire to trie any more the firme resolution of our men, grounded vpon the right of a most iust offensiu warre.

The Duke of  
Sauoie defea-  
ted at S. He-  
lene and Mo-  
lletes.

If al this great armie, neither by the thunder of their Cannons, nor the furie of their shot, neither by the force of their men at armes, could any thing shake the constancie of our men, doth Colonnell *Ambrose* thinke to preuaile more with fūe hundred natural Spaniards assailing a Corps de gard, placed on the side of a fenne? but he doth increase their shame, in stead of reuenging their publike losse. The Seigneurs of Baume and Poët receiue him with such resolution, as they kill a hundred and fiftie vpon the place, and take many prisoners: the rest they force to cast away their armes, to be the more light to flie. The Duke spent the night to burie his men, and to carrie away the wounded: then he dislodged the sixteenth, and went to lodge at a village called Barraux beyond Isere, at the entry of the valley of Grisuaudan towards Grenoble, and there begins a fort, busying himselfe in the building thereof vnto the end of Nouember. This change of lodging inuited our men to do the like. *Des Diguieres* comes to lodge at Castle Bayard, and his armie at Pont-Charra, halfe a league from the enemye, the riuer being betwixt them: he keepes his men in continuall skirmish, to the enemies losse, and by this placing of his campe, makes the enemye doubt that he would attempt the passage of *Eschalles*. To crosse him the Duke sends many troups to enter by the valley of Pragelas into the countrie of Briançon, and to shut vp the passage in case he were besieged. The check he receiued counteruailed the first. The water, the sword, and the steepe mountaines, deuoured a greater number of his men, then the skirmishes of S. Helene and Molletes.

At Pont  
Charra.

Behold a third, which shewes that God doth fauour the iust cause of armes, and makes their effects happie against the iniustice of vsurpers. The eight of September, the Lord *Des Diguieres* (who lets not slip any occasion) is aduertised that *Sanchez* Earle of Salines, (to draw him to succour his owne Prouince, and to leaue Sauoie) goes to spoyle about Grenoble with fūe hundred maisters diuided into two bands of horse.

To adde this victory to the former, hee sends two houres before day, the Seigneurs of Baume, Authun and Saint Iure with two hundred horse, and a hundred Carbins to lie in ambush in an Island in the midst of the riuer of Isere. At the breake of day, the Earle passeth in sight of them: they suffer him to aduance about halfe a league, then they issue forth of their ambush, and wade through the other part of the riuer to their saddle skirts, they ouertake the Earle at La Frette, charge him furiously, kill *Dom Iohn de Sequano* first Captaine of the horse, *Dom Roario*, *Dom Probro*, with many other. Commanders and men at armes, to the number of two hundred: and by the taking of *Dom Euangeliste*, who led the second troupe of the Earle of Gatinari, of *Dom Iohn Toc*, brother in law to the Earle, and three-score others, they end the combat, and returne with honour, hauing lost but sixe men in this bold encounter. Some daies after, the Lord *Des Diguieres* passeth the riuer with most part of his horse at Chaparouillon, and there charging a troupe of the enemies, which made a good shew by the fauour of some trenches, gaue the Seigneurs of Crequi and Buissie the second honor of this victorie.

At La Frette.

At Chaparou-  
illon.

The last of October, the Kings armie ill lodged at Pontcharra, retyred to Grenoble: from thence *Des Diguieres* sent foure regiments towards Barfelonne, and surmounting the

1597.

A toyle of the way, being of most hard access for the Cannon, tooke Aloft: then in the end of Nouember, *Saint Genis*, to disapoint the intelligences which the Duke of Sauoie might haue with some ill affected in Daulphiné: for a few daies before the Earle of Roche had failed by the meanes of *Albigny* a yonger brother of *Gordes*, to deliuer the Towne of Romans to the Sauoisien. But *Saint Ferriol*, that commaunded in his absence, had some inckling: who by the aduertisement he gaue to the Officers of the Parliament, whom the plague had transported to Romans, he saued the Towne from the rule of a Stranger.

The Duke wonderfully grieved to haue failed of Romans, retyres to Chambery, and the Lord of Crequi with some regiments to Maurienne, very happily to make his coming famous: for hauing first by the assistance of the Lord of Pasquieres, kept *Dom Amede* the Dukes bastard brother, from passing with his troups on the side of the mountaines, hee made the way open for a braue and generous stratageme. The Earle of Carraual would likewise passe with a regiment of twelue ensignes, and two Cornets of horse. *Crequi* parts before day from Saint Iohn of Maurienne, marcheth directly towards him, incounters him at Saint André, chargeth, defeats, takes him prisoner with all the commanders, and for a monument sends their colours and Cornets to the King, which hang yet as a trophie in our Ladies church at Paris, to his Maiesties great content. Let vs now see the countenance of them that were besieged at Amiens. If there were valour without to win the wall, there was resolution within to burie themselves in the ruines thereof, rather then to abandon it. The batterie continued with a strange furie. The extraordinary deep trenches, the sap and mine, the arriual of the Dukes of Mayenne, Bouillon and the troups which increased daily, gaue hope to the Cittizens of Amiens, soone to see themselves vnder the milde command of their lawfull Prince, and to returne to their ancient fortunes. The sallies, plagues, hurts, and other infirmities had diminished the besieged to the number of two thousand: the diuersitie of nations threatned some new change, the fouldiars would no more trust the cunning and vaine promises which *Hernando* gaue them by counterfeit letters from the Cardinall: the old & bad drogues killed in stead of curing: finally the letter, of *Hernando* to the Cardinall being intercepted, giues a verie sufficient testimonie of the vrgent necessitie which leads him to his ruine. *It is now time* (said he) *that wee cease to write, for I labour with the fouldiars and Bourgeses at the ravelin, where within few daies I attend a continuall battery of the enemy on three parts. Mans reason sayes vs: our hope is in God, and in your highnesse speedie coming to giue battaile, or to receiue it. We attend the second causes should worke.*

At S Andre.

See of A.  
m. qns.

There is no lesse honour to keep well, then to make a goodly conquest. To practise this ancient saying, the Cardinall hauing assembled foure thousand horse, and fiftene thousand foot, with eightheene Cannons, and fūe or sixe hundred wagons chained together, to serue as a barricadoe, and to inclose his campe, he marched to vngage or to succor the besieged, publishing in all places, that he would giue battaile. But before he approacheth, he sends to discouer the way which he was to take, and where he might lodge neere to the towne. This charge he gaue to *Contreras*, Commissary generall, who led the troupe, to *Don Gaston* *Spinola* and *Tassed* Marshalls of the campe, to *Don Amador Landrino* lieutenant generall of the light horse, *Don Iohn Bracamont*, to Colonnell *Bourlotte*, *Nicholas Basto* and other chiefe Commanders of his army. These to giue the lesse alarm, take about foure hundred choise horse, and make a shew as if they would come but to Dourlans: but they giue order that the troups of horse at Dourlans, Hedin and Bapaume should be readie when they passed.

The Cardinall  
of Austrias  
Marshalls of  
his campe  
defeated.

Thus increased by the said garrisons, and making a troupe of nine hundred on a thousand horse, the nine and twentieth of August they come beneath Saint Quiricu, a village vpon the bancke of a small riuer, two leagues from the Kings quarter: and begin to vew the said lodging. A troupe of light horse and Carabins coming from an ambush which they layed, discouer them, the Seigneure of Heuecourt doth aduertise the King at sixe of the clocke in the morning.

Behold one of the effects of his Maiesties speedy resolution, of his great iudgement in warre, and his exceeding diligence in his excursions. Behold moreover a patterne of that happinesse which attended him at this siege, and the earnest pennie of an absolute victory which God prepared for him against his enemies. Two alarms had kept the King waking the rest of the night, and he now began only to take a littlerest. He riseth, goes, to horse, hauing

1597.

having about him the Maister of his horse and some Noble men : he passeth by the *Carabins* quarter, commands them to horse-backe with some light horse, commands the Constable to stay in the quarter to giue order to all euents, and goes directly where the enemy had bene discovered, more with an intent to provide for the places which they might haue viewed, then to fight : thinking they would not haue bin so slacke in the retreat, being neere vnto an army led by so vigilant a Commander. The Marshall of Byron comes posting after him, the Lord of Montigny brings a troupe of light-horse. Some Noblemen and gentlemen of his Court post thither in hast, to haue their part thereof.

His Maiesty makes a battaillion of two hundred horse, and a hundred and fifty Carabins. He pursues them with all speed to Encre, seauen Leagues from his quarter, he puts his Carabins before, who seeing them selues seconded by his Maiesty, charge resolutely, and so amaze them, as seeing the King so neere them, and knowing him very well, they breake, and take their flight diuers waies, leauing them that were appointed for the retreat, or such as were not well mounted. There were about forty slaine at the first charge, and about two hundred of the best being prisoners, gaue the Carabins meanes to furnish them selues with horse, armes, and apparell.

To make this victory absolute, his Maiesty sends the Marshall of Biron with the Lord of Montigny before, and halfe his troupe with them : the other he keepest with himselfe, pursues them within a League of Bapaume, tithes their troupe by the way, and doth not abandon them vntill they came within view of their retreat : he takes two Cornets from them, and kills or takes fife hundred horsemen. The generall ioy thereof in the army brought C the news vnto the beseege, who by a heauy and mouresfull silence shewed they had no pleasure therein.

Hernand Tiel-  
lo slaine.

But see the third of September the death of *Hernand Tiello* slaine with a musket, at the defence of the raelin which his Maiesty caused to be assailed, afflicting them with a publike sorrow, giues the Cittizens an assurance of a speedy deliuey, and the assailants to conceiue a certaine hope of victory. There is no so great prosperity, but is crossed with some aduersity, and trouble. Two daies after, the Lord of Laint *Luc*, gouernor of Bro-  
uage and great Maister of the Artillery of France, slaine in the trenches, obayned that graue and worthy testimony of his valour from his Maiesties mouth, to haue lost that day a most valiant and faithfull seruant, leauing his people much greeued, and the whole campe D lamenting this generall losse to France, as of one of the brauest Captaines of his age.

S Luc slaine.

In the meane time the Cardinall approched, vaunting that he would fight within foure daies. Yet had hee no inclination to put it in practise. The King to draw him to battaile, preuents the policy which the enemy would vse to succour the place : he takes his place of battaile on the toppe of Long-pré, a quarter of a league behind the inclosure of his campe, intrenched as well to saue them selues from the Cannon shot of the towne, as from theirs that came to succour them. And to keepe the enemy from sending in any succors on the other side of the riuer, he leaues the Lords of Montigny, La Noue, de Vicques and Cluse-  
aux, there with three thousand foote and foure hundred horse.

The Cardi-  
nall appoch-  
eth,

The fifteenth of the sayd moneth, the towne beeing reduced to that Estate, as without E succors it must needs yeeld of it selfe, the Cardinall in the morning castes two artificiall bridges vpon the riuer of Somme, where through the fauour of his forces and Cannon he passeth two thousand, fife hundred men, amongst which were eight hundred choise Cap-  
taines, so thrust them selues into the towne, and about two of the clock he shews himselfe in the vew of Long-pré, with an order which in shew did promise a generous attempt. But the diligence of his Maiesty his courage without feare, and the wife order he presently gaue at his arriuall, changed their braue countenance into a cowardly and base feare. The King leaues three thousand men to gard the trenches against the sallies of the towne : he presently marcheth with all his troupes to the place of battaile, and plants his Cannon to his best  
advantage.

The artillery of the beseege and of them that came to succour them, thunders, but they passe ouer his Maiesties esquadrons. Our men during this seege haue bene well acquaint-  
ed with the shot of the Cannon, but they stand firme like rockes. They tyre the enemy with continuall skirmishes, the Cannon mightily anoyes them, the admirable gouernment of

1597.

A of the Leader, and the firme resolution of the assaylants doth so terrefie them, as at the first attempt they thinke of a retreat, and presently they retire to the quarter where the Kings light horse did lodge by the riuers side. The foure aboue named Colonels hauing disco-  
uered the Cardinalls Stratageme, charged them that came to iuccor the towne, kill, take and force the whole body to repasse the riuer in disorder, and to abandon their bridges. The King seeing the enemy lodged alongst the riuer, passeth three Cannons ouer the water, shootes at them and doth annoy their lodging, and remaying all night on the place of  
battaile, abates the ioy which the beseege had shonen by the number of fires which they had made. So the Cardinall seeing all his attempts fruitlesse, in steed of turning head to  
the towne, or against the French troupes, he beginnes very early in the morning to retyre  
B and to take an other lodging on the mountaine of Vignancourt.

The King followes him with foure thousand horse, and twelue thousand foote, lodgeth  
vpon the next hill and a great valley betwixt them, continues foure or fife houres in bat-  
taile before their army, prouokes them by his Cannon and continuall skirmishes, viues all  
their forces, number, forme and countenance, and seeing them disposed to retyre, deter-  
mines to charge them in their lodging. But it is good some-times to make a bridge of gold  
to a flying enemy. Moreouer it was a great glory for his Maiesty to haue shamefully chased  
him away, without rayling the seege from so great a towne, and to haue pursued him with  
the Cannon three Leagues.

C They take a contrary way, and couer the right wing of their army, which lay next to the French, with their wagons chained together, they cause their horse to aduance into the head  
of the army in forme of a halfe moone, and their foote into battaillons, diuided into fore-  
ward, battaile and rereward : they place their Cannon in the head of these esquadrons, in  
this sort they place their troupes, and their baggage in safety, making a shew some-times as  
if they would charge. But seeing, that to come to the gates of the City beseege, they  
must force through the Kings army, which being in battaile did fight with their counten-  
ances and gesture, they haue no will to attempt this passage, and by their speedy retreat giue  
all France an assured hope to be soone freed from this strange nation which sought to ruine  
it. The beseege are now forced to yeeld to the victors Lawe. This shameful retreat  
D hath ouerthrowne their first resolution. Their practises, inuentions, engines, their incredi-  
ble labour to cast vp earth, their many Cannons, their deepe trenches, their continuall  
watching, nor the strength of the place, could not keepe the assaylants from lodging vpon  
their rampar and raelin, and so neere as they came to handy-blowes. So two daies after,  
the Marquis of Montenegro, who commanded in the towne after the death of *Hernand*  
doth promise to yeeld the place, if within six daies hee bee not succored with two thousand  
horse that should enter into the towne.

So was it sayd and so done. The time inuited the Cardinall, and gaue him leysure, being  
with all his forces within seauen Leagues of the towne, but he had neither will nor power to  
releue them. And therefore according to the capitulation made the nineteenth, that the  
E soldiars should depart with their armes, their matches light, their colours flying and drums  
sounding, with their horse and baggage, and whatsoever they could carry away of theirs, the  
fife and twentieth of the moneth, his Maiesty hauing put his army in battaile, sent the Con-  
stable, the Marshall of Biron, the Duke of Montbafon and the Lord of Vicques to the port  
of Beauuois where the garrison should come forth, who coming to the gate, the bridge  
is let downe, and the Marquis comes forth on horse-bake alone, but followed by a hundred  
and thirty horse and as many Harguebuziers on foote for the gard of his person. They re-  
ceiue him and conduct him to his maiesty, who attended him halfe a league from the towne:  
The King was accompanied with his white Cornet, wherein were about seuentene hun-  
dred horse, and fife hundred Suisses, hauing about him the Prince of Conty, the Dukes of  
F Montpensier, Neuers and Nemours, the Prince of Ioinuille, the Marshalls of France, and  
other Noblemen in great numbers, mounted vpon goodly courfers with rich caparazons,  
and saddles imbrodered with the ground of carnation, were wonderfull richly apparelled, and  
holding royall Scepters in there hands, they doe imbrace him most gratioously, and then  
dismissed him. He gos to horse, and by the Kings commandement, the Constable conductes  
him tow Leagues vnto the confines of the King of Spaines territories.

Amiens yeeld-  
ed and the  
Spaniards de-  
part.

1597.

All the Spanish Captaines, and others both of horse and foote, passing by his Maieſty, light A from their horses and kiſſe his boote, with great humility and reuerence, and follow their Leaders being receiued by the King with amiable and courteous words. After the Marquis and his gard, followed about a thousand women of baſe quality, amongst the which ſome foure hundred of the towne marched willingly, a hundred and threſcore wagons laden with all kind of baggage, and vpon them about three hundred men ſicke of the plague and wounded, foretene hundred ſhot, and ſixe hundred corſeleets well appointed, and in the end ten companies of horſe, ſixe of men at armes Lanciers, and foure of Carabins, which made in all about ſiue hundred horſe.

The King hauing not by policy, but by the moſt memorable attempt, and the greateſt glory of armes that might be, pulled this ſtrong towne out off the ſtrangers pawes, without the recovery whereof, he was in danger to be loſt, and plunged in the gulfe of miſeries: he entered the ſame day into Amiens towards night, triumphant and victorious, as into his owne towne recovered from the enemy, accompanied with a thousand gentlemen on horſebacke, and receiued with a wonderfull ioy and applauſe of all the people: hee lighted at our Ladies Church, and cauſed ſolemne thanks to be giuen to God: he placed twenty companies of foote, and three of horſe in gariſon, and gaue the gouernment thereof to the Lord of Vicques. Doubtleſſe oh Lord we haue reaſon herein to admire the wonders of thy mercy! The ſurpriſe of this place ſeemed late a Charibdis, to ſwallow vp the greateſt part of France. But it is not now alone, that the iudgements of God doe make vs know, that if he pulls vs downe with one hand, he raiſeth vs vp with the other: and if we be vpon the brinke of our C deſtruction, he retires vs by the hand to ſaue vs. So his prouidence ſubuerſed the deſſignes of the Spaniard, who by this trophie promiſed to extend his conqueſts, and recover thoſe places and Prouinces which he had loſt. So from the trouble bred by the enemies of this eſtate, grew the aduancement of our quiet, from their pernicious practiſes the aſſurance of the country, and ſetting of inconstant minds from their vniuſt attempts and violences: one of the greateſt actions that hath bene of long time for the good of France, and preſeruati- on of this Monarchy. The loſſe of Amiens was ſhamefull, but the recovery glorious: the taking ſtrange, but the reduction admirable, at his enemies noſe, and in view of his army. Finally, a reduction, which giues as much conſolation as the inuaſion brought deſolation.

The Cardinall retreat puts the King in hope, that God would doe him iuſtice, for the wrongs that hee and his had done vnto his realme: with this deſſigne hee marcheth with his troupes, and 18. peeces of Canon to Dourlans, into the which the Cardinall in paſſing had put ſome of the beſt men of his army, with a great conuoy of victualls and muni- tion of warre. He preſents him-ſelfe, and ſeekes by all meanes to draw them out of the pre- cinct of their walles. But being loth to aduenture any thing, his Maieſty paſſeth into Ar- thois, fills the country with feare and terror, goes vnto the gates of Arras, into the which the Cardinall had ſhut him-ſelfe, diſchargeth ſiue and twenty or thirty volleys of Cannon, makes a ſtand there: and by all the deuifes which a generous and warlike mind may inuent, hee ſeekes to draw him to ſally forth, and to ſee ſome braue exployt of his men E at armes.

In the end, his Maieſty not able by any ſtratagem to heate theſe cold humours which did freeze their hearts through feare, the reſt of his victorious army, after ſo great toyle, endur- ed in ſo long and painfull a ſiege, the raine and the ſharpenesse of winter which ap- proched called him backe to provide for a people, who by the negligence of their owne health, had lately, as it were, enclouſed within their walls the deſtiny of France, and ſo paſſe into Britanny, to finiſh that great worke, for the reſtoring of this Monarchy, that afterwards he might with all his forces, ſet vpon the common enemy of his Eſtate, if the negotiation of peace betwixt theſe two mighty warriors, practiſed by the Pope, a common father, did F not take effect.

But before wee proceed, let vs ſee the laſt acts of the Tragedy that was played in Sauoy. The diſcommodities of the lodging of *Pont-Charra*, cauſed the Kings army to winter about Gernoble, and the extraordinary ſnow ſtoppes the paſſages from Daulphiné into Sauoy. The Duke of Sauoy embraceth the time & occasion, to recover the country of Mauryenne He

Roades into  
Arthois.

The Kings  
returne.

1597.

A He parts in February with twelue Cannons, and by the induction of Albigny, camps be- fore Aiguebelle. At the firſt brute hereof, *Des Diguieres* ſent the Lord of Crequy, vnder the authority of lieutenant generall for the King in Sauoy: hee cauſeth him to paſſe the rough and ſteepe mountains on foote, where through the rigour of the ſeaſon, appeared no traces of man on the ſide of *Vaniagny*, to march more ſafely, accompanied onely with ſeuen or eight Gentlemen. He arriues happily at S. Iohn of Mauryenne, findes that the Seigneur of Paſquieres commanding in the ſaid place, had fortified the approaches of the bridges of Amefrex and Hermillon with good barricadoes, and finiſheth them with ſpeed. The fixt of March the Duke puts his Cannon in battery, and the next day *Arceſ* Captaine B of the ſaid place, yeelds it vpon condition not to ioine with *Crequy* but to returne towards Grenoble. They ſuppoſed this place would haue held at the leaſt ſixe weekes: and the Sa- uoiſſen, to deceiue the Seigneur of Crequy, being lodged but three leagues from him, con- tinues ſhooting his Cannon into the aire, to perſwade him that the place was not yet yeel- ded. *Crequy* abuſed by this ſtratageme of *Albigny*, marcheth with a good troupe of foot, to take ſome lodging from the enemy, thinking that Aiguebelle did yet hold good. But God will haue man to know that he is man, and that his condition makes him ſubiect to the chances of this world. He findes the Duke before him, being diſlodged, the eight of the moneth, and thinking if ſome troupe gon forth to the warre, he aduanceth neere, and with a furious charge ſeekes to open a way through the enemy. The whole armie comes C vpon him, and as he thinkes to recover his Barricadoes by the ſides of the hills, as they gaue him hope, hee findes the ſnowe had ſtopped the paſſages, and finally compaſſed in on all ſides, hee is forced to take a Law from the ſtronger, and by his imprifonment to redeme the liberty of *Paſquieres*, his Captaines and ſouldiers. The Duke proceeds and taking all Mauryenne, by compoſition, makes great diſſeins vpon the towne of Gre- noble, by the meanes of a fort which he had built to couer his Country on the ſide of Montmelian and Chambery.

The fort was vpon the frontier of Daulphiné, about a quarter of a league within the Kings Country towards Grenoble, vpon the ſide of a hill about the village of Barraux, kept by *Beilegarde* a gentleman of Sauoy, with ſeuen companies of foote, and furniſhed with all D munition neceſſary, but made rather by oſtentation (hauing as a great wonder ſent the plot therefore almoſt to all the Potentates of Chriſtendome) then by any neceſſity, the place lying neere to Montmelian the chiefe forteſſe of Sauoy, from whence he might commo- diouſly make his deſſeins vpon Grenoble.

Grenoble did wonderfully apprehend this eye-ſore, and *Des Diguieres* hauing diſperſed the Kings army for to winter, framed many diſſeins and enterpriſes at Grenoble vpon this fort (the which for that it was made defenſible the eue before Saint *Barthelmewes* day, the Duke called it by that name,) and had attempted it by ſiege, if he had not bene preſſed with E the want of the chiefe ſinewes of warre. In the end vrged by his duty, and mooued by the miſery of his Maieſties ſubiects, and preſſed with the iuſt intreaties of the chiefe officers, both of Iuſtice, and of policy within the Country of Daulphiné, he learns of many ſoul- diers that came forth, the eſtate of the place, with the forces that kept it, and ſends often to view it in the night.

He is informed that it may be taken by Scalldoe in two places, at a corner on the right hand going from Grenoble, and on that ſide which lookes towards Iſere, the earth being not yet about two fadome and a halfe high. He cauſeth the troupes neereſt to Grenoble to approach, makes them to paſſe ouer the bridge into the town, and ſaines that all the reſt ſhal make the ſame paſſage, to go into Mauryenne where the army of Sauoy was. But the 14. of March on Palme-ſonday eue, he ſecretly puts ſome petards into a boat, and 30. ladders, ne- ceſſary for the execution, & at the ſame inſtant he cauſeth his troupes to repaſſe in the night, F in boats prepared to that end, to take from them of the fort all knowledge that they were on their ſide, whereby they might haue occaſion to call for ſupplies from Montmelian of Chambery. Things thus diſpoſed, he parts from Grenoble the 25. of the ſaid moneth, in the morning, ioynes at a village callee Lombin with ſuch as he had appointed for this exe- cution, making about three hundred horſe, and a thouſand or 12. hundred foot, diuided into foure troupes, commanded by the Seigneurs of Morges, of *Hercules*, Lieutenant to *Des Diguieres*

Crequy taken  
prifoner.

Fort of Saint  
Barthelmew.

Taken by  
Des Diguieres.



1598.

*Diguières* company of men at armes, of *Auriac*, and of *Maurieu*, enigne to *Sulian*: he calls these commanders a part, acquaints them with this designe, to let vpon the fort the night following, and arriues there about eleuen of the clocke at night. The Captaines appointed to plant the Petards and the ladders, performe their charge with an incredible resolution, notwithstanding the alarm which those of the Fort had taken, by reason of the fires indiscreetly kindled by their boyes. The Petards worke their effect happily, one at the false gate, which lookes towards *Grenoble*, and the other at the principall port towards *Montmelian*: the alarm grows hot on all sides, so as they within the Fort knew not which side to gard. They mount to the scaladoe: some ladders are ouerthrowne, and with their shot they seeke to repulse the assailants, who get vp and come to bandy-blowes: the weakest must yeeld to the stronger. The enemies sought to make a new head: but after some little resistance, they slue a hundred of them, and the rest leaped over the rampar where the alarm was least violent. *Bellegarde* and some others remained prisoners: of seuen ensignes, fise were sent vnto the King, the two others were lost in the heat of the assault. They found there six peeces of battery, and three for the field, with great store of powder, leade, match, and corne: which had been so many scourges against the vnjust vsurpations of the *Sauoisien*, if the reduction of the Duke of *Mercoeur*, & that which remained to conquer in *Brittany*, had not laied their armes aside, and aduanced the Treaties which were made for the tranquillity of their estates.

The Kings authority had for nine yeares beene banished out off such places as the Duke of *Mercoeur* held in *Brittanie*: This Prouince was a prey for such as enriched themselves with the miserable spoiles thereof: the people hauing nothing left them but their voice, wished to see themselves freed from the tirany of many vicious men, and without mercy, and to taste, with many others, the effects of the Kings clemencie and bounty: and his Maiesty grieved infinitely to see them afflicted, and not able to relieue them, for the vrgent necessity of his affaires. But after a storme comes a sun-shine. The Duke of *Mercoeur* had often giuen hope of his submission and obedience; but the places of his command, and the qualitie of his person, in his opinion deserued a voyage thether. Our *Henry* is not slouthfull in that which concernes the good of his realme, and the great loue he bare to the ease and health of his subiects, who with a generall voyce, giue him that fauourable title of *Father of his people*, and made them willingly to exceed the bounds of modesty.

At the onely brute of his comming, the Lords of *Heurtault*, and *La Houffaye Saint Ofange*, commanding at *Rochefort* vpon *Loire*, knowing that the Duke of *Mercoeur* was ready to free himselfe from the Spaniard, and to be reconciled to his Maiesty, they cast themselves at the Kings feet, beseeching him to receiue and accept of them as his most humble seruants and subiects, and that it would please him in that qualiry to continue them in the command of the said place: to appoint what garrison he pleased for the good of his seruice: to grant them a pardon for their taking of armes, and all other things which had followed, vnder the authoritie of the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Mercoeur*, whom they had acknowledged for the heads of the vnion: and with that capitulation they bring to the Kings obedience, the places of *Saint Symphorian* and *Rochefort*.

*Plessis* of *Cosne* at the same instant yeelded the towne and Castle of *Craon* to his Maiesties seruice. But the surprise of *Dinan* by them of *S. Malo*, one of the strongest places of *Brittanie*, in the which the said Duke put his greatest hope, forced him to flie to his Maiesties mercie. There is no cause so bad but may be shadowed with some apparant reasons. The Duke of *Mercoeur* giues his Maiesty to vnderstand, as well for himselfe, as for those that shall submit themselves vnder his Maiesties obedience; that the zeale of the Catholicke religion, the respect of the good of the realme, whereof he had alwaies desired the preseruati- on, and feared the dismembring, the danger into the which *Brittanie* was brought, when as the King encountered the Spanish violence vpon the frontier of *Picardie*, the intelligences of the greatest of the Prouince with the enemy, the meanes they had to make diuers enter- prises, and to draw in forces to the great preiudice of the Crowne and State, had caused him to continue so long in armes after his Maiesties reconciliation with the Pope: and there- fore he beseecheth him most humbly to take knowledge of his good will, and to counte- nance and vse him as his most faithfull seruant and subiect.

His

1598.

His Maiesty had alwaies wished, that God would giue him the grace, to end the troubles of his realme: rather by a voluntary obedience of all his subiects, then by force and necessity of armes: that the last come might tast the same fruites, which his bounty shewed to those that had formerly returned to their obedience. So the said Duke of *Mercoeur*, the Clergie, Officers, Gentlemen, and other persons of all qualities and conditions, making their due submission, and taking the oth of fealty, the King made the Edict which followeth.

An Edict made by the King vpon the Articles granted to the Duke of *Mercoeur* vpon his reduction to his Maiesties obedience.

HENRY by the Grace of God, &c. We haue alwaies desired that GOD would giue vs the grace to end the troubles of this Realme, rather by a voluntary obedience of all our subiects, then by the force and necessitie of armes, to the end the last come might enioy the same fruites of our bounty, which the first which returned to their duties, haue receiued: The which hath so happily succeeded by the reduction of our deare and welbeloued cousin the Duke of *Mercoeur*, who hath shewed himselfe so willing to yeeld vs the obedience which he owes, with all those that were in armes with him, as wee haue cause to rest content and satisfied: to approoue the zeale which he hath shewed to haue of Religion, and to excuse our Cousin for that he hath continued so long in armes after our reconciliation with the Pope, and the comming of our deare and welbeloued Cousin the Cardinall of *Florence*, his Legate in this Realme, hauing giuen vs to vnderstand, that he was kept from making of this Declaration, for considerations which concerne the good of this Realme: whereof he hath alwaies desired the preseruati- on, and feared the dismembring, especially to preserue our Prouince of *Brittanie* from the danger whereinto it was reduced, when as we were busied vpon the frontiers of *Picardie*, to repulse our enemies, by reason of the intelligences which the greatest had in the said countrey, and the meanes to attempt and draw in forces, to the preiudice of our seruice, and of the Estate. By meanes whereof, desiring to acknowledge his good will, and to loue and intreate him hereafter as our good kinsman and faithfull subiect, inclining vnto the humble request which he hath made vnto vs, as well for himselfe, as for those which shall returne with him vnto our obedience.

I We haue sayd, decreed, and ordained, and by this our perpetuall and irreuocable Edict, do say, decree, and ordaine, will, and it is our pleasure, that in the towne and suburbs of *Nantes*, there shall not be any exercise of the pretended reformed Religion, neither shall there be any place appointed for the exercise thereof, within three leagues of the said towne.

2 We hold our sayd Cousin the Duke of *Mercoeur*, the Prelates, Clergie, Presidents, Counselors, Aduocates generall, and other Officers of the Parliament of *Rennes*, which haue exercised Iustice at *Nantes*, together with the Magistrates, Gentlemen, Officers, and others which shall submit themselves with him vnto our obedience, for our good subiects and faithfull seruants, taking the oath of allegiance, and making the submission required for our said obedience: We will and ordaine, that both our said cousin the Duke of *Mercoeur*, and all the said Clergi-men, Officers, Gentlemen, and others, of what qualitie and place soeuer vnder our obedience, taking the said oath, and making the submission, shall be restored to all their goods, Offices, Benefices, Charges, Dignities, Priuiledges, and Immunities: Notwithstanding all grants, of their said goods, moouable and immouable, rents, debtes, and reuenues, which we will shall remaine voide, and all promises, bonds, and Scedules made to that end, notwithstanding any prouisions obtained of the said benefices, sales,

N n n n

and

1598.

and Confiscations thereof, Edicts and Declarations which haue been made to the contrarie: all which things we haue and do reuoke by these presents. Wee do also giue them full possession and restitution, namely, of Clergi-mens houses, which they that hold them shall bee bound to leaue presently, and not retaine them vpon any pretext whatsoever: notwithstanding whatsoever hath been taken and actually receiued by vertue of the said gifts, of what nature of money whatsoever it bee, as also all perception of fruites, moueable goods and immouable, payment of arrerages, rents, reuenues, and profits, as well of Ecclesiasticall Benefices, as of Offices and Charges: namely of Registers, although that they which did detain the said Benefices, Offices and charges, hold them still, they shall not be subiect to any restitution of either part, neither shall there be any pursute or demand made to the contrarie, against any person whatsoever, except for moueables which are yet in being, the which shall be restored to the Proprietaries if they thinke good, paying the price they were sold for, without fraude. In like manner shall bee restored all papers and instructions which shall be found in being, belonging as well to vs, as to priuate persons, found in the hands of any one whomsoever, who shall not retaine them vpon any pretext, cause, or excuse whatsoever.

3 All Clergi-men of our Prouince of Brittainie, as well they that do acknowledge our authoritie, as others that shall submit themselues with our said cousin, which haue payed their tenths to the Receiuers of either part, shall not be called in question for that is past: But we will, and our pleasure is, that they shall be fully discharged of that which they haue payed, were it of the money of the said Tenths, or for the alienation of the temporality of the Cleargie. And in regard of the arrerages which they may owe, wee will prouide for their ease and discharge, being informed of their not enioying, or spoile according to the last contract made with the Deputies of the Cleargie of our Realme. And in the meane time, we giue them respight for sixe moneths (beginning the first of March last past) for the payment of the Arrerages, without any stay, notwithstanding for the money which shall fall due since the said day. Wee will also, that the Curates of Churches which are in villages, shall be wholly discharged of all arrerages, vnto the said first day of March.

4 All they that haue beene aduanced and receiued into any Offices of Iustice, or of the Treasure, being vnder the power of our said Cousin, the which were void by death, resignation, or otherwise, since these troubles, and were exercised in those places which are reduced vnder our obedience by our said Cousin, shall be maintained in those Offices, taking letters of prouision from vs, the which shall bee deliuered vnto them, bringing in those of our said Cousin as voyde, without paying any Fine. And in regard of those which haue exercised by Commission, Offices of Iustice, or of the Treasure, in the absence or after the decease of those which remained in our seruice, their Commissions shall presently cease, yet without restitution of the Fees, commodities, and profittes receiued by them, neither shall they be called in question for iudgements or exploites of Iustice made in the execution of their said Commissions. The like we will shall be obserued for Registers and their Deputies, who shall not be subiect to restore the Fees and profittes, arising of the exercise of their said places.

5 Our said cousin, the Prelates, Noblemen, Gentlemen, Officers, and other Inhabitants of Townes, Commonalties, and Bourroughs, Captaines, Commanders of men of warre, which haue followed and assisted him, and which shall come to acknowledge our authority with him, shall not be called in question for that which hath beene committed by them during these troubles, and by reason thereof, were it for taking of armes, carrying of them, assemblies of men of warre, and people in armes, were it within townes or without, planting or entertaining of garrisons, enterprizes, seeges, taking of townes, castles, and houses of strength, fortifications, demantelling thereof, namely, of the houses and castle of Dore, and of Fort Saint George, neare vnto Montague, nor for the taking of moueables, burnings, and all other excesses which haue ensued, imprisonment of Officers and others, with all other matters whatsoever done contrarie to the lawe and his Maiesties authoritie during the present troubles: of all which things of this qualitie, though not exprest in this present Edict: Our will and intention is, that the memory shall remaine for

1598

A for euer abolished and extinct, we do abolish it of our speciall grace, full power, and royall authority, and forbid all men whatsoever to make pursute in generall or particular, either against our cousin, the Duke of Mercœur, and any other aboue-named, their widowes, children, and heires, who (we meane) shall bee in like manner discharged: imposing therein perpetual silence to our Proctors general, and their substitutes, both present and to come, and to all our Courts of Parliament, Iudges, Officers, and all others; Neither shall it bee needfull for priuate men to obtaine any other letters, for that which doth concerne them, but these presents.

6 Notwithstanding we haue expressly reserved and excepted from the said discharges, all crimes punishable in the same party, and the damnable murder committed on the person of the deceased King, our most honored Lord and brother, as also all attempts and projects against our person.

7 In like maner our said cousin, with the Noblemen, Gentlemen, towns and commonalties, which haue assisted him, shall be discharged of all impositions, and leuies of money, as well for Magelines, store houses and others made by their Ordonances, Commissions, and warrants, during, and by reason of the present troubles.

8 And for greater assurance of our intentions, we wil and ordaine, that all Edicts, Letters-patents, and declarations made and published by vs, and our most honoured Lord and brother, with the arrests, sentences, and decrees giuen vpon them, or otherwise, as well in our Court of Parliament of Paris, as of that of Brittainie, and all others of this Realme: as also in the iurisdictions which depend thereon, be it against our said cousin, the Duke of Mercœur, the said Presidents, Councillors, and Officers of the Parliament of Reynes, which haue exercised iustice at Nantes, and all others that haue assisted him, and are aduowed by him, their widowes and heires, by reason of things happened during the warres, shall bee drawne out of the Registers, to the end the memorie may be extinct, as also all informations, proceedings, and verball processe, shall be taken out of the hands of our Officers, to the end all may be reuoked and of no effect: We forbid all Sergeants, not to execute any thing by vertue therof, and all other persons to make any pursute.

9 We forbid all our subiects in general, to reproch any one of the aboue-named facts, or to prouoke them to quarrell by iniuries or outrages: inioyning them expressly to liue quietly and louingly together, vpon pain for the delinquence, to be punished as troublers of the publike quiet.

10 The establishment of Presidents, Councelors, and other Officers, which were of our court of Parliament of Rennes, for the execution of iustice at Nantes, the iudgements, sentences and decrees, exploits and executions therof, as well in ciuill as criminall causes, informations, pursutes, proceedings, and other acts of iustice, growing from them, all letters as well in forme of grace and remission, as others of Iustice, which haue bin receiued and verified there, either of our cousin the D. of Mayenne, or of our said cousin the D. of Mercœur, shall take full effect among persons that haue willingly vndergone their authority and iurisdiction, and the same shall haue place for that which hath bin done, ordained, iudged, and decreed, by them that our said cousin hath established, to hold the iurisdictions of our presidiall seate of Rennes, Dinan, of Angiers, at Nantes, Rochfort, and else-where, and in all others which haue exercised the inferior iurisdictions.

11 All contracts, conuentions, and pactions, made in the said places, among them that haue voluntarily submitted themselues, shall be vailable: and contrariwise, that which hath bin done, ordained and decreed betwixt persons of diuers parties, which haue not voluntarily vndergone the iurisdiction, shall be reuoked and of no force, and the parties shall be restored into the same estate they were in before.

12 There shall be no question, made to a Councel erected by our said cousin the duke of Mercœur, for the direction of the treasure & verifications, nor for that which hath past and bin treated of there, for gifts and iudgements vpon the abating or leuying of mony, and other affaires whereof the decrees shall take place, and are by vs made firme, only for that which hath beene done and executed by vertue thereof for the time past, and among those that our said cousin shall bring vnto our seruice.

13 As also there shall be no question made to an assembly in forme of Estate, made by our

6. said cousin the Duke of Mercœur, establishment of Offices, assignation of Fees, orders made by them, and leuying of money by way of subuention, Imposition of Marchandize, and generally of all that which hath beene done in the said Assemblies, the which notwithstanding we will not, shall take place but vnto this day, and shall be of force, onely for that which is done, and among those, and in those places which our said cousin shall reduce to our obedience.

14 All Iudges and iurisdiccions appointed by our said cousin shall presently cease, as also of the said Councell, and all leuies, impositions vpon Marchandize, & victuals, subuentions, contribution made or to make, by vertue of his commissions and decrees, or of those that haue authority from him: Moreover, all our subiects shall returne into their iurisdiccions, vnto the places where they were established before these troubles, where wee will they shall be exercised as they haue beene accustomed.

15 And to this effect the Officers of our Parlements, and Chambers of Accompts, as also they of the generality, and of Seneschauies, presidial courts, and other iurisdiccions and charges of Iustice, and the Treasurer, shall returne into the exercise of their estates and Offices of either party, and shall enioy them in their ranks, degree, and order of reception, as they did before the said troubles, and with their prerogatiues, liberties, and wages due vnto their state: neither shall it bee needfull to haue any other declaration, letter, or order then this present Edict, the which the Registers shall inroll, to haue recourse thereunto when need shall require.

16 The Councellors receiued at Nantes, by vertue of the deceased Kings prouisions, the decree of the Councell made the 8. of October 1588. and of our Court of Parliament of Britanny, Are, and we do by these presents maintaine them in the said Estates and our said court of Parliament, is enioyned by vs to receiue and admit them, without paying any new fines, or taking any confirmation, but with the whole body of the said Court of Parliament.

17 They that haue managed the mony leuied by the ordonances of the said Assemblies in forme of Estates, shall accompt as they haue bin accustomed, and the parties shall be allowed in their accompts without difficulty, by vertue of the acquittances, and commandements of our said cousin the D. of Mercœur, and others hauing authority from him: and in regard of the accompts which haue bin made before commissioners deputed at the said assemblies, they shall not be subiect to any new examination, but the Accomptants shall remain for euer discharged, but in cases referred by the statutes and customes of the country.

18 The accompts which haue been made, and allowed at Nantes, by the Officers of the chamber of accompts which were there, and others appointed by our said cousin, or any other allowed by him, for the managing of the mony which was leuyed, or ordained by our said cousin, or of the said assembly in forme of estates, and of these which hee shall aduow, and shall submit themselves with him vnder our obedience, shall not be subiect to a new examination, and all ordonances and iudgements giuen as wel vpon the accompt, as verification of letters, shall hold without any search or information, if it be not by reuision, and in case of the ordonances. And where there shall bee found any parties razed by the said accompts, for that they haue beene payed against the ordonances and rules, we will cause all necessary validations to be made.

19 And in regard of accompts which are to make, as well by the Receiuer general, particular, Treasurers of the extraordinary, and others hauing beene appointed to manage the said mony vnder our said cousin, they shall be examined and allowed in our chamber of Accompts for the said country, and no where else. Notwithstanding the parties therein employed shall be purely and simply allowed, as well by vertue of the ordonances and rescriptions made by our said cousin, his Councell, or by the said assembly in forme of Estates, or others aduowed by them, as of the quittances and discharges: all which we haue confirmed for this effect, although the formes prescribed by the Ordonances haue not been observed.

20 And by this means all sums of mony payd by the commandement of our said cousin, as well for offices, wages, and entertainment of soldiers, pensions, victuals, artillery, voyages, fees, taxations of officers, and all other expences, as wel of war as others, yea, the ready mony which is deliuered into the hands of our said cousin, by any accomptants, shall be allowed without any difficulty: neither shall it be needfull for the accomptants to obtaine other letters

A letters and validation then these presents, and the debenter of the accompts from them who for our said cousin haue managed the mony of the extraordinary of the war of our generall receit, and of other accompts, as well of those which are already made, as of such as are yet to make, shall be recompensed with that which they may owe by any other Accompt, although the Debenters be not cleare, and there were some allowances in the said accompts, vntill the examination and conclusion of the last accompt.

21 The farmers, vnder farmers, and deputies established by our said cousin, his said Councell, the said assembly in forme of estates, or others aduowed by them, for the managing of the mony of our taxes, imposts, tickets, ports and hauens, entries of quicke cattle, Prouosty of Nantes, or others which haue paid the price of their farmes by their decrees, shall remain discharged to vs and all others, and shall not be forced to any new payment.

B 22 We will also, and our pleasure is, to the end the said officers appointed by our said cousin for the generall receit of the extraordinarie of the war, and of the foresaid assembly in forme of Estates, may satisfie the charges and assignations which are layd vpon them, as well in the precedent yeares, as in the quarter which is now in being, and satisfie themselves of that which they haue payed, and aduanced in hope to recouer the said assignations, that they may make poursuite and recouer the remainder of the said assignations, as well of the precedent yeares, as of the quarter that is in being, from the Receiuers, Farmers, and others, in whose hands the mony is yet remaining, of what nature and quality soeuer it bee, to the payment whereof they shall force the Farmers, Receiuers, and other Commissioners, as is said, by the waies accustomed for mony and affaires: prouided alwaies, that the people shall not be constrained to pay the said remainder, nor we bound to any abatements which our Farmers may pretend. Also the said accomptants shall not bee constrained by any one in their owne names to the payment of that for the which they haue giuen their rescriptions and promises, for the necessity of the affaires, but proportionably to the mony which shall be found in their hands to satisfie it.

23 During the time of the present troubles, prescriptions nor pre-emptiions shall haue no course among men of either part, vntill this present day.

24 The Inhabitants of our town of Nantes are by vs maintained and confirmed in all their priuiledges granted vnto them, to enioy them freely, as they did before the troubles.

25 Our subiects which our said cousin the D. of Mercœur shall draw vnto our obedience, shall inioy the discharge granted to the other subiects.

26 Hauing regard vnto the great debts and expences our said cousin hath bin forced to vndergo during these wars, and knowing that it is impossible for him to provide suddenly for the payment thereof: we haue giuen a yeares space vnto our said cousin, for the payment of his said debts, during which time his sureties and cautions shall not be constrained for any cause whatsoeuer.

27 Those which haue followed our said cousin, shall not be constrained to the paiement of taxes laid vpon them since the yeare 1589, vnto this present day, in townes whence they haue beene expelled, notwithstanding all Decrees, and Iudgements, to the contrarie.

E 28 All prisoners of warre which haue not agreed for their ranfome, shall be of either part set at liberty, paying moderate charges, and in regard of those that haue compounded, if they be iudged good or bad prize, they shall be bound to pay: and yet if any pretend their ranfomes to be vnreasonable, they may haue recourse before our deare cousins, the Constable and Marshalls of France, to order that according vnto reason: and to this end the prisoners shall be brought and represented. And in regard of Gouff, and the Marquis of Roche, or their cautions, their ranfomes shall be moderated: that of the Seigneur of Gouff at 4000 crownes, comprehending his charges which are yet vnpaid, which sum he shall be bound to pay within six moneths, and shall be set at liberty in giuing caution. And as for the said Marquis of Roche, or his cautions, the said ranfome shall be moderated to the like sum of 4000. crownes, comprehending also the charges which remaine vnpaid for the gard of his cautions, and notwithstanding the heires of the deceased Seigneur of Sollay, shall remaine discharged of the reprimof of the said Seigneur of Gouff, reseruing the actions to the sureties, and the defence to the contrary in that which concernes the ranfome onely.

29 The Commissaries and general gard established by the said Duke ouer the munition

1598. of his armies, their Clerks and Deputies, shall be discharged of their administration, and of that which hath beene done and executed by the commandement of our said cousin, or of those that had authority vnder him; vpon condition, that the said *Garde* shall giue vp his accompt, for the which they shall not be called in question, although the formes haue not beene duly obserued.

30 All breaches and acts of hostility committed during the truce, and to the prejudice of the Treaty made, shall remaine extirpated, together with the Iudgements and Decrees, if any haue beene giuen of either part, against whomsoever, whereof no question shall be made.

31 And for that he which hath had the charge of the extraordinary of the warre, hath receiued some money of the Taxes, and other publike reuenues of the generalities of Provinces and Tours, the which he hath confusedly employed in his charge, with that of the Province, and generality of Brittany: so as the expence cannot be separated: the accompt of all the said summes together, shall be made in the Chamber of accompts at Nantes, and hee shall be discharged from accompting at Paris, vpon condition, that there shall be an extract brought of the parties concerning the said generalities.

32 Those which haue assisted at the taking of the President of Rix his sons and son-in-law shall not be criminally pursued: and as for the ciuill interest, the parties shall stand respectively vpon their rights, according to the decree made in our Council, betwixt the President of Rix and Vex, whom his Maiesty doth not intend to prejudice in this regard.

33 The secret Articles which are not inserted in this present Edict, shall be in euery point inuolubly obserued, and vpon the extract thereof, or of any one of the said Articles, and signed by one of our Secretaries of State, all necessary letters shall be deliuered.

34 We command our faithfull Councillors, holding our Courts of Parliament, chambers of Accompt, Court of Aydes, Treasurers, Generals of France, and all other our Iustices, and Officers, to cause these presents to be read, published, enrolled, and inuolubly kept without breach, causing all troubles and lets to the contrary to cease: for such is our pleasure. And to the end that it may be firme and stable for euer, We haue set to our hand and Seale. *Given at Angiers. In March. 1598.*

Signed. HENRY.

Our King aboue all the Princes of the earth, got this commendation, to haue exceeded in wisdom, valor, and clemency. The whole Prouince, not by a politick necessity (which disposeth people to the obedience of their Soueraigne Princes) but as it were appointed by God to command ouer them, acknowledged our *Henry* for their Soueraigne King, protested to liue and die in the obedience which loyall and faithfull subiects owe vnto their supreme Lord. And by this milde re-union of the members with their head, of the parts with the whole, forgetting the bitterness of the fore-passed war, he dispersed the confusions and disorders, which threatened to bury him vnder the common ruines of these vnciuill troubles.

So in the end, after so many labours, which *Hercules* could hardly haue surmounted, so many toyles, vnder which *Atlas* would haue shrunk, the ciuill warre ended the minds of the French vnited, their affections mutually conioyned by a strict bond of loue, vnder the obedience of their King, and all the forces of the chiefe Kingdoms of Christendome, were ready to fall vpon the common enemy of his Estate. But you haue fought enough: the blood of your subiects, oh Princes, hath beene too outrageously spilt in your Champion fields: the furies of your armes haue wonderfully amazed your subiects. Shew your selues hereafter to be pastors and fathers of nations, which reuerence the beauty of your Diademes. Let the seas, riuers and mountaines, which be as a barre betwixt the territories of your Dominions, limit hereafter the greatnesse of your ambition. Heauen, the Iudge of controuersies, doth pronounce that sweet and sacred name of *Peace*. A name which cannot displease any, but such as take delight in blood, spoile, and fire: and (hauing nothing of a man but the name) breathing out nothing but impiety, licentiousnesse, and iniustice. So after a long treaty betwixt the Deputies of both Kings, in the end a peace was concluded at Veruins, as you may reade in the following Discourse.



## CONTINUATION OF THE GENERAL HISTORY OF FRANCE, from the beginning of the Treaty of Veruins, in the yeere 1598. vnto these times.

Collected out of PETER MATHEVV, and other Authors that haue written of this subiect.



He ciuill warres of France being ended, all the Kings rebellious subiects, and the reuolted Prouinces reduced to his obedience, God disposed the hearts of the Kings of France and Spaine, to a generall peace, for the good of their subiects, who had beene long oppressed with the spoiles and miseries of bloody warre. God stirred vp Pope *Clement* the eight, who poured balme into the wounds of France, not like vnto his Predecessors (who reioyced at her afflictions, and sought to make them incurable, applying no other remedies but fire and sword) He like an other *Hercules* (sought to calme the stormes which troubled both Land and Sea: he shewed himselfe a common father of Christians, a Mediator of Peace, and Vnion, at such a time as necessity and the estate of their affaires made them to desire rest. To this end he lets *Henry* the fourth King of France and of Nauarre, vnderstand by *Alexander* of Medicis, Cardinal of Florence, then his Legate in France, and doth aduertise *Philip* the second King of Spaine, by his Nuncio: that it was now time to lay aside all passions of hatred and reuenge, to resume peaceful spirits and to ioyne together against the common enemy of Christendome, who onely made his profit of their ruines. That their subiects had beene sufficiently drunke with the blood, gall and vineger of discord, and that it was requisite to refresh them now with the sweet wine of peace.

These two Princes were too high minded, to demand a peace one of an other. There must bee a third person, to vnite these two extreames. But there must bee some one to make this entrance, and to be as it were an Interpreter of their intentions. To this end, the Pope makes choise of *F. Bonauenture Calatagiron*, Generall of the Order of the Franciscans or Grey Friars, to acquaint these two Kings with his holy and charitable persuasions vnto peace. Religious men had beene actors in this warre, they are now held necessary for the peace. Spirits separated from the troubles and confusions of the world, are most fit for such negotiations, being lesse transported with violent passions.

The King of Spaine did not attend to haue the Pope exhort him vnto peace. Hee had begunne his reigne by warre against the French, he would now end it by a peace with them. He was now seuentie yeeres old, being desirous to discharge himselfe of the heauy burthen of so many Kingdomes, and to leaue them quiet to his sonne. To this end, he must marry his daughter *Donna Isabella*, who remayning in Spaine, without a husband, might contend for the succession of the crowne, with *Don Philip* her brother. Hee could not giue her lesse for her dowry, then the Kingdome of Portugall, or the Low Countries, with the county

The wisdom, iustice and piety of Pope *Clement* the 8. Thrice Iops in 17. months. Sixtus the 28. of August. 1590 *Vrbane* the 7. the 27. of September. *Innocent* the 9. the 9. of December. *Clement* the 8. chosen the 30. of Janu. 1592. The Pope exhorts the two Kings to peace.

Religious men should be Angels of peace.

He proclaimed warre against France in the yeere. 1557.



1598. of Burgundy. By the one, he did weaken and diuide his Estates, and by the other, he gaue A his daughter meanes to contend for her portion in Spaine. For it was impossible to reigne long in Prouinces diuided by irreconcilable warre, hauing two mighty neighbours for enemies. And therefore to assure Spaine, hee must marry the Infanta: and to confirme that which he gaue vnto her in marriage, it was necessary to conclude a peace with the French King, and to banish those vaine imaginations of the conquest of an Estate, the which will alwaies grow great, by the encrease of concord: and fortified with armes and inuincible spirits, supports it selfe against any violence that shall seeke to supplant it. Beeing thus resolved of a peace, he desires to vnderstand the opinion of his counsell. This resolution to haue a peace was iust, and all things shewed a necessity inseparable with iustice. The King of Spaine (to whom this was well knowne) had no need of any other counsell, for that his B Counsellors for the most part did hold, that his Estates could not continue in peace, vnlesse that France were at warre, and that they must alwaies maintaine a diuision in that Estate, whose forces are so mighty and warlike. Yet would hee haue it resolved on in counsell, in the presence of the Prince his sonne, and the Infanta. The Prince transported with the courage of his great and high resolutions, had no other thoughts but to continue his fathers conquests.

Reasons that moved the King of Spaine to a peace.

The Prince of Spaine respects the counsell of peace.

Alas! disgraced by the Prince of Spaine.

The Infanta desirous of a peace.

At her birth she brought a peace to France and England 1546 whereby her marriage there reconciled France and Spaine 1559.

The Archduke applies all his minde to a peace.

The Archduke sends armes vnto the King.

This peace being propounded in counsell, euery one spake not what hee thought the best, but rather to please the Prince (who valued resolution more then wisdom, and the dangers of warlike enterprises, more then the assurance of a happy peace) there is no place C whereas dissembling should haue lesse credit then in a Princes Counsell. But *Christopher de Moras*, holding in the chiefe and essentiall vertue of a counsellor, to speake the truth, and that it belonged to none but vile and base spirits to lie: hee fortified his opinion with the best reasons hee could, to induce the young Prince to like of the proposition of Peace: the which hee knew the King held to be iust and necessary, and that in this necessity, wise men found the surest law of their conduct, and the felicity of an Estate. You may read his discourse at large in the Originall. For which liberty of speech, contrary to the Princes humor (who shewed by his countenance, that such as loued peace were not his friends) *de Moras* was disgraced with bitter words, and commanded not to come in his presence: but hee was restored againe into fauour by the Kings command, hauing made his excuse vnto the Prince, D for that he had spoken the truth too boldly, for the good of the peace.

The King of Spaine (to prevent all priuate passions, which doe alwaies corrupt counsellors in publike affaires, being vnwilling to haue it treated of in Spaine) commaunded the Infanta *Isabella*, to aduite *Albertus* the Archduke (then Gouverneur in the Low-countries, to whom shee was promised) to make some ouerture of an Accord, and to found the mindes of the French. Shee (who was daughter to the generous Princeesse, whom Spaine called the Queene of peace) inuited the Archduke to employ his counsell and meanes for the building of this Temple, proceeding with a good intention, and sincerity of zeale. The Archduke (who found no better rampart to defend the Low-countries, then a peace) makes shew to haue no other thought in his heart, nor any word more E ordinary in his mouth, then peace: greewing to see the misery of the warres, and that two of the greatest Princes of Christendome (whereof the one might serue as a sword, and the other as a Target against the power of the Ottomans) should bee so ready to ruine one another.

This conceit, that the Archduke, desired a peace, did purchase him the loue of those people, ouer whom hee should command in regard of his marriage; it confirmed him in the good liking of the King of Spaine, seeing that he did apply himselfe wholly vnto his humor, and did wonderfully content the Infanta, who desired to be married with a beneficial peace. All Europe aspired to this generall good. Those which were farthest off, held it iust: the neighbours profitable, and such as were interested, necessary: and this interest did not onely concerne the French and the Spanish, but all neighbour States, whom it did much import F to see a peace concluded.

The Archduke discovers the Kings disposition, by *Monsieur de Sancerre*, Agent at Brussels for Queene *Elizabeth* Dowager of France. Who comming to Monceaux presented the King with rich armes, which the Archduke had caused to bee made for him at Brussels, and

and withall he gaue him charge to say vnto the King, that hee lamented to see the continuance of a warre so preiudiciall to two of the greatest Christian Princes, and so profitable to the common enemy of Christendome. That if it pleased him to harken vnto a peace, his war should be soone followed by the effect: offering all his vovs and seruice to the King of Spaine his vncle, to make him resolute to a perfect and assured peace, wherewith *Sancerre* acquainted his Maiesty, after the deliuey of his armes, saying, " That the Archduke was a Prince full of holy resolutions for the generall good of Christendome, who lamenting the affaires of Christian Princes, which went to ruine by their discord, had commanded him to vnderstand his Maiesties pleasure, if he would enter into any treaty of peace, the onely and iust support of Christendome. " " The first entrance to a Peace. "

B The King receiued the present graciously, and hauing a while considered of the proposition (made vnto him by *Sancerre*) hee answered. That hee had neuer yet tasted the sweetness of peace, desiring greatly to know what it was, not so much for his owne ease, as for the good of his subiects: and although he had alwaies loued warre, yet had he neuer refused peace: that he was not insensible of the miseries of this diuision, and had often lamented so much blood vnprofitably spilt, and the weakening of the chiefe pillars of Christendome. That he had not entred into this warre but for a iust and necessary defence, all Europe hauing scene the King of Spaine to raise the greatest forces of the world, yea and his owne subiects against him, and that there was no warre more iust, then to recouer that, which was vnjustly vsurped. Yet notwithstanding, all these considerations should not hinder his inclination to a peace. But hee could not easily belecue, that the Archduke had any such desire, hauing so many Spaniards about him, who would neuer counsel him to make any warre but in France. "

This holy resolution was imparted vnto the Archduke, and by him to the King of Spaine, who doubted that a Prince borne and bred vp in armes, hardened in the exercise of warre, and prosperous in his proceedings, would giue any eare to a peace: and although the good of his Realme, might draw him to this resolution, yet such as had counselled him to proclaim warre against him, when as his affaires were most desperate: euen when as foure or fve Dukes his subiects were in armes against him, would not aduise him now to make a D peace, when as all France was reduced vnder his obedience. He therefore commands the Archduke to proceed warily and wisely, and not to doe any thing that might be dishonorable in seeking of a peace.

The Archduke knowing that the Kings inclination to a peace, proceeding from his owne proper motion, and from the best aduice of his seruants who held a long warre to be as ruinous for France, as a long peace is hurtfull to a warlike nation) continued his first motion, sending backe *Sancerre* vnto the King who was then at Roan, to speake more openly and plainly vnto him, and to vnderstand his Maiesties pleasure, in what towne vpon the frontiers the Deputies of either side might assemble. This negotiation was not managed by letters, but by instructions, and by one man onely: the which was kept so secret, as on E the Kings part, no man was acquainted therewith, but *Villeroy* (the Oracle of the secrets of this Estate) neither would the Archduke trust any one but himselfe and the Duke of Sora, master of his horse, to the end that Spaine should not know any thing but what pleased him, when need should require. If matters had bene managed more openly, they might haue proued lesse successfull. These Princes wanted not spirits of diuision about them which blamed this peace. There were some in Spaine which maintained, that the lawes of Religion and conscience, would not allow them to lay downe armes, vntill that France were reduced vnder one Religion: and that it were dishonourable for so warlike a nation as Spaine, to demand a peace of them which had proclaimed warre against them. In France some cried out that they should make no peace with Spaine, without satisfaction for Milan, Naples, Flanders and Nauarre. Those which did second this good worke with their graue and wise Counsell, were men full of affection to the publike good, and capable of the remedies of this diuision. The President *Richardot* was the first to whom the Archduke imparted this secret, and the King would haue *Bellieure* his chiefe Counsellor of State acquainted therewith, vnto whom *Sancerre* imparted the order and state of the businesse. This done, he returned to the Archduke to Brussels, carrying with him a resolution of the Kings

The King of Spaine doubts of a peace.

A long peace preiudiciall to a warlike nation.

Diuers opinions of the peace.

1598. Kings pleasure: wherevpon the Archduke commanded him to conduct the Generall of the A Friars into France, being then come out of Spaine.

The Generall acquainted the King with the commandement hee had receiued from the Pope, to passe into Spaine to dispose the Catholike King to a good and holy peace, whereby the forces and wils of all Christians might bee vnited against the common enemy, who made his profit of this miserable diuision: that the King of Spaine fore-seeing it well, and lamenting this generall desolation, had said vnto him, that he desired a peace: which by his will should bee firme and durable, for the recovery of that which discord had caused the Christian Princes to loose, desiring not onely to treat a reconciliation of friendship betwixt the two crownes, but also to preuent all occasions of future warre: And to this end, B hee had giuen all his power to the Archduke his Nephew, who was a Prince desirous of peace.

The King answered: That he was desirous of a peace, neither would hee prescribe him any other conditions, then the honour and iustice of his pretensions, the which hee held so assured, as no man might call them in question. The Generall of the Franciscans assured him, that the King of Spaine would giue him all the contentment hee could expect from a iust Prince. Reason which alwaies findes place in generous mindes, and necessity whose stings (when thee is moued) are very violent, made these two Princes laie downe armes, to releue their subiects, tired with miseries and publike oppressions. These first hopes of a peace, did but beginne to appeare when as the King was aduertised of the surprize of Amiens. This was a frost which nipt all the hope of this first seed, a winde which blew away all the flowers of this yong plant. The Generall of the Friars returnes into France, to assure the King, that if it pleased him, the taking of Amiens should not hinder the peace. The King answered, that hee held himselfe wronged in this proposition, that he neither could nor would hearken vnto it: and that hee neuer did any thing by constraint: neither were matters now fit for an accord. *I will not (saith hee) that they demand a peace of me in a brauery, I will neuer yeeld vnto it by force. We will talke more, when I haue recovered Amiens, Calis and Ardes:* and so hee sent backe the Generall of the Friars, to the amazement of the enemy, who did admire the Kings noble resolution, which (like vnto the ancient Romans) was more admirable in Aduersity then Prosperity. C

Amiens being recovered, and the Pope fore-seeing by the continuance of the Kings victories, that it would produce no other effects but a weakening of the whole body, hee coniures the two Kings a new, by the apprehension of the publike miseries, and the pittifull Estate of Christian affaires, to agree and to resume their chiefe inclinations to peace. Hee commands his Legate to dispose them to some conference, whereby hee might discern who was to bee blamed, and who failed in his affection, for the generall good of a peace. The Legate goes to Saint Quintin: the Generall of the Friars comes thither vnto him and beseecheth him, to be a meane vnto the King, to send some man of credit, with whom they might conferre of a treaty. The King sent the President Sillery, with an expresse commandement, not to consent to any Treaty of a peace, but vpon assurance to haue those townes E yeelded vp, which were held by the King of Spaine. The Popes Legate, the President Sillery, and the Generall of the Friars met at Saint Quintin: the greatest difficulty at this first entrance, was for the restitution of places. The Generall of the Friars said, that the King of Spaine would not purchase a peace at so deere a rate. Sillery answered, that the King of Spaine did giue nothing of his owne, but did onely yeeld vp that which he could not keepe, the King hauing made prooffe by the recovery of Amiens, what he might expect of the other places. And if they desired a good and a durable peace, they must make it iust: for else it could not continue. That there was nothing more iust, then restitution, nor more honourable then to leaue that willingly which they could nor hold by force: That the King had expresse forbidden him, not to consent to any Treaty, nor to the choise of any place F for an assembly, before he had Assurance of this restitution: that he held it a wrong done vnto the dignity of so great a Prince, to the honour of his commandements, to the equity of his cause, and to his good fortune, once to hearken vnto the difficulties they made to yeeld him vp that which was his owne: That whosoever should treat with this prejudice, deserved to be punished as the authors of Treaties, that were dishonorable to their Masters. The

The King's generous resolution.

The Generall of the Friars returns in defiance of a peace.

The proposition of peace continued.

The first negotiation of peace at Saint Quintin.

A iust peace is durable.

A The Generall of the friars (who could get any other resolutions at his hands) returned twice into Flanders, to let them vnderstand, that among all the reasons of the Treaty, that of restitution was inuincible: that it was in vaine to demand a peace of the French, if they did not restore all. That this restitution was the soule of the Treaty, without the which it was a fantastike body, without any naturall proportion and substance: That in the end, desiring too much, they should haue nothing: and thinking to hold all, they would loose all. The Archduke doth aduertise the King of Spaine, that there was no meane to enter into the Temple of peace, but by opening of the gates of Calais, Ardes, Dourlans, and other places (taken in warre) vnto the French King. God inspired the heart of the King of Spaine, against the opinion of his Councell of State, to yeeld vp all his pretensions for the good of a peace, rather then to leaue the world in this perpetuall discord and confusion. B Hee did consult with his Councell of conscience, vpon the necessity of this Restitution. They answered him, that hee could not liue with a quiet soule, nor die in the integrity of his Religion, if hee did not restore those places. The King of Spaine followed this aduice, aduertising the Archduke, that hee would not for that which hee had gotten from another, loose the meane to leaue a peace to his owne Estates. Vpon this resolution, the Generall of the Friars returnes into France, and passeth his word vnto the Legate and Sillery, for the Restitution: so as after an infinite toyle of two moneths, these three made all things ready for a Treaty.

C Sillery returnes to the King, leading with him the Generall of the Friars, as well to let him vnderstand from the Kings owne mouth, what he had said vnto him by his commandement, as also to haue the Generall tell the King, what he had promised, and propounded on the Archdukes behalfe. The Legate remained at Saint Quintin, as gardien of the worlds intentions of two Princes. Being assured of eithers faith, they agree vpon a place for the assembly of the Deputies, and to conclude the Treaty. The towne of Veruins (being vnmodious, and was presently furnished with all things necessary to receiue the Ambassadors. The King deputed Pomponne of Belieure Knight, Lord of Grignon, the chiefe and most ancient of his Priuy Councell, and Nicholas Brulart Knight, Lord of Sillery, Councillour D of State to his Maiesty, and President in his Court of Parliament. For the King of Spaine and the Archduke, there came John Richardot Knight, President of the Kings Priuy Councell and of his Councell of State: John Baptista Taxus Knight, Commander of the Military order of Saint James, and Councillor of State, and of the Councell of warre: and Lewis Verruchen Knight Audiencer and chiefe Secretary and Treasurer of the Charters of the Councell of State, men of great experience and approued fidelity. The Cardinall Medicis, Legate of the holy Sea, assisted by the Bishop of Mantoua, was as it were an Vmper of all difficulties in this good and holy reconciliation. The Kings Deputies arrived first, and those of the King of Spaine presently after, where hauing saluted one another with hearts full of ioy and incredible content, they promised to treat Roundly, Sincerely, and Mildely, communicating their commissions one vnto another, and reforming those errors which they found, that they might begin to treat more safely and freely. After much question and many propositions made by the Deputies of the King of Spaine for the Precedence, in the end, they yeelded vnto the French Kings, to take what place they pleased, after the Legate, and the Popes Nuncio.

At their first sitting, the Legate exhorts them to shew the fidelity and integrity in this action which their Masters desired, whereof hee assured himselfe by their experiences, as of those which had happily managed the greatest affaires of Europe, more then any other men: wishing them to consider, that hauing the honour to counsell two of the greatest Princes of the world (who submitted their wills vnto their Councells, as the most diuine thing among men, when it is purged from ambitious passions, violent thoughts and preiudicate opinions) they should omit nothing that might regard the contentment of their good intentions, and not to doubt, but that God who hath an especiall care of Kings and Kingdomes, would infuse the light of his spirit into their most secret thoughts, and threaten them with the severity of his Iustice, if they did not apply all their indeauours to his glory and the good of the Christian common-weale.

The King of Spain returns to yeeld at the places.

Veruins chosen for the conference.

The Precedence yeelded to the French.

The Legate exhorts the Deputies.

Then

1598. Then they entred into Treaty with a mildnesse fit for men of that quality & the merit of the subject. It was managed with such secrecy, as nothing was knowne before that all was concluded. The chiefe point of difficulty was, for the restitution of places. Many reasons were propounded on either side: but the Kings Deputies had great aduantages: the force of reason, the prosperity of affaires in the recovery of Amiens, and about al the fauour of the time and occasion. The King of Spaine would not die but in peace: hee desired his sonne might reigne in peace, and that his deerey beloued daughter might bee married in peace. The Archduke languished with a desire to be married: and fearing least the promise which hee had (not taking effect during the life of the King of Spaine) the conditions would bee made worse, he pressed *Richardot* and *Taxis*, not to proceed in this negotiation after the Spanish manner, but to remember that they must not prolong their consultations, nor protract an action, the praise whereof depended vpon the conclusion. So after they had balanced all matters in the Treaty, to reduce them to a iust proportion of reason, all controuersies betwixt two Kings were reconciled and ended.

The Duke of Sauoy desires to be comprehended in the treaty.

The King prefers the publicke good before his private interest.

During this treaty, the most Christian King was at Nantes: he pacified Britan, discharged the new Garrisons, and some Imposts, and placed for Gouvernour there, *Cesar Monsieur* his bafe sonne, now Duke of Vendosme, who was betrothed to the onely daughter of the Duke of Mercœur. He then granted the Edict of pacification to them of the reformed Religion within his Realme, as wee shal shew hereafter. A peace being concluded at Veruins, betwixt the two Kings, there was nothing yet agreed vpon for the Duke of Sauoy. It seemed the King of Spaine had forgotten him, and that he did not acknowledge him for his son-in-law. The French King held him neither for kinsman nor friend, so long as hee should detain the Marquisate of Salusses. The Marquis of Lullins (who was there Agent for the Duke) assured the Deputies, that the Duke had no other intention, but to giue the King more contentment hereafter, then forepassed occasions would giue him meanes. Vpon this assurance, he entred into the Treaty, the which by his occasion was in a manner broken off, three daies before the conclusion. For the King was resolu'd, not to thinke of any accord with the Duke, but by present effects: without deferring the satisfaction of that which was due vnto him. It was not likely (that drawing by the execution of the Treaty, out of the hands of so great and mighty a King, fixe places in Picardy, and a port of great importance in Britan, which was harder to take then the Marquisate of Salusses) the King would conclude a peace with the Duke of Sauoy, with lesse honourable conditions, then hee had done with the King of Spaine, and bring his indubitable right in question. But the Pope (fearing that this Marquisate of Salusses, would proue an *Aina* to fire all Italy) prevailed so with the King, as he preferred the publicke good before his owne private interest, being content (for the finishing of this building of peace) that the Dukes interest, and his right, should be put to compromise.

It was agreed, that the Pope should bee the onely Iudge of this discord, touching the restitution of the Marquisate of Salusses, and that within a yeere. So a peace was concluded, and signed by the Deputies: but it was not published till a moneth after: onely a general suspension of armes was proclaimed. The King being at Rennes in Britan, came post to Tours, and so to Amiens, for the better execution of the peace, which was comprehended in 38. Articles, as followeth.

Articles of the treaty of peace.

1 First it is concluded and agreed that the Treaty of peace made and resolu'd betwixt the said King *Henry* the fourth and *Philip* the second, in approbation of the Articles contained in the Treaty of peace made at the castle of Cambresis in the yeere of our Lord 1559. betwixt the deceased *Henry* the French King of famous memory, and the said Catholike King; In which Treatie of the said Deputies in their names they haue againe confirmed it in all pointes, as if it had bene incerted word by word and without any alteration, that all shall remaine in their full force, but what shalbe expressly derogated by this present Treaty.

2 That hereafter from the day of the date of this present treaty betwixt the said Kings, their children borne, or to be borne, heires and successors, their Realms, Countries and subjects, there should bee a good, firme and stable peace, that they should loue like bretheren

procuring

A procuring the good, honour, and reputation one of another; And should auoide all they could, the hurt one of another, nor support, nor maintaine any person whatsoever to the preiudice one of another; And presently all acts of Hostility should cease: forgetting all things that were past, the which should bee for euer abolished and extinct: Renouncing by this Treaty all Practises, Leagues and Intelligences, which might in any sort redound to the preiudice of the one or the other, with promises neuer to attempt nor to procure the one anothers harme, nor to suffer their vassals, nor subjects to doe it directly nor indirectly. And if any of them of what qualitie or condition soeuer, should hereafter goe against it, to goe and serue by sea, or land, or otherwise aide and assist in any thing, which might in any sort preiudice either of the said Kings, the other should bee bound to oppose himselfe and to hinder it, and to punish them seuerely, as breakers of this Treaty and troublers of the publike quiet.

3 And by the meanes of this peace, and strict amity the subjects of either side whatsoever, may in keeping the lawes and customes of the country, goe and come, remaine frequent, conuerse and returne to one anothers countries trafiking, as they please aswell by sea, land, as fresh riuers: and the subjects of the one shalbe defended and maintained in anothers country as if they were his owne subjects, paying all accustomed duties in all places which by their Maiesties and their successors shalbe imposed.

4 All letters of Marke and reprisall are suspended, which might haue bene giuen for any cause whatsoever, and hereafter none to bee giuen by any one of the said Princes, to the preiudice of the others subjects, but against the principall offenders, and that onelie in case of deniall of Iustice, whereof, and of the letters of requisition, such as pursue the said letters of Reprisall shall make it appeere according to the forme of Law.

5 The townes, subjects and inhabitants of the counties of Flanders and Arthois, and of other Prouinces of the Nether-lands, together with the Realme of Spaine, shal enioy the priuiledges freedoms and liberties, which haue been granted them by the Kings of France, Predecessors, to the said most Christian King: And in like manner the townes, Inhabitants, and Subjects of the Realme of France, shall also enioy the priuiledges, freedoms and liberties, which they haue in the said Netherlands, and the Realmes of Spaine, euen as euery one of them haue heretofore enioyed, and doe enioy by vertue of the said Treaty, of the yeere 1559. and other precedent Treaties.

6 It is also agreed, in case the said Catholike King doth giue or transferre by Testament, Donation, Relinquation, or any other title whatsoever to the Noble Infanta, *Madame Isabelle*, his eldest daughter, or to any other, all the Prouinces of his Nether-lands, with the counties of Bourgogne and Charolois, that all the said Prouinces and Counties, are vnderstood to bee comprehended in this present Treaty, as they were in that of the yeere 1559. together with the said Lady Infanta, or hee in whose fauour the said Catholike King hath disposed thereof, neither shall it bee needfull to make any new Treaty to that effect.

7 And the subjects and seruants of either part, aswell Ecclesiasticall as Ciuill (notwithstanding they haue serued the contrary partie) shall returne into their offices and benefices which they did enioy before the end of December in the yeere of our Lord 1588. except Curats where as other haue bene Canonically aduanced: they shall also enioy all there immouable goods, rents, charged or for life, which haue been seized and detained by reason of the wars, begun about the end of the yeere 1588. to enioy it from the publication of this Edict, and in like manner all that shall hereafter fall vnto them by succession or otherwise; without making any question or demand of the fruites received, by the seizure of the said immouable goods, vnto the day of the publication of this present Treaty, nor of the goods which haue been confiscated before the said day, and the diuision which shalbe made or caused to bee made; by the Prince, his Liuerenant or Deputy in whose iurisdiction the said decree shalbe made, shalbe good and of force: And the Creditours of such debts shall neuer bee admitted to make any pursue, nor to bring any action against them to whom they haue bene giuen, nor against them which by vertue of such giuistes and confiscations, haue paid them: Notwithstanding any letters

O o o o

Obliga-

1598. Obligatory which the said creditours may haue, the which for the effect of the said confiscation, shall by this Edict remaine voide and of no force.

8 And the returne of the said subiects and seruants of either side, to the immouable, goods and rents as before shalbe, notwithstanding all donations, grants, declaration, confiscations, and sentences giuen by contumacy, and in the absence of parties, and they not heard, by reason of the said warre; which sentences and all iudgements giuen, both ciuill and criminall shall remaine voide and of no force, as if they had neuer bene: Reforming the said subiects fullie (all lets and contradictions, ceassing) to the rights which they had at the beginning of the said warre, and that no man might bee called in question for any publike charge which he had had, either concerning the victualls, money or other-wise, during the time, and by reason of the said warre, where of hee had giuen an account before such as had then power to dispose: Provided that the said subiects and seruants bee not found charged with other crimes and offences then to haue serued the contrarie partie.

9 And yet they may not returne into the said lands, countries and seigneuries of the said Kings, before they haue obtained leaue and letters-patents, sealed vnder their Maiesties great seale, whereof they are bound to pursue the verification before their Maiesties officers.

10 Such as haue bene promoted of either side to benefices being in the collation, presentation, or disposition of the said Kings or other Lay-men, shall hold the possession, and enjoy the said benefices as if the had bene duely preferred.

11 In fauour of this peace, and to giue either King contentment one of another, it is concluded that they shall really and faithfully restore one vnto another, that which shalbe found to haue bene taken, seized and held by them, or others hauing charge from them or in their names, in one an others country: That is to say the said most Christian King, to the Catholike King the possession and enioying of the county of Charoloys, with the appertenances and dependances, to bee fully and peaceably enjoyed by him and his successors, and to hold it vnder the soueraignty of the Kings of France, and if there be any other places found, held since the said peace of 1559. by the most Christian King, or by any of his, they shall bee also restored, and all within two monthes after the day of the date of these presents.

12 And in like manner the said Catholike King shall restore vnto the most Christian King all places taken, seized and held by him, or by any other, hauing charge from him since the said Treaty at the castle-Cambresis.

13 That is Calais, Ardres, Monthulin, Dourlans, La Capelle, Chastelet in Picardy. Blauet in Britan, and all other places which the said Catholike King hath held there or else-where in the Realme of France, and are by him, or his, detained since the said Treaty.

14 In regard of Calais, Ardres, Monthulin, Dourlans, La Capelle and Chastelet in Picardie. The said place shall be deliuered by the said Catholike King or his ministers faithfully and effectually without any delay or difficulty for any pretext or occasion whatsoever, to him or them that shalbe to that end deputed by the said most Christian King, within two monthes precisely from the day of the date of these presents, in the same State they are now, without demollishing or impaying them in any sort, neither shall they pretend or demaund any re-emboursment of the fortifications made in the said places, nor for the payment of that which might bee due vnto the souldiers, that were in them: And first of all restitution should bee made of Calais and Ardres, and then of the rest, so as the whole restitution of the said places should bee accomplished within the said time of two monthes.

15 As for Blauet, the restitution shalbe also effectually made without any delay or difficulty vnder what collour or pretext soeuer, to him or them that shall bee deputed by the most Christian King, and that within three monthes from the daie of the date of these presents. And the said Catholike King may cause the fortifications to bee demollished which haue bene made by him or his at Blauet or any other place held by him in Britan if there be any.

16 Restoring

16 Restoring the said places, the said Catholike King may cause all the Artillery, Poulders, Bullets, Victualls and other munition of warre which shalbe found in the said places to be carried away, with all the mouable goods which belongs vnto them; Provided alwaies that it shall not be lawfull for them to exact any thing of the Inhabitants of the said places nor of the champion country nor to indamage their houses, or to carry away any thing belonging to the said Inhabitants.

17 And to the end the men of warre beeing in Blauet may more speedily returne into Spaine, the said most Christian King shall cause them to bee furnished with ships and mariners wherein they may transport their Artillery, Victualls and other munition of warre, with their baggage, being at the said Blauet, and other places, which shalbe restored in Britan, giuing caution for the restitution of the said ships, and sending backe of the mariners within the time that shalbe agreed vpon.

18 Moreouer the said Deputies doe promise for assurance of the restitution of the said places, as soone as the ratification of this present Treaty, made by the most Christian King, shalbe deliuered vnto them, to giue foure Hostages such as hee shall please to choose of the said Catholike Kings subiects, who shalbe honourably intreated as shalbe besit their qualities, the which restitution beeing made and really performed the said Hostages shalbe set at liberty without any delay: Provided alwaies that restitution beeing made of the fixe places in Picardy two of the Hostages shalbe deliuered, the two other remayning vntill the restitution of Blauet.

19 And in regard of matters contained in the said Treaty of the yeere 1559. which haue not bene executed, according to the Articles thereof, the execution shalbe made and ended in that which remains to be executed, as well for the Feodale Tenure of the county of Saint Pol, the limits of the two Princes lands held in Surseance, exemptions of customs and forraigne impositions, pretended by them of the county of Bourgondie, the Bishoprike of Therouenne, Abbay of Saint John au Mont, the Duchie of Bouillon, restitution of some places pretended of either part to bee restored by vertue of the said Treaty, and all other differences which haue not bene decided, as it was then agreed: There shall bee to that end arbitratours named and deputed of either side, according vnto that which hath bene resolved by the said Treaty; who shall assemble within fixe monthes, in such places as are appointed by the same, if the parties consent, if not, they shal agree vpon some other place.

20 And for as much as in the diuision of Lands, appointed to the Diocesses of Arras, Amiens, Saint Omer, and Boullen, there are villages of France found in the Bishopricks of Arras and Saint Omer, and other villages of the countries of Arthois and Flanders in the Bishopricks of Amiens and Boullen which is often-times the cause of disorder and confusion, it hath bene agreed, that with the consent of the Pope, Commissioners of either side shalbe deputed, who shall meete within one yeere at the place appointed, to resolve vpon the exchange which may be made of the villages, to the commodity of the one and the other.

21 All prisoners of warre of either part being restrained, shalbe set at liberty, in paying their charges, and what may bee else iustly due, without paying of any rancome, vnlesse it hath bene agreed vpon; and if there be any complaint that it exceeds, it shalbe then ordered by the Prince of the country where the prisoners are detained.

22 All other prisoners, subiects to the said Kings, which through the callamity of war may bee detained in their Maiesties Gallies, shalbe speedily set at liberty without any delay, for any pretext whatsoever, neither shall they demand any thing of them for their rancome and charges.

23 And there are reserued vnto the said most Christian French King and of Nauarre, and his successors all the rights, actions, and pretentions which hee challengeth to belong vnto him by reason of the said Realmes, Countries and Seigneuries, or else-where for what cause soeuer, to the which neither hee nor his Predecessours haue not expressly renounced, to make his pursute by all friendly courtes, or by iustice, and not by armes.

24 As in the like manner are reserued vnto the said Catholike King of Spaine and

O o o o 2



1598. and to the Noble Infanta his eldest daughter, their successors, and having cause, al right actions and pretensions which they hold to belong vnto them, by reason of the said realmes and countries, or else-where, for what cause foeuer, to the which neither they nor their predecessors haue not expressely renounced, to make their pursute by all friendly means, and by the course of Iustice, and not by armes.

25 And whereas it hath bene insisted by the deputies of the said Catholike King, that to attaine vnto a perfit peace, it is very necessary that the most excellent Prince the duke of Sauoy bee comprehended in the Treaty; the said Catholike King desyring and affecting the good and pr. seruatiō of the said Duke, as his owne, being nerely allied vnto him: The which they said they had expresse commandement to propound from the Cardinall Archduke: the which was also declared by *Gaspard* of Geneva, Marquis of Lullins, counsellor of State, Chamberlaine and Collonel of the said Dukes garde, his Lieutenant and Gouernour of the duchy of Aust and towne of Yure, his deputy: that the said Duke his master hath the honour to bee descended from a brother, to the great Grand-father of the said most Christian King, and from a cousin-germaine of the Queene his mother: That his intention is to giue contentment to the said King, and as his most humble kinsman to acknowledge him with all honour, seruice, and shewes of loue, to giue him better satisfaction heereafter both of him and his action; That neither time nor occasion past would giue him meanes to doe it: That hee promised the said King, that hauing made prooffe of his loue, hee would shew the like bounty and affection, that the foure last Kings, his predecessors, did shew vnto the Duke his father of famous memorie.

26 It hath bene concluded and decreed, that the said Duke shalbe receiued and comprehended in this Treaty of peace: and to witnesse the desire hee hath to giue the most Christian King contentment, hee shall restore and yeeld vp the towne and castle of Berre, within two monethes from the daie of the date of these presents, without any delay or difficulty, vpon any pretext whatsoever. And the said place shalbe deliuered by the said Duke, to him or them that shalbe deputed by the said King within the time prefix without any demollition or damage whatsoever, and without pretending or demanding any re-emboursement for the fortification made in the said towne and castle, nor for that which may bee due vnto the garrison that keepes it: and hee shall leaue all the Artillery which was in the said place when it was taken, with the bullets that shall be found of the same scantling: hauing liberty to carry away, that which he hath since brought in, if there be any.

27 It hath bene also agreed that the said Duke shall disauow and fully abandon captaine *Fortune*, being in the towne of Seurre, in the country of Bourgondy, and not giue vnto him nor to any other that should vsurpe the said towne against the will and pleasure of the most Christian King, directly nor indirectly, any aide, support or fauor.

28 And touching all other controuerfies remayning betwixt the said most Christian King and the said Duke: the said Deputies in their names, consent and agree, for the good of a peace, that they shalbe referred vnto Pope *Clement* the eight, to be decided by his Holinesse within one yeere from the day of the date of these presents, according to the answere of the said King, giuen in writing the fourth of Iune last: and whatsoever shalbe decreed by his Holinesse, shalbe duly executed of either part, without any difficulty or delay, vpon any cause or pretext whatsoever.

29 And in the meane time, vntill it shalbe otherwise decided by his Holinesse, matters shall remaine in the same estate they now are, without any alteration or innouation, and as they are held of either part: Neither shall it bee lawfull to extend themselves farther, nor to exact or impose contributions or any other thing of the iurisdiction of those places which are held by either of them.

30 And according to that which hath bene concluded, there shalbe from this day a firme peace, friendship, and good neighbourhood betwixt the said King and Duke, their children borne, and to bee borne, heires and successors, and the realmes, countries and subiects of either of them.

31 The subiects and seruantes of either parte as well Ecclesiasticall as Secular, notwith-

1598. notwithstanding that they haue serued the contrary party, shall returne fully into the fruition of all their goods, offices and benefices, as hath bene formerly said, provided alwaies that it extend not to governments.

32 As for prisoners taken in the warres, they shalbe vsed as hath bene formerly concluded betwixt the two Kings.

33 And the Articles and Treaties made heretofore betwixt the deceased most Christian Kings *Henry* the second in the yeere 1559. at castle Cambreis, *Charles* the ninth, and *Henry* the third and the deceased Duke of Sauoy, shalbe in all points confirmed, but in that which hath bene derogated in this present Treaty. And according therevnto the said duke of Sauoy, shal remaine a Neuter Prince, and a common friend to the said Kings: and from the day of the publication of this present Treaty, the comerce, and traffike, shalbe free and assured betwixt their countries and subiects, as hath bin contained in the said Treaty, and practized by vertue thereof. And the orders therein contained shalbe obserued, namely in regard of officers which haue serued the said kings, vnlesse it hath bin derogated by some other treaty.

34 In this peace, alliance and friendship, shalbe comprehended by the common consent of the said Kings, if they wil bee comprehended: First on the behalfe of the said most Christian King, the Pope, the Apostolike Sea, the Emperor, the Princes Electors, both Ecclesiasticall and secular, the townes, communalities, and estates, of the said sacred Empire, & namely the Cont *Pallatin* elector, Marquis of Brandebourg, duke of Wirtemberg, *Lamgrane* of Hessen, Marquis of Hanspach, the Earles of East-Frizland, and the sea towns, according to there ancient alliances. The King and Realme of Scotland, according to the ancient treaties, alliances and confederations, which are betwixt the Realmes of France and Scotland; The Kings of Poland, Denmarke and Sweden, the Duke and Seigneury of Venice, the 13. Cantons of Suisses, the Seigneuries of the three Cantons of Grisons, the Bishop and Seigneuries of the country of Valais, the Abbot & town of Saint Gal, Touhenbourg, Milans in the country of Neuf-Chastell, and other allies and confederates of the said Cantons: The Duke of Lorraine, the great Duke of Tuscane, the Duke of Mantua, the common-weale of Luques, the Bishops and Chapter of Metz, Toul and Verdun, the Abbot of Gozze, the Lords of Sedan, and the Earle of Mirande; provided alwaies that the consent which the said Catholike King giues to the comprehension of the Earles of East-Frizland, shall not preiudice the right which his Catholike Maiesty pretendeth vnto their countries: As also there shalbe a reseruatiō against the defences, rights and exemptions, of the said Eredomes, with a declaration that the said Catholike King may neither directly by himselfe or any other, molest any of them which haue bene formerly comprehended by the said most Christian King. And if the said Catholike King pretends any thing against them, hee shall pursue them by law, before competent Iudges, and not by force in any manner whatsoever.

35 And on the behalfe of the said Catholike King shalbe comprehended in this Treaty, if they please: first of all the Pope, the holy Apostolike Sea, the Emperor of Romans, the Archduke, his brethren and cousins, their realms & countries, the electors, Princes, towns & estates of the whole Empire obeying him, the Duke of Bauaria, the Duke of Cleues, the Bishop and country of Liege, the sea-townes, and the Earledomes of East-Frizland. And the said Princes do renounce all practises, promising hereafter not to make any, neither within Christendome nor without that may be preiudiciall to the said Emperor, nor to the members and Estates of the said holy Empire but shal with al their power procure the good and quiet thereof, so as the said Emperor and Estates carry themselves very respectfully and lovingly, vnto the said most Christian and Catholike Kings, and doe nothing to their preiudice: there shalbe also comprehended the Seigneuries of the Cantons of high Germaines, the Grisons, and their allies, the Kings of Polland, Sweden, Scotland, and Denmarke, the Duke and Seigneury of Venice, the Duke of Lorraine, the great Duke of Tuscane, the common-weales of Genoua, and Luques, the Duke of Parma and Placentia, the Cardinall of Farnese, his brother, the Duke of Mantoua, the Duke of Vrbino, the chiefe of the houses of Colonne and Vrsins, the Duke of Salmonet, the Lord of Monaco, the Marquis of Finall, the Marquis of Massa, the Lord of Plombin, the Earle of Sala, and the Earle *Colonne*, to enjoy the benefit of this peace, with expresse declaration that the said

1598. most Christian King shall neither directly nor indirectly by himselfe or any other, molest any of them, and if he pretend any thing against them he may pursue it by law, before competent Iudges, and not by force in any sort whatsoever.

36 And there shall be also comprehended in this present Treaty all others that shalbe named by the common consent of the said Kings, so as within fixe moneths after, the publication of the said Treaty they giue their letters declaratorie respectiue as it is in such case required.

37 And for the better assurance of this Treaty of peace and of all the Articles therein contained, it shalbe verified, published and inrowled, in the Court of Parliament of Paris and in all other Parliaments of the Realme of France, and in the Chamber of accounts at Paris: as also it shalbe verified, published and inrowled, in the great councill, and other counceils and chambers of accounts of the countries of the said Catholike King, and all according to the forme contained in the Treatie made in the yeere 1559. whereof the expeditions shalbe giuen of either part within three monethes after the publication of this present Treaty.

38 Which points and Articles, together withall that is contained in euery one of them, haue beene treated, concluded, and past betwixt the said Deputies in their names, the which by vertue of their authorities haue promised and doe promise vpon bond of all the present and future goods of their said masters, that they shalbe inuolubly obserued and kept, and to cause them to ratifie and to giue autentike letters one vnto the other, where as all this present Treatie shalbe incerted, and that within one month after the date of these presents, in regard of the said most Christian King, Cardinall, Archduke and Duke of Sauoy: which Cardinall shall promise to cause like letters of ratification to be giuen within three moneths by the Catholike King. They shall solemnly sweare vpon the crosse, the Holy Euangelists, the canon of the Masse, and vpon their honours, in the presence of such as they shall please to depute, to obserue and accomplish, fully, really and faithfully the contents of the said Articles, and in like manner the Catholike King shall take the same oth within three moneths after, or when he shalbe required.

*In witnessse of which things the said Deputies haue subscribed this present Treaty, at Veruins the second day of May in the yeere. 1598.*

ALL which Articles contained in the Treaty: and all that had beene concluded, agreed, and passed by the said Deputies in their Masters names, they promise shall bee inuolubly obserued and kept, and to cause them to ratifie them, and to deliuer one vnto an other authentike letters, signed and sealed, containing the whole Treaty, and that within one moneth after the date of those presents, in regard of the most Christian King, the Cardinal, Archduke and Duke of Sauoy: and that the Cardinall should promise, to procure within three moneths after, the like letters of ratification from the Catholike King, Archduke and Duke of Sauoy: They should solemnly sweare vpon the crosse, the holy Euangelists, the canon of the Masse, and by their honours, in the presence of such as they should depute, to obserue and fulfill Really and Faithfully, all that was contained in the said Articles: and the like oth should be taken by the Catholike King of Spaine, within three moneths after, or when it should bee required. In witnessse whereof, the Deputies subscribed the Treaty, at Veruins, the second of May. 1598.

He that desires peace cannot buy it at to deere a rate, no though he pay as much as King Antigonus did vnto the Romans. The King of Spaine, who desired a peace at what rate soeuer, found no condition in this treaty of Veruins, that might dissuade him from ratifying it: although his counsel held the restitution of townes, so happily taken, and so hard to recouer, dishonourable and preiudiciall. He prest to haue it sworne and executed, witnessing the contentment hee receiued in his soule, for the good which Christendome should receiue by the concord of these two crownes. The Archduke, who did second his desire sent Deputies to assist at the French Kings oth, the Duke of Ascot, the Cont Aremberg, the Admirall of Arragon, and Lewis de Velasco, being followed by 400. Gentlemen, Spaniards, Italians, Bourguignons and Flemings. The Cont Saint Paul, receiued them vpon the frontiers. The

Ambassadors to sweare the peace, & hostages for the restitution of the places. They arrive the 18 of Iun.

The Constable feasted them at Amiens, and pacified some quarreles growne among them for place. The Marshall of Biron, with a great and goodly troupe of Noblemen and Gentlemen, appointed by the King, receiued them a quarter of a league without Saint Denis gate, conducting them vnto their lodgings which were prepared in Saint Anthons quarter. The next day they went vnto the Louvre, with all their traine, in rich and stately equipage, to kisse the Kings hands: who receiued them graciously, giuing an attentue care vnto the discourse which Richardot made vpon the merit of this action, and the common profit and necessity of a peace, the which, he said, was to be preferred before a iust war, and all hope of prosperity. The King answered, That he had desired peace, not for that he was tyred with the discommodities of war, but to giue all Christendome meanes to breathe: That his armes fell out of his hands, when as they represented vnto him the teares which fell from the Popes eyes, for their reconciliation which might greatly aduance the quiet of the Church of God: That he should neuer be taxed to be ill affected to the preservation of the peace: as he neuer wanted zeale, nor iustice to seeke it, hauing alwaies preferred it before the vndoubted assurance of all the good successe, which the happinesse of his armes, and must neuer, for the hope of any fauourable successe, refuse a good peace, and ground the expectation of the euent, vpon the apparence of present things.

The most sollempne forme of a treaty is, the oath which binds them that treat. It was not sufficient, that the Princes had signed it, and engaged their faithfull promises to maintain it: they would make the God of heauen the Iudge and witnes of their intentions, ingaging their faith in the hands of his Iustice, for an assurance of their promises. And therefore the King did sweare the obseruation of the peace, in our Ladies church at Paris, in the presence of the King of Spaines Ambassadors. The Arch-duke did sweare it in the name of the King of Spaine, in the great church at Bruxels, in the presence of the Marshall of Biron, Belieue and Brulart, Counselors to the King and his Ambassadors. The Duke of Sauoy did also sweare it at Chambery, in the presence of Guadignes, Lord of Boutheon, Knight of both Orders. The Oath was ministred in this manner: *Vve promise vpon our faith and honor, and in the word of a King, and sweare vpon the crosse, the holy Euangill, and the Cannon of the Masse, for that which concerns vs: That we will obserue and accomplish fully, really, and faithfully, all and euery point and article contained in the treaty of peace, reconciliation and amitie made, concluded, and determined at Veruins, the second day of May last past, &c. and wil cause all to be obserued, maintained and kept inuolubly on our part, without any breach, or suffering it to be broken, in any sort or manner whatsoever. In witnessse whereof we haue signed these presents with our owne hands, &c.*

The King would haue the sincerity of his intention knowne to all the world, and Paris a witnessse of the oath he should take, to obserue the peace as religiously, as he had made war iustly. The ceremony was performed in our Ladies church at Paris, with great pompe: Monsieur de Villeroy did read the Articles of the peace. The King did sweare the obseruation thereof, signed the Act, and embraced the Ambassadors of the King of Spaine, wishing his Brother a long life, that he might long enjoy the fruites of this peace. This ceremony was ended with great ioy and acclamations of the people. From thence the King went to dine at the Bishops pallace, where he feasted the Ambassadors, the Duke Montpensier supplying the place of Lord Steward. The feast was royall and magnificent, and all things were answerable to so great a Ceremony. That ancient custome of drinking to the health of Princes, which came from that of the Greekes, who offered to euery one of their gods a glasse of wine, and since hath beene vsed, to shew our deuoted affection to great personages, was not forgotten. The King dranke twice to the health of the King of Spaine. This ioy was continued at night at the Louvre, in dancing, and the daies following in feasting at diuers great mens houses, by the Kings command.

All this did not hinder the execution of the Treaty, neither did the Deputies forget the interest of priuate persons. The Spaniards intreated the King for the returne of some that were absent, especially for the Duke of Aumale. The King answered them, that if they restored vnto Antonio Perez his children and goods, he would giue the Duke of Aumale contentment, whereby he should enjoy the fruites of the peace. The Spaniards replied, that

Perez,

The Kings answer.

The King of Spaine did signe and sweare the peace the 12. of Iuly 1598. His Ioune did not signe it, till the treaty of Sauoy 1601. The forme of the oath.

1598. *Perez*, who was then out of Spaine, for matters concerning the Inquisition, might not be equalled with the Duke of Aumale, who was absent but by reason of the troubles. Every one was content, either with that which was done, or with that which reason did not allow to be done.

After that the Ambassadors of Spaine had obtained what they desired for the execution of the peace, and admired the Kings houses, and the wonders of Paris, they returned with a remembrance of his Maiesties bountie, who gaue them iewels and cupbords of plate. There remained foure principall men as hostages, for assurance of the restitution of the Townes, as it was concluded by the Treatie. All should be performed by the second of August: they began by the townes of Picardie so faithfully, as the King (without expecting the full satisfaction of the Treaty) sent backe the hostages, relying onely vpon their word.

It was also concluded by the Treatie, that the Arch-duke (who had approued the peace in the name of the King of Spaine) should also sweare the obseruation thereof in the same name, and in the presence of such as it should please the King to send: His Maiesty would not employ any other then such as had serued him so worthily in the conclusion thereof, as *Belieure* and *Brulart*, two of the chiefe of his Councell, and him whose valour in the recouerie of Amiens, had much aduanced the end of this warre. This honour was accompanied with another, that was greater and more durable vpon the chiefe of this Ambassage. The King doth neuer forget to recompence great and generous actions, he would haue the Marshall *Biron* as well a president of his fauours, as of the loyalty of his seruice: And therefore he erected his Barony of Biron into a Duchie, and made him Peere of France. He was receiued in the Parliament, with a generall applause and testimony of all the assistants, that these honours, although they were great, did not equall the greatnesse of his merits. Hee made a sollemne feast for this new dignity. The King went from Saint *Germaine* to honor him with his presence: witnessing that this was not the end nor period of the honours, wherewith he would reward the perseverance of his seruices, and the constancy of his affection. At that time there was nothing in him that was lesse to bee admired then imitated. Slander could not cause any corruption in a body inspired with the life of honour and valour (as flies breed not wormes but in dead bodies) and he that had spoken ill of him, should haue gotten no credit. He had not yet receiued that pestilent infection which corrupted his blood, and deprived him of all iudgement. Reprehension had no power ouer him, but when as he spake vnreuerently of the King. One of his friends was then the Oracle of his fortune, who told him plainly, that if he did not forbear his licentious speech, he would repent it. What can they do, answered he? The other replied: That which you feare not. And pressing him to speake more plainly, his friend (knowing that Princes are very apprehensue and sensible; and that the offences which they dissemble most, they pardon least) said vnto him halfe in choler, and halfe in iest, that the King would cut off his head. This threate was so vnlikely, as he made a iest of it. The bad intentions which beganne to seaze vpon his soule in this Ambassage of Flanders, haue verified the prediction. Nothing could make him vnhappy, but the excesse of his happinesse, which deprived him of all gouernement and modestie. If he had bene lesse fortunate, he had bin more wise. It was no strange thing, to make the sonne of the Marshall *Biron*, Marshall of France. An ancient house might well be honored with the title of a Duchie. A great Captaine, who had so great a share in the restauration of France, deserued the honour and title of a Peere: but this was to recompence him in the midst of his course, for all that he might expect at the end of his carriere.

The first seruice the Duke of Biron did after this new dignity, was the voyage of Flanders. He made his assembly at Peronne, from whence he went to lye at Cambray. In the mid-way, the Earle of Sore, Lieutenant generall of that country, met him, who (after he had saluted him with a long and respectiue discourse) told him, that he had commandement from his master to do him seruice in that voyage, and to accompany him vnto Bruxelles. They of Cambray feasted him in their town-house. He had the like entertainment at Valenciennes and at Mons: Being arriued at our Lady of Halle, three leagues from Bruxels, he found a Steward of the Arch-dukes, and fifty of his gard to attend him. The next day (which was the fift after his departure) he was met vpon the way to Bruxelles, by the Earle

Deputies sent from the king to the Arch-duke to take his oath.

Charles Gonzault of Biron created Duke of Biron and Peere of France.

A feast made at Paris by the D. of Biron, 28. June.

A of Mansfield, the Duke of Aumale, and the Prince of Orange, with about two hundred horse, in the Arch-dukes name, and so conducted through the city vnto his lodging. Hee rested the Friday, and the next day he went to haue audience of the Arch-duke. He was accompanied by Count *Mansfield*: *Belieure* by the Duke of Aumale, and *Brulart* with the Prince of Orange. Thus they entred into the Arch-dukes chamber, whom they found alone without any one but the Bishop of Antwerp, and the President *Richardot*. The Duke of Biron began the discourse, and *Belieure* continued it halfe an houre after. On the Sunday following, the Duke of Biron went to the Cathedrall Church, the Arch-duke hauing sent him twenty Carosses for himselfe and his traine: There did the Arch-duke sollemnly sweare the obseruation of the peace in the name of the King of Spaine: from thence the Duke of Biron went on horse-backe to the Arch-dukes pallace, where he dined. At the Arch-dukes table sat the Duke of Biron, *Belieure*, *Brulart*, the Count *Mansfield*, the Duke of Aumale, the Prince of Orange, and the Bishop of Antwerp. At another table were some twentie French Gentlemen, chosen by the Duke of Biron, and eight or ten Spaniards and Wallons. After dinner the Arch-duke caused them to see a gallery full of goodly pictures of the countrie, and from thence he led them into the parke, in the midst whereof is the house whereas the Emperour *Charles* the fift retired himselfe, when as he resigned his Empire and other Estates. The next day the Earle of Mansfield inuited the Duke of Biron with some dozen of French Gentlemen to dinner: after dinner they put themselves in a round, euery one with a glasse full of wine in his hand, and in this order the Earle said: *Seeing wee haue begun our follies in wine, it is fit wee should leaue them there: and so hee spilt the wine, and brake his glasse; the which was imitated by all the rest.*

So after some daies spent in feasting, the Arch-duke hauing presented the Duke of Biron with two faire horses, gold, plate, a rich iewell, and a rapier, with girdle and hangers set with precious stones, (all which were esteemed at ten thousand crownes) hauing also giuen to *Belieure* and *Brulart* rich suites of tapistrie, and chaines of gold, and to euery one of the French Gentlemen, a rapier blade, and a paire of Spanish gloues, they returned home very well satisfied. But the Duke of Biron did not so much respect what was giuen him, as the esteeme they made of his valour, if he wold employ it for the King of Spaines seruice. *Picote* did first infect him with this poison, which caused a feuer, and proued incurable, (but by that shamefull effusion of his blood) whereof the King was presently aduertised by a true-hearted Frenchman, who remained at that time in the Arch-dukes Court. The Duke of Sauoy, who enjoyed the same benefit of the peace, was bound to the obseruation thereof by the like forme.

The King sent to Monsieur de la *Guiche* Gouvernor of Lions, that he wold willingly haue giuen him that charge, but that he feared his absence might some-what preiudice the good of his affaires, and his indisposition not suffer him to performe the voyage. Hee therefore commanded *Guadagnes* Seneshall of Lion, and Knight of both Orders, to vndertake this charge. The oath was taken in the Friars Church of Chambery, on Sunday the second of August, where the Duke was assisted with all his Knights of the *Anunciado*: and to witnesse the content which he had of this peace and reconciliation with his Maiesty, hee said vnto *Guadagnes*, that he held this day the happiest of all the daies of his life, and that all which remained, should be to maintaine and honour the memory thereof. That it were not onely an indiscretion, but a blindness and a madness for him to change the felicities of peace, for the miseries of warre. The Duke gaue vnto *Guadagnes*, and to the chiefe Gentlemen of his traine, iewels, horses, chaines of gold, and to all, so many good words, as there was not any one but did wish him more profit by this peace then he reaped. He refused not any thing that was demanded of him in the execution of the Treaty, for the deliuerie and ransom of prisoners, but onely the liberty of the Admirall *Chastillons* wife. He made answer to the instance which *Guadagnes* made in the Kings name, That the respect he bare vnto his Maiesties commandements, was so great, as to please him he would restore her goods, and giue her some more liberty, whilest that he might giue his Maiesty to vnderstand the iust causes of her restraint.

That whatsoever had bene decreed at Rome, for her absolution, was rather in fauour of his Maiesty, then for any reason, for that hee was seazed vpon bookes and writings that were

The Arch-duke sweares the peace.

The Archduke presents to the D. of Biron.

Monsieur de Picote aduertised the King of the 12. of Biron's practices.

The D. of Sauoy sweares the peace.

Jaqueline Countesse of Antremont, wife to the Admirall, was prisoner at Iuicey, and there died.

1598. were execrable and damnable. The afflictions of this Lady did moue the hearts of the chiefe Officers of this Crowne, and of many great Noblemen of the Realme, her kinsmen and allies. The King had commiseration of her: for her misfortunes, her imprisonment, losses, and disgraces deserued pitty. She was so transported with the good successe of the Kings affaires, that although she were among her enemies, yet the fire of her desires could neither be smothered vnder the ashes of affliction, nor vnder the fume of dissimulation. If she could haue done that whereof they accused her, she would haue made as soden alterations on the earth, as *Henry* King of Sweden did in the aire, and as admirable: as her will was absolute to desire that the King might overcome his enemies, and haue satisfaction for Nice and Salusses. Vpon the hope that this peace should giue her some content, and that the Kings commendation by his Ambassador should giue some truce to her miseries, she wrote a letter of the pittifull course of her misfortunes, whereby appeared the excellencie of her spirit, in these words: Although (saith shee) the comparison bee as different as betwixt an Elephant and a Gnat, yet are they both vegetatiue and sensitiue creatures. My fortune, and that of my house, hath alwaies followed that of France and the Kings: for as since his marriage, I haue alwaies seene my Estate declining, euen vnto the period of a total ruine, by the ill successe of his affaires: so now when as God hath powred his blessings vpon him, that he hath reuenged him of his enemies, euen by his enemies, and that against the conspiracies of the wicked, and the iudgement of the good, he doth enioy his inheritance, I will hope there shall be some change in my condition. I desire it may be good: but if it prove otherwise, I will not alter my resolution, to receiue both good and euill as from the hand of God. I haue this aduantage ouer fortune, that hereafter her iniuries how violent and soden soeuer, shall not be strange vnto me. I am inured to my afflictions, as a galley-slave to his oare. Necessity teacheth me to suffer constantly, and custome makes my sufferance easie. The King also gaue *Guadagnas* charge, to let the Duke vnderstand, that he had receiued three feuerall complaints from the city of Geneva, how that his troupes which he intertained thereabouts, vsed insupportable hostilities, tooke prisoners, chopt and changed them, and that his Maiestie desired the towne might reape the fruite and safety which the common good of the peace did promise them, and that the Dukes troupes might be retired, to the end all iualousie and distrust might cease. The Duke would not anwer hereunto by writing, lest (saith he) he should preiudice the pretensions which hee had to that towne, for aboue foure hundred yeares: saying onely, that he did not thinke it had bin comprised in the Treaty of peace, for that all other townes and Prouinces had bene particularly named, and not that of Geneva. That he could not free his neighbors from feare and distrust, but in retiring his troupes that were about the towne, to refresh them in Lombardy, he should take away the cause, hauing no intention to prefer war before the happiness of peace. He therefore commaunded *D. Iuan de Mendoza* a Spaniard, to draw his regiment, which consisted of 1200. men, out of the territories of Geneva, and to passe to Milan.

A peace being proclaimed in France, the King applies his thoughts to reforme all disorders, and to administer Iustice to all his subiects: and for the better assurance of the publicke tranquillity, he did as his predecessors had done in the like occasions: prohibiting, by the aduice of his Princes, Officers of his Crowne, and Lords of his Councell, the carriage and vse of Harguebuzes, Petronels, Pistols, and other weapons, which carried fire, vpon confiscation of Armes and horse, and two hundred Crownes fine for the first offence, and to be kept in prison vntill the money were payed: and for the second, losse of goods and life, without hope of remission. Allowing all men to stay and arrest all such as should carry such prohibited armes eight daies after the publication of the Edict. None were excepted, but the foure hundred Archers, and the foure Companies of horse, of the gards of his Maiesties person, when as they waited in quarter, the Archers of the Prouost of his household, of the Constable and Marshals of France, and they of the company of Light-horse belonging to the D. of Vendosme, who by the Edict might carry pistols when as they were in seruice. And to free his subiects from the oppression of soldiers, and to accustom them to obedience, to whom it is troublesome in the securest peace, he cut off the companies, as well of horse, as of the regiments of foot: but this restraint was onely that which they might well forbear. It is dangerous to leaue an Estate long without arms. A disarmed peace

The Constable, being Cardinal of Leyre, wrote the Duke of Joyeuse, and M. Dauluis, for intreated the Legat to do her iustice.

The Countesse of Ancre tremonts letter to Peter Mathieu.

Custome makes afflictions easie.

Complaints from the town of Geneva.

The Dukes pretensions.

After the peace in the year 1550, and in the year 1569, the carrying of armes for- bidde the 4. of August 1578. published in the Court of Paris.

A peace is weake. The King therefore reserved the places vpon the frontiers, which remained still fortified with ordinarie gards. The gards appointed for Gouvernors and Lieutenants generall of Prouinces were suspended, and the companies of men at armes were reduced to a lesser number. Such whole spirits could not liue in the cessation of armes, and which were good Captaines, in the time of warre (like vnto *Marins*) but ill Citizens in peace, had leaue to go seeke the exercise thereof in Flanders and Hongary.

Peace doth change the exercise of Warre into hunting: the King made it his daily exercise. Being one day hunting in the great Forest of Fontainebleau, there was heard about halfe a league off, a great cry of hounds, and the winding of hornes, and sodenly all this noyse which seemed to be farre off, came (to his iudgement) within twenty paces of his eare. He commanded the Count *Sorsons* to set out, to see what it was, thinking that no man durst presume so boldly to interrupt his sports: the Earle aduancing, heard the noyse, yet could not discerne whence it came. A big blacke man presented himselfe in the thickest of the bushes, crying out, *Do you vnderstand me*, and then he sodenly vanished away. At those words, they which were discreet, thought it great indiscretion to stay longer there a hunting. The heard-men thereabouts say it is a spirit, which they call the great Hunter, who hunts in this Forest: others hold, that it is *Saint Huberts* chace, the which is also heard in other places.

Many Noblemen, and Gentlemen retired themselues now vnto their gouernements and priuate houses: the King hauing said long before, that he would force euery man to liue of his owne, and not to importune him any more. Neuer any Edict was better obserued then this speech, for euen then he resolved to employ the remainder of his reuenues in publike necessities, and not in the prodigalities of *Vitellius*, nor for the enriching of priuate men, saying, that he would ease the poore, and giue example vnto the rich to content themselves with little, and to liue accordingly. The Constable went to his gouernment of Languedoc, hauing obtained of the King a reuerfion of his gouernment for *Henry* of Montmorency his sonne. The King in his wisdome, thought he could not sufficiently grace a house which hath brought forth so many Gouvernours, Admirals, Marshals, and Constables: and which vnder the name of *Montmorency* comprehends that of Horne and Laudal, which hath giuen viues to Kings of France and Dukes of Brittany. The Letters patents were read and registred in the Court of Aydes, at Montpellier, the Duke of Vantadour being President, and the Bishop of Agde and *Nismes* assisting.

The order which the King did settle for the affaires of his house, was a president to all France, shewing the religious desire which he had to see his subiects enioy the fruites thereof. His iustice would not suffer them to be charged and surcharged with impossible duties, seeing that the violence of the war had left them nothing but their tongues to complaine, being like vnto a skinned man laid vpon a dead mans bones. Yet notwithstanding they were forced to pay the publicke charges for the fruites which they had not gathered. And therefore the King did vnto his subiects, as *Constantine* and *Theodosius* did vnto them of the Empire, by a generall discharge of the remainder of their Taxe and Tributes. He also sent, according to the resolution of the Estates held at Roan, many great personages, aswell of his Councell as of other companies, to examine the necessities of his people, to order the Taxes and Tributes, and to protect the weake from the oppression and violence of such as during the ciuill warres had seene no light of iustice, but through the flame of harguebuzes: hauing so abused the time as to enioy the priuiledge of Nobles, they would be so esteemed rather by their shew, then by the vse and seruice of the sword: and when as the Lawe (which doth chiefly bind Noblemen by reason of their tenures and titles of Nobility, to the duties of armes) hath coniuired them to succor the necessities of their Prince and countrie, they haue thrust themselues among the people, liuing idly in townes, or in the delights of their houses, so long as fire and danger was in field. Men vnworthy of the name of men, of Gentlemen, and of Frenchmen. The Commissioners forced these kind of gallants to pay, who by pretended letters of their Gentry, and abuse of the Priuiledges, had laid their Taxes vpon the people.

While the King labours to reforme all abuses, and to roote out disorders: the Deputies of the Clergie of France (being assembled together at Paris, with the Kings permission) beseech

1598.

The King hunting in the Forest of Fontainebleau.

M. entends count.

Proposition of frugality.

*Vitellius* in 8 months consumed 22 millions 50000. Crownes.

Year. 400. years since Matt. of Montmorency Constable of France, let 1. sonnes, of the first came that of Montmorency, the second took the name of Laudal which was his mothers.

Taxes remitted.

The Clergy of France petition vnto the King.



1598. beleech his Maieſty to reforme the diſorders of the Church. Which ſpeech was delivered A with great reuerence before his Maieſtie, by the reuerent *Francis de la Gueſle* Arch-biſhop of Tours, accompanied with many of the ſaid Deputies of the Clergie. The Summe whereof was:

“ That it would pleaſe his Maieſty, that the holy Councell of Trent might be receiued and published in France, with ſuch neceſſary qualifications as concerne the French liberties, the Immunities of Churches, and the priuiledges of Parlements.

“ That his Maieſty would not charge his conſcience with the nomination vnto Biſhop-pricks, Abbeyes, and other Benefices hauing charge of ſoules: for that he ſhould one day giue an accompt of the ſoules that periſhed for want of inſtruction, and for want of adminiſtration of the word and Sacraments.

“ That lay penſions giuen in recompence to Noblemen and Gentlemen vpon the ſaid nominations, may be reuoked.

“ That Clergi-men may be ſuffered to enioy their liuings quietly without charge, but only to do their duties in the ſeruiſe of God and the Church.

“ That Churches may not be prophaned, nor the Incumbents houſes ſuffered to go to ruine, but to be well and duly maintained, to the end they may not pretend any iuſt cauſe of non-refidence: and to ſeparate them from the common and licentious conuerſing with the people, for the auoiding of ſcandals which do often follow.

“ That all reuerſions of Benefices may be taken away, as well for that it is againſt the Canon law, and the holy Conſtitutions of Councils, as alſo for that it is a cauſe to ſhorten the liues of the Incumbents.

“ That the Contracts before-time paſſed betwixt their Maieſties and the Clergy, may be confirmed without breach, or ſuppoſition, for the ſubſidy granted vnto his M. by the Clergy.

“ That it would alſo pleaſe his Maieſty to prouide them conuenient remedies vpon the complaints which they had preſented vnto him.

The King with the reſpect which his predeceſſors haue alwaies borne to the firſt of the three Orders of his Realme, thinking that the honour which is done vnto the Clergie, hath a reference vnto God, and that Biſhops, although they be his vaſſals and ſubiects, are no leſſe then the Miniſters and Ambaſſadors of the liuing God, and Interpreters of his holy will, he anſwers them in this manner.

The King ſaith: I confeſſe that what you haue ſaid is true, but I am not the author of theſe innouations: theſe miſchiefs were brought in before my comming. During the Warres I haue runne to the greateſt fire to quench it: I will now do what is needfull in time of peace. I know that Religion and Iuſtice be the foundations and pillars of this Eſtate, the which is maintained by piety and iuſtice. But if they were not, I would plant them by little and little, as I do all things. With the helpe of God I will ſettle the Church in as good Eſtate as it was an hundred yeares ſince, as well for the diſcharge of my conſcience, as for your content: but Paris was not all built in one day. Let the people be as much perſwaded by your good examples to do well, as they haue bin heretofore diſſwaded. You haue exhorted me of my duty. I do admoniſh you of yours: let vs all do good. Go you one way, and I will go another: if we meet, we ſhall ſoone haue done. My predeceſſors haue giuen you Words, but I with my gray haire will giue you Deeds. I am all gray without, but I am al of gold within. I will write vnto my Councell to ſee your complaints, and will prouide for you as fauorably as I may.

The Ieſuites ſeek to be reſtored. During theſe admonitions of the Clergy, the Cardinall of Florence moued the King for the reſtitution of the Ieſuites. The 7. Article of the Treaty of peace at Veruins did ſuffer the Subiects and ſeruants of either ſide, as well Clergi-men as Lay, to returne and enioy their Offices, Benefices, and Reuenues, obtaining permiſſion and letters patents vnder the broad ſeale from the Prince. Many thought that the Ieſuites ſhould be comprehended in this Article, and that if by this peace the Spaniards were held Allies, and as it were Couſin germaines to the French, thoſe whom the Kings Aduocate had the yeare before in open Parlements tearmed *Emiſſaires* to the King of Spaine, ſhould now returne to their Colledges, from whence they had beene expelled by a ſentence giuen in December, in the yeare 1594. But the light of peace ſhines not vpon them. The new world which it doth produce, hauing caſt the cinders of Warre, Rancor and Reuenge into the aire, allowes them no retreat within

A within the Iuriſdiction of Paris. The decrees which had baniſhed them, are grauen in Marble, the Water of Prayers, Fauors and Teares, although it pierceſt ſtones, preuailes nothing. Their enemies had taxed them with the making of certaine writings which offended the Court, whoſe authority is alwaies wronged in the offences which concerne the Princes honor. This made them reuiue the firſt reſtraints not to ſend any youth to the Schooles of their Order, as to Tournon, to Pont-au-Mouſſon, and other places, both within and without the Realme, and to declare, that ſuch as ſhould be inſtructed and taught in their Colledges, ſince the Decree made the 29. of December, 1594. ſhould not enioy the priuiledges of Vniuerſities, as incapable of the degrees thereof: Neither might they by vertue of any Degrees obtained, teach publiſhly, nor be aduanced to any Offices or Benefices, ſit for Graduates, nor receiued Aduocates in any Courts or Seates of Iuſtice. The Court had giuen B commandement to the Earle of Tournon to expell them his country, vpon a great penalte contained in the Decree, and for that he had not performed it, his goods and Iuriſdiction were put into the Kings hands, and his Office of Senefhall of Auvergne declared void. But although the Parlement of Paris may tearme it ſelfe the only Parlement of France and the Court of Peeres: that it is the fountaine, and the reſt but little riuers, yet her Decrees preſcribe no lawes to other Parlements: That of Tholouſa prohibited the Earle of Tournon to obey that of Paris. The Ieſuits are yet there, their Colledges are frequented, their returne augmented the number. The Kings Aduocate pleading vpon this ſubiect, ſaid they were the authors of ſome execrable Pamphlets which he named not. It was a booke printed in Flanders, for the apology of a miſerable Parricide, a prodigious Affaſſine, and a wicked Martyr, written with a pen of ſteele, and with inke of blood. Some ſay, the Author hath aduowed it, and iuſtified the Ieſuits. When they ſaw that this new ſtorme began to threaten them in the calm of publike tranquility, and that they had obtained letters from the Parlement of Bourdeaux, to chaſe them out of all Guienne, they had recourſe to the Kings Iuſtice, there is nothing that doth more aduance the greatnes of the Soueraign, nor act of greater reuerence, then to demand Iuſtice. Many things may be obtained from others, onely Iuſtice comes from the Prince. One equall may do good to another, but the Soueraigne onely can do iuſtice: wherefore in demanding iuſtice by their petition, they ſaid it was a right due vnto them; yea, were they the moſt guilty men in the world, it ſhould be granted them ſomuch the more freely, for that their Iuſtification concerned the good and reputation of the realme. Since that time they haue bin incountried both in verſe and proſe, and they haue defended themſelues learnedly. The more they fought to make them ſeem vnworthy of their returne, the more they defended the iuſtice and neceſſity of their re-eſtabliſhment. Ieſuites make a petition to the King.

At the ſame time was concluded the marriage of Madam *Catherine* Princeſſe of France and of Nauarre, the Kings onely ſiſter, with the Marquis of Pont, Duke of Bar, and Prince of Lorraine, after many iourneys made by the ſaid Prince vnto the moſt Chriſtian King: in which accord there were great difficulties, as well by reaſon of the diuerſity of Religion (the ſaid Princeſſe reſuſing to leaue the reformed, wherein ſhe had beene bred) as alſo for that ſhe could not be perſwaded to go out of France. She had beene formerly ſought by many great Princes, to whom ſhe would not conſent, for the one or the other of theſe two cauſes, and ſometimes for both together. *Francis Monſieur* Duke of Alançon deſired her in the yeare 1582. but the difficulty was then greater for matters of Religion. And before that, King *Henry* the 3. comming out of Poland did affect her: and it is thought, that if hee had ſcene her at Lions at his returne, he would haue married her: but *Katherine de Medicis* the Queen-mother deſcribed her to be a dwarfe (the which was moſt falſe) for ſhee was of a meane ſtature, and of a good countenance. It is true, ſhe had one legge ſomewhat ſhorter then another (which is a marke of the houſe of Albret: for ſo had *Alain* Lord of Albret, Father to King *John*, great Grand-father to the ſaid Princeſſe *Katherine*.) The Queen-mother did this good turne for her God-daughter, ſeeking to diſgrace the King of Nauarre, whom ſhe hated from his youth, vpon an imagination, being told by an Italian Sooth-fayer, that he ſhould ſucceed her children. Then the Duke of Lorraine (who ſince was her father-in-law) ſought her. The Prince of Condy loued her. The King of Spaine ſent to ſee her, in the yeare 1580. promiſing great aduancement to the King of Nauarre.



1599. being well instructed in the Latin tongue: and she did the more apprehend this Latine A  
 verbe, for that some had given it forth, she would neuer be married.

According vnto that which the said Lady had promised, to suffer her selfe to bee instru-  
 cted in the Catholike religion, it was resolu'd by his Maiestie, that there should be a con-  
 ference bewixt some Catholike Doctours, and some Ministers of the reformed Religion, in  
 the presence of his Sister, but they preuailed nothing for her conuersion. The King foresee-  
 ing some inconueniences, resolu'd (as well to satisfie her conscience, as to auoid scandal)  
 to haue this instruction deferred vntill another time. And in the meane time they should  
 proceed in the marriage. Hereupon there were some practises by the Ministers of the pre-  
 tended reformed Religion, who would haue the honor (said they) that the Kings only sister B  
 should be married by them: and that the Prince of Lorraine should seeke his spouse where  
 she was, and that it was not conuenient she should seeke him in his Church. In truth this  
 was plausible, and it seemed the Lady had a great interest in it. But the Prince on the other  
 side, protested neuer to be married by a Minister: so as there was much arguing in what  
 forme they should be married. But the King, by his accustomed wisdom, shewed the ef-  
 fect of his authority.

The thirtieth day of January being Sunday, in the morning, the King hauing aduertised  
 his sister ouer night of his intention, and intreated the said Prince of Lorraine to be ready,  
 he goes and takes his Sister at her rising, and conducts her by the hand into his Cabinet,  
 where her future spouse was already. He commanded the worthy and reuerent Arch-bishop C  
 of Roan his naturall brother, to marry the said Marquis, Prince, and Duke, with the sayd  
 Princeesse and Duchesse his Sister, by words of the present. Whereunto the said Arch-bishop  
 at the first made some refusal, saying: *That the accustomed solemnities must be therein obser-*  
*ued.* Whereunto he replied most learnedly: *That his presence was more then all other sole-*  
*mnities, and that his Cabinet was a sacred place.* And therefore hauing commanded the sayd  
 Arch-bishop to go on, notwithstanding all difficulties, he proceeded then to the nuptiall  
 blessing of the said parties present, that were there conioyned in marriage, euen as if  
 they had bene in the greatest Church in Paris, which done, euery one went to his  
 deuotion.

Afterwards the King commanded his sister to attire her selfe like a Bride: and so the feast D  
 was solemnly celebrated. All the great Officers did assist and serue there in their degrees,  
 with all the grace and honor the King could deuise to giue vnto the Prince of Lorraine his  
 brother-in-law. This marriage was honored with all kinds of sports and dancing. About the  
 end of February, the said Princeesse went with her husband into Lorraine, whereas the Duke  
 gaue her the greatest entertainment he could deuise, embracing her as his own child. There  
 had bene great heart-burning and discontentment, by reason of the diuersity of Religion.  
 The Kings intentions were, to drowne the remembrance of the bitterness of fore-passed  
 raignes, in the mildnes of his gouernment, and that the common feeling of so many mis-  
 eries which they had suffered, and which had continued, should perswade them to grow fa-  
 miliar and friendly together, and to haue no more occasion to remember things past, then E  
 his Maiesty had meaning to remember his owne wrongs. Warre is not dead in an Estate  
 where as Consciences are diuided: it doth but sleepe, a small matter awakens it: there is no-  
 thing more apprehensue, or that doth pierce more violently into the perswasion of men,  
 to bandy them one against another, then Religion. Euery man thinks his owne the better,  
 and so iudgeth of it, more by his owne zeale and passion, then through knowledge and rea-  
 son. The King, during the warre, had runne to those things which did most presse him, and  
 to the dangers that did most import: he had deferred to reconcile this diuision, being grie-  
 ued in his soule that the impiety of the Warre would not suffer him to make shew of the  
 fruites of his pietie.

They of the reformed Religion, made many and great complaints, that the Kings Edicts F  
 were not obserued nor kept: that they were not prouided of all things necessary for the ex-  
 ercise of their Religion, the Libertie of their Consciences, and the safetie of their persons  
 and fortunes. They said moreouer, that they desired not that the order of gouernement of  
 State should be changed to their profit, or of any forraine Prince: nor to haue the State  
 torne in peeces, to please the ambition of some few men, but onely to enioy their Con-  
 sciences

Complaints  
 of them of  
 the Religion.

A sciences with peace, and their liues in safety. That so many iust requests granted vnto them  
 by the Edicts of Kings, predecessors to his Maiesty, demanded and defended by himselfe,  
 with to great zeale and vertue, had not bene hearkened vnto vnder his raigne, when and  
 vnder whom they should best hope: and had it not bene for the affection which they had  
 vnto his Greatnesse, and the foundation which they laid on his good will towards them,  
 they might lawfully and profitably haue practised the waies which they were forced to hold  
 vnder Kings his predecessors. But they could not despaire any thing of him, whom God by  
 the protection of his Church had brought vnto the succession of the Crowne, nor obtaine  
 lesse then Libertie and Life, hauing spent their bloods so freely for him. They complained,  
 that Preaching was banished from his Maiesties Court, to banish them consequently from  
 his house, where they could not serue him without seruing of God. No good man might  
 remaine there, but he was daily in danger of murdering, or to be hurt, without hope of  
 comfort, or assurance of grace. That they practise daily to exclude them of the Religion  
 from all charges and Offices in the State, Iustice, Treasurie and Pollicie, which they did ne-  
 uer greatly affect, as his Maiesty can best witnesse. They beseech him to iudge, if it bee rea-  
 sonable they should do wrong vnto their children, to depriue them by their dulnesse, to be Exclusion  
 from publike  
 charges shame  
 full  
 No man is  
 held a Citizen  
 if he be not  
 partaker of the  
 honors of the  
 Citie.  
 C who was an enemy to their profession, yet he did grant vnto them the exercise of their Re-  
 ligion, both in his army, and in his Court, allowed the Ministry at his owne charge, and  
 gaue them a towne of retreate in euery Bayliuicke.

His Maiesties good seruants knew not what to answer to these generall complaints, kno-  
 wing that it is more troublesome to be depriued of that which is promised and allowed, then  
 of things but hoped for, which makes troubled minds to passe from the hope of good, to  
 the expectation of ill, from long and fruitles patience to seek for remedy: They knew well  
 his M. was not without alarm: that he would take no delight to see a Protector, and would  
 be iealous they should addresse themselves to any other but himselfe. This petition ended  
 with bolder speeches then were fit for an obedient Estate, and for men which will seem mo-  
 derate and staid, who desire nothing but what shall please the Prince, and who should refferre  
 all their wils to his discretion. We cannot speake too humbly, too reuerently, to Kings. We  
 must vse words of silk, as *Parisatis* said: Sir, will you take from them all desire to haue a Pro-  
 tector, free them of the necessity, be then one to them your self, continue ouer them this first  
 care, this first affection; preuent their supplications by a full motion, their iust demands by  
 a voluntary grant of necessary things: when they should see you haue care ouer them, they  
 will not haue it of themselves. But pardon him that should tell you, that they all doubt whe-  
 ther you haue enough of your selfe. You know what hurts them, and what helps them: the  
 petitions you presented for them to Kings your predecessors, for their liberties and safeties,  
 take them now to your selfe. Doubles since that time they haue left nothing of their do-  
 E etine, they haue done you great seruices, and should haue purchast an increase in your au-  
 thority, who may both report and fully satisfie their iust demands, and without any Depu-  
 ties, and with more thanks, if you please, be both Iudge and Aduocate.

Such were the discourses wherwith the King was daily importuned. The disposition of men  
 and aboute all of men of that sort, of French-men of that Religion, is to haue actiue spirits  
 the which are hardly stayed: To day a complaint, to morrow a petition, after that a Synod.  
 This publike agitation profits them: they assemble, and dissolue not their assembly before  
 they know where they shall assemble againe.

The end of all these assemblies, was to obtain an Edict from the King, so cleare and plain,  
 concerning all their necessities, as they should not be constrained to lue for any other: as  
 they did not cease vntill the King had signed it, being at Nantes, after that hee had reduced  
 that Prouince vnto his obedience, containing a Declaration of the Edicts of Pacification,  
 of the troubles growne in France for matter of Religion: the which was not allowed in  
 the Court of Parliament at Paris, vntill the 25. of February this yeare 99. by reason of ma-  
 ny oppositions and difficulties that were made. At Saint Germaine in Lay, *Berthier*, one  
 of the Agents for the Clergie, made many petitions vnto his Maiesty: and did greatly

The last Edict  
 for Religion  
 at Nantes in  
 April 1598.

1599. importune the Lords of the Councell to consider of it. In like sort, the Bishop of Modena, A who was then the Popes Nuncio in France, dealt in it, beseeching the King so to deale for his subiects that were gone astray, as the honour of God might remaine whole, and the Church receiue no preiudice: In so doing, his Holinesse would endure all things for the peace of France.

Berthier demanded, that his Maiestie would not suffer the Ministers of the Reformed religion, to haue any other liberty on this side the riuer of Loire, but to liue quietly, and not to be sought after. That the Catholike Religion should be generally restored in all places, and Church-men do their Offices without any danger. And thirdly, that the Clergi-men should be wholly freed from the vexations which they had suffered vntill that day, in townes and places held by them of the Religion, where they had taken away their pensions and reuenues, and in some Prouinces had forced them. His Maiesty granted the second and third Article: and as for the first, the King not being able to make any such prohibition without some trouble it was let alone.

There was also great contention in particular, betwixt the said Berthier, and some of the Reformed religion, touching the assembly of their Synods: the which they would haue free, without demanding leaue from his Maiestie: maintaining that they might go freely into forraine countries, and assist at their Synods and other Acts: and in like sort receiue strangers into theirs, the which the Marshall of Bouillon had managed with some, who perhaps had not foreseene the danger: but Berthier contested it so vehemently against the Marshall in the Kings presence, as his reasons being heard, and the importance of the thing considered, that it was a means to continue their Leagues and Intelligences with strangers, to be ready to take armes at their pleasures, the which could not be but with the ruine of the State. The King hauing heard their contestations, and finding of what importance it was, he presently caused that article touching forrain Synods, to be razed: forbidding them expressely to go to any assemblies without his permission, vpon paine to be declared traitors.

The Rector for the Vniuersity of Paris, was also a sutor vnto his Maiesties Councell, that none of the Reformed Religion, nor their Schoole-masters and Tutors, might be admitted into any Colledges of the Vniuersity: but to be excluded from all priuiledges. Whereupon there was great debate, especially for the faculty of Physicke. But it was answered, that they should not be admitted to teach: And as for Humanity and professions of Faculties, they should be admitted as the rest. And although the difficulties were great, and the conditions in some cases more beneficiall then in the first Treaties of peace: yet the common quiet of all France, shaken and almost ruined with the tragicke violence of Schismes and Diuisions, hath made all to be held Necessary that was Iust, and Iust whatsoever was Profitable. Although it were to be wished, that there were but one exercise of Religion, for that in this Vnity consists all Truth. But seeing the restauration of the Church is the worke of God, as well as the building of it, we must be content with that which may bee, and leaue the triumph and conquests of soules, to his eternall Wisedome, who alone makes and frames the heart as he pleaseth, and giues the signe vnto so many soules that are gone astray, to make them enter into saluation, being impossible for man to impose any necessity to things which God hath left in liberty, as the conscience, the which should be as free in Estates as in our thoughts.

The Church hath alwaies detested Heresies, but they neuer employed the rigour of their iudgements, but against the Arch-Hereticks, and but when they had shewed themselves obstinate in their errors: their punishments were more shamefull then cruell, more medicinall then mortall, desiring rather to see their faces blush for shame, then red with blood. Neuer Prince well-advised, did put his subiects to death to force beleefe, destroyed his Prouinces by warre, to instruct their consciences by the sword, knowing well that Religion is an act of Vnion, of Concord, and of Instruction, and Warre is nothing but Sedition and Destruction. And those which in this world haue troubled both heauen and earth, to force their subiects consciences vnto one Religion, haue in the end bin constrained and forced, to suffer them to liue free and in rest, relieving and refusing the aduice of those bad Physicians, who applyed nothing but Antimony and Phlebotomy to all diseases.

By these reasons, the King (in whose person God hath done so many miracles, and poured forth

Contestation  
touching their  
Synods with  
strangers

Our consci-  
ences should  
be free.

A forth a sea of blessings) seeing that the continuance of the warre had produced no other frutes but the ruine of Iustice and Piety, which bee the two vertues which doe canonize Princes, the two pillars vpon whose firmenesse great *Clovis* was assured of the continuance of this Estate, he doth now confirme the Edict of Pacification of the troubles for matters of Religion, and willes that which hee may, least hee should incur the note of such as seeke to correct things that are incorrigible, and shew that the sore is greater then the remedy, that some things haue taken such deepe roote, as they cannot bee pulled vp. Time, Truth and Reason haue proued, that this Edict, was most iust, most necessary, and most profitable. Yet the Court of Parliament could not allow of this fraternitie and communication of Offices: saying, That they should not bee transported with the ambition of Honours, but content themselves with the tranquility of conscience: that it is not convenient in one estate, to haue great offices executed by men of diuers Religions, beeing a thing vniust, to haue the New intreated, as well as the Ancient. They found a great difference betwixt this Edict and the Precedent, and refused to allow it. The King sent for the chiefe of them, and spake vnto them in this manner.

You see me in my Cabinet, where I come to speake vnto you, not attired in any Royall ornaments, nor with cloake or rapier, as my predecessors: nor as a Prince that comes from receiuing of Ambassadors: but apparrelled like a father of a familie in his dublet and hose, to speake familiarly to his children. That which I haue to say vnto you, is to desire you to confirme the Edict which I haue granted to them of the Religion. That which I haue done, is for the good of the peace. I haue made it without desire to settle it with in my Realme. You ought to obey mee, if there were no consideration but my qualitie, and the bond whereby all my subiects are tied vnto mee, and you especially of my Court of Parliament. I haue restored some to their houses from whence they were expelled: and others to their credit, which was lost.

If obedience was due to my Predecessors, there is as much or more deuotion due vnto me, who haue setled the State. God hath made choise of me, to put me in possession of the Realme, which is mine owne, both by succession and acquisition. The Iudges of my Parliament should not sit in their seates but for mee. I will not bragge, but I dare boldly say, that I haue no example to imitate, but my selfe. I know there haue beene factions in the Parliament: that they haue stirred vp seditious Preachers. But I will take good order for such people, and will not attend your pleasures. In former times they haue punished them with great seuerity, that haue preached lesse seditiously then they doe now. It is the course they rooke to make the barricadoes, and by degrees to murder the deceased King. I will cut vp all these factions by the rootes: and will shorten all them that shall nourish them. I haue leaped ouer towne-walles, I will easily passe ouer barricadoes. They should not obiect vnto mee the Catholike Religion, nor the respect of the Holy Sea. I know the duetie which I owe, the one as the most Christian King, and the Honour of the name which I carry, and the other as the first sonne of the Church. Those which I thinke themselves to bee in good termes with the Pope, are deceiued. I am more then they. When I shall vndertake it, I will make you all to bee declared Heretikes for disobeying of mee.

The Maiesty of Kings is alwaies wronged by the contempt of their decrees: but the offence is alwaies greater, when it comes from them that should see them to bee obserued. Those which deny the execution of my Edicts, desire warre. I will proclaime it to morrow against the of them Religion: but I wil not make it my selfe, I wil send them: I haue made the Edict, I will haue it obserued, my will should serue for reason, the which is neuer demanded of the Prince in an obedient State. Their willes should bee put in execution, and not interpreted: And yet I say vnto you, that necessity and profit hath drawne mee vnto it. I haue done it by the aduice of all my counsell, who haue found it good and necessary for the Estate of my affaires, and the good of my seruice: to settle concord, and to disperse all the miseries which discord doth bring forth. Some haue complained, that I would make leaues of Suisses, or of other troopes. If I did, they must thinke it were to some good end, by reason of all my actions past. Witnesse that which I haue done for the recouery of Amiens, where I haue employed the money of the Edicts which you

1599.  
Pietate & Iu-  
sticia Princeps  
diuinit.

The Court of  
Parliament  
opposeth a-  
gainst the E-  
dict.

The Kings  
speech to  
the Court of  
Parliament.

A Prince  
gives no  
reason of  
his Edict.



1599. you would not haue passed, if I had not come my selfe vnto the Parliament. Necessity  
Necessity  
the fault  
of the  
cause of the  
Edict.

A sitie hath forced mee to make this Edict: by the same necessity I haue heretofore plaied the souldiar.

They haue talked at their pleasures, and I haue not seemed to regard it. I am now a King, and I speake as a King, I will be obeyed. There is not any one of you that finds me not good, when he hath need of me. And there is not any one but hath need once in the yeere, and yet you are bad to mee that am so good. If other Parliaments (for that they haue impugned my will) haue bene the cause that they of the Religion haue demaunded New things, I would not haue you the cause of other innouations, by your refusall. In the yeere 1594. and 95. when I sent vnto you a declaration vpon the Edict, for the prouision of Offices, I did then promise, that I would not aduance any one of the Religion, to Offices in the Court of Parliament. Since time hath altered the affaires, wee must accommodate our selues therevnto: and yet I will bee well assured of such as I shall aduance to those charges, that they shall gouerne themselves as they ought.

Take not so much of the Catholike Religion. To all these great criers, Catholikes and Ecclesiasticks, let me giue to one a thousand crownes a yeere in benefices, to another foure thousand Liuers of Rent, they will not speake a word more. I haue the same opinion of all others that shall speake against the Edict. There are some which hate the sinne for feare of punishment, but the good hate it for the loue of vertue. For Gods sake let mee know that you hate sinne for the loue of vertue, or else I will chastice them that hate it for feare of paine: and afterwards they will thanke me, as the sonne doth his father. The Preachers deliuer words in their Sermons, more to nourish, then to destroy sedition, yet no one of you saith any thing: these faults which concerne mee, are not regarded. But I will foresee that this thunder shall bring no storme, and that their predictions shall proue vaine. I will not vse their remedies, which beeing out of season, will but increase the euill. Consider that the Edict whereof I speake, is the deceased Kings Edict: it is also mine, for it was made with mee, and I doe now confirme it. I will say no more, but aduise you to imitate the example of the obedience of the Duke of Maine. Beeing perswaded to enter in some factions against my will, he answered that hee was too much bound vnto mee, and so were all my subiects, amongst the which hee would bee alwaies one that should expose his life to please mee, for that I had restored France in despite of them that sought to ruine it. And if he that was the head of the League, hath spoken in this manner, how much more ought you, whom I haue restored to the place from whence the League had expelled you, yeeld vnto my request, that which you would not doe for threats? You shall haue none of me: do that which I command you, or rather what I intreat you, you shall not doe it only for me, but for your selues, and for the good of the peace.

This speech was well vnderstood by the Parliament, and the difficulties which were found in the allowance of the Edict, were held tollerable, by reason of the Kings will, and the necessity of his affaires. Yet they continued fortie daies after, before they would resolue. The Duchesse of Barre, the Kings Sister, would not depart out of Paris, before it was confirmed. Shee had shewed her selfe burning in zeale and affection in that matter, as in all other affaires of that Nature: and it was not without reason, that after the Kings entrie into Paris, when as the Deputies of the Churches of Poitou beseeched his Maiestie for some thing depending vpon the execution of his Edicts: hee said vnto them, *Adresse your selues vnto my Sister, your Estate is now fallen vnto the Distaffe.* The Articles and Edict are as followeth.

### Edict of Pacification.

HENRY by the grace of God &c. Amongst the Infinite blessings which it hath pleased God to bestow vpon vs, that is the most remarkable, to haue giuen vs vertue and

1599. A and courage not to yeeld to the fearefull troubles, confusions and disorders, which wee found at our comming to this Realme, the which was diuided into so many partes and factions, as the most lawfull seemed to bee the least; and to haue so fortified vs against this storme, as in the end wee haue surmounted it, and doe now touch the gate of this Estates rest: whereof the onely glorie belongs to him, and to vs the bond and thanks, that hee would vse our labour to finish this good worke: wherein it hath bene visible to all men, whether wee haue done that, which was our ducie, and in our power, yea somewhat more, the which it may bee in another season had not bene so fit for the dignity which wee hold, hauing not feared to expose our life often and freely therein. And in this great concurrence of so great and dangerous affaires, not beeing able to pacifie all at once instant, wee haue bene forced to hold this course, to attempt those first which could not bee ended but by force, and suspend the rest for a time, which ought and might bee treated by reason and Iustice: As the generall differences betwixt our good subiects, and the priuate grievances of the foundest part of the state, which wee held, might more easily be cured, the principall cause being taken away, the which was in the continuance of the ciuill warres.

This hauing by the grace of God well and happily succeeded, and all armes and Hostility ceassing, throughout the Realme, wee hope our successe wilbe no lesse in other affaires, which remaine yet to compound: And that by this meanes wee shall attaine vnto the Establishment of a good peace and tranquillity, the which hath alwaies bene the end of our vowes and intentions, and the prize which wee desire of so much paine and toyle, wherein wee haue past the course of our age. Amongst the said affaires, to the which wee haue bene forced to giue patience, and one of the chiefe, hath bene the complaints which wee haue receiued from many of our Prouinces and Catholike townes, that the exercise of the Catholike Religion was not vniuersally restored, as it ought by the Edicts heretofore made for the pacification of the troubles by reason of the Religion, as also the supplications and remonstrances, which hath bene made vnto vs, by our subiects of the pretended reformed Religion, aswell vpon the not executing of that which hath bene granted by the said Edicts, as vpon that which they desire should bee added for the exercise of their said Religion, the liberty of their consciences, and the suretie of their owne persons and fortunes: pretending to haue iust cause, to haue new and greater apprehensions, by reason of these last troubles, whereof the principall pretext and ground was made vpon the ruine. Wherefore not to ouer charge our selues with too much businesse at once, seeing that the furie of Armes cannot agree with Establishment of Lawes, how good soeuer, wee haue from time to time deferred it.

But now seeing it hath pleased Almighty God to giue vs some rest, wee haue thought we could not better imploy our time, then in that which might concerne the glory of his Holy name and seruice, and to prouide that hee may be worshipped by all our subiects: And if it hath not pleased him that they should bee all of one forme and Religion, yet at the least of one Intention, and with that order, as it might breed no trouble nor tumult amongst them; And that both wee and this Realme may enioy, the glorious title of the most Christian King, which hath bene by so many merits long since purchased: And by the same meanes to take away the cause of trouble, which may happen for matters of Religion, which is the most sensible of all others. For this occasion knowing this businesse to bee of great importance, and worthy of good consideration, hauing receiued the complaints of our Catholike subiects, giuing also leaue to them of the pretended reformed Religion, to assemble by their Deputies, and to make their remonstrances, and hauing therevpon often conferred with them, and viewed the precedent Edicts, wee haue now thought it necessarie, to giue vnto all our said subiects, a generall, plaine, and absolute Law, by the which they may bee ruled, in all differences which haue heretofore happened amongst them, and which may happen, where-with all our subiects shall haue cause to rest contented, according to the quality of the time.

The cause which makes vs to enter into this deliberation, is the onely zeale wee haue vnto the seruice of God, and that it may bee hereafter duely performed by our subiects, and

1599. and to settle, a good and durable peace amongst them. Wherein wee implore and attend A the same protection and fauour of his diuine bountie, which hee hath alwaies imparted to this Realme since the first beginning: And that of his grace, hee will make our subiects conceiue, that in the obseruation of this our Edict, consists (after their duetic vnto vs) the chiefe ground, of their vnion, concord, tranquillity and peace, and the restoring of this Estate to her first beautie, wealth and force. And we for our part, promise to cause it to be exactly obserued, without suffering any thing to bee done to the contrary.

For these causes, hauing with the aduise, with the Princes of our blood, other Princes and Officers of the crowne, with great and notable personages of our counsell of state, bee- ing neere vs, well and dilligently waied and considered all these busineses, wee haue by this perpetuall and ir-reuokable Edict, said, declared and ordained, and say, declare, and ordaine.

Articles of the  
Edict of paci-  
fication.

Abolition and  
forgetting of  
troubles past.

Remembrance  
of injuries past  
supprett.

Romish religi-  
on restored  
where it had  
beene inter-  
mitted.

Building vpon  
ground be-  
longing to the  
Clergie to bee  
purchased of  
them.

Clergie land  
employed for  
fortifications  
not to bee de-  
manded.

1 First that the memorie of all things past, of either side, from the beginning of March in the yeere of our Lord 1585. vnto our comming to the crowne, and during the precedent troubles, by reason thereof, shall remaine extinct and supprett as if they had neuer beene. And it shall not be lawfull for our Proctors generall or any other person publike or priuate at any time or for any occasion to make mention, or any purlue in any courts or iurisdiccions.

2 Wee forbid our subiects of what estate and quallitie soeuer, to reuiue the memory, to challenge, iniurie or prouoke one another, by reproaching that which is past, nor to outrage or offend one another by word no deed, for any cause or pretext whatsoeuer: But to containe themselves and to liue peaceably together like bretheren, friends and fellow citizens, vpon paine to them that shall contradict it, to bee punished as breakers of the peace, and troublers of the publike quiet.

3 Wee ordaine that the Catholike, Apostolike and Romish Religion, shalbe restored in all places of this our Realme and Countries of our obedience, where the excise thereof hath beene intermitted, to bee there freely and quietly exercised without any trouble or let; Wee doe also expressely prohibit all persons of what Estate or quallitie whatsoeuer, not to molest nor trouble the Clergie in celebration of Diuine seruice, and the enioying of the tythes, fruites and reuenues of their benefices, and all other rights and duties which belong vnto them: And that all such as during the troubles had seized vpon churches, houses, goods and reuenues, belonging to the said Clergie, and detaine them stil shall leaue them the full possession and quiet enioying in such rights and liberties as they had before the were disposselt. We also expressely forbid all them of the said pretended reformed Religion, to haue any preaching or exercise of the said Religion in the Churches, houses and dwellings of the said Clergie.

4 It shalbe at the choise of the said Clergie to purchase the houses built vpon prophane places detained from them during the troubles, or to force the occupiers of the fore- said buildings to buy the ground, according to the estimation of such expert men as the parties shall make choise of, and if they cannot agree, then the Iudges of the place to provide for it, reseruing to the said occupiers there interest against whom it shall concerne. And whereas the said Clergie-men shall force the possessors to buy the ground, the money growing of the valeuation, shall not bee put into their hands, but that the said possessors shall remaine charged to make profit thereof after therate of the twentieth penny, vntill that all that shall arise in one yeere may bee employed to the benefit of the Church. And if at the time expired, the purchaser would not continew the said rent, hee shall bee discharged in consigning the money into the hands of soluable men, by the Authoritie of Iustice. And for the Holy places, aduise shall bee giuen by the Commissioners which shalbe appointed for this Edict, to bee ordered and determined by vs.

5 Notwithstanding no Clergie man, nor any other publike or priuate person, may challenge or demand the ground and places, held and employed for the reparation and fortifications of townes and places of our Realme, nor the materials employed there, but when as the said reparations and fortifications shalbe ruined by our decre.

6 And

A 6 And not to leaue any cause of troubles betwixt our subiects, wee haue, and doe allowe them of the pretended reformed Religion, to liue and remaine in all the townes and places of this our Realme, and countries of our obedience, without search vexati- on or molestation, nor forced to do any thing for matter of religion contrary to their con- sciences, nor by reason thereof to be searched in their houses and places of abroad, carrying themselves as it is contained in this our Edict.

Exercise of re-  
ligion allow-  
ed.

7 Wee haue also suffered all Noblemen, Gentlemen and others aswell subiects as strangers, making profession of the pretended reformed religion, hauing in our Realme and Countries of our obedience, high Iustice, or full fee of Haubert (as in Normandy) bee it in propertie or for life, in all or for a moietie or the third part, to haue in their houses of the said high Iustices, or fees which they shall bound to name before vnto our Bayliffes, and Seneshalls, euery one in his iurisdiction, for their principall dwelling, the exercise of the said Religion so long as hee shalbe there resident, and in their absence their wiues, or their families, or part thereof. And although the right of Iustice, of a full fee of Haubert bee in question yet the exercise of the said Religion may bee vied there, so as they bee in actual possession, of the said high Iustice, and notwithstanding that our Proctor Generall bee their aduerser partie. Wee doe also allow them the said exercise in their other houses and places of high Iustice, or Fees of Haubert, whilest they shalbe present, and not otherwise, aswell for themselves as for their families, and others that C will goe.

Fee of Hau-  
bert is as  
much to say as  
high Baron.

8 In houses of Fees where as they of the said Religion shall not haue high Iustice or Fees of Haubert, they may not haue the said exercise but for their families only. Wee doe not meane notwithstanding if there chance to come any other persons to the num- ber of thirty, beside their families, bee it by reason of some Christening, to visit their friends, or otherwise, that they shalbe molested: provided alwaies that the said houses bee not in Townes, Borroughes, or Villages, belonging vnto Catholikes, that haue high Iustice, except our selfe, in the which the said Noblemen Catholikes haue their houses. In which case they of the said Religion shall nor haue any exercise in the said Townes, Bor- roughes and Villages, but by the permission and leaue of the said Lords of high Iustice, and D not otherwise.

Exercise of re-  
ligion where  
to bee allowed.

9 Wee doe also permit all them of the said Religion to continew the exercise thereof in all the townes, and places of our obedience, where it was by them settled and vied pub- licly at sundry times in the yeere of our Lord 1596. and in the yeere 1597. vnto the end of August, notwithstanding all Decrees and Iudgements to the contrary.

10 The said exercise may also bee re-established in all the townes and places, where it hath or ought to bee vied by the Edict of pacification, made in the yeere of our Lord 1577. and the particular Articles and conferences of Nerac and Flex: The which estab- lishment may not bee hindered in places of the Demaines giuen by the said Edict, Articles and conferences, for places of Bayliwicks, or that shalbe heereafter, al- though they haue beene, or shalbe heereafter allienated to Catholikes. Yet wee doe not meane that the said exercise shalbe restored in places of the said Demaines, which haue beene heere to held by them of the said pretended reformed Religion, in the which it hath beene allowed in consideration of their persons, or by reason of preui- ledge of fees, if the said fees bee now enioyed by men of the Catholike, Apostolike and Ro- mish Religion.

11 Moreouer in all antient Bayliwicks, Seneschaufies and Gouvernements, holding the place of Bayliwicks, the which repaire directly to Courts of Parliaments: Wee ordaine that in the suberbes of some Towne, besides those which haue beene granted them by the said Edict, priuate Articles and conferences, and where there are no Townes, in some Borough or Village, the exercise of the said pretended reformed Religion, may bee pub- licly vied by all those that will goe, although that in the said Bayliwicks, Seneschaufies and Gouvernements, there bee many places where the said exercise is at this present esta- blished: Excepting the townes in the which there is an Arch-bishop, or a Bishoppricke, yet not debarring them of the pretended reformed Religion, from demanding and name- ing of the said place of exercise in the Borroughes and Villages neere vnto the foresaid townes;

1598. townes: excepting also the places and Seigneuries belonging vnto Clergy-men, in the which we doe not meane that the second place of the Bayliwike shalbe established, hauing of our speciall grace exempted them. Our meaning is vnder the name of antient Bayliwikes to speake of those which in the time of the deceased King *Henry* our most honoured Lord and father-in-law, were held for Bayliwikes, Seneschauies, and Gouvernements, appealing immediately to our said courts.

12 Wee doe not meane by this present Treatie to derogate from the Edicts and accords heretofore made and confirmed, for the reduction of any Princes, Noblemen, Gentlemen and Catholike townes of our obedience, in that which concerns the exercise of the said Religion, the which Edict and Accorde shalbe entertained, imbraced and obserued for that regarde, as it shall appeare by the instructions of the Commissioners which shalbe appointed for the execution of this Edict.

13 Wee doe also expressly, forbid all of the said Religion to make any exercise thereof, aswell for the ministry, orders, discipline or publike instruction of children, and others in this our Realme and Countries of our obedience, in that which concerns Religion, but in such places as are allowed by this present Edict.

14 As also not for to vse any exercise of the said Religion in our Court and Traine, nor in our countries beyond the Mountaines, nor our Cittie of Paris, or within five leagues thereof: Notwithstanding they of the said Religion remayning in the said countries beyond the Mountaines, and in our said city, or within five leagues round about, shall not bee molested in their houses, nor fort to doe anything in regarde of their Religion, against their consciences: carrying themselves according to the contents of our present Edict.

Exercise of religion forbidden in Court.

15 They shall not also make publike exercise of the said Religion in any armie, but in those quarters whereof the chiefe Commanders are of that profession, alwaies excepting that, whereas our person shalbe lodged.

16 According to the second Article of the conference of *Neras*, wee doe allow them of the foresaid Religion to builde houses for the exercise thereof, in all those Townes and Places which are graunted them; Those which they haue heeretofore built shalbe restored vnto them, or the ground as it is at this present, yea in places where the said exercise is not allowed them, vnlesse they haue beene conuerted into some other kinde of building. In which case there shall bee giuen them by the possessors of the said buildings, places of the same vallew they were of before they were built, or the iust vallew thereof by the Iudgement of skilfull men, which shalbe called to view it: alwaies reseruing vnto the foresaid Proprietaries and possessors their course against whom it shall concerne.

17 Wee forbid all Preachers, Readers, and others that speake in publike, to vse any wordes, discourse, or speech, tending to excite the people to sedition; and wee haue and doe enioyne them to carrie themselves modestly, and not to say any thing, which is not to instruct and edifie their Auditours, and to maintaine the peace and tranquillity, established by vs in our said Realme, vpon the paines set downe in the precedent Edicts, expressly enioyning our Attornies Generall, and their substitutes, to informe against such as shall offend herein, and for default thereof to answer it in their owne names, and to be deprived of their offices.

18 Wee also forbid all our subiects, of what qualitie or condition soeuer, to take away by force, and against the will of their Parent the Children of the said Religion, to haue them baptized, or confirmed in the Romish Religion: And the like defence is made to them of the pretended reformed Religion, vpon paine to bee punished exemplarily.

19 They of the said pretended reformed Religion, shall not in any fort stand bound by reason of any abirations promisses, and othes which haue heretofore bin made, or Cautions giuen by them, concerning the said Religion, neither shalbe molested therefore, in any fort whatsoeuer.

20 They shall also bee bound to keepe and obserue the feastes appointed by the Catholike, Apostolike and Romish Church, neither shall they worke on the said daies, nor sell

nor

nor retails in open shops, neither shall handy-crafts men worke out of their shops in chambers and houses shut vp on the sayd feast dayes, and other dayes prohibited, vpon any trade, the noyle whereof may bee heard without, by the neighbours or passengers, whereof no search shalbe made but by the officers of iustice.

21. No bookes concerning the sayd pretended reformed religion, shalbe printed; or sold but in those townes, whereas the publike exercise of this religion is allowed, and for other bookes which shalbe printed in other townes, they shalbe visited as well by our officers as by Diuines, as it is set downe in our ordonances. Wee doe expressely forbid, the printing and sale of all bookes, and scandalous writings, vpon the paines contained in our ordonances, inioyning all our iudges to looke vnto it.

Bookes of the religion where to be printed and sold.

22. Wee ordayne there shalbe no distinction in regard of the said religion, to receaue Schollers to bee instructed in Vniuersities, Colledges and Schooles: And the diseased and poore into Hospitalles and Almes-houses,

23. They of the said pretended reformed religion, shalbe bound to keepe the lawes of the Catholike Apostolike and Romish Church receaued in this our realme: touching marriages contracted, or to be contracted in degrees of consanguinity and affinity.

24. In like maner they of the said religion shall pay their rights of entry that hath beene accustomed for the charges and offices, whereunto they shalbe aduanced, without beeing constrained to assit at any sermons contrary to their religion: And beeing called by oath, they shall not be bound to take any other, then to lift vp their hands, and promise vnto God, that they will speake the truth, and they shall not bee bound to take the dispensation of the oath, taken by them in passing the contracts and obligations.

25 We wil and command that all they of the said pretended reformed Religion, and other which haue followed there party, of what estate or quality soeuer, shalbe bound and forced by all due meanes and vnder the same paines contained in the Edicts touching that point, to pay and discharge the tythes, to curats and other Clergy-men, and to all others to whome they shall belong, according to the vse, and custome of the place.

26 Exheredations, or depriuations, made either in their life time or by testament, in hatred of religion, shall haue no place, for that which is past or to come among our subiects.

27. And the better to vnite the wills of our subiects, and to take away all future complaints, we declare all those that doe make profession of the said pretended reformed religion, capable to hold and exercise all estates, dignities, offices, and publike charges, whatsoever be they royall, seigneuriall, or in the townes of our sayd realme, and countries of our obedience, notwithstanding any oth to the contrary, and to be indifferently admitted and receiued in them. And our Court of Parliament, and other Iudges shall rest contented to make enquire of the life, religion, & conuersation of such as shalbe preferred to offices, aswell of one religion as of the other, without taking any other oath then to serue the King in the exercise of their charges, well and faithfully, and to keepe his ordonances as they haue beene alwaies obserued. And if any of the said estates, charges and offices, shalbe voyde, in regard of those that shall be in our disposition, there shalbe capable men preferred indifferently and without distinction, as a matter which concerns the vnion of our subiects. Our meaning also is that they of the pretended reformed Religion, may be admitted into all counsells, deliberations, assemblies and functions, which depend vpon the aboue-named matters, neither shall they in regard of the said religion be reiected.

28: We ordaine for the interring of such as dye of the said religion throughout all the townes and places of this realme, that there shallbe speedy prouision made for them in euery place, by our officers, and by the commissioners which we shall depute for the execution of our present Edict, of as conuenient a place as may be: and the Church-yards which they had heretofore, whereof they haue beene depriued, shalbe restored them againe, vnlesse they bee found at this present full of buildings, of what quality soeuer, in which case they shall haue others provided freely.

29: Wee doe expressly inioine our said officers, to foresee, that at the said interments, no scandal be committed, & they shalbe bound within 15. daies after request made, to prouide for them of the said religion a conuenient place for said burials without any protraction or delay, vpon paine of 500. crownes fine: defence is made vnto our officers & all others, not to

1599. exact any thing, for the conduēt of the sayd dead bodies vpon paine of concussion.

30. And vnto the end that iustice may bee administred to our subiects, without any suspition, hatred, or fauour, as beeing one of the principall meanes, to maintaine them in peace and concord: Wee haue and do ordaine that in our Court of Parliament of Paris, there shalbe a Chamber erected consisting of one President, and sixtene counsellors, the which shalbee called the Chamber of the Edict, and shall not onely take knowledge of the causes and suites, of the sayd pretended reformed religion, which shalbe within the bounds of the sayd court; But also in the limittes of our Parliaments, of Normandy, and Brittany, according to the Iurisdiction which shalbe hereafter giuen by this present Edict, and that vntill there shalbe in either of the sayd Parliaments, a Chamber erected, to doe Iustice vpon the place, wee doe also ordaine, that in former Offices of counsellors in our sayd Parliament, remaining of the last erection made by vs, there shalbe presently receiued in the sayd Parliament foure of the pretended reformed religion, sufficient and able men, the which shalbe preferred; that is the first shalbe receiued in the sayd Chamber of the Edict: and the other three in three chambers of Inquests: Moreover the first two Officers of lay counsellors, of the said court, which shalbe voyde by death, shalbe also supplied by two of the pretended reformed religion, and they beeing receiued, shalbe also distributed into the two other chambers of Inquests.

Distribution  
of the Coun-  
sellors of their  
religion into  
the Chambers  
of Inquests.

31. Besides the Chamber heretofore erected at Castres for the Iurisdiction of our court of Parliament of Tholoufa, the which shalbe continued as it is: we haue and doe for the same considerations ordaine, that in eyther of our courts of Parliament of Grenoble, and Bourdeaux, shalbe in like manner a chamber erected, consisting of two presidents, the one Catholike, the other of the pretended reformed religion, and of twelue counsellors, whereof sixe shalbe Catholikes and sixe of the religion: The which president and catholike counsellors shalbe chosen by vs out of the body of our sayd Courts: and as for them of the said religion, there shalbe a new creation made of one president, and six counsellors for the Parliament of Bourdeaux, and of one president, and three counsellors for that of Grenoble, the which with the three counsellors of the sayd religion, which are at this present in the sayd Parliament, shalbe employed in the sayd chamber of Daulphiné. And the sayde Officers of new creation, shall haue the like stipends, honours, preheminences, and authoritie, as the rest of the sayd courts: And the Seate of the chamber of Bourdeaux, shalbe at Bourdeaux, or at Nerac, and that of Daulphiné, at Grenoble.

Chamber of  
Edict at Bour-  
deaux and  
Grenoble.

32. The sayd chamber of Daulphiné, shall take knowledge of the causes of them of the pretended reformed religion, of the iurisdiction of our Parliament of Prouence, neither shall it be needfull to take letters of euocation of other prouisions but in our chancerie of Daulphiné: as also, they of the sayd religion in Normandy and Brittany, shall not be bound to take letters of euocation, nor other prouisions, but in our chancerie of Paris.

33. Our subiects of the sayd religiō, of the Parliament of Bourgondy, shall at their choise plead in the chamber erected at Paris, or in that of Daulphiné: and they shall not be bound to take letters of euocation, nor other prouisions but in the said chanceries of Paris, and Daulphiné, at their owne choise.

34. All the sayd chambers erected as is sayd, shall determine and iudge foueraignely and without appeale of all causes, wherein they of the pretended reformed religion shalbe principall parties, or sureties, Plaintiues, or Defendants, in all causes, as well Ciuill as Criminall, whether the proces be by writing or verball appellations, and if it seeme good vnto the said parties, & one of them doth require it, before contestation in the cause, & in regard of the suite that is to be commenced: alwayes excepted all matters of benefices, and possessions of Tythes, the paronage of the Clergy, and all causes wherein the Rights, Duties, and Demaines of the Church, the which shallbe determined in the Courts of Parliament, without any knowledge of the said chambers of Edict. We will also that to iudge and determine Criminall suites which shall happen betwixt Clergy-men and them of the sayd pretended reformed religion, if the Clergy man be defendant, in that cause the knowledge and iudgment of the suite shall belong vnto our foueraigne courts: But whereas the Clergy-man shallbe Plaintiue, and he of the reformed religion Defendant, the knowledg and iudgment of the said Criminall cause should belong vnto the said chamber of the Edict.

The

A The said Chambers shall take knowledge in time of vacation of matters attributed by the Edicts, and ordonances, to Chambers erected in time of vacation, euery one in his iurisdiction.

1599.

35. The said Chamber of Grenoble, shalbe incorporated to the body of the said Court of Parliament, and the Presidents and Counsellors of the said pretended reformed religion, shalbe termed Presidents and Counsellors of the said Court, and held in the ranke of them, and to that end they shalbe first distributed into the other chambers, and then drawne out of them to be employed and serue in that which hath newly bene erected: with charge not-withstanding that they should assit and haue a voyce and place, in all the deliberations which should bee made, the Chambers beeing assembled: and they shall inioy the same Stipends, Authorities, and Preheminences, which the other Presidents and Counsellors doe in the same Court.

36. We will and meane, that the said Chambers of Castres, and Bourdeaux, shalbe vnited vnto the said Parliaments like unto the rest when neede shall require, and that the causes which haue moued vs to make the erection, shall cease, and haue no more place among our subiects: and to that end, the Presidents and Counsellors of the said religion, shalbe held for Presidents and Counsellors of the same Courts.

37. There shalbe also newly created in the Chamber erected for the Parliament of Bourdeaux, two substitutes of our Proctor and Aduocate Generall, whereof the Proctor shallbe a Catholike, and the other of the Religion, the which shalbe preferred to the said Offices with competent fees.

38. All the said substitutes shall not take any other quality but of substitutes, and when as the Chambers appoynted for the Parliaments of Tholoufa and Bourdeaux, shalbe vnited vnto the said Parliament, the said substitutes shalbe made Counsellors there.

39. The expeditions of the Chancerie of Bourdeaux, shalbe made in the presence of two Counsellors of the said Chamber, the one a Catholike, the other of the pretended reformed religion, in the absence of one of our Maisters of Requests. One of the Notaries, or Secretaries of the said Court of Parliament shall bee resident, whereas the said chamber shall bee erected, or else one of the Secretaries of the Chancerie, to signe the expeditions of the said Chancerie.

40. Wee will and command, that in the said Chamber of Bourdeaux, there bee two Deputies of the Registers of the Court of Parliament, one for the Ciuill, another for Criminall, the which shall execute their charges by our commissions, and shalbe called Deputies to the Register, and therefore they shall not bee reuoked by the said registers of the Parliament, not-withstanding they shall bee bound to giue an accompt of the profits thereof vnto the said Registers, which Deputies shall haue such fees, as shall bee thought fit by the said Chambers. Moreover, there shall bee Catholike Vilers or Sericants appoynted, the which shallbe taken out of the said court, or elsewhere, as we shal thinke good, besides the which there shall be two newly erected of the said religion and preferred freely, all which Vilers shalbe ordered by the said Chamber, as well in the exercise of their charges, as in the Fees they shall take. There shall also a commission bee granted, for one to pay the Fees and receiue the Fines for the said Chamber, to bee preferred at our pleasure, if the said chamber be settled in any other place, then in the said towne. And the commission heretofore granted to the payer of Fees of the chamber of Castre, shall take his full effect, and thereunto shall bee ioyned the commission for the receipt of the Fines of the said Chamber.

41. There shall prouision bee made of good and sufficient Assignations for the Fees of Officers of the Chambers erected by this Edict.

42. The presidents, Counsellors, and other Catholike Officers of the said chambers, shall bee continued as long as it shall seeme fitte for our seruice, and the good of our Subiects, and in dismissing the one, others shall bee provided in their places, before their departure, neither may they during the time of their seruice, absent themselves from the said chamber, without leaue thereof.

43. The said Chambers shalbe erected within sixe monthes, during the which (if the erection

Q. 992



erection bee not made ) all suites begun or to begin, wherein they of the said religion A shall be parties, being of the iurisdiction of our Parlements of Paris, Rouan, Dijon, and Rennes, shall repayre vnto the chamber erected presently at Paris, by vertue of the Edict made in the yeare 1577. or else to the great counsell, at their choise: and those which shall be of Prouence, to the Parliament of Grenoble. And if the said chambers shall not be erected within three monethes after the presentation which hath beene made vnto them of our present Edict, those Parlements which shall make refusall, shall be inhibited to iudge of the causes of them of the said religion.

44 All sutes depending in the said Courts of parliament, and great counsell, of what quality soeuer, shall be sent vnto the said chambers euery one into his iurisdiction, if one of the parties of the said religion require it, within foure monethes after the erection thereof: B and as for those which shall be discontinued and are not redy to be iudged, they of the religion shall be bound to make declaration at the first intimation, and signification which shall be made vnto them of the poursuite, and the said time being past they shall be no more allowed to demand their discharge.

45 The said chambers of Grenoble, and Bourdeaux as also that of Castres, shall keepe the formes and stile of the Parlements in whose iurisdiction they are erected, and shall iudge in equall number of either religion, if the parties doe not consent to the contrary.

46 All iudges which shall haue charge for the execution of decrees and commissions of the said chambers, and of letters obtayned in the Chanceries thereof, together withal vsers C and sergents, shall execute their employts throughout our whole realme without demanding of *Placet, Visu, Pareatis*, vpon paine of suspension of their offices, and charges, damage and intrest to the parties, the knowledge whereof shall beeloug vnto the said chambers.

47. No euocation of causes shall be granted, the knowledge whereof is attributed vnto the said Chambers, but in cases of ordinances, which shall be sent vnto the nearest chamber erected according to our Edict: and the diuision of suites of the said chambers shall be iudged in that which is nearest, obseruing the proportion and forme of the said chambers, from whence the suits came; except the chamber of the Edict at our Parliament at Paris, where as suites deuided shall be determined in the same chamber, by iudges which shall be named by our priuie letters to that end, vnlesse the parties desire to attend the renewing of the D said chamber. And if it happen that a suite be diuided into all the chambers, it shall be sent vnto the said chamber of Paris.

48 The recusations which shall be propounded against the Presidents and counsellors of the Chambers of the Edict, may be iudged by six, to which number the parties shall be bound to restraine themselves, else they shall proceed with out regard vnto the said recusations.

49 The examination of presidents and counsellors, newly erected in the said chambers of the Edict, shall be made in our priuie counsell or by the said chambers, euery one in his limits, when as there shall be a sufficient number, and yet the accustomed oth shall be taken by them in the courts whereas the said chambers shall be erected, and vpon their refusall in our E priuie counsell, except those of the chamber of Languedoc, the which shall take their oths in the hands of our Chancellor, or in the said chamber.

50 We will and command that the reception of our officers of the said religion shall be decided in the said diuided chambers by plurality of voyces, as it is accustomed in other iudgements, neither is it needfull that their opinions exceed two parts, according to the law, the which is in this regard derogated.

51 In the said diuided chambers shall be made the propositions deliberations, and resolutions, which shall concerne the publike quiet and perticular estate and gouernment of the townes where the said chamber shall be.

52 The article of the iurisdiction of the said chambers appointed by this present Edict, shall be followed and obserued according to the forme and tenor, euén in that which concerns the execution or breach of our Edicts, when as they of the said religion shall be parties.

53 All subalternall royal officers, or others whose reception belongs to our courts of Parliament,

A Parliament, if it be of the said pretended reformed Religion, they may be examined and received into the said chambers: That is, those of the iurisdctions of the Parlements of Paris, Normandie, and Brittain, in the said chamber of Paris; Those of Daulphiné, and Prouence, in the chamber of Grenoble; Those of Bourgundie in the said chamber of Paris, or of Daulphiné, at their choise; Those of Tholousa, in the chamber of Castres: And those of the Parliament of Bourdeaux in the chamber of Guienne, neyther may any oppose themselves to their receptions, nor make themselves parties, but our Proctors generall and their substitutes, and those that doe enioy the said Offices, and yet the accustomed oath shall be taken by them in the courts of Parliament, who may take no knowledge of their receptions, and vpon refusall of the said Parlements, the said Officers shall take their oath in the said B chambers, which done they shall be bound to present by an vsier, or notarie, the act of their reception vnto the registers of the said courts of Parliament, and to leaue a copie with the said registers, who are inioyned to inrowle the said acts vpon paine of al the parties charges damage, and interest. And if the said register shall make refusall thereof, it shall be sufficient for the said Officers to report the act of the said summation performed by the said vsiers or notaries, and to cause it to be inrowled in the registers Office of their said iurisdiction, to haue re-course thereunto when neede shall require, vpon paine of nullitie of their proceedings and iudgements. And as for Officers whose reception hath not beene accustomed to be taken in our said Parliament, in case that they to whom it shall appertaine C shall refuse to proceede to the said examination and reception, the said Officers shall then repaire to the said chambers to be admitted as it shall be fit.

54 The Officers of the said pretended, reformed Religion, which shall be hereafter preferred to serue in our courts of Parliament, great Counsell, chamber of accompts, court of Aydes, and of the treasurers generall of France, and other Officers of the Treasure shall be examined and received whereas they haue beene accustomed to be: And in case of refusall, or deniall of iustice, they shall be relieved in our priuie Counsell.

55 The reception of our Officers made heretofore in the chamber erected at Castres shall be of force, notwithstanding all decrees and ordinances to the contrary. The receptions also shall be vayleable of iudges, Counsellors and other Officers of the said Religion D made in our priuie Counsell, or by Commissioners deputed by vs vpon refusall of our courts of Parliament, of Aydes, and chambers of accompts, euén as if they had been made in the said courts and chambers, and by the same Iudges to whom the reception belongs: and their fees shall be allowed by the chambers of accompts without any difficultie: If any haue beene rased out they shall be restored hauing no neede of any other commandement then this present Edict, neyther shall the said Officers be bound to shew any other reception, notwithstanding all decrees giuen to the contrary, the which shall remain void and of no force.

56 And vntill there shall be meanes to supplie the charge of iustice of the said chambers by the money which shall rise of fines, there shall be a sufficient assignation made by vs E to defray the said charges, which money shall be re-paid out of the goods of them that are condemned.

57 The Presidents and Counsellors of the said pretended reformed religion, heretofore received in our court of Parliament of Daulphiné, and in the chamber of the Edict incorporated thereunto, shall continue and haue their places there; that is the Presidents as they haue and doe inioy it, and the Counsellors according to the decrees and prouisions which they haue obtained in our priuie Counsell.

58 We declare all sentences, iudgements, proceedings, seafures, sales and decrees made and giuen against them of the said pretended reformed religion aswell liuing as dead, since the death of King Henry the second our most honored Lord and father in law, by reason of F the said religion, tumults and troubles since hapened there, together with the execution of the said iudgements and decrees, to be presently void, reuoked and disannulled, we do also ordaine that they shall be rased and taken out of the registers of all courts aswell soueraign as inferior: and we will also that all marks and monuments of the said executions, bookes, and defamatorie acts, against their persons, memory & posteritie, shall be defaced and taken away: & that the places wher upon this occasion any rasing or demollishing hath bin shall be restored

1599.

restored in the estate they are into the proprietaries, to inioy and dispose thereof at their pleasures. And generally we haue made void, reuoked and disanulled, all proceedings and informations made for enterprises pretended to be Treason and others: notwithstanding the said proceedings, decrees & iudgements, contayning re-union, in-corporation, and confiscation, we will that they of the said religion, and others that haue followed there partie, and their heires, shall returne into the reall, and actuall possession of all their goods.

59 All proceedings, iudgements and decrees giuen during the troubles against them of the said religion that haue borne armes, or haue gone out of our Realme, or within it, into the townes and Countries held by them, together withal pre-emptions of instances, prescriptions as well legall, conuentionall, as customarie, and feudall seafures, excheated during the said troubles, or by lawfull lets proceeding from them, whereof the knowledge belongs to our iudges, they shall be held as not done, giuen nor happened, and so we haue and do declare them, and they shall be restored to the same estate they were in before: notwithstanding the said decrees and the executions thereof: they shall haue possession restored vnto them, in the which they were for that regard: This shall also haue place, in regard of others that haue followed the party of them of the said Religion, or that haue been absent out of the Realme, in respect of the troubles. And for the children that were vnder age of them of the said quallitie which be dead during the troubles, we restore the parties to the same estate they were in before, without paying any charges or consigning the fines. Yet we do not meane that iudgements giuen by presidiall iudges, or other inferior iudges against them of the said religion, or that haue followed their partie, shall remain void, if they haue been giuen by iudges sitting in townes held by them, or where they had free access.

60 All decrees and sentences giuen in our courts of Parliament in matters whereof the knowledge belongs to the chambers appointed by the Edict, since the yeare 1577. and the Articles of Nerac and Flex; in which courts the parties haue not proceeded willingly; that that is to say, haue propounded declinatorie endes, or that haue been giuen by default or forclusion, as well in ciuill as criminall causes, notwithstanding which allegations, they said parties haue been forced to proceed, they shall be in like manner voyd and of no force. And in regard of iudgements giuen against them of the said religion, which hath proceeded voluntarily, and not propounded any declinatorie endes, the said iudgement shall remain firme: And yet without preiudice of the executions thereof, may if they thinke good seeke reliefe by a ciuill request in the chambers appointed by this present Edict, neyther shall the time appointed by the ordinances runne on to their preiudice. And vntill that the said chambers and Chanceries shall be erected, all appellations eyther, by word or writing, made by them of the said religion before iudges, registers or their substitutes, & executioners of decrees and iudgements, shall haue like effect as if they were relieued by the Kings letters.

61 In all inquiries that shall be made for what cause soeuer, in ciuill matters, if the inquisitor or commissarie be a Catholike, the parties shall be bound to choose an assistant, and if they cannot agree there shall be one chosen by the said Inquisitor, or Commissary, who shall be of the said reformed religion: the like shall be practised when as the Commissary or Inquisitor shall be of the said religion to haue an Assistant a Catholike.

62 We will and ordayne that our iudges may take knowledge of the validitie of Testaments, in the which they of the said religion shall haue interest, if they require it, and the appellations of the said iudgement may be relieued in the said chambers appointed for the suits of them of the said religion, notwithstanding all customes to the contrary, Namely that of Brittain.

63 To preuent all questions which may arise betwixt our courts of Parliament, and the chambers of the said courts appointed by our present Edict, there shall be a good order set downe by vs betwixt the said courts and chambers, so as they of the said pretended reformed religion shall fully inioye the said Edict, which order shall be verified in our courts of Parliament and obserued without any regard to the Precedent.

64 We forbid all our soueraigne courts and others of this Realme to take knowledge and iudge of ciuill, or criminall causes belonging to them of the said religion, the which by our Edict are referred to the knowledge of the said chambers, so as the Renuoie be demanded, as it is said in the 40. Article.

65 We

1599.

A 65. We wil also by way of prouision, and vntill it shalbee otherwise decreed, that in all suites commenced or to commence, where they of the sayd religion shalbee plainetifes, or defendants, and principall parties, or suerties in ciuell causes, wherein our Officers in presidiall courts haue power to iudge definitiuely, it shalbe lawfull for them to require that two of the Chamber where the proceffe should bee Iudged, abstaine from the Iudgement thereof, who without expression of the cause are bound to abstaine, notwithstanding the ordinance by the which Iudges cannot bee excepted against without cause: they hauing requisitions by law against the others: and in criminall causes where also the sayd presidiall and other sub-alternal royall iudges determine definitiuely; the accused being of the sayd religion may require three iudges to abstaine from iudgement without expression of the cause. And the Prouosts of the Marshalls of France, vice-baylifes, vice-senethall, Lieutenants of the short roabe, and other officers of like quality, shall iudge according to the ordonances and rules heretofore giuen in regard of vagabounds: and as for them that haue families being charged with prouestall matters, if they be of the said religion, they may require three of their iudges, to abstaine from iudgement of their cause, which they shall be forced to doe without any declaration of the reason, vnlesse that in the company where the said proceffe shalbe iudged there shalbe found two in ciuill causes and three in criminall to the said religion; in which cause it shall not be lawfull to except, without expression of the cause: the which shalbee also common for Catholikes in the like forme, in regard of regulation of iudges, whereas they of the said pretended reformed religion shalbe the greater number, yet we intend not that the said presidiall courts, prouosts of Marshalls, Vice-Baylifes, Vice-senethalls, and others which iudge definitiuely, shal by verue of that which is said, take knowledge of troubles past. And as for crymes committed vpon any other subiect, then in regard of the troubles since the beginning of March in the yeare 1585. vnto the end of the yeare 1597. in case that they take knowledge thereof, we will that they may appeale from their iudgements vnto the chambers appointed by this present edict, as it shall in like manner be practized for the Catholikes, whereas they of the pretended reformed religion shalbe parties.

66. We will also and ordaine that here-after in all instructions and informations of criminall causes in the Seneshauzees of Tholosa, Carcassonne, Rouergue, Loraguis, Beziers, Montpellier, and Nismes, the Magistrate or commissary deputed for the said instruction, if he be a Catholike shalbe bound to take an assistant, who shalbe of the said pretended reformed religion, such a one as the parties shall agree vpon, if not the said Magistrate may choose one *Ex Officio* of the saide religion, as in like manner if the Magistrate be of the said religion, he shall be bound to take an assistant that is a Catholike.

67. When there shalbe question for the Prouosts of Marshalls or their Lieutenants to proceed criminally, against any one of the said religion, hauing a dwelling, being accused of some prouostall cryme, the sayd prouosts or their Lieutenants if they bee Catholikes shalbe bound to call an assistant of the said religion, to the instruction of the sayd Proces: which Adionct shall also assist at the iudgement of the competency, and at the definitive sentence: which competency may not be iudged but in the nearest presidiall court, in the presence of the said court and the cheefe officers that shalbe vpon the place, vpon paine of Nullity, vnlesse that the accused require to haue the competency iudged in the said chambers appointed by this present Edict: in which case touching dwellers in the Prouince of Guyenne, Languedoc, Prouence, and Daulphiné, the substitutes of our Proctors generall in the said Chambers, shall at the request of the accused, bring thether the informations made against them, to iudge if the causes be Prouostall or not, to be afterwards according to the quality of the cryme sent backe to the sayd chambers, to their ordinaries, or iudged prouostally, as they shall finde it fit to be done, obseruing the contents of our present Edict. And all the presidiall iudges, prouosts, Vice-baylifes, Vice-senethalls, which iudge definitiuely, shalbe bound to obey respectiuely the Comandements which shalbe made them by the sayd Chambers, as they haue bin accustomed to do to the said Parlements, vpon paine of priuation of their Offices.

68. The proclamations and subhaustations of inheritances, whereof they pursue a decree, shalbe made in the accustomed places and at vsuall times, if it may be, according to

1599.

to our ordinances or else in open Market, if there bee any where the Inheritances lie, and if there be not any, they shalbe made at the next market to the court where it shalbe adjudged: and it shalbe set vpon the Post in the said Market-place and at the entry of the Auditory of the sayd place, by which meanes the said Proclamations shalbe good and vaylable, and shall proceed to the interposition of the decree, without regard of Nullities which may be objected in that respect.

69. All titles, papers instructions, and documents which haue bin taken, shalbe restored of either side, to them to whome they belong, although the papers or the Castles and houses wherein they were kept, haue beene taken and seized on by expresse commission from the last King deceased, our most honored Lord and brother in-law, or from vs, or by the commandement of gouernors and Lieutenants Generall of our Prouinces, or by the authority B of commanders of the other part, or vnder any prae-text whatsoever.

70. The children of such as haue retired them-selues out of our realme, since the death of King Henry the second our most honored Lord and father-in-law, by reason of the religion and troubles, although that the said children were borne out of this our realme shalbe held for true Frenchmen and denizens, and for such we haue and doe declare them, being not needefull for them to take letters of naturality, or other prouisions from vs then this present edict, notwithstanding all ordonances to the contrary, to the which we haue, and doe derogate vpon condition that the said children borne in forraigne-countries, shalbe bound within ten yeares after the publication of this present Edict, to come and remaine within the realme.

71. They of the said pretended reformed religion and others which haue followed their party, who before the troubles had taken to farme any registers office, or other demeanes, customes, forraigne impositions and other rights belonging vnto vs, which they could not inioy by reason of the said troubles, shall remayne discharged, as we discharge them, of that which they haue not receiued of the sayd farmes, or that they haue without fraud paid elsewhere into our receipts, notwithstanding all bonds past by them.

72. All places, townes and Prouinces of our Realme, countries and Seignuries, of our obdience shall inioy the same priuiledges, liberties, freedome, faies, markets, iurisdicions, and seats of iustice, which they did before the troubles begun in march 1, 85, and other precedent, notwithstanding all letters to the contrary, and the translation of any of the said courts, being done onely in regard of the troubles, shalbe restored to the townes and places where they were before.

73. If there be any prisoners yet detayned by the authority of iustice or other-wise, yea in the Gallies, by reason of the troubles, or of the sayd religion, they shalbe enlarged and set at liberty.

74. They of the said pretended reformed religion shall not hereafter bee ouerburthened with any ordinary, or extraordinary charges, and according to the proportion of their goods and faculties, and such as shall pretend them-selues to be surcharged may seek relief from the iudges to whome the knowledge doth belong: and all our subiects of either religion shalbe indifferently discharged from all charges that shalbe imposed of either part E during the troubles, vpon them that were of the contrary party, and not consenting, and of all debts growne and not payed, and charges made without their consents; yet they shall not require the expences which haue bin imploied in the payment of the said charges.

75. Wee doe not meane that they of the said religion, and others that haue followed their party, nor Catholics which haue remaind in townes and paces held by them, and which haue contributed vnto them, shalbe pursued for the payment of any taxes, subsidies, impositions or other charges, imposed during the troubles happened before and vntill our comming to the crowne, were it by Edict or commandement from the deceased Kings or our predecessors or by the aduice or resolution of gouernors, and Estates of Prouinces, courts of Parliament and others, whereof we haue and doe discharge them: forbidding all Treasurers of France, generalls of our Finances, receauers general and particular, with all other Offices of our said Finances, to pursue or molest them directly or indirectly in any sorte whatsoever.

76. All

1599.

A 76. All commanders, Noble-men, Knights, Gentlemen, Officers, Corporations, and Commonalties, and all others which haue ayded and assisted them, their widdowes, heires, and successors, shall remaine quit and discharged of all mony which hath beene by them or their appointment taken and leuiued, aswell of the Kings mony whatsoever it bee, as of townes, commonalties and priuat Persons: of rents, reuenues, plate, sale of mouables, Clergy-mens goods and others: tymbre were it of the Kings demeanes or others fines, booties, ransomes, or mony of any other nature taken by them by reason of the troubles begun in March 1585, and other precedent troubles vntill our comming to the crowne for the which neither they, nor those that haue beene deputed by them, for the leuy of the said mony, or that haue furnished it by their appointments, shalbe either now or hereafter, molested or troubled but shall remaine quit and discharged from all administration of the said mony, bringing for their discharge within foure monethes after the publication of this present Edict, made in our court of Parliament of Paris, quittances duly made from the heads of them of the religion, or from such as haue beene by them deputed for the audit and casting vp of the accompts, or from commonalties of townes which haue had charge during the said troubles. They shall also remaine quit and discharged of all acts of hostility, leuies and conduct of men of warre coyning of mony by the commandement of the sayd heads, casting and taking of artillery and munition, making of gounpoulder and salte-peter, taking, building and demantelling of townes, castles and borrowes, enterprises vpon them, burning and ruining of Churches and houses, establishing of iustice, iudgement, and the execution thereof, were it in ciuil or criminal causes; orders made amongst them, voyages and intelligences, negotiations, treaties and contracts of our realme: and generally of all that hath beene done and negotiated during the said troubles, since the death of King Henry the second our most honored Lord and Father-in-law, by them of the said religion, and others that haue followed their party, notwithstanding that it should be particularly specified and exprest.

77. They of the said religion shall in like manner be discharged from all generall and provinciall assemblies, made and held by them aswell at Mante, as else where, vnto this present day: & also of the counsels erected by them throughout the prouinces, with the deliberations, ordonances, and orders, made in the said assembly and counsels, settling and increasing of garrisons, assemblies of men of warre, leuies and taking of our mony, were it in the hands of the receiuers generall or particular, collectors, of parishes or otherwise in what sort soeuer, stay of salte, continuation or new erection of toles and customes, and the receipt thereof, namely at Rouen, and upon the riuers of Charente, Garonne, Rofne and Dordogne, arming and combates by Sea and all other accidents and excesse to force the payment of the said toles and customes and other mony: fortifications of townes, castles and places, impositions of mony and day-labour, receipts of the said mony, disapointing of our receitours, fermours and other officers, and putting others in their places: and from all vnions, dispatches and negotiations, made both within and without the realme: and generally for all that hath bin done, resolved, written and ordayned by the said assemblies and counsells, neither shall they which haue giuen their aduise signed and executed or caused to be signed and executed the said ordonances, orders and resolutions, be now or hereafter molested, nor their widdowes, heires, nor successors, although the particularitie be not here set downe at large, and perpetuall silence shalbe imposed to proctors generall, their substitutes and to all other which may pretend any interest, notwithstanding all decrees, sentences, iudgements, informations and proceedings made to the contrary.

78. Wee do also allow and confirme the accompts haue which bin heard and examined, by the deputies of the said assembly, and we will that they together with acquitances and papers which haue bin deliuered by them that were comptable, shalbe brought into our Chambers of accompts at Paris, three moneths after the publication of this present Edict, and put into the hands of our Proctor generall, to bee deliuered vnto the keeper of the bookes and registers of our chamber, there to haue recourse vnto them when neede shall require, yet the said accompts shall not bee renewed, nor the accomptants bound to any correction, but in case of omission of receipt, or false acquitances: imposing silence to our proctor generall, for the rest which they will say is defectiue and that the formes

1599. formes haue beene well kept, we doe also prohibit all our officers of accompts aswell of A Paris, as of other Prouinces where they are established to take knowledge thereof in any sort whatsoeuer.

79 And in regard of accompts which haue not bin yet made we wil that they shalbe heard and examined by commissioners deputed by vs, who without difficulty shal passe and allow all Summes paide by the said accomptants, by vertue of the ordonances of the saide assembly.

80 All collectors, receitours, farmers, and all others shall remaine well and duly discharged of all the summes of mony which they haue paid vnto the committies of the said assemblies vnto the last day of this moneth. We will that all shalbe past and allowed in the accompts, which shalbe made plainly, and simply, in our chambers of accompts, by vertue of the acquitances which shalbe brought: and if any shalbe here-after made, or deliuered, they shall remaine voyde, and such as shall accept, or deliuer them, shalbe condemned in a fine for false employment. And if any accompts haue beene already made, vpon the which there hath beene some abatements, or charges, in that regard we haue taken them away, and wholly restored the saide parties, by vertue of these presents, hauing no farther neede of priuate letters, or any thing else, but the extract of this present Article.

81 The gouernors, capitaines, counsell, and men appointed for the recouery of mony, to pay the garrisons of places, held by them of the said religion, to whom our receiuers, and collectors of parishes haue furnished by way of loane, vpon their bills, and bonds, were it by constraint, or to obay the commandements of the treasurers generall, the necessary summes for the intertainment of the said garrisons, vnto the concurrence of that which was set downe by the order which we had caused to be made in the year 1596, and the augmentation since graunted by vs, shall be held quit, and discharged of that which hath bin payed to that effect, although by the saide bills and obligations there bee no expresse mention made, the which shalbe restored vnto them as voyde. And for satisfaction thereof the treasurers generall, in euery generality shall cause the peticular receiuers of our taxes to giue them acquitances vnto the said collectors, and the receiuers generall their acquitances, and to the particular receiuers: and for the discharge of the said receiuers general the Sums (whereof they haue kept the accompts as is said) shalbe indorced vpon the commandements giuen by the treasurers of the Espargne, vnder the name of the treasurers generall of the extraordinary of our warres, for the payment of the said garrisons, and whereas the said charge shall not amount to as much as is set downe in our said estate of the year 1596, and the augmentation, we ordaine that new commandements be made for the supplying of that which shall want and to discharge our accomptants, and the restitution of the said promises and obligations, so as hereafter nothing shall be demanded of them that haue made them, and that all letters of validation, which shalbe necessary for the discharge of accomptants, shalbe expedited by vertue of this present Article.

82 In like manner they of the said religion shall presently relinquish and desist from all practises, negotiations, and intelligences, as well within as without the realme: and the said assemblies and counsell made within the Prouinces shalbe presently dissolved, and all leagues, and associations, made or to be made, vnder what pretext soeuer, to the preiudice of our present estate, made voyd and disannulled, as we make voyde and disannull them: forbidding expressly al our subiects, hereafter to make any cottisations and leuies of mony, without our permission, fortifications, inuolwing of men, congregations and assemblies, others then are allowed by our present Edict, and without armes: the which we do expressly forbid, vpon paine of rigorous punishment, as contemners and breakers, of our commandements, and lawes.

83 All prizes which haue beene made by sea, during the troubles, by vertue of passports giuen, and those which haue beene made by land, vpon them of the contrary party, and which haue beene iudged by the iudges, and officers of the admiraltie, or by the heads of them of the said religion, or their counsell, shall remaine suppressed vnder the benefit of our present Edict, for the which no poursuit shalbe made, nor the capitaines, and others which haue made the said prizes, nor there cautions, neither the said iudges, nor officers, their widows nor heires shalbe in any sort molested or troubled, notwithstanding any decrees

A decrees of our Priuie Councell, and Parliaments and all letters of reprisall, and seizure, depending and not iudged the which we will shall be discharged. 1599.

84. Moreouer they of the said Religion, shall not bee called in question for a ny opposition, and hinderance which they haue giuen heretofore, euen since the troubles, to the execution of any decrees and iudgements, giuen for the re-establishment of the Catholike Apostolike, and Romish Religion in diuers parts of this Realme.

85. And as for that which hath beene done or taken during the troubles, not in hostile manner, or hostily, but contrary to the publike orders, or priuat commandements, of the heads, or of the communalities of Prouinces, who had the charge, poursuite may be made by the way of iustice.

86. Yet for as much as that which hath beene done contrary to order, of either part and indifferently, being excepted, and reserued in the generall Abolition, mentioned in our present Edict, and is subiect to be called in question, there is no Souldier but may be molested, whereby new troubles might growe; for this cause we will and command, that onely execrable facts shalbe exempted out of the said Abolition, as rauishing and forcing of wiues, and virgins, burning, murders, and robberies, made by prodicion, and not in hostile manner, and to practize priuat reuenges, against the law of armes, breach of passports, and sauegarde with murders, and spoyles, without commandements, in regard of them of the said Religion, and others which haue followed the party of the commanders, who haue had authority, grounded vpon priuat occasions, which haue moued them to command it.

87. We ordaine also that punishment, shalbe made of crimes, and offences, committed betwixt persons, of the same party, if it be not in acts commanded by the heads of either part, according to the necessity, law, and order of the warre. And as for leuies and exactions of mony, carrying of armes, and other exploits of warre done by priuat authority and without warrant, poursuite shalbe made by the way of iustice.

88. In townes demanteled during the troubles, the ruines therof by our permission may bee repaired and reedified at the inhabitants owne costs, and charges, and the prouisions graunted heretofore in that regard shal hold and be in force.

89. We ordaine, will, and it is our pleasure, that all Noblemen, Knights, Gentlemen and others, of what quality and condition soeuer, of the said pretended reformed Religion, and others that haue followed their party, shal haue, & effectually inioy, al and euery their goods, rights, names, reasons, and actions, notwithstanding any iudgements that haue beene giuen during the said troubles and by reason thereof: which sentences, seizures, and iudgements and all that hath thereby followed, we haue and do declare them voyde and of no force.

90. The acquisitions which they of the sayd pretended reformed Religion, and others which haue followed their party haue made by other authority, then from the deceased Kings our predecessors, of lands belonging to the Church, shalbe of no force, but we ordaine will, and our pleasure is that the said Clergy-men shall presently and without delay returne into and bee maintained in the reall, and actuall possession of the said lands, thus alienated, and not to be bound to yeeld any value for the sayd contracts of sale the which to that end wee haue reuoked as voyde: for the which the said buyers shall haue no recourse against the commanders, by whose authority the sayd goods had bin sould. And yet for the restitution of the mony by them truly and without fraud disbursed, our letters-patents shalbe graunted with permission, to them of the said Religion to impose, and to collect equally among them the summes where-vnto the sayd sales shall amount; restraining the purchaser from any action for their damage and interest for not inioying, but they shall content them-selues with the rest of the mony which they had paide for the said purchases, accomplishing the vallew of the fruits receued by them, in case it be found to haue bin sold at an vnder value.

91. And to the end that as well our Iustices and Officers, as our other subiects may bee fully aduertized of our will and intention: and to take away all ambiguities and doubts which may be made by means of precedent Edicts, for the diuersity thereof: we haue declared, and declare all other precedent Edicts, secret Articles, letters, declarations, modifications, restrictions, interpretations, decrees, and records, as well secret as others, deliberations heretofore made by vs, or the Kings our predecessors, in our courts of Parliament, or else



1599

else where concerning matters of Religion, and the troubles happened in our said realme, A to be voyde and of noe force: to the which and to the derogatories therein containd, wee haue, and do by this our Ediēt derogate: decreeing exprelly, that our pleasure is that this our Ediēt shalbe firmly and inuioleably kept and obserued, as well by our said iustices and officers, as our other subiects, without regard vnto any thing that may seeme contrary.

92 And for the better assurance of the obseruation of that which we desire, we ordaine, will, and our pleasure is, that all Gouvernours and Lieutenants generall of our Prouinces, Baylifes, seneshalls, and other ordinary iudges of the townes of our said realme, presently after the reception of this Ediēt, shall sweare to cause it to be kept and obserued every one in his iurisdiction: as also the Maiors, Sheriffes, Capitoulx, Consulls, and Iurats of townes annuall, & perpetuall: inioyning also our said Bayliffes Seneshalls, or their Lieutenants, and other Iudges, to cause the cheefe inhabitants of the said townes to sweare the intertaynement of this present Ediēt, presently after the publication thereof. Taking all them of the sayd townes into our protection and sauegard, and one to keepe and defend another: charging them respectiuelly and by publike acts to answer ciuilly for all contrauentions which shalbe done to our said Ediēt within our said townes by the inhabitants thereof, or else to deliuer the infringers into the hand of Iustice.

Such was the Ediēt in the publication with some secret articles for the resolution of many other difficulties, for the cheefe government of them of this Religion, by the which many things were graunted, whereof it is not lawfull for subiects to demand the reason, being most certaine that the Prince doth not any thing but for the good of his people. It sufficeth that they know it which deserue to know it. But the more the secrets of an estate are lookt into, the more carefully they are to be concealed. This Ediēt which heretofore hath bene the cause of ciuill diuisions is now the true ciment of peace, the which shall powre forth from all parts streames of Heauenly Blessings. But as it is made for publike and generall respects, so must it haue priuat effects, in smothering all seedes of partialities and factions: and that we may find among the French, that which the Emperour *Maximine* desired vnto the Romans, a forgetfulnesse of thinges past, and assurance of loue to come.

The Ediēt was made at Nantes in Aprill 1598. but it was not verified by the court of Parliament at Paris, vntill February the yeare following.

**T**he Ediēt was sent, by the care and dilligence of the Kings Attorney Generall unto all the Baylewikes depending vpon Paris: and yet his Maiesty had deputed in euery Prouince, certaine commissioners for the execution thereof. The exercise of the Catholike Religion was restored in Rochelle, and in aboute a hundred walled townes, and a thousand Parishes and Monasteries, where the said exercise had bin interdicted aboute fiftene yeares: and in Bearne for the space of one and thirty yeares.

This yeare death strooke a great stroake among men and women, who shewed their generous resolutions against the feare and terrors thereof. *Peter de Pinac* the last of that name Primat of France, Arch-bishop and Earle of Lions, died in the beginning of Ianuary: whose life was so famous, as it deserues to be breefely set downe in this history. The reputation which he had gotten at the Estates at Blois, made King *Henry* the third (a great Prince, as well in iudging, as in recompensing of good wits) to call him to his Councell after the death of *Monluc* Bishop of Valentia: whereas he shewed him selfe to be of that iudgement, as hee was in short time employed in the greatest affaires in Councell. At that time the Court was in a manner all Gascon, there was no entry into the Kings fauours, nor bounty, but at the Duke of Espernons pleasure, who was the *Hephsestion* of our *Alexander*. *Peter de Pinac* heart could not subiect it selfe to that of *John Lewis* of Nogaret. He was too much his owne to be any other mans, and thought that if he must needs serue, it was enough to serue the Maister, and not subiect himselfe to the will of the Seruant.

Hee did not affect the tedious seruitude of the Court, nor did much care for that forced kind of life. Writing vnto his friends, long before the trouble of the League, hee sayd, that amidst the greatnesse and honour of charges wherein the King did employ him, hee did not leaue to desire the content of happy retreat. But things fell out other-wise then hee expected. The League burst forth in Champagne. The King sent him to pacifie the

Duke

A Duke of Guise. In this negotiation hee had a quarrell with *Esperson* vpon certaine words which blemished both their honours. He had written a Poeme against the Mignons, where-with the King was offended, commanding him to leaue the court: so as hee retired himselfe to his owne house, after the treaty of peace made at Nemours. But as the Kings blowes were but threats, so knowing well that this Prelate was not to lue idly in a corner of the Realme and that this great desaigne of the league (like vnto a ball of snow) did increase in many townes whereas the Kings obedience was growne cold, and that the Princes enemies to this crowne prepared to gather the Flower de Luce, he neuer ceased vntill hee had called him againe to court.

This returne was the beginning of his misery. Many others before him hauing fallen into disgrace with the Prince, haue not beene raised againe but for a greater fall. It is seene in the courts of all Princes, such Tragedies are visuall. Hee was presently called to the Helme of affaires, and was followed and respected more then any other Nobleman in court. But as wee may not iudge of the daie by the morning, nor of the felicity of man by the good daies of his life, this happinesse was but the entry to misfortune which did attend him. Hee embarked himselfe in the same ship with the Duke of Guise, the which being broken at the Estates of Blois, hee had no other meanes to saue himselfe, but through the fauour of the Baron of Lix his Nephew. Hee was giuen in ranome to *Gast*, who kept him seuen or eight monethes in the castle of Amboise, and then set him at liberty for thirty thousand crownes. Hee went to the Duke of Maine, and seeing that the affaires of his party tended too much to confusion and to a popular government, hee perswaded him alwaies to retaine the forme of a Monarchy, to the end he might oppose a kinde of Royaltie against the King, and not be blamed to haue broken the bonds of the Estate. So through this aduice, they made Officers of the crowne, and gaue him the scales. Hee neuer engaged himselfe vpon the promises of Spaine, but sayd alwaies, that hee was a true hearted Frenchman.

The faction of Spaine knowing him to be such, hindred Pope *Sixtus* the fifth from giuing him a Cardinals-hat, and they dissuaded *Clement* the eight, who had sayd that at the first promotion he would remember his merits. He requited them well: when as the Spaniards came to Paris to propound the coronation and marriage of the Infanta *Isabella* of Spaine, letting them know that the Flower de Luce could not spin. He returned to Lions, leauing the Duke of Mayenne, intending to settle his affaires, and to accommodate himself with the peace and generall good of the Realme. At his returne grew that tumult against the Duke of Nemours, the which hee vsed ill, for his wisdom did not second the occasion. Great vnderstanding failes sometimes in the perfection of iudgement and discourse. Hee saw himselfe forced to depart the city, and neuer to returne againe vntill the King made his first entry. The King (who had shewed effects of his bounty, and clemency to his greatest enemies) could not loue him, hauing this impresson in his soule, that hee was the only Instrument to crosse his fortunes. Speaking one day of the peace of Nemours, in the yeere 1586, he sayd vnto him, that in that negotiation he had giuen good testimony that hee loued him not, and that he had done him bad seruice. My Liege (answered hee) I could not doe better for the seruice of the King my maister. I had done otherwise, if I had bene your seruant, as I am now. When as the Duke of Esperson returning out of Prouence, went to visit him at his palace, amongst other speeces of the remembrance of thinges past, hee sayd vnto him, that hee did not thinke there was any one in France whose fortunes had bene so croit as theirs: the Archbishop answered him, as for mine it was neuer croit but by you.

After the reduction of the city of Lions to the Kings obedience, this great spirit, borne to action, grew discontented to see himselfe no more in the honor and reputation that hee had bene. Hee then resolved to apply his minde onely to the affaires of his charge, to choose the time most conuenient for the tranquillity of the haue wherevnto he approached. When as the Duke of Nemours had made his escape out of Pierre-anizze, hee said, that he would not vse his liberty well: he writes vnto his friend in this manner.

Remember that I haue alwaies sayd vnto you, that *Monsieur de Nemours* will finde himselfe much intangled with the Spaniards, who haue led *Monsieur de Maine* into an inextricable Laborinth, and will bring *Monsieur de Nemours* vnto a miserable Estate: and I dare in a

Rrrr

manner

1599

Commanded to leaue the Court.

Called backe againe.

Read the example of Ber. uard of Cabren in the lute of L. or Pedro King of Aragon. (see in his Annals.

He was made keeper of the seals vnder the Cardinal of Bourbon whom they called the black sheeh.

Barricades at Lions against the Duke of Nemours.

Hee grieues to see himselfe reduced to be no more employed.

The death of M<sup>r</sup> de Pinac Archbishop of Lion.

1599. manner prophetic, that in the end the Duke of Sauoy will find himselfe deceiued as well as A the rest. The Spaniards shirte is neerer vnto him then his doubler, and he will rather seeke to preferue his owne, then to vsurpe an other mans Estate for an other.

The King sent for him to the Estates at Roan: but the necessity of his affaires would not suffer him to goe. He said that he was not fit for this age, and that hee was like vnto the Adamant, which serues not for all seas. In the end of his last yeere, hee complained vnto his friends of the shortnesse of his life, saying that hee was not to liue about tenne or twelue yeeres, when as he liued not twelue daies. His Physitions disagreed vpon the cause of his griefe: he had beene long troubled with the Emoroyds, the which had so emptied his bodie, as there was no bloud found in him when hee was opened. His lights were much altered. And for that his Physition sayd vnto him, that his griefe was the goutte, he replied. Is it possible that any one should die of the goutte without a feuer? I see well what it is: seeing men vnderstand nothing, we must haue recourse vnto God. The third day of his sicknesse his body was called to the Earth, and his soule to Heauen. Hee withstood the terrors of death with as great a courage as when it was presented vnto him at the Estates of Blois. Foure or five houres before his decease a Capuchin came to visite him and to comfort him, exhorting him to free this last passage courageously, and to let him know that the issue of this life is equall. Death disrobing man of his titles and dignities, as Stage-players doe their attire: he called him simply by his name: when as he vnderstood this new manner of complemen- and that they called him *Peter de Pinac* without any other ceremony, hee lifted vp his head and eyes, to say vnto him that spake, what art thou? They found that this speech did somewhat amaze him, and that hee did take it as a watch-word of his departure, which was about midnight.

*Aequat omnes  
conuictus e:  
miserum, pa-  
tes mori-  
Seneca. Epis. 92*

A Double is  
the fifth part  
of a peny.

The Duke  
Ioyeuse re-  
turnes to the  
Capuchin.

Motive whic  
he became a  
Capuchin.

The Duke of Biron did see him in his sicknesse and assisted at his funerall. No man lying did better iudge of the nature of men by the consideration of their visages: hee did diuine of the Marthall *Birons* fortune by his countenance, and the proportion of his visage, for hauing considered it some-what curiously, hee sayd vnto his Sister after his departure; *He hath the worst Physiognomy that euer I obserued in my life, as of a man that would perseuer miserably.* The Archbishop of Lions had profited so little by the troubles, as had he liued longer, necessity had forced him to feele great discomforts: his Sisters Estate was engaged, the fruites of his benefices were seized on, and yet his table was as sumptuous, as in the best daies of his prosperity. The League had cost him fifty thousand crownes: the Doubloons of Spaine had left him nothing but Doubles.

Those which haue read the publike actions of this Prelate, may iudge of his Doctrine, but no man can represent the grace and force of his action, but those which haue seene them. Hee had in him a concurrence of all things necessary for an eloquent discours. A graue pleasing countenance, a goodly personage, a facility of words, and an action that did charm his Auditors. The Duke *Ioyeuse*, Marthall of France, being at Paris in March, hauing heard father *Laurence* Sermons in *Saint Germain L' Auxerrois*, being moued in conscience, after that he had taken his leaue of the Ladies and some of his friends, hee returned againe to the Capuchins: where being receiued by the fathers, he did a hard penance, and submitted himselfe to all the duties of a religious man. All men were amazed to see him returne the second time to his couent, being plunged (in shew) vp to eares in the delights of the world: but his conscience tied him to returne by the bond of his vow, perswading him that it were better not to vow, then not to keepe a vow made freely, and without constraint or compulsion in his maiority. The first motive of being a Capuchin came into his heart by inspiration, when as the deceased King *Henry* the third went on foote in procession to Chartres to haue issue, if it pleased God. Hee was then called Earle of Bouchages: he made choise of this order among all others, the better to doe his penance. And the rather, for that hee vnderstood, that he was dedicated by his deceased father, to be of the Church. When hee was first a Nouice, hee applied his study with so great a courage, as he was blamed for his great diligence, wearing the haire continually. He had his shoulders all torne with wounds.

In this Estate hee continued vntill the hottest of the late miserable warre: when as after the death of his father, his younger brother, who was a Knight of Malta and Grand-Prior of Languedoc was called Duke of Ioyeuze (for the Duke of Ioyeuze, brother-in-law to King

Henry

A *Henry* the third deceased, his eldest brother, who was slaine at the battaile of Contras with Saint *Sauour* his yongest brother, died without children) the sayd Duke of Ioyeuze being acknowledged by them of Tholouze, Narbone and others of the League, for their head, he made an enterprize vpon the towne of Villemer in Lauragais, where hauing planted the siege, for that it was held by the Royalists, euen as hee thought to haue forced the towne, the Lords of Themines, *Chimbut* and *Miffille* came to releuee it, who charged him with such aduantage, as they put al his army to rout, so as the said Duke retyring to the passage of a riuer, he was drowned with many others. By this meanes the house of Ioyeuze was reduced to the Cardinall of Ioyeuze his brother and to the Earle of Bouchage a Capuchin (whom then they called father *Angelo*) the Tholousains and Nobility of their party being much amazed, had recourse vnto the Cardinall, whom they intreated often to take the charge of leading them: the which he would neuer accept. And in the end, at their instant sute, that in raising his house, hee would succor them by the meanes of the Earle of Bouchages his brother, who was then more then capable of such a charge: but hee was a Capuchin. This difficulty was propounded to the councill of the diuines, who concluded that by reason of the vrgent necessity they should withdraw him from thence: the which was propounded vnto himselfe, and hee refused it. But after they had laied before him the example of his owne father, who being Grand Prior of Languedoc was yet dispensed withall to marry and to raise his house, the which remained onely in him, and whereof God had approued his blessing by the effect, so many braue Noblemen being borne of that marriage, hee consented to returne vnto the world, vpon two conditions. The one was, that it should be with the consent and leaue of the Generall of the Order. The other by the dispensation of the Holy Sea, and that hee might returne againe when God should send rest to the Church and State. This obtained from the Pope and his Generall, father *Angelo* is againe of the world, and doth all acts of a worldling, of a captaine and of a souler, applying himselfe to the humors of the time. After that he had pacified many popular seditions in Tholouza, and beene a meanes to reduce it to the Kings obedience, being at Paris, hauing with the Kings good liking and pleasure married his onely Daughter to the Duke of Monpensier a Prince of the blood, hee bethought himselfe of his bond contained in his dispence, and went and yelded his obedience vnto the Holy Sea and Order, whereas hee is now one of the chiefe conductors, hauing referred all his domesticall affaires to the Cardinall his brother, and to the Duke his sonne-in-law.

The second of  
Ioyeuze was  
drowned at  
Villemer.

Hee leaues the  
Capuchins ha-  
bit by the  
Popes dispensa-  
tion and leaue of his  
Generall, the mediators  
the reduction of  
the house to  
the Kings o-  
bedience.

His Mother  
desires his re-  
turne to the  
Capuchins.

The K com-  
mends his re-  
solution.

That is to say,  
the King, the  
Duke of May-  
enne, the duke  
Ioyeuse, and  
L<sup>e</sup> Esdigueres.  
Schomberg  
died the 17. of  
March, 1599.

His mothers reares preuailed much for his returne. Shee was more afflicted for this change, then for the death of all her other children, and neuer ceased vntill she had drawne Friar *Angelo* (for so she still called him) out of the deserts of Egypt, to Mount Caluarie, and that shee had seene him in the habit which hee had left. These be mighty effects of grace, which reformes that which is deformed, and conformes that which is reformed, confirms that which is conformed, transformes that which is confirmed, and makes the soule to liue more in Heauen, whether it aspires, then in the body where it breathes. The King went to visit him, and commended his resolution, saying that he did some-times thinke to speake vnto him of it: and had done it, but he doubted that he would mistake his meaning, and thinke hee did it to bee rid of him. Dying one day in a place whereas there was onely his Maieesty and three other Noblemen, he sayd vnto them, that in the world there were men of al conditions and qualities to bee found, but they should hardly assemble foure so different, and that in these foure whereof he was one, there was a sinner conuerted, a Leaguer repented, a Capuchin diuerted, and a Huguenot peruerted.

This amazement in court for the Duke of Ioyeuze, was increased by the sodaine death of *Schomberg*, who was taken with an Apoplexie returning from Conflans, whereas *Villemer* had feasted the King and all his councill. It gaue him no respite to speake French nor Dutch. Warre dying, had left no quarrell in France, but for the Marquisate of Salusses, which the King demanded as depending vpon Daulphiné, and the Duke of Sauoy sought to vnite it vnto his house, from the which he pretends the Daulphins had wrested it. The difference of this restitution must be determined by the Pope, who was named Arbitrator, by the treaty of Veruins. It is the most important sute that hath beene long time in Rome. The parties send their Ambassadors to Rome, to sue vnto the Arbitrator for iudgement.

Rrrr 2

President

1599. President *Brulart* goes for the King, and the Count *d'Arconas* for the Duke of Sauoy, and they come to Rome in the beginning of the yeere. In the meane time the Duke beleecheth his Maieſty, that hee will giue him leaue to visit him. The King answered the Duke, that hee would gladly see him: but resolving to accompany his Sister when shee should goe into Lorraine, he should not make any long aboad in any one place during the rest of the winter, and therefore hee desired him that hee would defer his voyage vnto the spring, thinking that he should not be troubled to seeke him any farther, then in the city of Lions, where hee meant to bee about the same time. They pursue the Arbitrement at Rome: the Arbitrator (the best of good Popes) shewes as great Integrity, as the parties did passion.

The Duke of Sauoy seeks to be reconciled vnto the King.

Multa furi prohibentur que tamen facta tenent.

Brauerie of the French.

Hee was free from all affection that was contrary to Iustice, and would doe nothing contrary to his conscience. Hee was carefully instructed by either party, concerning this controuersie. You may read the whole proceſſe at large in the Originall. The Duke of Sauoy (hauing kept the Marquise of Salusses some yeeres, whilest that France had turned her owne armes against her selfe) considered, that so soone as the King should overcome his other affaires, the recovery thereof would not bee the last of his enterprises, for the restauration of that to his crowne. He was therefore one of the first that sought to reconcile himselfe vnto the King: and the first propositions were made by *Sebastian Zemet*. The King could hardly beleue that the Duke of Sauoy would separte himselfe from the designs and counells of the King of Spaine (who had alwaies a body of an army in France) being so strictly tied vnto him. He therefore sends to *Syllery*, his Ambassador in Switzerland, to enter into conference vpon this matter with the Dukes Ambassadour there, and to sound his intention. The Duke had sent the Marquis of Aix into Spaine, to know how he should treat with the King. At the same time they surprized a Pacquet comming from Spaine, the which being deciphered, they found the Duke desired to treat in good earnest: for his Ambassadour writing from Madril, sent him word, that touching the forme of the accord, for the which hee desired to haue counsell, the King of Spaines Ministers would neuer tell it, but with many conditions, and secretly, although it were a thing which they desired, that they might retire their forces, and employ them in Flanders, whereas all things went to wracke. That if his Highnesse, whom it did import, could finde the meanes to effect it, hee was assured in the end they would find it good, as they had done many other designs, rejected by them in the beginning, and afterwards allowed, according to the successe. Many conferences were made concerning this cause, before the peace of Veruins, but nothing could be concluded. His Holinesse being made Iudge and Arbitrator of all controuersies, betwixt his Maieſty and the Duke, the parties produce all their pretensions. The Ambassadour of France demanded restitution of the possession, saying: That it ought to bee iudged before the Propriety, and that the possession of about a hundred yeeres, should serue for a good title to France, if they had nothing else. The Dukes Ambassadour answered, That power may giue possession without right, and that his Master had preferred his interest with the possession.

After many difficulties and much dispute, the French men that were resident within Rome, gaue it out, that they had pleaded too much: that there was no reason the Pope should ouerthrow the right of a great King, to please a petty Prince: that they must end this quarrell with the Cannon in the plaines of Piedmont. As these men braued it in words, the others published their reasons in writing, shewing that the rule of the law, which will haue the dispossessed restored to his possession, is not practised among Princes, nor for principalities. The French insist vpon the contrary, and vrge an end of this businesse with great vehemency, desiring rather to be presently dispatcht, then to languish in the tediousnesse of the remedy. The Spaniards delayed the decision of this proceſſe all they could, holding the dispute more auailable to them then the resolution, and the disease more profitable then the cure.

The time appointed for the Arbitrement was almost spent in tedious difficulties, as vnplesing vnto the Pope as to the French. And although he had no lesse zeale to maintaine concord, then hee had shewed affection and care to suppress discord, yet would hee gladly haue beene freed of this Iudgement, for the bad effects which hee did apprehend, and whereof the coniectures were easie by the consideration of things past. Hee desired not that

that the Iudgement which hee should pronounce, should giue any cause to the one or the other, to complaine of his Iustice, being troubled what hee should pronounce, for that it was a thing without example, and was dangerous to determine of that which had beene decided. In these two extremes, either to iudge the possession of the Marquise to the King, or to ioyne to the Petitory to content the Duke: he findes a meanes to haue the Marquise sequestred into his hands as a *Nouiter*, to remaine in *deposito*, vntill it should be adiudged vnto the one or the other. To this end *F. Bonauenture Calatagiron*, Generall of the Friars, and newly made Patriarch of Constantinople, was sent into France with *Roncas* the Dukes Secretary: vnto whom the King not onely granted (against the aduite of his counsell) that the Marquise should remaine in *deposito* in the Popes power, as one who had no pretension nor title vnto it: but also a prolongation of the Arbitrement for two moneths. The Duke was well pleased, that this sequestration should maintaine the hope of his possession. The French desired rather a definitive sentence, then a sequestration, for although they had no cause to doubt of the Depositors fidelity: yet through too much trust, men doe often fall into great inconueniences. The Kings Ambassadour freed them of those apprehensions, and managed this Sequestration to politickely, as they found it in better estate, then the Kings counsell did expect. Hee carried himselfe herein like a man of great Iudgement, neither could he serue his Maister meanely, in a subiect of so great import. The Duke grew in some ieaousie of *Arconas*, for that hee was a Milanois, beleueing that he did rather follow the Spaniards intentions, then his; wherupon he called him backe to Turin, vnder colour to send him into Spaine. He that succeeded *Arconas* in that charge, marred, al recieuing the Instructions that were given him too lightly, and deliuering them too indiscreetly, for visiting the Cardinals, which hee thought did fauour the intentions of the King of Spaine, and the Duke his Maister, he drew nothing from them, but that the issue of this businesse would not be as he expected. The rest of the Cardinals which had other designs, blamed the Dukes counsell, who had engaged him in the expectation of a iudgement both doubtfull and of small honour: that the best hee could hope for, was the hatred of a great Prince, who would alwaies remember this iniury: and that they had caused him to plead so long for his owne. The French vsed other subtilties, to make him counsell the Duke to breake off the Arbitrement. And for that this engagement in an others hands, was not plesing vnto them, they held it little for the reputation of France, to follow such tedious formes by the way of Iustice, seeing there was a more speedy course by the way of Armes.

They gaue it out, that the Depository would hold things in that Estate, as when it pleased him hee would make it knowne, that the thing engaged belonged vnto himselfe: that he had good correspondency with the King, and that his intention was to make one of his Nephewes Marquis of Salusses, and Feudatarie of France. This feare, or rather indiscretion of the Ambassador, imbarqued him so farre in this ieaousie, as hee holds the Iudge for suspect, and sends to his Maister, that he should dislike of the Depositor, as much as of the King. And although the Popes intention was not to be corrupted, yet he beleueed it to be true by the Popes coldnesse, and hee did not onely beleue it, but thinking it a basenesse to dissemble it, and treason not to speake it, hee told the Pope, That his Maisters Highnesse did expect an assured Iudgement from his Holinesse, to bee maintained in possession of the Marquise, as a thing which he held of his Predecessors, whereof hee had beene spoiled by the violence of the stronger, and had recovered it by the good hap of an occasion. The Pope said vnto him, that hee desired not to leaue these two Princes long in this dispute, nor to breake the course of happinesse which their subiects promised themselves by the continuance of the peace. But the Ambassador, who was transported, added: That if his Holinesse gaue sentence in fauour of his Maister, hee should dispose of the thing adiudged, and finde him as full of affection as any other, to second his intentions, when it should please him to haue the Marquise for one of his Nephewes. The Pope who marcht vp-rightly, being offended at an offer so contrary to the integrity of his intention, said vnto the Ambassador, that hee neuer had any such thought, and to free him from all feare, hee would desist from the Iudgement, and deale no more neither with the Arbitrement nor Sequestration.

A Proposition of sequestration.

Indiscretion confounds in troubles himselfe.

The Arbitrators & depositions broken.

1599.

The King of  
Spaine repairs  
allThe Duke  
complains of  
the Spaniards.Gabrielle de  
Eftcy Marquis  
of Monceaux  
and Du helle  
of Beaufort.Death of the  
Duchesse of  
Beaufort.

All men thought at Rome, that the Arbitrement was broken, and the consent for the A  
Sequestration reuoked: the French cared not, and the Duke was content that things should  
passe by other formes then those of the Consistory. The Ambassador of Spaine resyd-  
ing at Rome would not haue the Duke of Sauoy do his businesse alone, nor the controuersie  
for the Marquisate of Salusses, to remain at his disposition: the King his Maister was inter-  
ested therein, it was reasonable he should be the first Mououer of all his motions. He therefore  
intreated the Pope, not to leaue things imperfect, and not to refuse to end a worke so hap-  
pily begun for the generall good of all Christendome, greatly interested in the concord of  
two Kings, who could not long continue, if all occasions of warre, that might grow vpon  
this question for the Marquisate of Salusses, were not taken away. The Duke had already B  
found in many occasions, that the counsels of Spaine were not alwaies put in execution to  
his content: that he fastned his hopes to a rotten cable, trusting to their resolutions: and  
that their deceites (though couered with goodly shewes of loue and affection) were so  
much the more odious vnto him, for that hee which deceiues vnder the name of friend-  
ship, is more to bee blamed, then he that is deceived. He therefore propounded to do his  
businesse without them, and from many great discontents, hee tooke a resolution to goe  
into France: so as from that time hee neuer slept quietly, vntill hee were assured of the  
Kings word.

The Duchesse of Beaufort had alwaies fauoured his intentions, and desired to assure her  
selfe of such a Prince, who offered vnto her all his meanes to support her fortune, hauing  
sent vnto her the goodliest Iewell that was in the cabinet of Madam *Marquerite* his Mo-  
ther. Shee also considering, that whatsoeuer is done by men, may bee vndone by them a-  
gain: that Princes fauours are inconstant, and that humane things haue nothing firme nor  
constant, no more then the Sea; she willingly gaue eare to the promises which he made her  
for the good of her hopes. He could not haue found a better solicitor: but death tooke  
her awaay. She parted from Fontainebleau in the beginning of the weeke before Easter, to  
come to Paris, and there to passe the feasts. The Diuiners, whom idlenesse and curiosity en-  
tertaines commonly at the Court, said, that a child should hinder her from attaining to that  
wherevnto she did aspire. She had heard some thing, and in this apprehension, shee tooke  
her leaue of the King at her departure, as if shee had bene assured neuer to see him more, D  
recommending her children vnto him, the finishing of her house at Monceaux, and the re-  
warding of her seruants. This recommendation of her children did chiefly concerne the  
Duke of Vendosme, whom shee loued deere, and whom shee intended to bring vp in the  
most perfect institution of vertue.

Being at Paris, she went on the Wednesday to Saint *Antonies* Church to here the Mu-  
sicke, where she was seized with extreame paines, which neuer left her vntill that life had left  
her. They killed the Infant in her, and tormented her with such cruel convulsions, as they  
drew her mouth to the nape of her neck. She was first lodged at *Zamets* house, nere Saint  
*Antonies* gate: but being fallen into this extremity, she was carried to the lodging of Ma-  
dame de *Sourdis* her Aunt, in the cloister of Saint *Germain l'Auxerrois*, where on the Sater-  
day she ended her life. Vpon the first aduertisment of her sicknesse, the King went from Fon-  
tainebleau to see her. The Marshall d' *Ornano* met him, and beseeched him to returne, for  
that sight could not prolong the life of the sicke, and would but increase his griefe. Pre-  
sently after arriued *Belieure*, who brought the newes of her death, into whose Carosse the  
King went, to euaporate more at ease his sighes, the which hope of recovery had somewhat  
restrained. Words are not able to charme such sensible blowes: and it is an error to thinke,  
that griefe is driuen away by exorcismes, that it regards words, or is stayed by discourse. Yet  
this first violence of the Kings affliction, was calmed by the wife and graue admonitions of  
this *Nestor*, who said, that France had acknowledged him for her *Hercules*, and as hee had  
bene like vnto him in many labours equally glorious and admirable, so now he should bee  
vnlike him, in that hee did abandon the Argonautes, for the griefe hee had for the death of  
*Hias*, whom hee loued.

This death did much trouble the court, for the sorrow and lamentation which the King  
made for her. Her beauty & good behauiour had moued the King to loue her, for the long  
absence of *Q. Marguerite* (whose place she was in hope to possesse absolutely) She left him 3  
children:

1599

A children: *Cesar Monsieur* Duke of Vendosme, *Alexander Monsieur*, who was named Earle  
of Armagnac, and at this time is appointed Grand Prior of France: and one Daughter.  
She was more lamented of priuate persons, then of the publike, who found her hopes more  
insupportable then her carriage. Shee offended few, and bound many vnto her. A great  
personage said: That she was of such an humor, that seeing the King must needs loue, hee  
could not loue an obiekt, whose loue would be lesse preiudiciall to himselfe, nor to his peo-  
ple, so as she continued in the first condition of her birth.

This great beauty, neare vnto the which the most esteemed beauties had no light, (as  
great bodies seeme small in respect of greater) vanished in an instant. This flower against  
the order of others which last vnto the seuenth day, and sometime twice as long, did wither,  
dry, and fell downe dead within two or three houres. She died too soone for them that had  
made triall, that her fauour was a step vnto the Kings: many did write vpon her death,  
which shewed that she had offended few, and bound many vnto her. Death took her at such  
time when as those that do desire to be reputed faire after their death, should desire to dye  
before the failing of their beauty. For whenas they dye old, and that there remains nothing  
in the vessell but lees, they remember no more what they haue bene, and speake no more  
of them, but as of a torch which falls to ashes, when as all that intertaind it is molten and  
consumed: or as flowers which the more pleasing, liuely, and well growing they bee, dis-  
please and stinke the more, when they are gathered, withered, and haue lost their colour.  
She was one of the three beauties, which being seene together, they said of the first, that  
shee was faire: of the other, that she had bene: and of the younger, that she would be.

The Duke of Sauoy was much grieued for her death. But as Domesticall afflictions,  
which chance to Princes, although they be separated from the publike, are not lesse feeling  
and violent; his griefe to see his affaires so crost on all sides, was augmented by the death  
of *D. Philippin* his bastard brother, whom *Creguy* slue in combat: It is a great paine to pur-  
chase honor, a greater to preferue it, but greatest of all to recover it when it is lost. Spea-  
king of honour, I meane the reputation of goodly and vertuous actions, whereof honour  
is the recompence, and the sweetest nourishment. Of those things which do blemish the  
lustre of honour, the first and most base is, to speake or do any thing for feare of death. The  
second is, to endure and suffer a word of contempt, iniury or affront. The third is a lye. This  
rigorous obseruation of the point of Honour, doth now countenance a combat, as me-  
morable for the condition of the persons, the forme and circumstance of the combat, and  
the cause of the quarrell, as any other of this age. Quarrells haue not alwaies reasonable  
grounds: this had nothing but despight, which *D. Philippin* had conceiued, being told him  
that *Creguy* had vanted he had gotten his scarfe, at the taking of the little Fort, built by the  
Duke of Sauoy, neare vnto Chamouffet, to fauour the passage of his army. *D. Philippin*  
some moneths after, thinking that this was spoken to the preiudice of his honour, sent him  
a challenge. *Creguy* comes to the place appointed by the appeale: but the appellant was  
kept backe by the Dukes commandement. The Earle of Brandix (who seemed also to haue  
E a desire to fight) sent word to *Des Dignieres* Generall of the army, that if he had any mind  
to see the combat betwixt *D. Philippin* and *Creguy* his sonne-in-law, he should not returne  
without his part of the sport, but he should find one to exchange a thrust with him. Here-  
upon *Creguy* was taken prisoner going to succor Charbonniers. During his imprisonment  
the quarrell grew to that point, as if he had bene at liberty, it had bene ended at Turin.  
After that the Treaty of peace had sent him home into Daulphiné, *D. Philippin* sent to cha-  
llenge him at Grenoble, and they met neare vnto the Fort of Barrault, where the appellant  
was thrust through the thigh. This combat, which had bene sufficient to haue ended this  
quarrell, was the cause of another, for it was told the Duke, that *Creguy* had vanted, that he  
had of the blood of Sauoy. Wherewith he was offended, and gaue *D. Philippin* to vnder-  
stand, that he would esteeme him no more as he had done, nor euer see him more, if he were  
not reuenged of those words. Whereupon, another challenge was sent, the which was ac-  
cepted as chearefully as the first.

The prohibition which the King had made of single combats, vpon paines not onely  
preiudiciall to their Estates, but shamefull to their reputations, would not suffer them to  
fight in Daulphiné: that the example of the *Gouernours* Sonne-in-law should not draw  
others

The battle of  
of Chamouffet  
was taken by  
by Les Dignieres  
in July 1597.  
This chal-  
lenge of the  
Earle of Brandix  
draws held  
very rash.

One writes  
that hee was  
thrust through  
the thigh, and  
that hee being  
grasped his life  
of *Creguy*.

The second  
Combat.



1599.

The conditions of the combat.

others to the contempt of the Law. It was therefore resolved, that they should fight in the Duke of Sauoy's country, vnder Saint Andrew, a place belonging vnto the Countesse of Antremont, vpon the banke of the riuer of Rhosne, on foot, and in their shirts, which is the most resolute kind of combat. That they should fight with rapier and dagger: That the Baron of Attignac should second *D. Philippin*, and *la Buisse* should second *Crequy*. That none but they should come into the field, and they should not part the Combatants, vntill that one of their deaths had ended the combat. That there should bee twelue Gentlemen on *Daulphiné* side, and as many on that of *Sauoy*, who should be ready to receiue the bodie of the vanquished, or to resist any violence that should be offered vnto the victor. That the twelue of *Sauoy*, should be so farre from the place of combat, as they of *Daulphiné* might passe the water, and come at the same instant to the place of fight. It was long disputed whether the Seconds should fight: for *la Buisse* said, that he would not be one, vnlesse he might giue or take, and that he which goes in such actions to be a simple spectator, wants affection or courage. But the Combatants thought it good that the Seconds should not meddle with the decision of their fortunes.

The day appointed beeing come, all came vnto the place. *De Morges* passed the Rhosne, and scoured vp and downe the fields, to see if there were no ambush nor greater assembly then was set downe in the Accord. The Seconds visited the armes of the two Champions, and searched them, if they had any Charmes or Inchantments about them. *La Buisse* did importune *D. Philippin* much to part, saying, that hee had a desire either to driue it off till night, or to defer the triall til the next day. He told *D. Philippin* by the way, all the braueries he could of *Crequies* valour, to the end he might daunt him: and seeing *Crequy* as farre off in the meadow, he cried vnto him, *he is ours*: but *Philippin* carrying an eye without trouble, and a heart without feare, said vnto him: *why haue you so bad an opinion of me?* Not so, replied *La Buisse*, I know you are braue and generous, but you haue to do with one of the most furious men at armes in France, and that makes me foretell your losse. *La Buisse* forgot nothing in this action, that might shew the office of a friend. And it is well knowne, that if *Crequy* had not returned, *la Buisse* would haue stayed to haue slaine *D. Philippin* and *D. Attignac*, or to haue beene slaine by them. *Du Belier* his brother, knowing his humor, and that he had too much courage and honour, to returne without his friend, was vpon the banke of Rhosne, attending the issue of the combat, meaning to passe through the riuier on horse-backe, and to haue had his part of the glory or perill of this action. When as *D. Philippin* entred the field, he had his iudgement so cleare, as obseruing his enemies gard, and the aduantage which he had, turning his backe to the Sunne, he sayd, *Monsieur de la Buisse, diuide the Sunne*: and seeking himselfe to make the partition, he thrust at *Crequy* with such violence, as the lookers on doubted of the issue of the combat, seeing him still in his daunger. This first fury did but thrust *Crequy* out of the meddow, and *Philippin* out of breath. *Crequy* beeing resolved to thrust, not according vnto the iudgement of choller, but of occasion, attended vntill this fury were past, thrusting him into the body with such force, as he ouerthrew him, and nayled him to the ground. Hee then willed him to aske his life of him: but he was not in case to humble himselfe to that demand, neither was it in *Crequies* power to giue it him: for his wounds were mortall, and all those that were of his side cried to him: *Dispatch him*; neither did *Attignacs* request preuaile any thing. *Crequy* repassed the Rhosne with the twelue Gentlemen which came to fetch him, leauing *D. Philippin* vpon the place. The Duke repented him of the commandement which he had giuen, or it may be his religion (by the aduice of his Confessor) counselled him to reuoke a commandement, in the execution whereof there was hazard of two liues, and the losse of two soules. He sent a post to forbid them to fight, but he arriued too late. *Crequy* thanked God for his victory, and would not suffer his friends to vse their accustomed congratulations, intreating them to speake no more of it, although the glory were great, to haue vanquished his enemy in a forraigne country. *D. Philippin* was carried to his lodging. The Religious of *Pierre Chastell* refused to bury him according to the holy Constitutions of the Church-gouernment, which holds them that die in this sort desperate and murderers of themselves, and makes the paine to continue after death, that the shame which follows them to the graue, might diuert them from this liberty.

As

The difficulties which *D. Philippin* found in the Conditions, stayed them two or three houres.Resolution of two brethren. The second combat betwixt *D. Philippin* Bastard of Sauoy, and *Crequy* the 2. of Iune, 1599.*Attignac* demands *D. Philippin* his liue.

1599.

The Estate of the Kings at-taires in Suisse.

As the Kings enemies at Rome laboured that he could haue no reason of the Marquise of Salusses, so there wanted no practises to trouble his affaires in Suisse. It is a long time since the King of Spaine discovered his ielousie for the general alliance of the Crowne of France with the thirteene Cantons, hauing long practised to haue his share. Our Kings hauing alwaies hindred it, he could neuer get any footing there, as King of Spaine, but hee hath had an hereditary alliance for the reuenues of the house of Austria. So in the raigne of King *Charles* the ninth, when as the King of Spaine demanded to be receiued into alliance, *Belieure* Ambassador of France seeing the Catholike Cantons almost perswaded to prefer new amities before auncient, layd before them the great succors they had receiued of the Crowne of France for the sealing of their liberty: whereas contrariwise the house of Austria had done all they could to suppress them. That they should be wary, not to trust in the alliance of a house offended, in the which the wound did yet bleed, by the death of three Princes defeated by their armes. That he was not ignorant, that the King of Spaine, as defended from the house of Austria, had hereditary desseignes vpon them, by reason whereof the greatnesse and prosperity of his affaires should be suspect vnto them: for as wee ought neuer to feare nor suspect the prosperitie of friends, so must we alwaies doubt that of enemies. These admonitions were of such force, as for that time the Ambassadors of Spaine returned as they came.

The Princes of the house of Austria defeated by the Suisses.

But since the troubles of the last ciuill warre in France, the King found himselfe charged with so many affaires within the Realme, as he could not possibly prouide for all abroad. His owne subiects did so trouble him, as he could not possibly prouide for all abroad. His owne subiects did so trouble him as he could not answer the hopes of his allies. This was a goodly occasion for the King of Spaine to worke his will with the Suisses, and to winne the game, seeing that no man played against him. And as mercenary friendship vanissheth, when as money failes, the French Crownes appearing no more in Suisse, the enemy caused his Ducats to bee disperfed among the petty Cantons, so as they choaked all the first seedes of the Flower-de-luce. Then might you see in France, Suisses against Suisses, and Cantons against Cantons, the one shewing their duties vnto the King as his allies, the other armed against his seruice, as hirelings to the King of Spaine. When as they see that they were not payed their pensions, and that their Captaines and Colonels received nothing of that which was due vnto them, the fiue petty Cantons tyed themselves more straightly to the King of Spaine: and Colonel *Pfister*, who had great credit among them, taught them not to cast their eyes but vpon the Sunne which riseth at the Indies. The greater Cantons continued still firme in the Kings friendship. The wisdome of *Brulart* shewed it selfe in this bad season, as good Pylots are best knowne in the greatest tempests: for hee entertained the Kings seruice beyond all hope, in the greatest of his troubles, when as the King had for a scepter, his Lance, for his Louvre, a Tent; and for his credit, hope, and the lawfull right of a Kingdome. It may iustly be said, that he did great seruice to France in this charge, and the wisest haue wondred, how he could maintaine the affections of this people, when they were entertained onely with the words of his wisdome, and how he could so long continue this hope amidst the common despaire of the affaires of France. But when as the Suisses did see that all France was reduced vnder the Kings obedience, their patience was turned into complaints, and they gaue it out, that if they had not effects in words, where-with they had beene fed so long, as they saw the King could giue them nothing else, they had courage enough to come and demand it themselves. During the seege of Amiens there was a Captaine of one of the petty Cantons, who seeking to make his profite of the time, and of the extremity of the Kings affaires, propounded a bold counsell to get their pay.

The petty Catholike Cantons allied to Spaine.

*Monsieur de Salusse* Ambassador in Saule.

The Realme was yet so full of trechery, the King so ill serued of part of his subiects, the forces of Spaine so great, and so farre entred into France, as if they had done what he propounded, our *Cesar* had not sent them backe with so good a composition as in former times: he had done what he could to giue them money. The Court of Parliament had confirmed certaine Edicts, the profit whereof was appointed to content them: as that of reu- mon of the Registers to the Reuenues; that of the sealing of Lether, and Companies of Handi-crafts men. Whilst that the Captaines and Colonels laboured for the execution, the

1599. the Ambassador entertained the rest with good words and great hopes, which serues much A to temper the impatience of the most violent, and the languishing wearinesse of attendants. He imparted vnto them the Kings counsels for the re-establishment of his affaires, and the payment of that which was due vnto them.

The King  
sends money  
into Surle the  
6. of June.  
1598.

The King sent them money: but as there was not so much as they expected, and that the greatest part was appointed for such as had serued in the last occasions: so it did but increase their discontents and complaints of the rest, so as in the beginning of this year, *Morfontaine* the Kings Ambassador left his charge to come into France. Such as thought to make their profit of this retreat, gaue it out, that it was forced: but it was freely of himselfe, who thought it expedient for the Kings affaires to make offer of this voyage, and to charge himselfe with their demands: but the *Suisses* stayed not long to demand his return, B after the which he died, and was solemnly buried at *Solleure* in a rich Tombe. The King doth busband the Peace well. He employes all his thoughts for the profite of his subjects, to restore them to those commodities wherof *Warre* had deprived them. And therefore considering that a great multitude of his people remained vnprofitable, for that they were not employed in trades and occupations most necessarie for traffike: for that the works which should be made within the Realme by Frenchmen, were bought and sold by strangers, namely, silkes, and cloth of gold and siluer: he did therefore forbid by an Edict, the entrie into his Realme of all Stuffs, made of Silke, Gold or Siluer, pure or mixt, vpon paine of confiscation: to the end the French might be employed in the making of all those marchandizes, which were forbidden to be brought in.

The King  
sends money  
into Surle the  
6. of June.  
1598.

As the Marchants of *Tours* did sollicite these prohibitions, so they of *Lions* made great sute to hinder it. They alledged, that prohibiting the entrie of Marchandize made by hand, they must of necessity be made in France, the which being well planted, would yeeld sufficient commodity to nourish 500000. Frenchmen, and the gold and siluer, which goes out of the realme *in specie*, in great abundance, should continue there still. Those of *Lions* did shew, that this prohibition made the King to loose halfe his Custome at *Lions*: that it would ruine the *Faires*; and this ruine would draw after it the ruine of the city, the which had bin built for the commerce and traffick of all Europe, and was neuer seene more flourishing then since strangers frequented it, by meanes whereof, it did for a time so abound with money, as our Kings haue found great succours in the necessity of their affaires, and sometimes were indebted fixe or seuen millions of Gold, as well to the Inhabitants, as to Marchant strangers. That the whole State was interested in her preferuation, being one of the bulwarkes of the weakest part, and lying open to the enterprises of his enemies. That many strangers, being ready since the peace, to come and make their Banke at *Lions*, were held backe vpon the brute of the prohibition of strange wares, and if the city should continue dis-inhabited of Marchants of that quality, it would be dangerous to leaue it in the hands of poore Artisans, who are insolent in time of peace, impatient in troubles, and alwaies desirous of innouations, hauing nothing more vnpleasing vnto them then the present. Notwithstanding all these reasons, the King would haue the Edict passe, and the Duchesse of *Beaufort* was greatly affected to it. The deceased King would haue done it, and it was found reasonable by his Councell: but in the end, time did let them know, that it was no time to vse such prohibitions, and that before they hinder the entrie of forraigne stufes made of silke, they must haue wherewithall to make it within the Realme. And therefore this Edict was reuoked at the Quenes entrie into *Lions*.

The King in  
fauour of the  
Quene reuo-  
ked the forbid-  
ding of the  
entrie of silkes.

Martha Bros-  
sier posselt  
with a diuell.

This yeare there was a notable imposture, which ministred matter of discourse to the Kings Councell, to Preachers in their pulpits, and to the Court of Parliament. A young mayd of *Romorantin*, named *Martha Brosnier*, hauing curiously read ouer the discourse of the diuell of *Laon*, she was so transported with the imagination of that which shee read, as imitating the motions of her folly, she seemed to haue the Fits and Passions of one that were possessed with the diuell, although nothing be so hard to counterfeit as the diuell. *James Brosnier* her father, a man of himselfe busie and factious, desirous of new things, hauing obserued in his daughter furious motions, with such a stupidity & feare, as it did moue commiseration and dread in the most resolute, & feare in the weaker, he seemed to beleue that which he wold haue the people beleue, who came running to see this new diuell, publishing euery

A euery where, that his Daughter was possessed with an euill spirit. He presented her to the Theologall of *Orleance*, who beleueed something: and seeing that his desaigne grew into credit, he led her to the most famous places of all the Diocesse for deuotion: to all the people beleueed certainly that she was possessed: the which must be verified by the iudgement of the Church. But the Bishop of *Angiers*, a graue and wise man, discouered her to be a counterfeiter, and sent her away, threatening to punish her, if she returned into his Diocesse. The Officiall of *Orleance* did also find out her imposture, forbidding the Clergie of the Diocesse to exorcise her, vpon paine of suspension. After that she had runne fifteene moneths vpe and downe the country, and being growne perfect in her counterfeit trickes and diuinish motions, her father thinking she knew enough, and that it was now time to present her B vpon the great Theater of France, he conducts her to Paris, and leads her to all the Churches to gather almes: The people cry out presently to haue the diuell coniuered, holding it an impiety to suffer one of Gods creatures to be so tyrannically tormented by the diuell. The Bishop assembles the learnedst Diuines and Phisitions of the Vniuersitie of Paris, to haue their aduise about the coniuering of this Diuell: the Phisitions say plainly, that it was but counterfeit. A *Capuchin* grieved to see the incredulity of the Phisitions, said with some passion. *If any one beleuee not: if he will but stay her, the diuell will carry him away.* *Marescot* fearing not to be carried away by this kind of Diuell, answered, that he would abide the hazard: and setting his knee vpon *Martha's* brest, and his hand to her necke, he commaunded her to be quiet, whereupon she stirred not, saying, that her Diuell was gone.

M. d'Orléans  
Bishop of Angiers,  
discouers  
Martha to be  
a counterfeiter.

Marescot said,  
If any one  
will but stay  
her, the diuell  
will carry him  
away.

A Decree of  
the Court, the  
24. of May,  
1599.

The Court of Parliament seeing that all the people did run after *Martha*, and fearing that superstition (which goes before, and is alwaies the fore-runner of impiety) should diuide their opinions and affections, and cause some dangerous sedition, they commanded that *Martha* should be deliuered into the hands of the Lieutenant Criminall. The Clergy sayd, that those that were possessed, did not belong vnto the temporall iurisdiction, and that the Church had power to iudge thereof. Yet she is committed to prison. They haue recourfe vnto the King, who commaunds that the Parliament be obeyed. So as by a decree of the great Chamber, and the *Tournelle*, the Lieutenant of the short Robe was inioyned to conduct *Martha* with her sisters, and *James Brosnier* her father to *Romorantin*, forbidding her to depart out of the towne, without leaue from the Iudge of the place. And so the Diuell was condemned by a sentence.

Another Diuell possessed the soule of a miserable wretch, who made an execrable attempt against the Kings person. A *Capuchin* of *Milan*, called father *Honorio*, gaue intelligence thereof, and the party that was described in his letter, was found and apprehended at Paris. The King did thanke this good religious man by expresse letters, and did witnesse by his Ambassador resident at *Rome*, that he wold preserve the remembrance of so good a turne, to make it knowne vnto all his Order, that he had bound him vnto him. God would not call a Prince so necessary for the Earth, so soone into Heauen, before he had settled his people in that rest, which their long paines and calamities had deserued. It was the Kings one E ly care to settle euery thing in his order, with the aduice of the Princes of his house, and the Lords of his Councell. They found that the subjects could not fully enioy the benefite of the peace, nor be eased of their charges, so long as the Crowne was indebted, and that that which should serue to maintaine his royall Estate, was not sufficient to pay the rents and pensions, which amounted to two millions of gold: the fees of Officers came to eighteene thousand crownes, and many other charges, which were not discharged for lesse. This extreame necessity made them to seek out many Rights and Duties belonging to the Crown, the which had bene morgaged and aliened during the last troubles, which suffered all that could not be amended.

An attempt  
against the  
King discou-  
ered.

The Kings de-  
sires to settle  
his affaires.

Heere, fees of  
Officers, Pen-  
sions, Garri-  
sons, and men  
at armes, cost  
the King yearly  
almost fixe  
millions of  
crownes.

This was most apparent in *Languedoc*, whether the King sent *de Maiisse*, one of his Councell of State, and *Refuge* a Councellor of the court of Parliament at Paris. And although it be a hard thing to draw a multitude compounded of mutinies and factions vnto reason, yet through their perswasions, the country did grant vnto the King the summe of two hundred thousand crownes, to be payed in foure yeares, with an increase of the *Gabelle* or Custome vpon Salt vnto two crownes, which came to fifty thousand crownes a yeare at the least, more then the King receiued. So as the assured succours from that part, encreased

1599. increased the Kings treasure 150. thousand crownes yearly. But it increased much more A  
by the continuance of the imposition of a Soultz vpon the Livre, the only remedy to supply  
the Kings affaires, the ground whereof is necessity, which makes that seeme iust which is  
profitable to the Common-weale. The Commissioners appointed to establish this Leuie  
of a Solz vpon the pound French, were not receiued without opposition, nor executed  
without murmuring, vsuall in such innouations. There was no towne which found not it  
selfe ouer-burthened, to shew that they were not able to beare any more. This body was  
grown so weak with this long disease, as euery litle thing, how light soeuer, did seeme to op-  
presse it. But they complained not alone of this Imposition: other Subsidies were the cause  
of more ordinary grieuances, and grounded vpon more reason. Traffick is one of the Ele- B  
ments of a Realme: when that cealeth the subiect feelles it presently: nothing hath so much  
hurt it, as the augmentation of Customs and Imposts, nothing hath made it so contem-  
tible, as the couetousnesse of such as had the charge to gather it, and no man hath more felt  
the discommodity of it, then the Marchants of Lions, who complained chiefly, for that  
they had erected a new Custome-house in the towne of Vienne, which staied all marchan-  
dize that came out of the Leuant. These complaints were so common, and so often re-ite-  
rated to the Gouvernor of Lions, as he thought it good to send some one, when as the 12.  
townes in Dauphiné should assemble their Estates, to intreat them to take away this Cu-  
stome, which made the Marchants to keepe from Lions, least they should come neare vnto  
these Gulphes. The Deputy made an excellent speech vnto the States of the Prouince as-  
sembled at Grenoble: the which I haue thought good to insert. C

If things (said he) which are vniuersally good, are better and more perfect, then those  
which are good but to some, the good of peace must bee esteemed so much the better, and  
the more perfect, for that it is common and generall to all men, for that it hath restored to  
France her soule, and made it a new body. But this good is not so dispersed ouer the  
whole body, but there remains some members tyred, the which during the fainting and ge-  
nerall convulsion, did not feele the mischiefe so violently as at this present. For although  
the Prouinces be discharged of souldiers, and that euery one finds both in towne and con-  
trei that order and safetie which he desired, yet the liberty of Trafficke being not resto-  
red, and marchandize lesse fauoured in peace, then in the violence of iniustice, and the D  
liberty of warre, this good remains vnperfect, if I may not say vnprofitable. Wherefore the  
towne of Lyons finding it selfe deprived of the fruites of this peace by continuall lets in the  
liberty of their trafficke, would not let passe the Assembly of your Estates, without coniu-  
ring you by the common and inseparable interest to the good of both Prouinces, to seeke  
with her the perfection thereof. Shee hath giuen you heretofore to vnderstand the increase  
of this mischiefe, you know the excesse, I am now onely come to intreate you to seeke  
for the remedie. This mischiefe is the continuation of a Subsidie imposed vpon the riuier  
of Rhosne, and the passage by land from Vienne. The cause was first the publike good,  
which since hath degenerated into a private interest; the effects, the ruine of Trafficke, the  
remedy to obtaine abolition from the King. E

This Impost was first erected for the Reduction of the Towne of Vienne, and for con-  
siderations which were so much the more iust, because they regarded the Kings seruice,  
the which precedeth all others, and for the common good of either Prouince. And  
although the Towne of Lions did then fore-see the daungerous consequence of this erec-  
tion, with the ruines and discommodities of the Leuie, yet did shee the more wil-  
lingly consent thereunto, for that shee thought the yeares, whereunto the continuance  
thereof was limited, would passe insensibly, and that they should sooner see the end, then  
any occasion to complaine. Moreouer, the Princes will, being a Soueraigne Law, they  
could not take that ill which pleased that great King, whose valour exceeds admiration;  
and admiration surmounts all prayse, hauing drawne France out of the bonds of Tyran-  
nie, as *Perseus* did *Andromeda*, and hath in his heroicall actions made vse of his seruants  
goods to assure them the possession, as *Scipio* in opening the publike treasures, was the  
cause they were shut againe.

But as things which in the beginning seeme sweete and easie, in time grow sharpe  
and intollerable: This Impost passing from one extreame vnto another, is growne a  
shelle

Time aug-  
ment on di-  
nuisheth e-  
uery thing.

A Shelle against the which no man strikes but he suffers shipwracke. It hath had its birth  
and growing like vnto that of the Crocodile, and in few daies is growne a terror to  
them that go by water, and the ruine of Marchants which trauell by land. The yeares  
of her continuance are past, and now it begins to grow perpetuall, hauing like vnto  
the ancient Customes, her Fermers and Committies, and retaines nothing of the  
cause of her first institution and ordonance, but the pretext and the apparent sem-  
blance.

The Fermers are so rough and seuer, in exacting, not that which is ordained, but  
many times what please them: that as it is the nature of men to loue that which pro-  
fits them, and to abhorre that which hurts them, the Marchants flie from it as from a  
shelle, and speake of it as of a snare which strangles them. They cause them to languish  
whole weekes before they compound for the payment, and cease not vntill they haue  
seene the bottome of their packes and purses, so as that which in a lesse corrupted age,  
and not so couetous as ours is, was giuen rather by way of a gift or present, then of a  
dutie of necessitie, in acknowledgement of the publike protection, and the safetie of  
the passage, is now exacted by heretofore vnheard of extortions, and punishable con-  
fusions.

Thus the Towne of Lyons sees it selfe bereaued of the benefite and commoditie  
of trading, in the preservation whereof Dauphiné hath a sensible interest, these two  
Prouinces being like two neighbours which are not diuided but by a gutter which  
runneth through the midst of the streete. And this commerce is the chiefest sup-  
port of this Towne, from whence as a from a Spring, which long peace may make  
perpetuall, flow infinite benefites to all other Prouinces, but most abundantly to her  
neighbours, wherefore those which haue considered the situation thereof, as in the  
Center of Europe, that for seuen leagues crossing the Ocean and Mediterranean seas,  
impart vnto it all the Marchandize which may be brought from any part which hath  
bene discovered by man, to distribute them to other Prouinces, they haue reason  
to call it the Magazin and Store-house of Europe, as *Strabo* saith, that it is seated in the  
middest of Gaule like vnto a Cittadell.

But since that the passage of Rhosne hath bene decreed, and that the Marchants  
had rather aduenture any other hazard then to passe by this iniustice, hauing bene so  
famous and flourishing, wee shall see her become a desert, if the libertie of Trafficke be  
not restored.

All marchants that were wont to come from the Leuant to Marseilles, haue  
abandoned their auncient passage, and sought other longer courses but more safe, as  
by the Countie of Auignon, Sauoy, Bresse, Geneva, and the Franche Countie, to  
passe into Germany, and others by Languedoc, Viuretz, Forests, Auvergne, Ma-  
ringues, to passe by the riuier of Allier, into that of Loyre, and from thence to Or-  
leance, and so forward.

So as breaking (as they doe) the ordinarie course of the Leuant Trade, they cut  
the veynes which bring bloud to nourish the bodie, the which in short time we shall see  
consumed to skinn and bones, and the calamities so to increase, as besides the grieffe,  
to bee no more the eye of Gaule, as Athens was of Greece, shee shall haue nothing  
perfect remaining, but the remembrance of her first felicitie, and the cogitation of her  
by-past flourishing estate.

Wherefore shee coniures you to ioine your prayers and poursuites with hers: To  
beseech the King to pull this thorne out of the foote of Lyons, and this moate out of  
the eye of Dauphiné: shee hopes to obtaine it by the wise resolutions of this assem-  
bly, consisting of men who can iudge of the importance of this petition, and are not  
ignorant, that as publike buildings are made of the best stufte, and erected of another  
forme and fashion then priuate edifices, so publike poursuites for a generalitie, require  
different and contrarious resolutions to those, which are necessarie and commodious  
for priuate affaires.

S s s s

Thinke

1599.

Thinke not my masters, that Lyons is so badly instructed in the knowledge of obedience (which is the best and most happy possession of the subiects) that she meanes to contradict the Kings intentions, or to diminish his Tributes. Shee knowes well that in an obedient Estate, whereas the iust commandements of a good Prince make the subiects prompt to obedience, such thoughts are criminall. The burthens which the people beare although they be grievous and insupportable are called Holy, and alwaies reputed iust. They are in the Estate as sayles in a ship, not to charge and ouerload it, but to conduct and assure it. Tributes are the sinewes of an Empire, wee must beware that in leuying them, it fall not in peeces. But that which we demand doth not preiudice the Kings reuenues, which draweth nothing from this Custome. Priuate men onely should loose by it, and should learne, that they must not make their profit of publike commodities. The interested are such good men, as they will neuer hinder the lesser good from yeelding to the greater. They be Noblemen which haue neuer preferred their priuate considerations before the publike profite: They enter into the Kings Council as the Auncients did into Temples, and whose interest are like vnto riuers, they which haue not one and the selfe same Spring, and the same course, and yet in the end they come into that great Sea of publike profit, where as they loose their name, and haue the same tast and fauour with the same sea. They themselues which haue meanes to find more lawfull assignations to recompence their seruices, will not onely excuse, but commend this poursuite, which informes them of the abuse which is committed vnder the tytle of the Kings commandements, and they shall see that wee haue had the courage not to suffer our selues to be drawne headlong into this seruitude, from the which there is no issue, for that it is a violent preiudice to suffer things which are established and get footing more by sufferance and permission, then by reason, and that the posteritie of Princes is but too constant to maintaine these ruinous inuentions.

The Kings bountie and iustice shall make vs hope well of this poursuite, and beleue that as hee is full of pietie and clemencie, (the true character of that Soueraigne Power of heauen, which hath placed him ouer vs here on earth) so he will not suffer these two Prouinces to be deprived of the fruites which they haue promised vnto themselves, hauing not yet tasted the perfect good of peace, for the purchasing whereof they had as much as any other contributed their goods and affections, and haue not bene the least instruments for the restauration of this Estate.

This discourse full of reason and truth, had not the power to make them of Dauphiné redresse the complaints of Lyons, but onely to beseech his Maiestie to moderate the cause. His affaires would not suffer him to giue that ease, which Iustice and his Maiesties clemency desired. Whilst that the Commissioners trauell throughout the Prouinces, about the execution of the Kings Edicts, aswel for the good of the peace, as to supply the necessity of his Exchequer, he passeth the greatest heat of Summer at Blois. There the King of Spaine gaue him to vnderstand by his Ambassador, that he had great reason to complaine of the French (especially of the Lord *La Noue*) who against the conditions of the Treaty of Veruins, were gone to serue Count *Maurice*, and the States of the Low-countries: and if the publike faith did not maintaine these reciprocall bonds, the peace would be more iniurious then war, being impossible to auoid the deceits of hostility, of him who shewes himselfe a friend, and is an enemy in effect. The King hauing protested that his intention was to haue the contents of the Treaty truly obserued, he commanded *La Noue* and all his subiects, to returne home within fixe weekes, vpon paine of losse of life, forbidding others to go thither vpon the like penalty. The Archdukes sent the Prince of Orange to visit the King, and to giue him intelligence of their arriual into the Low-countries: and *Andrew* the Cardinall hauing resigned vp his charge, takes his way thorough France, to see the King.

About this time, the yeare (granted for the Arbitrement of the Marquisat of Salusses) was expired, with the prolongation of 3. moneths: yet would not the King attempt any thing, but commanded his seruants only to stand vpon their gards, whilst that hee approached nearer to the Duke of Sauoy, to know what hee would say. The brute notwithstanding

Complaints  
of the King  
of Spaine.

1599.

A standing of an army which the King of Spaine had caused to imbarke in Portugal, staide his voyage, vntill he might see what way it would take. But this great army which had no reputation but a faire off, and was not knowne by reason of the distance, proued in the end but faine vessels, the which were encountred by the States, and beaten neare vnto Dunkerke. Nothing did hinder the Kings exercises and sports at Blois and Males-herbes, where he spent his time with the Marquis of Vernueil: in the meane time his good seruants watched both within and without the Realme, for the good of his affaires: all labored in diuers actions, but with one will, and to one end, to make the State as flourishing as it had bin, and the Maiesty of the Prince to be respected, as it is, Sacred and Holy.

Out of this number of good seruants and Officers of the Crowne, death took away *Philip de Hurault*, Earle of Chiuerny, and Chancellor of France. Hee had bene at the first Controller of *K. Henry* the thirds house, being D. of Aniou, and King of Poland, and by him made Keeper of the Seales, in the life of the Cardinal of Biraque, and after his death Chancellor, & by him dismissed to his house at the States of Blois, when as the seals were giuen to *Montbieu* Aduocat in the Court of Parliament. In this change he made triall, that Princes Officers are in his hands, as Counters be in an Auditors, who raise them to the greatest and highest number, and sodenly brings them down to the lowest. And although it be not spoken why the King commanded him to retire, yet assoone as they saw him disgraced, the friends of his fortune, and the seruants of his fauours abandoned him. He continued awhile like an old cast ship which lyes in the harbor and serues to no vse. He returned to his charge, and serued the King stoutly, in the most troublefome and dangerous time of his affaires. Afterwards he had many crosses. There were so great complaints exhibited against him in the assembly at Roan, as he was in danger to haue lost the keeping of the Seals, or not to haue a Cardinals Hat demanded of the Pope for him. He did not affect the second, and the first he preuented, considering that they could not take away any thing, nor diminish his great dignities, but with shame and disgrace.

*Pompone de Belieure* succeeded him, after his death he restored the Seales (the sacred instruments of Soueraigne Iustice) to their honour. All corrupt practises which made friends to the preiudice of the Common-weale, were banished. There is no other fauour

D then that of Iustice, no other expedition but in publike, and by order. Nothing is settled extraordinarily but by the Kings expresse commandement, or for the good of his seruice, which may not be deferred vnto the sealing day, and that in the view of all the Officers of the Chancery. Nothing is presented which hath not bin examined and held iust by the Masters of Requests that were present. The King hauing receiued newes of the Chancellors death, he commanded *Villeroy* to dispatch his letters before he demanded the place: which done, he presented himself to take his oth betwixt his Maiesties hands, kneeling vpon a cushion of veluet, the which the Chancellor and Constable only do, and no other Officers of the Crown. His Maiesty would not bind him, but to do what he had alwaies done, for the good of his seruice and of his Crowne. To conclude, hee was not

E preferred to this high dignity before any one that exceeded him in ranke of seruice, or in merit and experience, hauing vnder-gone the chiefe charges within the Realme, and happily performed abrode important and weighty Ambassages for the King. This yeare took away some Princeesses in France: amongst others *Madamoiselle* the onely daughter of the Prince of Condé, the which he had by his first wife the Princeesse of Nevers and Marquis of Lifle. Her obsequies were made at *S. Germain dez Prez* with great pompe, as it was fit for a Princeesse of the blood. *Loyse de Budos*, the Constables wife died also (a litle before the Duchesse of Beaufort) hauing left one son and one daughter, whereby the famous house of Montmorency is renewed, the which was like to fall to the distaffe. The Marquisse of Belle-Ile (widow to the Marquis the eldest son to the Duke and Marshal of France, a yonger daughter of the house of Longueuille, hauing passed 5. yeares of her widowhood, and brought vp her son in all vertue and piety) departed secretly out of Britany, not aduertising any one of her kindred, and went to professe her selfe a Nunne, in the Monasterie of the Feuillantines at Tholoufa. Her brother and her husbands brethren posted after to diuert her, but she was already in the Couent, and resolved to end

An army de-  
feated at Dun-  
kerke.

The death of  
the Chancellor  
of Chiuerny.

*Pompone de  
Belieure*  
Chancellor of  
France.

Death of the  
Princesse of  
Condé.



1522.

her dayes there. A generous resolution of a Lady, issued from that noble house of Longueville, which holds one of the first places in France: It is Souveraigne of the County of Neuf-chastel in Suisse, and allyed to the house of Bourbon in diuers branches.

Execution of  
the Edict of  
pacification.

The Commissioners which were employed for the execution of the Edict of pacification, found some difficulties in those places, whereas the Bishops and Pastours of the Catholike Church, had neither temple nor place of retreat: yet the Masse was restored in those places where it had bene banished fifteen or twenty yeares: and the preaching appointed only in those places that were allowed by the Edict. They found in all places actiue and violent spirits, very hard to be dealt withall, which inuented idle quarels, when as they wanted iust cause of complaint. The Commissioners exhort either partie as well to concord as to pietie, and alwaies to containe their wils within the bounds of obedience, and not of rebellion, and to forget the factious names of Papists and Huguenots, the which haue bene no lesse fatall to France, then those of Guelphes and Gibellins in Italy. They aduised the Preachers to take heed that their discourses were not streames of sedition, as they are sometimes of Eloquence: for they that make profession to teach the word of God, may do as much harme in fauouring a Sedition, as they shall gather profit of his Ministry when he shall preach Peace. The Commissioners did admonish the Magistrates and chiefe of Iustice, to preuent the first motiues of sedition: which getting credit with the simple, is the cause of great disorders.

Warre ruins  
both State and  
Religion.

So the Edict was executed throughout the Realm, and the most sauage began to live louingly together, burying the remembrance of things past. Things done cannot be recalled. We must grow more wise hereafter by the consideration of what is past: we must haue our eyes open, to distinguish the causes from the pretexts, and discover the euill which is hidden vnder a shew of good, holding for an infallible Maxime, that there is no iust occasion to arme against his Prince, nor to trouble the quiet of his country: we haue bin so abused, as we haue taken the mask for the face, slander for innocencie, and falshod for truth: and vnder these false impressions, we haue left an assured peace for a doubtfull: we haue beleueed those Empericks of State, who desirous to continue our languishing, and to prolong our diseases, haue from that Principle of truth, *that euill war ruins both Estat: and Religion*, drawne this proposition: *That France cannot liue in peace with two Religions*. The which hath cost the liues of those that haue maintained it, and the ruine of others that haue beleueed it. Being then reconciled for that which is past, and well aduised for that which is to come, hauing escaped shipwrack beyond our own hopes, let vs remaine in the port of this concord, where the King doth guide vs, after so many storms and tempests, we shalbe there assured. The sea doth no harm to ships that gaue good anchors: Obedience is the anchor which doth assure our ship against the fury of wind and waues. It is that which giues life and motion to all the members of the body: and there is not a more certaine signe of the life of an Estate, then obedience. It is the eye of the body, which liues last and dies first: it shold be the heart, which liues first and dies last. This yeare the Princeesse of Antoinette, daughter to the D. of Lorraine, was conducted by the Earle of Vaudemont her brother, to the D. of Iuilliers, who had married her: she was attended with a goodly traine, and came to Collen, where she was honorably receiued by the Senate: and after some dayes, she went downe the riuer to Duisseldorp. The nuptial joy was great and stately, although it were somewhat disturbed by the insolency of the armies, aliuell of the States, as of the Admiral. The mariage of *Sibille* sister to the D. of Iuilliers, and of the Marquis of Bourgondy, brother to *Anawen* of Austria the Cardinal, caused a peace in the country of Cleues, and al the Spanish pretensions went to smoke.

The Duke of  
Lorraine mar-  
ries the daugh-  
ter of the Duke  
of Lorraine.

When as after the death of the Duchesse of Beaufort, they saw the King falling into a new shipwrack, from the which he was lately escaped, and that loue (mourning yet for his first *Venus*) led him to another, you might heare the sighes of the most modest, the murmuring of the most turbulent, and generally, prefaces of some approaching storme. This was the onely drop of oyle which did pierce through the glorious actions of this Prince: who superior to all other in corage and valor, & alwaies equal to himself, made himselfe subiect to this passion. Truth will not suffer me to suppress that which cannot be

1599.

A behiden It is good to coneele that which is doubtfull in his actions: that hath no other Iudge but God: but to keepe secret that which is known and seen of all men, is a basenes. It imports to know things truly, which not being written, shall passe to posterity according to their passions, which shall begin and continue the tradition. Ancient Historics (as full of simple truth, as void of affectation) haue not coneeled the loues of Princes, whose vertues they haue written. Of all the follies of men, there is none more excusable, nor of the which fewer do excuse themselves, then of loue. All fight vnder this banner. If then it was necessary for the King to loue, hee could not loue any thing more worthy of his loue. But when as death did see that the louer grew blind in the thing he loued and that this blindnes had brought France into confused darknesse, he separated them.

B Vpon this consideration, the Court of Parlement finding, that there is nothing that doth more preferue France from falling into fore-past miseries, or more assure the present, and continues their prosperities hereafter, then the Kings issue: therefore they beseeched his Maiestie to marrie, and to giue to himselfe a Sonne and a Successour to his Realme, there beeing no army more powerfull, either by sea or land, to assure an Empire, then many children. *La Guesle* the Kings Attorney general, made the speech. He represented vnto his Maiesty, how much he was bound to God. He discovered the publike diseases of his Estate: shewed the remedies: and in the end let him see, that the inioying of all the felicities which peace (purchased by his victorious armes) could promise him, was weakly grounded: France was not assured to see it durable, the which depended on the lawful birth of a Daulphin. That although by the law of State (a sacred and immutable law, and an originary law of the Crowne) the succession belongs to the nearest kinsman, yet France is too full of those turbulent spirits, which in the calme of peace, watch carefully for occasions of war, which in the midst of rest, breath after troubles: and freed from the perill of armes, hold still (like mad men) their hearts and their courages armed to moue new contentions another day against the law and order of the Realme: whereof the King himselfe had made such tryall of their bad intentions, as without the vertue of heauen infused into him, his Right had bin vanquished by force.

M. De Li  
Guesle  
speech vnto  
the King.

That although his Maiesty by his wisdom, accompanied with a singular bounty and charitable affection to the quiet of his subiects, hath declared his successour to the Crowne, yet France hath alwaies obserued, that when the Crowne did leape from one branch of a Family vnto another, and that the Son did not succed the Father, it was disquieted with new factions, and the fields bathed with the blood of her Citizens, and the fire of ciuill warre so kindled, as two ages was scarce able to quench it.

That to take away these iust feares and apprehensions of these publike calamities, the succession must not change the branch, for where there is no change, there is no stirre, and the children succeeding in the fathers realme, it seemes that he that raigned, is rather growne young againe then changed: there is nothing new, the Crowne continues in the same house, the fathers face is noted in that of his sonne. That the shining of the Sun is pleasing, as a calme sea, or the earth couered with his Greene tapistrie. But there is nothing so goodly nor so delightfull to the eye, as the sight of children newly borne in a family that wanted this aduantage. That to attaine vnto this happines, they must begin by the dissolution of the marriage betwixt his Maiesty and the Queene, Duchesse of Valois, being no lesse easie then that of *Charlemagne* with *Irmengrade*, and *Theodora* daughter and sister to *Didier*, King of Lombards: for indisposition and sterility of *Lewis* the 7. with *Elenour* Duchesse of Guienne for some discontentments set downe in the Historie, and couered with the pretext of Consanguinity, of *Lewis* the 12. with *Joane* of France daughter to King *Lewis* the 11. constrained by force, and want of consent.

That they shold not be troubled to seek lawfull causes of this dissolution, for besides the want of issue, in the which consists the second end of matrimony, and the preferuation of the State, they shold not need to inuent the degree of consanguinity, beeing knowne to all men, that the King and Queene are in the third degree, a blemish which hath alwaies accompanied the marriage since the solemnization thereof, and the which was not taken away by the brieve of Pope *Gregory* the 13. for that the necessary and effen-

1599. essentiall formes were not obserued. After that he had shewed the necessity and profit of this separation, he beseecheth the King to chooe his second wife, in a chiefe and Soueraigne Family, and which had beene hertofore honored with the like happines, and to consider that so great a Realme flourishing in Princes and many Noblemen, and ancient houses, cannot easily submit themselues to the command of those which by both sides shall not be of the bloud Royal or Soueraigne, halfe Princes, halfe simple Gentlemen. And if at any time we must respect the distinction of births and races, it must be when as they that come, are borne to command ouer others.

That they could not giue Heires to a Realme of too worthy a House: and if he be not equall by the fathers side, yet at the least, that he come neere vnto it: for men being by nature high minded, do not willingly submit themselues to them whom they thinke to be inferiour to their fathers, vnto whose command they haue beene inured.

The King was well pleased with this discourse, and aduertised Queene *Marguerite* thereof by *L. Anglois*, one of the Masters of Requests of his Maiesties household, to vnderstand her resolution touching the nullity of her marriage. Shee (who vpon the like demand during the life of the Duchesse of Beaufort had made refusal for some reasons) returned him answer, that she would deliuer her mind vnto *Berthier*, Agent for the Clergie, and Intendant of her affaires. The Kings intentions were imparted vnto him, and he sent vnto her, who returned with this answer vnto the King and his Councell: *That shee desired nothing more then the Kings contentment, and the quiet of the Realme: and withal, she sent a priuate letter vnto his Maiesty, beseeching him, To grace her with his protection, under the shadow whereof she would passe the remainder of her yeares.* The sayd Queene sent a petition vnto the Pope, containing, *That her brother King Charles the 9. and the Queene her mother had married her against her will, to which marriage her heart had neuer consented: That the King and shee being in the third degree of consanguinitie, she beseeched his Holinesse to declare the marriage voyde.* The King made the like request. This busines was managed very seriously by the Cardinall of Ossat, and by the Lord of Sillery, the Kings Ambassador at Rome (who at the same time pursued the Iudgement for the Marquisat of Saluces:) they beseeched his Holines in his Maiesties name: *That for that which should concerne the nullity of the sayd marriage, hee desired no other fauour then that of iustice.* This busines was imparted by the Pope to the Consistory, and many reasons set down to proue the nullity of the marriage. All the difficulty was, that Pope *Clement* the 8 thought it some-what itrange, that he should declare that marriage voyd, which Pope *Gregory* the thirteenth had approoued, and who by his absolute authoritie had taken away all lets and hindrances. All which was answered at large. And although it were true, that Queene *Marguerite* had continued long with the King: yet this cohabitation was alwaies forced, and the same feare which was in the beginning of the marriage, had continued during the life of her breethren and the Queene her mother: and the time was to be regarded to long as the feare continued: for marriages contracted by force and constraint, without consent are voyde, and time doth not extinguish the nullitie: if hee that is forced hath not liberty to do that freely, which they haue made him do by force. In the end, it was resolved on in the Consistory, that a Commission should be granted to certaine Prelats, to take iust knowledge of the cause vpon the place, and to iudge of the nullitie of the sayd marriage. His Holinesse sent his Commission vnto the Cardinall Ioyeuz, to the Bishop of Modena, his Nuncio in France, and to the Archb. of Arles, a learned Italian Prelate, and well practised in those affaires, who being assembled at Paris, after that they had obserued all solemnities that were requisite, and caused information to be taken of his Maiesties age, hauing viewed the requisition of the three Estates of France, containing the great interest they had therein. All being wel examined and considered, they declared the sayd marriage voyd, and set the parties at liberty to marry where they pleased. The K. sent *d'Alincourt*, Gouvernor of Pontoise & Knight of his Orders, to thank the Pope for his good iustice: and the Earle of Beaumont to Queene *Marguerite*, to let her vnderstand, that the Popes Delegats had giuen vp their sentence. And seeing that God had suffred that the bond of their coniunction was dissol-

A letter from Queene Marguerite vnto the King.

Pope Gregories dispensation was after the marriage.

The King was borne the 13. of Decemb. 1552. and baptized at Pau by the Cardinall of Bourbon for King Henry the 2.

ued, the which his diuine Iustice had done as well for their particular quiet, as for the publike good of the Realme, hee desired no lesse to cherish and loue her then before, resolving to haue more care of that which did concerne him, then he had had, and to let her vnderstand, that hereafter he would not be a brother to her onely in name, but she should find effects worthy of the trust which she had reposed in the sincerity of his affection. She made answer vnto the King. That although it were easie to receiue comfort for the losse of any worldly thing, yet the onely respect of the merit of so perfect a King and so valiant, did by the priuation thereof cut off all consolation, being the marke of the generosity of such a spirit, to make her grieve immortall as hers should be, if the fauor which it pleased his Maiesty to doe her by the assurance of countenance and protection, did not banish it.

At the same time she tasted the effects of the Kings liberality by the increase of her pensions, lyuing happily at Veflon neere to Aurillac, in the tranquillity and silence of her fortune. This change is no let, but she shalbe alwaies one of the first Princesses of Europe. No man can take from her that which Heauen and Nature haue giuen her. It is a Theater, which although it hath beene beaten with lightning, is still admired. And to speake the truth without affection or flattery, she her selfe hath ruined the greatness of her fortune, in that she would be what she is.

This marriage is no sooner dissolued, but they treat of an other. In the blessings whereof the French promise vnto themselves the increase and continuance of those of Heauen. The great Duke of Tuscany did carefully keep *Mary* of Medicis his Neece to increase the honour of his house by some great alliance. It was in a season when as the Soueraigne houses of Europe had no Daughters ready to marry, or there was some disparity for their Age, or Religion. Great and important considerations, which Princes should not passe ouer lightly. It seemes, that the eternall wisdom, which concludes the marriages of Princes in Heauen, and blesteth them on earth, would not marry this Princess vnto the Emperor, but referred her for the good of a greater Empire, not being pleased that France should seeke the means to continue the crowne in the Kings posterity, any where else but at Florence, one of the eyes of Italy, and in the house of *Medicis*, which goeth equally with the first in Italy. The history of which house you may read at large in the Originall. *Cosmo* surnamed by *Pius* the first, the Great Duke of Tuscany, had by Madame *Econor* of Toledo, daughter to the Viceroy of Naples, *Francis*, *Ferdinand*, *Peter*, *Garcia*, *Isabella* and *Econor*. *Francis* married *Ioane* of Austria daughter to the Emperor *Ferdinand*. Of this marriage came two daughters, *Eleonor* and *Mary*: the first is married to the Duke of Mantoua, the happinesse and good fortune of the other is referred to be Queene of France. And the King being now set at liberty, first all his thoughts vpon her marriage.

The Duke of Sauoy had sent many of his Ministers into France, to treat vpon the difference for the Marquisate of Saluces, without expecting the Popes sentence. All the voyages which *Jacob*, the President *Rocheville*, the Marquis of Lullins, the Cheualier *Breton* and *Roncas* his Secretary had made, brought him no other fruit then to haue obserued the State of the Court, peered a little into the Kings defeignes, the which is alwaies the first of an Ambassadors instructions, and noted the countenance of some spirits impatient of rest and desirous of change. And although the Patriarke of Constantinople had by his perswasions drawne more from the King then the Duke of Sauoy hoped for, and made knowne how much a discours full of affection and perswasion may preuaile, there being nothing that doth more subtilly steale away the opinions of men then the eloquence of *Mercury*, yet could he neuer change the resolution which the king had taken to haue the Marquisate againe. He was at Lions where as sicknesse staid him for a time: the King hauing commanded the Gouvernor of Lions to lodge him, feast him, and supply all his wants: *Roncas* attended vntill he was recovered, to conduct and accompany him according to the order which the Duke had giuen him. But as things went on more slowly then he desired, hee thought that this pursuit required a greater presence and action: that he himselfe must doe his owne Ambassage, promising more vnto

Mary of Medicis the duke's daughter.

1599.

The Dukes  
discontent,  
but counter-  
feit.

vnto himselfe by his only shadow, then by all the soliciting of seruants. Hee therefore A prepared himselfe to goe to the King, although the chiefe of his counsell dissuaded him. The onely thought of this voiage made him irreconcilable to the King of Spaine, although it had not past the tearmes of a simple proposition, so did he make shew to bee desirous to breake wholly with him: he had in shew great occasions to complaine of his friendship and succors, who did but entertaine his griefe, and made the cure desperate. It is good for a Prince to know the humor of many nations. Hee knew the Spaniards well: their maner of liuing, the ruinous conditions which they lay vpon them whom they assist: the length and languishing of their promises were odious vnto him. He did consider the Iniustice, and Inequality in the Portion of the Infanta his wife, who of so many scepters & crownes which the King her father had, receiued but sixscore thousand B crownes of yeerely pension, whereas the eldest had the Low-countries, and the Franche county in marriage. He could not forget, that at the treaty of Veruins, hee had bene in a maner forgotten, and that a peace was almost concluded before they thought of him. He beleeued that if the Spaniard would, the question for the Marquisate of Saluces had bene ended, the which might haue bene left to him in exchange of Calais, Dorlans, Ardres, and other places. That the King of Spaine did thinke (that to preuent that all these discontentments should not carry this Prince to some dangerous party) it was necessary to tie him vnto the crowne of Spaine by some strong bond. They therefore demand the first Prince and the first Infanta, vnder colour to bring them vp after a royall C maner, and in a court whereas they might one day hope to reigne. The Duke was discontented with this demand, perceiuing well that it proceeded more from distrust, then affection. His counsell aduised him to giue this content vnto the King of Spaine, that hee could not lodge his children better, and that that was the vniting and very cement of perfect friendship. Yet hee resolved to keepe his children, and to send the Count La Motte to make his excuse, that the present estate of his affaires would not suffer him to send them, nor to provide them a traine and furniture fit for the voiage.

The counsell  
of Spaine de-  
mands the  
Dukes chil-  
dren.

The King of Spaine to take away all excuse, giues order to haue money provided for him at Milan, and perswades the Duke to send the Count La Motte as Gouverneur and conductor of the Prince. The Duke takes the money, and keepe the ware, saying that D the ayre of Spaine was not proper for his children, that their indisposition and the tendernesse of their age, would not suffer him to hazard them so soone in so long a voiage. This refusal offended the King of Spaine, and makes the Duke to resolve vpon that which he held most profitable. From that time he could no more looke on a Spaniard. He then left the Spanish Ambassadour at Turin and came to Chambery: when as hee did see any one a farre off in his counsell of the Spanish faction, he lookes on him with such a disdainfull eye, as hee shewes himselfe no more in his presence: he skornes the Spanish fashion, and commends the French, saying, *That there is no such felicity as to conquer ones selfe, and to yeeld himselfe absolutely vnto himselfe.*

The King of  
Spaine often-  
ded with the  
Duke.

The King was long before hee would yeeld vnto the Dukes comming into France, E saying, *That it was not necessary he should passe the mountaines without the Marquisate of Saluces.* But the Cheualier Breton and Roncas did presse the King, that he would be pleased to giue their Maister leaue to see him, assuring him that he would giue him all content. The first was framed to the fashion of that court, and did beleue that when they should see a Prince great in Iudgement, admirable in liberality, and indued with many excellent qualities, they would grant him all without any difficulty. Many dissuaded the Duke from this voiage, laying before him the dangers in trusting a great enemy, wanting no examples, whereof one in such remarkable accidents were sufficient to make him to change his minde, and to ground his iudgement vpon experience.

Roncas returned from the court, hee found the Duke at Hautecombe, and brings him F letters from the King, fuller of desire to see him, then of any hope that this enteruiew should yeeld him any great profit. This letter well considered, was not sufficient to make the way for such a passage, shewing that although the King desired his comming, it was alwaies without preiudice, to haue reason of the Marquisate. It was imparted

1599.

A imparted to the counsell: whereof some said, that this voyage would giue an offence which Spaine would neuer pardon: others sayd, that the end of this game would bee the losse of the friendship of the King of Spaine, which would be profitable to the Duke and necessary for his children. The Duke answers, that the Marriner is ill aduised that strikes often against the same rocke where he hath many times suffred shipwracke. That the hatred of Spaine would make the conditions of the treaty more easie and beneficiall, and would lay open that which none but himselfe could expresse, carrying in his breast certaine designs which he could not trust to any but himselfe. There was no reason of force to make him change this opinion. Hee sayd, that as soone as hee had seene the King hee should be content. They had much adoe to perswade him to send (not an B Ambassadour, but a simple post) vnto the King of Spaine, not to aske his aduice, but to carry him assurance of his going into France: the which he undertooke when as they could not beleue it in Court, thinking that he had changed his resolution.

When as all doubts were taken away, the King gaue order for his receiuing, commanding the Gouverneur of Lions, to prepare the Archbishops lodging for his owne person, and the next houses for the Noblemen of his Court: That he should accompany him in the best sort he could to any thing that hee desired to see within the towne. That he should goe and meete him in the mid-way of the last post, with all the Nobility of his Government: that they of the towne should attend him at the gate when he should enter, and that the Prouost of Marchants should tel him, that he had commandment to doe him the same honor that was to bee done to his Maiesty, and visiting him C in his lodging, to present vnto him the goodliest and rarest fruites that might be found in the country, and that they should feast him, and defray him with all his traine. This was executed with such order and state, as the Duke hath said often since, that this entertainment had bound him. The Earles of the great Church of Lions were in doubt whether they should receiue this Prince as they had done the Duke Emanuel Philibert his father. The Dukes of Sauoy, as Earles of Villards and Soueraignes of that county in the country of Bresse, haue had place as Chanoins of Honour in that Church, the which is presented vnto them the first time they enter. The same honour should haue D bene offered vnto the Duke passing by Lions, as had bene giuen vnto his father when hee came after the peace in the yeere 1559. if things had bene in the same Estate, or if they had not found a greater difference. The Chapter of this Church had great reason to intreat the Prince as they had done his Predecessors, seeing the King would haue him receiued like vnto his Maiesty, and giue him that testimony of honour, the effect whereof did honour them as much that gaue it, as he could finde himselfe honored that receiued it. But for that through the Kings conquest the county of Villards was no more vnder his obedience; that things were yet in suspence of war or peace; that Princes are alwaies offended with the communication of such honours; they resolved not to doe any thing therein, but what it should please the King to appoint. They aske the E Gouvernors aduice: wherevpon La Faye, one of the Earles of that Church, was sent to court, to know the Kings pleasure touching this difficulty.

The King demanded of him, what a Chanoin of honour was, and if the Duke of Sauoyes reception had bene like vnto his. La Faye answered, that the great and famous Churches of Europe had Chanoines of honour, who were either Soueraine Princes, (in whose domynions they were founded) or forraigne Princes, who by their piety haue bound the Church to this acknowledgement of honour. That the place of a Chanoin of honour, is neither for the office, nor for the charge, but onely for reuerence and privilege: for as the Prince who is a Chanoin of honour, is not bound to any other thing, but to sweare the protection and preferuation of the rights of the Church, so hee reapes F no other profit, but is partaker of their prayers which they make there.

That this honour should bee of small import, if the greatnesse of Princes which had desired it, did not make it great in a great Church, the which being one of the chiefe of France as wel in Antiquity as in Dignity, the reputation thereof hath bene spread in far nations, who haue founded their Churches after this modell. That this honour had bene

La Faye  
Gouverneur  
de Lions, ad-  
uertit le  
Prince de  
Savoie de  
la réception  
du Duc  
de Savoie  
dans la  
église de  
Saint-Étienne  
de Lyon.

1599. beene giuen in ancient time to the most Christian Kings, to the Dukes of Sauoy Earles A of Villards, to the Dukes of Bourgondy, Dukes of Berry, and Dauphins of Viennois, which haue beene receiued Cannons of Honour in that Church, but those receptions did differ from that of the Kings.

The King asked the opinion of his counsell in that case, and by their aduice hee answered, that the Duke of Sauoy holding no more the countie of Villards, should not pretend the rights that depended thereon: that comming into France, to reconcile himselfe vnto his Maiesty, hee would make so small an aboad in Lions as hee did not thinke that he would stay for so simple a ceremony. That if he should demand that place of Chanoine of Honour as they had giuen it to his deceased father, the Chapter B should excuse themselves, vntill they knew the Kings pleasure, to doe their duties at his returne.

The Duke was much offended with the refusall of that was due to him, and the which they had giuen vnto his deceased father. Neither did he dissemble his discontent, for he would not goe into this Church, although hee were lodged in the Archbishops palace, nor passe ouer the place, which is before the principall doore: and when as the Deane with the whole body of the Church went to salure him, he sayd that hee had alwaies honored that company, as hauing the Honour to be of it. Being receiued into Lions according to the Kings order and command, hee had many presages of discontentment in his voyage. His seruants in court aduertised him that if he came without C other designe then to offer the Marquisate of Saluces, he would repent his comming. One sayd vnto him that he should not get any great matter of the King, seeing hee was not pleased that the Cathedrall Church at Lions should afford him a little honour and ceremony. A man at armes of the company of the Marquis d'Vrfe, was put in prison vpon a false aduice that came from Geneva, that he followed the Duke with an intent to doe a bad act at Paris. It was strange in court that the King had not sent any other vnto him then the Controuler generall of the Postes. But nothing troubled him more, then when as *Varenne* (among other discourses which the Duke offered, to sound their opinions touching his voyage) sayd vnto him, he should be welcome so as here- stored the Marquisate. A speech which toucht the Duke vnto the quicke, who esteemed D not all the Estates of his patrimony, as the Marquisate alone. It is true that they loue that better which they haue gotten, then that which hath beene purchased by their Predecessors. Hee went by post from Lions to Roane: from thence hee went by water to Orleans, whether the King sent the Duke of Nemours to receiue him. Betwixt Orleans and Fontainebleau he was met first by the Marshall *Brion*, and then by the Duke *Montpensier*, being followed by many Noblemen.

The 13. of December at night (a memorable day for the Kings birth) he arose when he knew his traine to bee a sleepe, and departs secretly to get to Fontainebleau before his people were awake. *Varenne* who had commandement from the King to come before and aduertise him, had much ado to follow him, and if the Duke had found E horses ready at the first post, they had not carried the first newes of his arriual.

The King and his nobles were auncient in red, the Duke and his traine in blacke,

He found the King comming from Maffie, with all the Noblemen of his court, attired all in red, and ready to goe to horse-backe to meete him: they did walke long together after their first imbracings and excuses. Then the Duke told him the occasions of his voyage, the which he had kept secret from his counsell: but he could draw nothing from the King by this first parle, but he should haue him his friend in yeelding him his Marquisate. It is a difficult thing to feed a King that hath a white beard with words. The King sayd alwaies that hee desired nothing but his owne. And the Duke of Sauoy being in the Loure spake as boldly if he had bin in his Cittadel at Thuring; that no power in the world should euer make him yeeld to this restitution. A free and courageous F speech in an others country, not amongst his owne people, but to *Villeroi* the Kings chiefe and most confident Secretary of State. From Fontainebleau hee went to Paris with a goodly traine, he was lodged in the Loure and spent the Christmas in *Nemours* house. He admired this great court, where he sees the chiefe Noblemen of the realme, and

A and noted that *L'Escliquier* who had so much troubled him, was not so great in court as in Dauphiné. The Dukes presence did increase his reputation, hee gouerned his actions in such sort, as he freed them from the skorne and mockery of the court. His wisdom, his discretion, and his courtesie, made them to forget the tales which were yet told of the good Duke *Charles* his grand-father. They did obserue in his actions courtesie and courage, bounty, discretion and policy. This yeere ended with all sorts of pleasures and sports, familiarities and proofes of true friendship, so as many beleued that the two hearts and the two courts of these Princes were but one, but there was alwaies some marke of constraint, and amidst these embrasings there alwaies past some gird or quip. The King who is sodaine in his answers, gaue him alwaies some touch to B thinke on. There was too great difference betwixt their humors to make along & good harmony. But whilest the Court abounds in pleasure & delights, the Duke *Mercure* is in Hungary, in the midst of many discommodities, which hee holds pleasing for Gods cause: but before he goes he giues them occasion to talke of him in the court of Parliament. Hee had a cause pleaded there, and his Aduocate gaue him the quality of a Prince: *Seruin* the Kings Aduocate (holding it a base preuocation to bee silent at that which ought to bee spoken for the Kings seruice and the Law of State) did shew that that quality did not belong to any, but to Princes of the blood. The Duchesse of Mer- cure (who was then in presence) said that they could not take from her husband a quali- C ty that was due vnto him by the right of his birth, and that the King held him so.

The Duke *Mercure*, holding that which the Kings Aduocate had sayd, in discharge of his duty for a brauadoe and a contempt, went the same day vnto his house, and gaue him iniurious words. The King beeing aduertised thereof, held it a bold act. The court esteemed the iniury done vnto them, and desired the more to repaire it, for that the honour of the Kings seruice was wronged, and that it had beene done in sight of the Parliament of the capital city of the Realm, & in his house that was wronged, the which should be to euery man an inuiolable Sanctuary. The court decreed that he should bee personally adorned, and had proceeded further if the Kings commandement had not staied them. It was a great vertue in the President *Lizet*, when hee decreed that the quali- D ty of Prince (which the Cardinall of Lorraine tooke) should bee raised out of his Aduocates pleadings. The Cardinall complained vnto the King: but the President *Lizet* answered with such courage and constancy before the King, beeing in counsell, that the Cardinall was no Prince, nor equall to Princes, and if you will saith hee vse it, shew vs the place of your principality. A free speech which purchased the old man much reputation, and yet within two yeeres after hee made him resigne his place vnder an other pretext. There was no Nobleman in France that vsed the benefit of the peace more worthily then the Duke *Mercure*, for disdayning the idleness of the court and the ease of his house, he employed himselfe to succor the Christians, against the greatest E enemy of their Religion. Hee leads with him the count of Chaligny his brother, with some gentlemen at his owne charge, resoluing to employ his goods as well as his life in this holy warre, hauing vowed to serue Christendome two yeeres at his owne charge. He shewed himselfe a great capitaine as well to defend as to assaile, hauing kept the enemy with an army of a hundred and fifty thousand men from besieging of Strigonia: this was in his first voyage, before whose returne the Emperour desired to see him, and in- treated him to take his way by Prague.

In the beginning of the yeere, the Duke of Sauoy sent the King two great Basins, and two Ewers of Christall, the rarest peeces of the Cabinet of *Beaurix* of Portugal his grand-mother, and of Lady *Catherine* the Infanta of Spaine and his wife, the which could not be valued neither for the matter, nor for the workmanship: and the King re- turned vnto the Duke a Jewell of Diamonds, in the midst whereof there was one Dia- mond Transparent, which discovered his Maiesties portrait, the which hee esteemed so much, as hauing lost it once in dancing, hee gaue five hundred crownes to him that found it. The Duke was not to be imitated in his bounty, and when as they thought that he had giuen all, he inuited the King and the court to a dancing, where he shewed him- selfe

Duke of Mer- cures voyage into Hungary in October, 1599.

The New- yeeres gifts of the Duke and King.



1599.

The Duke of  
Biron refused  
the Duke of  
Sauoy's pre-  
sents.

The chief  
cause of the  
Dukes voyage  
into France.

selfe in Jewels, as they were esteemed to bee worth about 600. thousand crownes. Hee A  
gaue presents to all the court, who accepted them with the Kings permission: Onely  
the Duke of Biron refused the horses that hee sent vnto him: but the King had nothing  
the better opinion of their intelligences, nor the Duke lesse assurance of his affection  
by this refusall, for it was chiefly for his sake, that the Duke of Sauoy had made his voi-  
age, to draw him wholly from the Kings seruice. It was that great occasion which he car-  
ried secret in his brest, and would not reueale vnto his counsell, when they dissuaded  
his going into France: the Marquise of Saluces was the pretext of his voyage, but  
the finishing of this great conspiracy was the true cause. It was a goodly soile well set  
out, but couered with a false stone.

La Fin was imploied as a Truchman of the wills of the conspirators and confede- B  
rates. The first time that hee had any speech with the Duke of Sauoy, was the night af-  
ter the feasts of Christmas, when he was brought into the Dukes chamber in Nemours  
house, by Seignor iacob, without the priuity of any other. The Duke of Nemours  
(comming to giue the Duke the good night) was intreated not to enter, for that the  
Duke would take his rest. They would not haue him acquainted with any thing, fear-  
ing least hee should aduertise the King, hauing obserued what he sayd the first day of  
the Dukes arrivall, that nothing should draw him from the Kings seruice, and that ex-  
cepted, hee would doe any thing for his highnesse. There was not any night but La C  
Fin spent a good part of it, to acquaint him with the State of the faction. Those that  
were of this intelligence, met at the most remote Churches, to acquaint one another  
with that which past. Nothing was sayd in the Kings counsell, but the Duke of Sauoy  
was presently aduertised thereof, by them that were at his deuotion. But he had not yet  
spoken with the Duke of Biron of their desaigne, but by a third person: it was necessary  
they should ioyne to knit the knot of their vnion. They had both sought the occasion,  
but there was still some obstacle, or some spie that hindred them. They incountred a  
fit oportunitie at Conflans, being all alone, the King hauing commanded the Duke of  
Biron to entertaine the Duke of Sauoy vntill his returne: they lost no time, in plying  
it but in three or foure words of trust, and assured intelligence, referring the rest to the  
mediation of La Fin. Their discours was broken off, by the comming of the count Soif- D  
sons, and the Duke of Montpensier.

The D. of  
Sauoy's policy.

The Dukes proceeding therein, was very cunning and iudicious, for often-times hee  
would begin a discourse of the valour and courage of the Duke of Biron, to sound the  
Kings opinion, who did not alwaies giue him the glory of those goodly executions,  
whereof hee vaunted. The Duke did still aduertise the Duke of Biron of any thing the  
King had sayd of him, that might any way alter him, which made him to breake forth in  
the bitterest words he could, against al respect of the Kings seruice, being very sensible of  
any thing that was spoken against the reputation of his valour, in regard whereof he  
esteemed nothing: and when hee entred into the History of his life, hee would speake  
contemptibly of all the world, not sparing the King himselfe, whose valour and ex- E  
perience in military actions, hath obscured others, and forced them to confesse, that  
he hath not bene aduanced to the Royall Throne by the benefit of fortune, but by the  
merit of his vertue. The Duke of Biron committed great errors against the rules of  
such as haue a desire to raise and aduance their fortunes. No man must euer enter in-  
to comparifon of valour and sufficiency with his Prince: hee may not dispute of his ad-  
uice, contradict his opinion, nor affect to seeme more aduised, more iudicious, nor  
more capable. Many haue bene cast away vpon this shelve. The Duke of Biron  
was of this humor. The excessse of his courage made him to disallow with disdain, all  
that was not done or inuented by himselfe. He sayd some-times vnto the King, that hee  
would not haue them write in the History of France, that other then hee had done such  
and such a thing.

These words  
were spoken  
and heard at  
the siege of  
Amiens.

The second day of the yeere, the King went to Saint Germaine in Laie, leading the  
Duke with him, to shew him his buildings, his Grotts or Caues & his Chafes, and with-  
all hee shewed him his other houses, and all the goodliest places about Paris. In the  
meane

A meane-time hee dissembled his discontent, with so great wisdom, as he seemed alwaies 1600.  
one, at the table, at hunting, at play, and at dancing: the King though hee refused what  
he demanded, yet did he still shew him new fights, to recompence the fained repentance  
of his voyage.

After that hee had seene all that was rare about Paris, the King would shew him his  
Court of Parliament, for all that he had seene was nothing in respect of the admirable  
greatnesse of that reuerent Court, whereof in former times, many Emperours, Kings  
and Princes, comming to Paris, had more admired the Iustice that was administred  
there, then any thing else that they had seene. The King aduertised the chiefe President  
Achilles de Harley, that he would goe see and heare them. They prepared the lodging of  
the golden chamber, whereas the King and Duke might see and not bee seene. There  
was a most tragicall cause pleaded, whereof the first president made choise: The sub-  
iect was of one John Prost a practitioner of the Law, who had bene murdered at Paris,  
and the authors could not bee discovered. His mother accused a Baker where he was  
lodged, vpon some apparant presumptions of certaine money which she had sent vnto  
him. Wherevpon the Baker was condemned to be racked with all extremity, after the  
which hee was enlarged for a time, putting in Caution for his appearance againe in  
Court. It happened afterwards that three Gascons were taken for robbing of a house,  
and condemned the next day to be hanged. At their execution, the last of the three  
said, that the Baker was innocent for that whereof he had bene accused of, for the mur-  
der of John Prost, and that it was hee with his companion La Sale that had slaine him,  
thinking that he had money: and that after they had slaine him, they did cast him into  
the priuy, whereas he was yet. The which was found true. Wherevpon the Baker being  
declared innocent, hee presents his petition vnto the Court, and demands reparation  
of honor, with his charges, damage and interest against the mother. The mother de-  
fends her selfe, and saith, that her accusations were not calumnious. Maister Anne Ro-  
bert pleaded for the Baker; and for the mother Maister Anthony Arnault; and for the  
Kings interest Maister Seruin his Maiesties Aduocate Generall.

The King  
leads the  
Duke to the  
Court of Par-  
liament.

D ANNE ROBERT Aduocate in the Court, pleading for  
the Baker being Plaintife, sayd thus.

MAY IT PLEASE YEE.

THE ancient Poets taking pleasure to discourse of many combats happened at the  
battaile of Troy, report that Telephus (the sonne of Hercules) receiued in an incoun-  
ter a fore wound with a Lance by Achilles: who seeing his paine to encrease daily, fled  
to Apollos Oracle for counsell, who answered, that nothing could giue him ease or cure,  
but the same Lance where-with he had bene wounded. A Lance called Pelias of Mount  
Pelion, in the top whereof Chiron gathered it, to present to Achilles: so as in Telephus  
accident, the remedy and the cure, came from the same Lance, which gaue the wound  
and did the harme.

The Plaintife with some like consideration, hath reason to say, that hauing bene by  
the authority of a sentence, miserably tormented, and exposed to the rigour of the rack  
and torture, by the wilfull slander and importune rashnesse of a woman, hee hath re-  
course vnto the same Lance of Achilles which did wound him: seeing that he doth now  
appeale vnto the Authority and Iustice of the same Court, which hath heretofore gi-  
uen the first sentence of condemnation against him, hoping that by the exemplary pu-  
nishment of the rashnesse and slander of this woman, the soueraigne Iustice of this Par-  
liament, guided by the conduct of an Achilles, which doth preside and hold the chiefe  
place, shall giue cure to his wounds, and bring consolation to his griefes.

The estate of the cause that is now in question, and to bee iudged, is not whether the  
Plaintife

A wound gi-  
uen by sen-  
tence cannot  
bee cured but  
by sentence.

Alluding to  
the name of  
the Iudge  
which was  
Achilles De  
Harley.

T t t

1600.

Plaintife were fallſely and ſlanderouſly accuſed or no : for the accident of two murderers hath auerted and diſcovered the ſlander without any doubt . But the queſtion is, if this Defendrefſe (after ſo falſe and calumnious an accuſation) ſhall paſſe unpuniſhed : and whether her pretended excuſes ſhalbe received and countenanced by Juſtice. For one of the chiefe points which ſhee pleads for her excuſe is, that the criminall Proceſſe hauing paſt through the hands of the moſt famous Iudges of Europe, if they haue beene deceiued (ſaith this woman) if by preſumptions and probable coniectures, they haue found cauſe to condemne this man vnto the racke, if ſo many worthy Iudges haue bin ſurpriſed, will you not excuſe the ſimplicity of a woman, and the extreme ſorrow of an afflicted mother for the death of her ſonne, hauing had no hatred nor malice, in this accuſation. It is a great abuſe to meaſure the actions of Iudges, with the actions of parties : the pourſute and proceeding of parties is meerely voluntary : no man is forced to plead or accuſe : the Plaintife ſhould be well aduiſed before hee begin, and not to draw any man into the danger of a capitall condemnation, if he be not firſt aſſured, that hee who hee calls into queſtion hath done the deed and is Author of the crime : but the charge of a Iudge is tied to a neceſſary duty, bound to certaine Maxims, and ſubieſt to rules, eſtabliſhed by the Lawes to condemne neceſſarily vpon preſumptions and proofes, and vpon the teſtimony of witneſſes, examined at the inſtance of the party. Antiquity doth teach vs, that *Tireſias* that great Southſaier, foretold things to come by the flying of birds, not that he did ſee the birds, for he was blind, but (ſay the Poets) *hee had alwaies his daughter Manto nere vnto him, who told him in what manner the birds did ſlee, and thereby he diuined.* Juſtice may rightly be compared to this excellent blinde man, and the compariſon cannot ſeeme bad, ſeeing that the Egyptians thought good to paint their Iudges with their eyes blind-fold. For Iudges cannot rightly ſee nor know what doth paſſe. Juſtice decrees nothing but according to the report and teſtimony of parties and witneſſes. If any inconuenience happen in the condemnation, the miſchiefe is to bee imputed to the parties, and not to the Iudges or Juſtice.

Iuſtice doth  
iudge of that  
which ap-  
pears.

Slander is the  
cauſe of falſe  
iudgement.

They report that the Greekes hauing put *Palamedes* to death, his father *Nauplius* to be reuenged, obſerued the time when as the Greekes after the ſack of Troy, returned by ſea, in a great tempeſt. *Nauplius* being vpon a Rock in full ſea, held a burning torch in his hand, as if that place had beene a ſafe port for the deſcent of ſhips : the Greekes abuſed with this light, ran againſt the Rock, and ſuffered ſhipwracke. In this miſfortune if there were cauſe to complaine, it was againſt the malicious inuention of *Nauplius*; but as for the Pilots and ſuch as gouerned the ſhips, they were not to be blamed, in following the direction of a Lanthorne in a darke night, being viſually ſet at ſafe Ports. So in accidents like vnto this in queſtion, all the harme, all the complaints, and all the wrong, is to be imputed to the accuſed, which kindles the fire of ſlander, and from whom proceeds the praetiſes and ſubornation of witneſſes, and the ſearch and diſguiſing of preſumptions and circumſtances. Who doubts but the complaints and malicious teares of this woman were falſe directions, and ſufficient inductions to circumuent the wiſdome of the beſt Iudges, who in the middeſt of the night, that is to ſay, in the darkeſſe of hidden crimes, haue followed the ordinary formes of Juſtice.

It was with reaſon that a Greeke Author diſcourſing of the criminall proceſſe of *Oreſtes*, who to reuenge the death of his father, ſlue *Clitemneſtra* his mother : ſaid, that when he was brought before the Parliament of *Arriopage*, *Minerua* Goddeſſe of wiſdome was Preſident in Iudgement. The Ancients by ſuch fictions would teach vs, that in the iudgment of criminall cauſes, if a celeſtiall power doth not aſſiſt, there doth many times inconueniences happen, but the fault muſt then bee imputed to the accuſer, who giues the firſt cauſe, by an information framed expreſly to afflict and condemne an innocent. *Appian* in his Hiſtory reports of *Iulius Ceſar*, that ſeeing a mutiny in his campe, he comanded the authors thereof to be apprehended. A ſoldiar was brought before him as one of theſe mutines, & yet it was preſently auerted that he was none. *Ceſar* cauſed him that brought him to bee ſeuerly puniſhed, iudging that although hee did it not maliciously, yet he deſerued puniſhment, for that he had drawn an innocent ſoldiar in

1600.

*Martian* con-  
demned vpon  
ſuſpition.

in danger of his life. We read that *Martian* hauing found a dead body in the night, and through piety (which was then greatly recommended among Chriſtians) ſeeking to bury him, was taken, led before the Juſtice, & condemned vpon ſuſpicion : but at the ſame inſtant, when as they carried him to execution, it chanced happily that the murderere was taken and executed, hauing confeſſed the fact, to the great happineſſe of *Martian*, who was deliuered, and within few yeeres after choſen Emperor. As alſo the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory doth teach vs, that Saint *Athanaſius* was accuſed to haue ſlaine *Arsenicus*, and was ready to be condemned, if by good hap *Arsenicus* had not beene found, being hidden by the enemies of *Athanaſius*. A late writer curious in the ſearch of the ſingularities of the Hiſtory of Venice, reports an aduerture ſome what like vnto this : *Fuſcarus* ſonne to the Duke of Venice, had a capitall quarrell with an other Venetian Gentleman called *Hermolaus Donat*. This Gentleman was found dead, and the Author of this murder not knowne. *Fuſcarus* vpon ſuſpition of their quarrell, was called in queſtion, condemned and ſent into exile where hee died for grieſe, to ſee himſelfe baniſhed from his country. Within three monethes after his death, a theiſe was executed, who amongſt other crimes, confeſſed, that it was he and not *Fuſcarus*, which had ſlaine that Venetian Gentleman. In ſuch and the like inconueniences, were it reaſon to giue abſolute impunity, to him that was the calumniator? bee it that malice or indiſcretion hath drawne him to this ſlander? *Scipio* ſayd, that a Generall of an army muſt bee well aduiſed what he doth, for in matters of warres there is no meanes to erre twiſe, the firſt fault being ſufficient to ruine an army. Euen ſo in Juſtice, it muſt be very exact, when there is any queſtion of a capitall accuſation, for ſeeing that the life depends thereon, there is no meanes to erre twiſe, the firſt being irreparable. It is an approued diſtinction of all thoſe that haue treated of the puniſhment of falſe accuſations, whether an informer be induced to accuſe ſlanderouſly and wickedly, or by indiſcretion and without mallice.

The one differs from the other, ſo haue they diuers effects : the one hath ſome excuſe, the other is puniſhed ſeuerely : the one ciuilly, the other criminally : for where there is mallice and ſlander, the Law of God doth puniſh the calumniator with the like paine, *Lege Talionis* : and at Rome the calumniator in crimes that were not capitall, was beaten with a hot iron, and branded in the fore-head, for a ſigne and perpetuall marke of his ſlander. And the Emperour *Macrinus* did puniſh thoſe accuſers which did faile in their proofes with death. *Pliny* ſpeaking of ſuch men, called them abhominable ſacrifices, which ſhould be offered vp to the publike quiet. And the good Emperour *Traian* did ſo deteſt calumniators, as hee cauſed them to be put into a ſhip without ſayle or tackling, abandoning them to the mercy of that mercileſſe element, which would haue no pity of them, no more then they had had of many poore innocents.

The puniſh-  
ment of falſe  
accuſations.

But as for the ſlander which proceeds from indiſcretion without mallice, the ſeuerity in truth ſhould not be ſo great, yet is it fit there ſhould bee ſome puniſhment. No ſeuerer or capitall puniſhment, but at the leaſt pecuniary and ciuill, of damages and fine. If ſhee were not excuſable as a mother, forced to accuſe by extreme grieſe without mallice : what racke? what puniſhment? what torments were ſufficient to puniſh her, which hath drawne an innocent man in queſtion, and in danger to be broken vpon the wheele? The Poets ſaine, that the Goddeſſe *Ceres* by the ſuppoſition of *Tantalus*, did cate *Pelops* ſhoulder. This Goddeſſe finding her owne error, although vnaduſedly, condemned her ſelfe to make *Pelops* ſhoulder of Iuory. You are the cauſe of the cruell torments which the Plaintife hath ſuffered vpon the racke, but you ſay it was by indiſcretion, and without mallice. At the leaſt by an award of damages and fine, make ſome pecuniary recompence, to releue the miſery of this poore man, and to helpe him to ſuſtain the remainder of his daies, languiſhing after ſo many torments. And if this woman represents vnto you the pity and grieſe of a mother, imagine I pray you the miſerable ſighes of this innocent, in the middeſt of the cruelty of moſt violent tortures, hauing no other ſeeling but his paine and grieſe. In one houre a thouſand deaths without dying, a body tormented, ſtretched, halfe torne in peeces, his ſinewes dried

1599. and strained, his members broken, and his whole body in a pittifull Estate, being bound, A  
and miserably rackt. And to speake truth, it had bene a great happinesse for this  
poore man to haue died, for what remaines, is no more a perfect body, but peeces dis-  
placed and disioyned, members broken, lame and feeble, hauing his body reduced to  
that miserable estate, as hereafter he shall hardly by his labour get a liuing for himself,  
his wife and five children. It is the clamor & sighes of these poore yong Infants, whole  
crie pierceth vp to heauen, and their complaints come vnto you, to moue you vnto  
pitty. He in the mean-time seeing himselfe miserable in his body, and his family reduced  
to beggery, liues and dies altogether. It is a paine which still encreaseth, a griefe which  
euer doubles, and a death which hath neuer end.

The picture  
of Slander.

That great Painter *Apelles* meaning to paint Slander, set him forth in a mourning B  
weed, hauing two wiues, one of either side, Ignorance and Suspicion: what reason were  
there to take for payment and available satisfaction the indiscretion of the Defend-  
resse, and the excuse of Ignorance (an ordinary companion to Slander) and to pardon  
so notable a fault, vnder pretext of an afflicted mothers griefe, for the death of her son:  
and hereafter when any murder is committed, shall it be lawfull for a father, a brother,  
or a nere kinsman, with all impunity, vnder a pretext of iustice, to accuse whom he pleas-  
eth, and to bring in question of his life, or of some cruel torments, and in the end to bee  
quit excusing himselfe vpon his griefe, or ignorance? The rules of Iustice and Law do  
not allow it. *Titus Linius* sayd excellently, that the Law was inexorable, deafe without C  
pitty, and without passion. Why doth that worthy Author say, *that the Law is deafe*,  
but for that it doth neuer giue eare vnto the vaine discourse of pitty and commiserati-  
on? The property of Iustice is to be strict and seuer. The Surgion that is pittifull, and  
doth not lanch deepe, makes the wound incurable. An indulgent and ouer-mild father,  
makes the child incorrigible: So a mercifull Iudge doth nourish and increase vice, and  
betraines the lawes and Maiesty of Iustice.

The Law in-  
exorable.

This cause doth therefore import the publike, for examples sake: for although the  
Plaintife hath no other quality but of a simple Bourges and handy-crafts-man, yet to  
obtaine reason in Iustice, and to hope for reparation of the wrong which hath bene  
done him, he thinks himselfe great enough, seeing he hath the happinesse to liue vnder D  
the peacefull gouernment of the best King in the world, who hauing heaped all happi-  
nesse vpon France, maintaines equally in his protection, and vnder the safe-guard of his  
Maiesty, the life and health of all his subiects, poore and rich, great and small. The  
Ancients held, that *Themis*, which is the Goddesse of Iustice, was the daughter of the  
Sunne: and as the Sunne may bee seene in a glasse by them which cannot behold his  
beames; So the Maiesty of our great King, the true and comfortable sunne of this  
monarchy, the eye and heart of France, would giue authority to this famous Parlia-  
ment, as the true seate of his greatnesse, to the end that therein, as in a looking-glasse,  
we might admire the beauty, light and beames of his iustice. An Historian saith, that the  
Emperour *Augustus* had fiery eyes, *Igneos oculos*, inferring thereby that hee had such E  
glistering eyes and such a piercing sight, as it was impossible, or very hard to looke sted-  
fastly on him. And wee in like sort must content our selues that it is lawfull for vs to  
admire the beauty of this soueraigne Court, and to beleue that our weake sight is not  
strong enough to enioy fully the presence of our great Prince, sitting in his seat of Ius-  
tice, nor to indure the glistering beames of the Maiesty of our great French *Augustus*,  
whom God hauing led through so many dangers, as it were by the hand, to the height  
of all greatnesse, and hauing endued him with the valour of *Cesar*, the fortune of *Alex-  
ander*, the bounty of *Traian*, we can with no more vnto him but the happinesse, the ma-  
ny yeeres, and the continuall prosperity of *Augustus*, to the end that all we his subiects  
may liue happy and content vnder the reigne of so great a King, and the assured Iustice  
of this famous Parliament.

So the Plaintife hauing recourse to this soueraigne Iustice, as to the last Port  
of health, beseecheth the Court to allow of his Request, and that hee may bee absol-  
ued of the slanderous accusation laide against him, that the inolement of his im-  
prisonment

A prisonment may be razed, and hee discharged of all condemnations which heretofore  
haue bene giuen; and moreover that the defendresse may be condemned to a pecu-  
niary reparation, such as it shall please the court to decree, and to all charges, domages  
and interest.

1600.

## ANTHONY ARNAVD for the Defendresse, sayd.

B MAY IT PLEASE YEE.

YOV shall vnderstand in this cause, how true it is: *That ordinary afflictions speake Afflictions  
with iudgement, and that extreme calamities doe quench or confound the spirit.* The  
Plaintife, hath represented his griefes vnto you in an eloquent discourse, full of Arte  
and the force of eloquence: and contrariwise of our part, you shall heare nothing but  
the sobbs and sighs, of a mother transported with griefe, and reduced to all sorts of dis-  
paire. I would to God the torments whereof you speake, and all the cruelties that may  
be imagined, had bene executed vpon mee poore mother, who haue one foote already  
in the graue: And that the death of my sonne (and the kinde of death, more miserable  
C then the death it selfe) had not ministred the mournfull subiect of this miserable cause:  
so as on what side soeuer you turne, there is nothing to bee seene but teares and desola-  
tion. But there is this great difference: that the griefe of the aduerser party (if there yet  
remains any) may bee mollesed in time, by a thousand remedies which excellent wits  
haue inuented during many ages, to ease the discommodities of the body. But contrari-  
wise the extreame affliction (which findes no words of force to represent it) for the losse  
of a sonne, of an onely sonne, the only support and comfort of the trembling age of an  
old mother, hath neuer found consolation in all the most excellent discourses in the  
world, being the onely phisicke of the minde. The griefe is so violent as it exceedes all  
D remedy, and bleeds a fresh euery day. The older it growes the more greuous it is. It doth  
houerly master the resistance which it found in the beginning, and doth continually  
vanquish the forces of the body with them of the minde.

It is a strange thing that my poore sonne hauing bene thus cruelly massacred, you  
who see him retorne no more into your house, instead of aduertising me thereof, went  
into his Chamber to take his money, you transported it out of your owne house, and  
hid it in your brother-in-lawes. And which is worse, being examined by the Iustice, you  
denied it constantly, and often, vntill that your sonne (to young to concele the truth)  
discovered the place where you had laied it. All this is iustified by the Proceffe, the  
which remaines in the hands of the Kings councill.

E So as it was not in you that these murderers were not vn timered, but the peering  
eye of Diuine Iustice, which neuer sleeps: for a robbery committed two months after  
hath brought them to the execution. It appeeres by the informations, that the very  
day of the murder, these two murderers went vnto your lodging, and brake open my  
sonnes cofer, if you had fled vnto Iustice, they might haue been instantly apprehended.  
Alas! peraduenture my poore child was not then fully dead. How many are left for  
dead which are not so? How many haue bene taken out of the cofin, yea out of the  
grave, which haue suruiued their funeralls fifty yeeres?

At the least you cannot deny but you were the cause to moderate their punish-  
ment: what know I what they would haue sayd vpon the wheele? you neuer attempted  
F any thing against mee, but when as they which shue my sonne could no more accuse  
you? What did then hinder you? why you did not speedely aduertise the Iustices? At  
the least it was feare to restore the money which you had taken, in committing a do-  
mesticall theft: the which was alwaies, punished with death; and when in the Lawes  
of Hospitality (the which are Holy among all Nations) were also violated. Whom

Tttt 3

should

1600. should I sooner challenge for the death of my sonne, then him, who had his spoiles: A Nature hath hidden in the earth both gold, siluer and iron, but the malice of man hath drawne them all forth, that it might want no instruments for Murthers, nor reward for murderers. No man sheds blood, to die his hands therein; there must bee some other violent passion to thrust him on: Couetousnesse is the most ordinary. All coniectures, all presumptions, were and are found true, that my sonne had beene slaine by some one that desired his money, whom then might I better call in question then him who was found seized thereon?

Desire and  
couetousnesse  
the cause of  
murthers.

If treading vnder foote the Murther of my sonne (as some mothers doe) I had onely demanded his goods of you, you could not haue auoided an infamous & rigorous condemnation. But for that I haue sought reuenge of the murther, I am this day in danger to be condemned, what recompence? *Cains Antonius* was accused for the conspiracy of *Catelin*: whereof he was found innocent, but his arraignment was intermixt with other thefts, which he had in former times committed in Macedonia, for the which hee was condemned. And yet the one of his accusations had nothing common with the other. In this cause murther and theft haue great affinity. How many be there in this great city, which beeing murdered like to this poore yong-man, should remaine three moneths vnknowne, if their Host wanting them, did not presently aduertise the Iustice. Suffer them to take their money without punishment, that is to say, declare him innocent that hath hidden it, and you shall helpe to hide the murtherers.

It is a strange thing that in the head city of this Realme, and in the face of the Parliament, there should bee such furious Tigers found, to murther men as boldly as in the most hideous forest in the world. The more these wicked spirits are determined to contemne the Lawes, the more must you endeavour to force them to feare them. All that may serue to punish such detestable crimes, must bee earnestly imbraced. Nothing can so much aduance it, as to aduertise the Iustice speedily: whilest it is fresh, these wicked spirits are terrefied and amazed. If al be like vnto the Plaintiffe, a poore man may be rotten before they know he is dead. There be some that are incident to the suspicion of a crime, although they be very innocent, as he that is found nere vnto a man that is newly murdered. He may happily be put to the Racke, this is a meere mischance, or rather D (laying a side all fatality obserued in this case by the Heathen Lawiers) let vs say with the Doctours of the Church, that it is a secret iudgement of God, the which we must admire, and not curiously serch into. The thunder is worshiped euen by them that are stricken with it: punishments ordained by Iustice are the chastisements of Gods hand, whose powre is represented here below by the Prince, and his by his Magistrates. The Philosopher *Crator*, sayd, that he which suffers il without desert, is much eased in this accident of fortune: but in this fact which is now in question, the Plaintiffs theft and not his misfortune, hath with great reason made this suspicion to fall vpon him. Do you not consider that the paine which you haue suffered, is the cause you shalbe this day absolved? Without it your theft could not remaine unpunished: your demand of damage and interest, belongs only to them that are merely innocent, if you bee accused of two faults, and are found guilty of one, you must implore the mercy of the Iudge and not blame his rigour. It was then impossible to free you from the Racke, by all the Maximes of Lawiers, and their Interpreters, followed by a decree which needs no other defence then reason. And not to stray from this cause, shall I let you plainly see, that you need not be so fearefull to come to the Racke. If these murtherers had not beene tortured for the robbery for the which they were executed, they could not haue beene condemned for want of prooffe. The one of them confest it vpon the Racke. As the Racke tormented you, so the Racke releued you, hauing discovered your innocency in regard of the murther. And in easing you, it hath brought before mine eyes my murdered sonne, who presents himself euery night vnto me with stretched out armes, whilest the murtherers kill him.

So as one and the selfe same thing hath filled mee with heauinesse, and with ioy. Content your selfe then with your good fortune, and insult no more ouer my misery: doe

A do you not feare that they will lesse pittie you, and the paine you haue endured, when they shall see you haue none of me, nor of my distresse. I will not say vnto my Masters that it is cruell and barbarous to adde afflictions to the afflicted, why should I say so? seeing that al the condemnations which my aduers party demands against me, can adde no more calamity, then *small brookes do vnto the sea*? It is the only comfort which remains in my miserie, that it can haue no increase. I will not therefore spend any time to cite the texts of Lawiers, which hold the violent passions of so miserable a mother excusable. They be lawes which are borne with vs, whereof no man can be ignorant, seeing we haue suckt it with our mothers milk, and which we cannot abrogate but in spoiling our humanity. I will not strue to represent vnto you that affection to the children, or to the B Parents, (euen as the loue of good subiects to their Prince) consists not in any mediocrity or temper, but in excessse, that excessse which in other motiues of the mind is vicious, is herein the full of all perfection. Why should I come to these excuses, seeing that if I were to begin my accusation, I would do no lesse then I haue done: I had rather bee condemned to all sorts of damages, interests and reparations, then to repent me of the poursute I haue made for the death of my sonne.

1600.

A mothers  
palsion excusa-  
ble.

A goodly pretext for those Mothers, which do euery day sell the deare blood of their children, when they shall heare that I haue bin condemned, shall they not then haue reason to say that they feare damage and interest, if they open their mouths? *Dion* obserues, that they were reduced to that point at Rome, hauing so much discountenanced accusations, as they were forced to promise Impunity to him that should conuict another of a greater crime then his owne. C alumnators and false accusers are to bee feared vnder bad Princes, which intrich themselves with the confiscations of their subiects, and not vnder the iust and flourishing gouernment of our great King, which hath erected so many cuerlasting trophees of his clemency and bounty, equalling at this time by the glorious effects of iustice (which shines throughout all this great and mighty Estate) the victories and the stately triumphs of feareful warre: shewing by the effects, that the same vertue, and the same magnanimity carries great Princes and excellent Captaines into the midst of the most bloody and furious battailes, and doth conduct them also to the holy D and sacred actions of most happy and blessed peace.

We haue then no need amongst vs of these *Talion* punishments, the which were as soone abrogated, as they were enacted. If they were in force, not two crimes among an hundred should be punished: at the beginning we must necessarily follow coniectures and presumptions, if they may lead vs to the certaine knowledge of the truth: they condemn the culpable, if not they forbear: *God onely walks in light, and men in darknesse*. But I beseech you to consider what power I haue had in all this criminall proceeding. The Plaintiffe begins his action against me, because I am the most weake. If hee durst challenge the Iudges, he would do it much more willingly, all the instruction of the Proceste comes from the criminall party. It is not I, but the Kings Attourney generall. E Alas! I brought nothing but my sighes: therein consists my crime. Oh I may well doubt of my sonne to lose my teares, seeing it is not lawfull for me to weepe: it were more then a second losse of my sonne to lose my teares.

Taliens law  
wholly abro-  
gated.

The Plaintiffes intent is to haue againe for his damage and interest, the mony which Iustice hath forced him to yeeld. I haue it not, I haue employed it in praying vnto God for my sonne who was murdered, and had no time to thinke of his soule, which was a double cruelty. Houses shake before they fall. The smoake fore-tels the fire that will consume vs. A tempest is discovered a farre off, but the murdering hand of man strikes sodenly, when we least thinke of it. If you condemne me in damages and interests you may iudge that remembering his paines, how rigorously he will intreate mee. I haue nothing left to pay it: that little which I had was employed in the education of my sonne, holding it to bee the richest and chiefest treasure that I could desire: *O detestful hope!* By vertue of your sentence he will confine me into a prison; but I regard it not, so as he make choise of a darke and an hidious one, that it may soone shorten my miserable life, the which shall neuer find ease but in death: for I am resolu'd to passe



1600. passe the remainder of my daies, like vnto those Mothers which accompany their children vnto the graue. All that makes me to desire liberty, is to the end that I might liue among the rockes, in deserts, and the most solitary woods, and that I might neuer see mothers that make much of their children. Alas my sonne, my poore sonne! I shall call on thee night and day, although thou answerest me not. If this extreame miserie doth not satisfie the Plaintiffe, let him feare, and apprehend the wrath of God and a second punishment. Let him not abuse the grace which he hath done him, in making manifest the truth of this murder. Let him liue happily to see his innocency knowne: and I alwaies vnhappie to haue lost my poore child. I conclude, that it would please the Court to absolue me from his request.

The defense  
drecte conclusion.

After this the Kings Solicitor generall, master *Servin*, did rise to plead and conclude for the Attorney generall, vpon that which the Aduocates had deliuered for the parties: the opinions of the hearers were in such suspence, as they knew not which way to incline. He that had first heard of the plaintiffe, sayd, that he had reason: but as Iudges must alwaies referue one eare for the defender, being impossible to iudge definitiue. ly vpon the discourse of one party: when the second had pleaded, there was such equality and concurrence of reasons found, as it seemed they had both a good cause. The Kings Solicitors discourse, was the powder to separate the truth from that which had some apparence of truth: but let vs heare this other *Demosthenes* of France, whose pleading followeth.

### L. SERVIN the Kings Attorney Generall, sayd thus:

MAY IT PLEASE YEE.

IF it be true, according to the worthy saying of *Statius Caelius* (vsed by *Apuleius*) defending himselfe against an accusation of impietie: *That Innocencie is the true eloquence.* It might satisfie the intention of the poore Plaintiffs, and might promise them an honorable issue, for that a poore and vntainted life speaking for them, surmounts in the opinion of good men, the richest eloquence of them that are guilty. For he may well defend, that can purge himselfe from crimes, hauing done nothing but what he dare publicly auow. But if it be more true that the art of speaking be vertue and wisdom, as the Stoickes haue defined it: signifying thereby, that the vertuous and wise haue subiect enough to talke: It is most certaine that God which giueth wisdom, and out of whose mouth proceedes all knowledge and vnderstanding, hauing not endued the Plaintiffs with such graces, seeing they haue neither the knowledge nor word, which is drawne out of the holy Scriptures, nor the perswasive speech of humane wisdom, hauing not the refined discourse of Reason, they had great need of the assistance of their Aduocate: who as he doth not yeeld in Eloquence and knowledge to any one of his profession, hath made prooffe by this present action, how well he can defend the innocent, the which is so much the more commendable, for that *Dionysius Halicarnassens* (a great Iudge of Orators) did hold *Plato* worthy to be blamed, for that he had written the Apologie of *Socrates* in a flat and cold stile.

On the one side, Maister *Anne Robert* hath liuely represented vnto you, the miserable estate of the Baker and his wife, lately accused, and now Plaintiffs: how they haue beene pursued in the Chasteler, iudged, appealed and condemned by sentence, the husband put to the torture, and the Racke presented to the wife and to the maide: and to conclude, all the family in distresse, by the accusation of a horrible murder, pretended to be committed vpon the person of his guest: a crime which God hath made knowne by the reuelation of the murder, that the hearts and hands of these poore people were innocent. By reason whereof they demand reparation of honor, with damage and Interest against the accuser. You haue on the other side, heard Maister *Anthonie Arnaud*, for the mother of the deceased *John Prost*, miserably murdered, beeing before Plaintiffe,

A tute, and now accused of slander, who may well defend her selfe, by the simple colour of pietie, which cries and is intercessor for her, for her, I say: A mother whole affliction is such, as there is no tongue but the mothers, or rather the voice of God, that can well expresse it: neither can any Aduocate or Orator how excellent soeuer, vnlesse he be possessed with a diuine spirit, represent the passions of a mother: witness the Prophet, when he deliueres what God had sayd: *Can the mother forget her child, but she must haue pittie of the fruit of her wombe? and if she should forget it, I will not forsake him saith the Lord.* It is God, our common father, God who is charity it selfe: for so he is called by one of his Apostles: God of whom the Greeke Poet *Aratus* (honoured by the allegation of *S. Paul*) sayd, *That we are his offspring.* God of whom the same Apostle doth teach vs, *That he is father of heauen and earth.* It is he by whom all mothers haue their affection to their children: it is he by whom the Defendresse (a miserable mother) was encouraged to seeke and pursue reuenge for the blood of her child. Behold persons of diuers qualities in our cause, who pretend their innocencies by different reasons. The Baker and his wife demand reparation, being ignorant of the murder of *Prost*: and the mother (of *Prost* murdered) seeks to be freed from the imputation of slander. But there is yet an encounter in this controuersie, which regards the authority of things iudged, wherein the publicke hath an interest. To deliuer what is fit vpon euery one of these qualities, it seems expedient to obserue what hath past in the accusation and proceeding: the first iudgement in the decree, the execution and what followed since.

That which appeares by the proceffe iudged, is, that the deceased *John Prost*, sonne to the Accuser, hauing beene lodged for a time in the Bakers house: about the beginning of February 1599. *Katherine Cordier* the wife of the Baker, sent for a Lock-smith by her husbands sonne, and caused him to open the chamber of *Prost*, being absent, the which she hath confessed after much disguising of the boyes name, whom since she knew to be her sonne in law. After this ouerture, there was another made in the view of two vknown men, who brought the keys which the sayd *Prost* had giuen them; the which is a second charge: for these two men entred into the chamber in the presence of the hostesse, and tooke what they pleased of that which *Prost* had left: and yet afterwards there was a third opening made by the Lock-smith, which was brought by the sonne of the Baker, and by his wiues commandement: This being thus aduowed and iustified by the sonne, the chamber being opened the fourth time by a Commissarie of the Chasteler, there was some money found belonging to *Prost*, but not all, for that the Baker and his wife had taken and promised some to their maide, if she sayd nothing. Moreouer, *Prosts* apprell being in his coffer, and among the rest a doubler, the hostesse being examined, sayd that *Prost* had none other. In the end, the Proceffe hauing beene made perfect by interrogatories and confrontations; One of the chiefe allegations made by the husband and the wife for their iustification, was, that the accuser, although a mother, did not loue *Prost* her sonne, whereof he had oftentimes complained. By a sentence giuen by the Prouost of Paris, it was decreed, that the Baker, his wife and seruant, should be put to the Racke. They appeale. There followed a second decree in regard of the Baker: and as for his wife and seruant, it was ordained they should haue the Racke presented vnto them, the which was done. And after the deniall of the Baker, his wife and mayd, there followed another sentence allowing the reception of the ordinary Proceffe, and yet restrained that in case no greater proofes beeing found on the ordinat Racke, the accused should preuaile, yet they should haue no Charges, Damage, nor Interest adiudged vnto them. In Iune following, God hauing suffered that two thecues, whereof the one called *John Bazana* had murdered this *Prost*, were apprehended by the iustice and by the testimony of *Bazana*, the act was confessed. So as the Baker and his wife pretend themselves freed by this testimony, and demand an honorable reparation, with some recompence from the mother of him that was murdered, saying, that the accusation beeing false, shee ought to be iudged a slanderer. Wherein it seemes that innocencie presents it selfe at the feete of Iustice; and cries out for them, as *Dauid* in the seuenth Psalm, intituled *Siggaion*, that is to say: *The ignorance of Dauid*, the which is his defence against the slanders

1600.

Prou. 30.

flanders of *Semei*, where he exclaimed in denying and forswearing the Impostures of A his aduersarie, and in saying, that he knew not what it was, he spake these words. *If I haue committed such a fact, if there be iniquitie in my hands, that I may fall before mine enemies* Excellent words and deliuered in the kind of an oath. In like case, a pore Host plaintiffe, complains and may say with *Agur* the Sonne of *Iake*: *Truly I am more brutish then any man whatsoeuer, I haue no vnderstanding, neither haue I learned any wisdom, nor attained to the knowledge of holy things. The wit of man will maintaine the infirmities thereof, but who will support a grieued mind?* The Accuser at the first seemed iust in her cause, but the Accused come to purge themselves, and haue found out the truth. The words of slanderers (saith the wise King) are ambushes of blood, but the mouth of Truth shall deliuer them. You see an Host and Hostesse accused of Inhospitality, of Infidelity, and of the murther of their Guest, a crime so farre from the manners and hearts of the French, as if *Euripides* sayd among the Grecians:

*That it was not for the Achaeans to murder their guests.*

We may say with the Plaintiffes, with as much or more reason, *That it is not vsuall among the French to murder their guests*: for among ciuill people, our Coeltick nation hath bin most renowned for Hospitality, a vertue proper to the French, and recommended by many strangers; yea by *Parthenius* a Greeke Author in his booke of the *Affecti- C ons of Loue*, where he saith in the Historie of *Eurippus*, that at what time the Gauls made roades into Ionia, the Celtes received their guests willingly, and intreated them courteously. The which is confirmed by *Salustianus* a Priest of *Marceilles*, in his booke *Of the prouidence of God*, where among the vertues of our Nation, he termes them *Francos hospitales*. It was therefore a great crime, vnfit for the Plaintiffs: a crime for Barbarians, Pagans, and Infidels, worthy of extraordinary punishment, and so much the more punishable, for that it had bin committed in Paris, the chiefe city of the Realme, the seat of our Kings, the Place of foueraign Iustice, whereas the most holy and reuerend Senate of the world is resident: the Court of Peers, and the great Parliament of our great King.

Pro. 8. 18.

The Husband accused in this Parliament, and not onely accused, but iudged and tormented in body and mind, comes this day in Iudgement as a man reuiued againe, by his innocency, he brings his wife with him, and sayth against the Accuser *That he which slandereth his neighbor, is like vnto a false witnesse, which is as a hammer, a sword, and a sharpe arrow*. Although he be borne poore and miserable, yet is he of a pure and innocent life. That his soule and that of his Wiues are no lesse pretious before God then the richest: that they haue not wronged any man: that they haue liued content in their pouerty (Po- uerty which is a singular gift of God, and vnknowne of men) and yet they beeing poore and innocent haue beene afflicted: a thousand feares haue seized on them, and the life both of the husband and wife haue beene in danger. The Sonne hath beene heard against the Father, all the family defamed, fearing to loose their credit, and to see no more good daies: to haue no means to get their liuing, nor to shew themselves. The troublesome griefe of a mournfull prison, deprivied of light, and cast into an obscure dungeon fit for Murderers: *to liue often times, and to dye as often*. The Racke giuen vnto the husband, and presented to the wife: all danger, all griefe: their eyes dried vp, their minds oppressed, apprehension of Nakednesse, Hungar, and Death, yea and of at- tringominious death. They demand this day, that which the men vniustly tormented in the Iustice of Athens demanded: that the Altar of Mercy might be adorned with a monu- ment, carrying a declaration of their innocencie. They do mortouer pretend reparati- on against the Accuser, and this demand is not new nor strange, there are many Pre- sidents of the like, among the which there is one very famous in the Declamations of *Marcus Seneca* the Rethorician.

A Father hauing two Sonnes, goes into a farre country with one of them, the son returnes alone: his brother accuseth him of Parricide: he is condemned. but by reason of some festiuall daies the execution is deferred: the Father returnes, the Brother con- demned

1600.

A demned, accuseth his brother of false witnesse: obtaines iudgement, causeth him to bee bound, and detaines him according vnto the Law, which sayd, that a false witnesse shold be prisoner to him whom he had falsely accused. The innocent Brother sayd, that the Accuser was the cause of Parricide in the person of his Father, and had committed one in that of his brother: the Minister of Iustice had giuen notice vnto the condemned Brother of the coming of his Father: the expected punishment was more grieuous then death. It was more troublefome for the condemned man to apprehend it, then to endure it: he layd before his eyes all kinds of Death. *And what can I lesse do* (sayd the innocent) *then keepe him in my bonds, that might haue taken away my life?* In another famous example, we see another controuersie in the same Author. A Father hauing two Sons, deliuers the one into the others hands, vpon suspicion of Parricide, whereof his Mother-in-law accused him. The accused Brother is cast into an vnrig'd ship: God pre- ferues him from danger: he fells into the hands of Pyrats, and is made their Captain. The Father makes a voyage by sea; he is taken by the Sonne, whom he had so ill intreated, and the Son sends him home into his country. *Cestius Pius* an eloquent man sayth for the innocent brother. *That Innocency is a strong fort, and a faithfull safegard in danger*. The Sea compassed in the ship, the waues tost it, the tempest draue it, yet innocencie did assure him: O Sea more iust then their Iudgement! O waues more mild then the Fa- ther! what a soule haue you cast into the Port! and you haue not onely saued the Son, but you haue deliuered him into the hands of Pyrats: it was diuinely decreed that the Father should vndertake a voyage; that the Iudge should be taken to repent him of his Iudgement. A Mother-in-law might accuse, yea and cause her husbands sonne to bee condemned of Parricide, but she could not make him a Parricide, no not in condemn- ing him. The Sonne hereupon sayd vnto the Father. *Behold my innocency, O father, in the sea, which you would not know in your house*. And then turning vnto the Iudges, he sayd: *I had rather haue mine innocency iustified vnto you, then vnto my Father*. Hereupon *Ari- stotle* sayth, that by the law of Greece they gaue the right side to the accused: and by the Romaine Lawes, Iudges are taught to be more inclined to absolue then to condemne.

If this be requisit in ciuill causes, how much more in criminal? And the mother which was the Accuser, whom the Demanders say was ill-affected to her Sonne when he liued, could she without feare of punishment slander the Complaynants, charging them with the vncertaine suspicion of a murther committed vpon the person of her Son, so much hated, or at the least not much beloued of her. That if the Demanders bee not exempt from faults, whereunto all men are subiect: yet they may iustifie themselves free from the crime imposed vpon them by the Accuser, beeing this day purged by a testimonie which God hath caused to be giuen by a Man, the which is so much the more credible, for that he deposed it neare vnto his death, not speaking to discharge himselfe, but ac- cusing himselfe and confessing the Murther. These (in summe) be the griefs which the Demanders can propound. It beeing hard, yea impossible in such cases to speake words that may equall the sorrow.

Contrariwise, the Defendresse a poore mother, saith, or cries out in that sort, as it is not well possible to represent her passion: but we must paint it out, as *Timanthes* did counterfeit *Iphigenia*, with her face covered, a low voice, and a languishing speech. We cannot make you vnderstand what she hath suffered, and doth yet suffer. Shee hath lamented her absent Sonne, euen when as she accused the Complaynants: she thought him to be dead: her feare was grounded vpon presumptions, the which not onely shee felt, but the last Iudges haue held to be pregnant. *A voyce was heard from an high, the mother weeping for her Sonne, and would not be comforted*. Doubtlesse no kind of affliction or commiseration is like vnto that of a Woman, but amongst women, none so great as that of a Mother. So as GOD hath compared the remembrance which hee hath of Man to that of a Mother. And in truth, mothers haue more then a fatherly remem- brance. Our Defendresse in this case is assisted by the suffrages of Nature: shee sighes vpon earth, and fillles heauen with her complaints: her lamentable cries, and her abundance of teares, are her onely defences: the which are so much the better, for that they

1600. they are naturall. A mother who knowes not whither to go, who finds no place to rest A in, who seekes her child as if he were yet liuing: who would haue endured his wounds, and dies twice for that shee died not before her sonne: the implores heauen in lamenting her misery, and desires her end: her sighes moue all men to compassion. Griefe hath teazed vpon her soule, and her vnderstanding is nothing else but sorrow. Nothing is more constant then the loue of the Father to his child, and especially of Fathers that haue the instinct of Nature. But mothers haue their affections more violent. If any thing happen vnto their children, it breedes a great alteration in them. Witnesse the iudgement of *Salomon*, seeking betwixt two women, to know the right Mother. So you may see the passion of *David* when he called his Sonne, *My sonne Absolon, my sonne*: he B was much troubled. But Mothers are much more, feeling the same paine they suffered at their birth. And that which afflicts the Defendresse much more, is that the Complainants obiekt against her, that she loued not her child. That without doubt is insupportable to a Mother. The latter times are miserable, foretold by the Prophets: That Inhumanity, Inciuitie, Astorgie (that is to say, want of loue in the Parents vnto their children, and of children vnto their Parents) shold enter into the hearts of men. What say I of Men, who are no men, seeing they prooue inhumane, cruell, brutish, and vnnatural!

But can it be, that two such contrary passions should iumpe in our Defendresse: Could she hate her son, and not seeing him any more, complaine that he was dead? Could she accuse his Host and Hostesse, if she loued him not? *Iosephus* in his first booke of the lewish warre, reporting the accusation of *Herod* against his children, sayth, that *Saturninus* would not condemne the accused, saying: *That it was not lawfull for him who had no children to giue sentence of death against another mans children.* A speech worthy of a graue Romaine, but had bene better spoken by one borne in Iudaea: for in former times the Iudges giuen by God vnto the people, were chosen out of the fathers of Families, who had, or had had children, and who by this meanes knew best the iust affections of fathers loue. The Historie addes, that an old man at armes of *Herods* called *Tyron*, was so transported seeing a cruel father, as he became almost mad, going from place to place, exclaiming, that *Iustice was troden vnder foot, Truth was perished, Nature confounded, and alwas full of iniquity*: with such like speeches as passion made him to utter. D So strange this good old man held this malice, not beleeuing that such neere kinsmen should conspire against their owne blood. And therefore it is not to be presumed that our Defendresse being a mother, was otherwise then well affected to her sonne: and what greater prooue of her loue can be giuen, then her accusation against the Complainants? And who can represent the tender affection of Fathers and Mothers, which seale the resemblance of bodies and minds, in the little admirable scale of the Infant, the mothers beeing much more affectionate to that which proceedes from them then the Fathers? What then may be sayd of the obiection made vnto the Defendresse? Doublelesse false allegations must concur with naturall, as *Paulus* the Lawyer sayth of Confessions: and it is not lawfull for Iudges, especially for such as are Fathers to beleue that a Mother would hate her sonne to the death: especially this poore woman, who making her complaint of the murder, did note one notable circumstance, saying, that her Sonne had complained vnto her, that the Demanders were froward Hosts. The which shewes a wit in her complaint, and the loue which shee bare to her deare Sonne: remembring the first yeares of his infancie, beeing young and the onely child of his Mother. A Sonne whome shee (beeing his Mother) seeing no more, cryed out with the Mother of *Lamuel*, *VVhat my Sonne, what the Spaine of my wombe, what the Sonne of my vowes?*

This poore mother was perplexed: shee fought her sonne, and found him not. A sonne which was but simple, and might easily be wrangled, for he went alone: hee had money, he left it in his chamber, which was a bayte for theues: his Host and Hostesse layd hand on it, they suffered men to enter into his chamber: men whom they knew not. What might the mother thinke of this? Had she not reason to say, that they had slaine him. Truly it was sayd in the booke of *Wisdom*, *That the iustice of the righteous shall*

A *shall deliuer them.* It is also written. *That the disloyall shall be taken for their iniustice, and the wicked shall be the ransom of the iust, and the disloyall for the righteous.* May not then this poore woman thinke with reason, that you are not to haue any regard to the demanders, vnder collour of their base condition, seeing that for a peece of bread they would haue committed the deed, hauing taken their guests money who trusted them. These bee the reasons by the which the poore Mother may iustifie her selfe, that she hath not attempted any accusation, for the which she should be charged with slander.

Let vs now come vnto the Iudges. They need no other excuse, nor defence of their decree, then the authority of soueraigne iudgements: yet we may say, for the truth which they had of the proofes, if not full and cleare as the Noone day, yet they were such as the presumptions were vehement. If the accused suffred, it came from themselves, for they obserued not the precept which teacheth man: *Above all to keepe his heart pure, from whence life proceedes.* They haue applied their hearts to desire an other mans goods, resembling those that erre: either through want of instruction, or by their great indiscretion, or hauing their hearts peeced with the dart of couetousnesse. And therefore it is no wonder if they haue not appeared in iudgement with a constant countenance. *For blessings are vpon the head of the iust; but extorsions stoppe the mouth of the guilty.* Do you not see, that God was not with the accused? they were confounded in their owne speeches. *Life and death are in the power of the tongue, he that loves it shall eate the fruites thereof.* They haue saide too much, charging the Mother, C of hatred to her Sonne. And who will not beleue but the Iudges (seeing the Proceffe) made their prayers vnto God to open their vnderstandings. The doubt which they had of the circumstances of the charge, hath bene fortified by examples, the which are the first encounters that come vnto the mind. In this Citty, a Woman dwelling neere to *S. Oportene*, was slaine with a hammer, which two theeues had taken in a smiths shop. The Smith being condemned, he was put to the Racke. Afterwards the theeues were apprehended for other crimes, and freed the Smith who was already executed. Iudges in coniecturall causes, erre against their wills: being bound to follow the probable, for that which may happen, or hath happened. Sometimes there are bad Hosts, and murderers. It is dangerous said *Phedrus* to beleue, but it is more dangerous not to beleue.

D There is no reason then to heare the complaints of the accused, against the Iudges: Witnesse that which that wise King hath written, whose words are like vnto deepe springs which cannot be dried, and from whence we draw profit for all affayres, and especially for iudgements. *To condemne the iust is not good, nor to strike Princes that haue carried themselves iustly.* An excellent sentence, and a greening with our cause. He called Iudges, Princes: and in another place they are termed Gods. That if God making his iustice to shine, hath since discovered the Murder, yet hath not the Baker nor his wife any cause to complaine of the Court. The eye of God infuseth his knowledge into the spirits of men, in such measure as he pleaseth, giuing vnto some a neerer light, and (as *Synecius* Bishop of Cyrene said) more approaching vnto things which hee doth reueale, to others farther off. We take moisture from the water, heate from the Fire: firmenes of the body from the earth, and spirit from the aire: but iustice comes from God, who is the only fountaine of all good. We haue not this iustice in vs, be it for the good of our selues, or for the perpetual & constant duty which we owe vnto our neighbours, to doe every man right. God onely knoweth all things, and all is hidden from vs, but what he pleaieth. There is none but he, which knoweth hidden things. It is he whose admirable name is above all other names. It is he whom *Daniel* calleth a *Certaine*, (by the word *Palmoni*,) of whome the admirable name of *Iesus* the Sauour of the world, was not reuealed, before that he was made man. That Sonne of Iustice whose glory is incomprehensible. It is he, who by his light doth open the Iudges eyes when it pleaseth him: *to the end they should take care of the innocent, and looke vnto his estate,*

It is written in the booke of the wise King: *That euen as in the water one face is opposite to another, so doth the heart of man vnto man,* so as often times the Iudge discovereth the truth of a crime, by the countenance, as well as by the mouth of the accused. And to that

V v v v

that

1600. that purpose the same King saith. *That Councell in the heart of man is like to a deepe water, the which a wise man shall draw forth.* But this doth not often happen, but vnto the King: of whom the wise man saith. *There is no prophesying but in the Kings lips, and his mouth shall not stray from Iustice.* God giues this priuiledge to a iust King. *There are many thoughts in the heart of man, but the onely Councell of our Lord God is firme.* And therefore St. *Augustine* in his booke of the City of God in the Chapter which he hath expressly made, touching the errors of humane iudgments, makes a complaint of the perplexities wherunto Iudges are reduced: when to saue an innocent they are forced to condemne the accused vnto the racke, and for an vncertaine fact, they cause him to suffer a certaine pain. The which he excusing saith: *That a wise Iudge doing not things with a will to hurt, but by necessity to iudge that which he knoweth not, must cry vnto God: deliuer me from my extremities and cares.* The which he speakes not to blame the racke: for he knowes it to be necessary. But if it be not (as we cannot rightly say) done by malice, yet it is a great misery. And doubtlesse if it bee a mischief, yet it is ordayned, by good lawes practised in all countryes, whereas iustice is well administred, whereof there are so many Statutes, not only in this realme, but in the Estates of Italy, & in the neighbour Countries, as in Piedmont, in Sauoy, and other parts of Christendome, as there is no reason to doubt thereof. Neither is it lawfull to argue the Iudges of rigor in this cause, for besides the presumptions which might moue them, who knowes whether the accused had committed some other crime, whereof God would suffer this accusation, (whereof they now complaine) should be the punishment: *There are some generations which thinke to be free, and yet they are not clesed from their filthines.* And what is he that can say, *I haue purged my heart, I am clesed from my sinne.* If thou sayest, *wee did not know it, he that weighes the heart shall not be vnderstand it and reward euery man according to his workes.* In another place the wise man saith that, *He which walketh innocently shall be saued, but the peruerse walking by two wayes shall fall.* Aristotle speaking of the Iudges of Greece, sayd that they were accustomed before sentence, to sweare that they should iudge, *by the best advice they could conceaue.* The which Demosthenes in his Oration against *Aristocrates* hath sayd *by the most iust advice.* In which case although the *Areopagites* did sometimes iudge against the law, yet could they not be reprehended to haue gone against the oath taken by them to iudge well, whether it were in the Senate, or in the assembly which they call *Helias*: no man being able to answer but for his own conscience. And for this reason by the lawes of *Charlemaine*, and of *Lewis* the gentle: *It was not lawfull to blaspheme, that is to say, to accuse of false iudgment and to blame the Earles,* (which was the title of Iudges in France) *if it did not appeare that they did iudge either by enuy, or by some bad occasion.* To conclude, the Iudges which those great Princes called *Fideles*: were held for good, and without blemish, when they were onely guided by the zeale of true iustice. So the Demanders do not complaine of the Iudges, but of the accuser, against whom if she had framed her accusation maliciously, she were then subiect to that which was decreed by the Capitularie, which saith, *That they which haue accused innocents, either before the Prince, or before the Iudge, if they were spirituall men, they are to be degraded, if they be lay men, they must be condemned to the like punishment, which they should haue suffered that were accused.* But this is to be vnderstood of accusations wherein there is malice, in which case the false Accusers, deserue that which the accused suffered: for the slanderer resembles the wicked; which are represented by the wise man. *watching secretly for the innocent, and persecuting him without a cause.* In which case such as slander to vex, and to get money: by the Constitutions of the Romaine Emperors, were punished with the same punishments. It is therefore no reason that the Complainants should trouble the defendresse for the accusation, seeing it was not with any intent of slander: but the must take their troubles as an accident sent of God. We must not vse the inhumanity of *Gneus Piso* although he were an vpriight man, but hauing not the true rule of reason, hee tooke rigor for a resolution of severity, who beeing aduertised that two Souldiers going forth together, the one was returned without his companion, hee condemned him as

Agust. lib. 19.  
c. 6. de ciuit. dei  
Plal. 15. v. 12.

Pro. 30. v. 12.

Ibid. 24. v. 12.

Capitularium  
Caro i magni.  
lib. 6. cap.  
p. null.

pro. 1. v. 12.

1600. A murderer of him that was absent: and as the condemned man was in the hands of the Executioner at the place of Iustice, his companion (whom they held to bee dead) returned: This rigorous Iudge hearing that the officer had protracted the execution, he caused him to bee apprehended, and to be brought vnto the Scaffold, and with him the companion, taking for a pretext that hee was the cause of this mischief by his absence, and to him hee added the officer, iudging him worthy of punishment, for that he had brought backe the first condemned, whom hee should haue presently executed according to the sentence. It is not fit in all causes to stand so strictly vpon iudgments as *Alexander* the Great did, who had rather pay a fine for *Atreus* then remit it: for sometimes a tempter of humanity is commendable, as in this case: Imitating the example of Prince *Titus*, the sonne of *Vespasian*, when he deliuered *Iosephus* out of prison, saying vnto the Emperour his father, after that hee had commanded the prisoner to bee vnbound: *It is reason O Father, that with his bonds the dishonor should be taken from Iosephus, for hee shall be as if in the beginning hee had not bene bound. But if wee waite him, wee must cutte the chaine, for so they vse them that are vniustly bound.* A speech of a worthy Prince, witnessed by the History of *Iosephus*, worthy to bee spoken before a great King, and well approued of by the Emperour: *As true lippes please Kings and they loue him that speakes iust things with a pure heart.*

And therefore to make an end of the plaints misery with that of *Iosephus*, the Court if it please, hauing in some sort regard vnto their request, shall let them at Liberty, declaring them innocents of the crime of hospitality violated, and of the murther whereof they haue bene accused, without adiuudging vnto them (notwithstanding) any Reparation, Charges, Damages, and interest against the Accuser, seeing she hath not, nor cannot be iudged a slanderer. So either party obtaining what they may hope for by reason, things iudged shall remaine in their authority, and, *God who holds the Kings heart in his hand as little brookes of running water, inclining to his will,* shall make him raigne happily, and his posterity after him, as all good Frenchmen and true Christians do with by a happy marriage, so as our great *Henry* the fourth, sitting in the throne of Iustice, or represented by the Councillors, maintaining his Countries shall disperse all danger by his looke: and euery one will say with *Salomon*, the beloued of God. *That the sett of the King which iudgeth the poore iustly shall be firme for euer.* The sentence of the Court vpon these pleadings pronounced by the first President, on Monday the 17. of Ianuary, was conformable to the conclusion; taken by the Aduocate for the Kings Atturney Generall. The King and the Duke tooke great pleasure to heare them; Both gaue their opinions, on them that had best pleaded, but about all, they commended the equity of the Court, which dismissed the parties free from further sute. The King at the Dukes request granted a pardon to a poore woman an Adulteresse that was condemned to die, whose Adulterer had beene executed for that hee had abused her beeing a house-hold seruant, and so had shee beene in like sort, but that she was found with Child. This Pardon was granted by the King vnto the Duke, notwithstanding any opposition made by the Court and the Kings Councell, shewing the Kings consequence thereof. His Maiesty would haue it passe of his absolute authority, Yet vpon condition that she should liue in perpetuall prison and nourished at her husbands charge. All these good receptions; all these exercises; all these pastimes, did not make the Duke forget the care of his affaires, hee had said vnto Monsieur de Ville-roy. *That hee was not come to yeeld up the Marquisate.* The King on the other side being at Fountainbleau sayd vnto him, *That hee should be alwayes his friend, but hee would haue his Marquisate.* The Duke was aduertised that the King had sayd priuately in his Cabinet. *That the Duke was a braue and gallant Prince, yet hee kept his Marquisate.* These words made him presume that the report which the *Cheualier Breton* and *Roncas* had made vnto him (that the King was desirous to see him, and that they should agree) was not true, for whensoever the Duke spake to the King in priuate touching that business, hee desired him to referre it to their Councillors.

And though this was a very important business, yet the King had one which did presse him



1600.  
Monsieur de  
Alincourt  
comes to  
Geneua.

He comes to  
Rome on  
Aluuevent-  
day the 6 of  
February.

8000 ounces  
of gold comes  
to restore  
thousand  
Crownes.

The Duke of  
Bargos to  
Rome dis-  
guised,  
to the Car-  
dinal A. Bor-  
din and Olfat  
& to Monsieur  
de Silery.

Deputies for  
the King and  
Duke.

The Popes  
Nuntio in-  
treats the  
King to leaue  
the protection  
of Geneua.

him neerer, which was his marriage. Being aduertised (as we haue formerly shewed, by A Silery) his Ambassader at Rome, that the Pope had granted his desire touching the nullity of his marriage, hee sent *Alincourt* (gouernnor of Pontoise) to thanke him, and to aske his aduice vpon the alliance he desired to contract with the house of Florence. Hee came to Lyons, to passe to Auignion by the riuer of Rhosne, and so to Antibio whether the state of Genoa sent him a Galley well appoynted to conduct him to their City, where hee was receaued with all the honors, fit for the greatnesse of the Prince that sent him, and worthy of the credit and reputation which the name of *Villeroy* carries among the friends of this Crowne. They did cast lots there where hee should bee lodged, which fell to the Pallace of Grimaldy, where hee was defrayed two dayes, at the charges of the State. The Ambassador of Spaine went to visit him. He went to the Senate, was seated in the Dukes place, and saw the order they held in their Councils and deliberations, where they granted him liberty for two Galley-slaues Frenchmen, that were in the Gallies of the Seigneury, the one was a Parisian & the other a Linois, which they esteemed a fit fauour to gratifie a Prince. He went on his voyage in post to Rome, the Ambassador met him with a great number of French Gentlemen, he lodged him in his house, and the second day of his arriuall he had audience of the Pope. He continued in Rome vntill Easter: during his aboad, he did see the *Viceroy* of Naples make his entry into Rome, comming to do homage vnto the Pope for the realme of Naples, presenting vnto him a white Steede, for an acknowledgment of the fee, for the inuestiture of Naples, for that it is one of the Realmes which holds in fee and doth homage vnto the Church of Rome, & for that reason (besides the 8000. Ounces of gold which they owe yearly, they are bound to take armes for the defence of the Church. They had their part also of the fruites of the Holy yeare, during which time many Frenchmen and others of the religion went to see for curiosities sake, without any feare of the Inquisition, whose iurisdiction doth cease in the yeare of *Iubile*: many great peronages from diuers parts of Europe went to this *Iubile*, among the cheefe was the Duke of Bar, who went in a disguised habit, to get absolution, for that he had bene married against the rules of the Church, and without dispensation of the degrees of consanguinity that were betwixt him and the Kings Sister, for which cause the Bishop of Lorraine refused him the Holy Sacrament, and held him for excommunicate. The King assisted this Princes humility and submission with his letters of fauour to diuers Cardinalls. The Duke of Sauoy was not pleased with the long delays of the Court, he complained that he was intreated with too great rigour. The Duke thought to find a King of Complements: And the King a Duke more easie to restore that which hee held. The Duke couered his discontent with silence and discretion. In the end they agree to treat of their affaires and differences by Deputies: For the King, were named the Constable, the Chancellor, the Marshall Biron, the Marquis *Rhoisy* and *Ville-roy*. For the Duke, *Bely* his Chancellor, the Marquis of Lullins, *Jacob* the Earle of Moret, and Alimes. The Kings Deputies demand restitution of the Marquisate of Saluces, in the same estate it was in when the Duke surprized it. The Dukes first proposition was to haue the King renounce the protection of Geneua, the which E was not (said they) comprehended in the Treaty of Peace, in speciall words, as other townes. This did much offend the King and his Councell. The Duke intreated the Popes Nuntio to make this proposition, (who hauing his soule as free from craft and dissimulation as it was full of zeale and integrity) found meanes to speake vnto the King without trouble or alteration. He said that there was a meanes to vnite the extremities of their wills: for the same reason which required the Duke to restore the Marquisate, did not hinder his maiesty from the enioying of that which did belong vnto him. *It is true* (said the King). There the Nuntio replied. The towne of Geneua belongs vnto the Duke, and nothing hinders him from settling the authority which his Predecessors had there, but the power of your protection.

Is it not then reaso that if you wil haue him restore the Marquisate which is yours, you should suffer him to inioy the towne of Geneua which is his? the King to be speedily freed

1600.

A freed of this argument, answered, that things were different, that he had not made the protectio of Geneua. It was a treaty wherunto he was bound by faith, for the reuerence hee did beare vnto his Predecessors, who had made themelues Protectors of that common weale, from whom they had receiued seruice in their necessities. And hee would neuer oppose himselfe against the firmnesse of their promises. The Nuntio saies presently vnto the King. As you will not leaue the protection of Geneua, for that it was made with your Predecessors, in like sort the Duke is not bound to yeelde you the Marquisate of Saluces, for that hee tooke it not from you, but from the deceased King. Our difference replied the King, although (for my part) it consists of many poynts, is reduced onely to that which concernes the Marquisate of Saluces. The vsurper must restore: the Duke of Sauoy hath vsurped my Marquisate, there is nothing that doth free him from restitution. I hold nothing of his, and therefore must not restore him any thing. I will neuer hinder him for hauing reason of Geneua, so as hee get it without armes: for when he shall come thether with force, I will alwayes resolute of that which I ought. He thinks that if I should abandon that towne, hee might force them to acknowledge him: but I should purchase in abandoning them much blame, it beeing against the honor of this crowne and the firmnesse of a Kings word.

The Duke had reason to affect this place: he might make a great Bul-warke thereof against the Suiſſes, to recouer that which they did hold from the ancient house of Sauoy, and to make all things difficult for the French, among the Cantons: This proposition of Geneua was razed out of the Dukes articles, and no more spoken of in the Assembly of the Deputies. They did presse the restitution of the Marquisate, or the exchange of the countreyes of Bresse, Pigneroll, and Sauillan, with some vallies for the passage of Piedmont. The Deputies assembled but once. The Duke fore seeing what the issue would bee, and hauing vnderstood that the Chancellor speaking of the restitution of Exchange, had said that they must passe that way or by the sword: hee let the King vnderstand that too many delt in the businesse, and that it should bee sooner ended, if but one did faithfully report the intentions of eyther part. The Patriark of Constantinople was employed therein, but the Duke disliked thereof.

He resolved to free himselfe of these difficulties, and to runne the hazard and shame D of the refusall. Then hee presented his first proposition of the Empire and Duchie of Millan: giuing him very plausible reasons, if they had bene as easie in the execution as in the discourse: shewing that for all the fruites of the conquest, hee desired nothing: but to hold the Marquisate of Saluces. Whereunto the King answered; That hee was neither of that age, nor his affaires in that estate, that King *Francis* his were, when hee aspired to the Empire. That there was not a Duke of Saxony nor a Landgraue prisoner, to giue him the Title of Protector of Germany: and of the Princes prisoners, as vnto King *Henry* the second. If a King of France should bee ambitious of any thing greater then his Crowne, it might bee an Empire, but not in the estate that it is now: the title of an Emperour beeing little more then that of a Duke of *Vergennes*, but as it was vnder *Augustus*, when as Rome (which commands but seauen E hilles) had reduced all the world vnder one Empire, or at the least as it was vnder *Charlemaine*.

As for the Duchy of Millan, the King said that the enterprife was tedious, and the issue vncertaine, as of all other desseins, and for the meanes which the Duke discovered vnto him, there was nothing so easie which the King of Spaine might not make difficult, hauing both Land and Sea at his command to hinder him. Besides it was the nature of actions of war, still to produce vncexpected difficulties. You alone (added the King) cannot succour me, I know not how my men wil agree with yours. And if things should succeed according to your desire, I know not what should become of the fruites of the conquest. I haue inough to doe in my Realme without thinking of others. The Peace is but in the flower, the vent of such a desseine would wither it. I will haue no war with the King of Spaine, vnles he be weary of Peace. Brother you haue no need of my counsel, but affection commands vs sometimes to giue it to him that doth not aske it.

1600 " I would counsell you to liue in good termes with him. If there were any troubles be- A  
 " twixt you, I would not meddle but to reconcile you. I haue too much care of the honor  
 " of my word, to breake a peace so iust and so necessary, without a precedent injury. It  
 " did it, I should make my selfe the Argument of all the complaints of Christendome, the  
 " discourse of other Princes, the cause of a forraine warre, and the renewing of infinite ca-  
 " lamities. It were an indiscretion for me, vpon a vaine and imaginary hope, to loose the  
 " assurance to recouer mine owne, where with I content my selfe without seeking an  
 " others. The desires which are infinite, are vnworthy of a iust Prince, they are proper to  
 " tyrants, who raigne without Law, and liue without feare: If I had any will to that  
 " which you propound, there should not need so many words, but hauing no will to it, it  
 " is in vaine for me to speake of it.

" None of these words could content the Duke, but dissembling his discontent, he an- B  
 " swered. If I should reape no other good by my voyage but to haue seene to great a  
 " Prince, whose valour and greatnesse is greater then the report, I should not be grieved.  
 " True it is, that the estate of my affayres should not haue perswaded mee to haue come  
 " without the assurance of my Ambassador, that I should receiue more of your Maiesties  
 " freewill, then I could expect of the Popes sentence, and that you would not so much  
 " presse the Restitution, but would bee satisfified with a more gentle composition. I haue  
 " offered you the meanes, which lead to so great and so worthy effects, as the Marquisate  
 " of Salusses is nothing in comparison of them. You find difficulties therein. There is no  
 " great enterprize, can be without them, but being well resolu'd, it is halfe executed. A  
 " courage like vnto yours, finds nothing difficult, and all Europe admires your actions, C  
 " hauing made that which was impossible possible. And seeing that I must attribut it, not  
 " vnto the violence of reason, but to my unhappinesse, that I cannot perswade a thing,  
 " which in his glory and profit carries his owne perswasion. I beseech your Maiesty to  
 " intreat me, as your most humble seruant and kinsman, who desires no greater happi-  
 " nesse for his then to be yours.

The Duke  
demands  
the restitu-  
tion of the  
Marquisate  
for one of  
his foones.

" They are already by the laws of nature, they are by my will: and shalbe more by the  
 " fauours of your bounty. For one Marquisate, you bind many Princes, and by the inue-  
 " sting of one of my children, all the house of Sauoy shall be bound vnto you: your Ma-  
 " iesty will say, that you make not such large gifts: but you must consider if you please, D  
 " that many vertues are common to men, but this belongs onely to Kings. As it is more  
 " royall to giue then to take: and they wrong the greatnesse of their courage, if they  
 " should not giue great things: and to giue a thing that is litigious and doubtful, you shall  
 " purchase an immortall right of souerainty. He added many reasons for the execu-  
 " tion of the enterprize, and with such vehemence, as he seemed to haue some secret to  
 " make Mountaines remoue and dry vpruiers. The King considered that there was no  
 " profit but for the Duke, and that the fruite which (at the least) he promised himselfe in  
 " keeping the Marquisate of Salusses, would be more certaine to him, then the conquest  
 " of Milan vnto the King. If the Duke of Sauoy could haue ingaged the King, he knew  
 " well how to crosse him in the execution. All the danger he could apprehend, was the  
 " King of Spaines indignation: but he might as easily returne into fauour without spea- E  
 " king a word, as he came away without bidding him farewell, for what should haue hin-  
 " dred him, when as the French had bin far ingaged in Italy, to haue ioyned with the Spa-  
 " niards to expell them, and to breake the Bridge of his assistance, whereby he had made  
 " them to passe.

The Duke of  
Savoy perplexed

" The Duke seeing that he could not obtaine any thing of the King, but that he must  
 " make a double recompence for the Marquisate he continued a while in doubt of his re-  
 " turne, as he alwaies repented him of his comming. The King desirous to free him of all  
 " cause of distrust and apprehension, that should force his will, to promise that which hee  
 " would neuer hold, sent him word, that he should not trouble himselfe with the resolu-  
 " tion of his Councell: for he should neuer be forced but by the right of armes, and that  
 " he should alwaies haue time to thinke of it, and to returne to Turin with his will as free,  
 " as when he came to Paris.

The

A The Duke not able to see clearly with his owne eyes, nor to distinguish of these  
 difficulties, aduised thereof in his Councell. But as the eyes troubled with those disca-  
 ses which the Physicians terme *Hypostragma* and *lètere*, haue the operation of the sight  
 so troubled, as they cannot well iudge of collours, all objects seeming vnto them Yel-  
 low or Red. Euen so when Princes counsels are subiect to any passion, they giue coun-  
 sell accordingly; nothing presenting it selfe vnto them, but through the false sight of  
 opinion and choller, which doth alwaies make the bodies seeme bigger then they are. B  
 So in the council of this Prince, those which desired war, said *That neither the Restitu-  
 tion of the Marquisate, nor the Exchange of Brese, might be accepted, and that a good warre  
 should be more honourable, then a shamefull composition*: others hauing no other passion  
 then peace, aduised him vnto it at what price soeuer, fearing, that if the King should not  
 receiue that satisfaction from them which he expected, he would stay them. The Duke  
 grew into choller, and would haue departed without taking his leaue. The most adu-  
 ced of his counsell told him, that his departure in that sort, would make him a skorne to  
 all the Princes of Italy; Spaine would laugh at him; France would be scandalized, that al  
 Europe would hold him the cause of this warre, and in this warre of a world of miseries.  
 That there needed no other Herrald to proclaim warre against him; which would be  
 in the middest and in the foure corners of his Estate, before that he passed the riuier of  
 Rhoane. That he shewed the greatnesse of his courage to vanquish all these difficulties,  
 and wisdom to dissemble his discontents. That wisdom should make the entry to a  
 C businesse, seeing that repentance is frutelesse in the end. That if he had not foreseene  
 the end of his voyage, he should by his constancy mitigate the feeling, and represent  
 vnto himselfe, that to come into a goodly plaine all couered with flowers, hee was for-  
 ced to passe ouer a narrow and vn-euen planke. The Duke answered, *I will neuer passe  
 it*. Leaving his council in suspence, that he would make as dishonorable a departure, as  
 his arriual had beene honorable, yet through the prayers and perswasions of some of  
 the Kings good seruants, the Duke resolu'd to depart as he came. But it was not with-  
 out complaining that they intreated him with too much rigour: that there was no curte-  
 sie in France for him: that friendships were rare, finding least in them where he thought  
 it did most abound: that they did force him to formes that were too preiudicall, and  
 D that they had made him to hope for things which they now refused him, and that his  
 Ambassador had deceiued him. The King knowing that *Cheualier Breton* had let the  
 Duke of Sauoy his Maister vnderstand, that his Maiesty desired he should come vnto  
 him: Hee sayd vnto him *that he was mistaken, and that he did neuer speake it*.

Passionate  
Councells.

The Duke  
would depart  
without ta-  
king his leaue.

The Dukes  
complaints.

" True it is, that he had said, that he hoped the Duke should not returne, but they should  
 be agreed. The Duke seeing that wisdom must moderate the rigour of Necessity, he  
 tooke another course, and resolues, seeing he could get nothing else, to make his pro-  
 fit of the time, and of his abode: that hee might haue meanes to vnite that which hee  
 had disioyned with Spaine. Fore-seeing they would soone giue him leaue to be gone,  
 for already they sayd in iest, in the Anti-chamber, *That they must find him away by an E-  
 die*. He had therefore found a fauorable pretext for his stay. He was (or made shew  
 to be) in loue with one of the rarest beauties in the court, and seemed not to care for  
 all other affaires in respect of her. There were two solemne feasts at Paris, which follo-  
 wed one another. Saint *Germaines* Fayre and Shrouetide. It was giuen out, that hee  
 would see them before his departure. In the meane time hee makes no hast, although  
 he did not much aduance in his affaires. There were daily new propositions, and the  
 last were more vnpleasing vnto him then the first.

The pretext of  
the Dukes  
stay.

" The Kings seruants were of opinion, that they should giue this Prince as little cause  
 as might be to distast him of his voyage, and to giue him time to consider whether he  
 should consent to the exchange or the restitution: for that it was a thing (as he sayd)  
 which hee could not doe without conference with his Councell, and the aduice of  
 his Vassalls. The King hauing had the opinion of the Princes of his blood and others,  
 and of the cheefe Officers of the Crowne, would no longer forbear to acquaint him  
 with his resolution, commanding *Sebastian Zamet* (one of his Maiesties confident  
 seruants

1600.

servants) to tell it him, the which hee did so artificially, as before hee left the Duke, he drew from him a writing of the principall conditions of the treaty, by the which were drawne the Articles of the Restitution of the Marquisate or of the Exchange. But to the end the Duke should not thinke that the King should Precipitate his Councells, he gaue him three months time to chooise either of the two conditions of the treaty, either by Restitution or the Exchange. Whereupon the Duke signed the Articles following.

Articles of  
the Treaty of  
Paris.

1. That the Duke of Sauoy should restore the Marquisate of Salusses vnto his Maiesty, by the first day of the month of Iune next following, to vse and inioy it as the kings his Predecessors had done, when it was in their hands, without any delay or difficulty, grounded vpon any colour or pretext whatsoever.

2. And his sayd Maiesty doth promise and graunt vnto the sayd Duke, not to giue the Charge and Government of that Country, to any one that he shall haue occasion to hold for enemy.

3. In like sort, to employ Suisses in the Garde of the Townes and Places thereof, except in the Castles, where his Maiesty will place French Captaines and Souldiers, or such as he shall thinke good.

4. Notwithstanding, his Maiesty doth not meane to be bound to continue the Suisses in the said townes, but for the time that the compromise shall continue, made in the Person of his Holinesse, hereafter declared and specified.

5. Or else the said Duke shall yeeld and deliuer to his Maiesty, for a recompence of the Marquisate of Salusses, by the first day of Iune next ensuing, all the Country of Bresse, lying from the riuer of Saone vnto that of Dain, which riuer of Dain shall remaine in common betwixt his Maiesty and the sayd Duke, either of them to inioy it of his side, comprehending in the said Country the Towne and Citradell of Bourg, and other places that depend thereon, Barcelonette with his Vicariate, or Deputiship, vnto Argemiere, the Vale of Sture; that of Perouse, with all that depends thereon; with the Towne and Castle of Pignerol with his territory, vpon condition that his Maiesty shall transport vnto him all his right and interest to the sayd Marquisate, provided notwithstanding that hee suffer the Inhabitants of the sayd Marquisate, which haue serued his Maiesty, or shall serue him hereafter, to inioy their goods freely and safely. And in like sort, those which haue serued or shall serue the sayd Duke, shall in like maner enioy their goods, as well in the sayd Marquisate, as in any other places that shall be deliuered to his Maiesty by the said Duke, without any alteration before the said delay nor after, to the preiudice of the one or the other, according to the rule which shall bee set downe by his Maiesty and the Duke.

6. Moreover the towne of Cental, Emont, Rogues, Peruieres, Castle Dauphin and others held by the said Duke, belonging vnto his Maiesty, and in like maner those which his Maiesty holds in Bresse, Sauoy, Barcelonette and others belonging vnto the sayd Duke, shall respectiue be restored, at such time as the Marquisate shall be yeelded vp: and in case of exchange, those of Bresse and Barcelonette, shall remaine to this Maiesty, as hath bin said, and the rest shall be restored on either side.

7. All which places shall be restored in the same estate they are at this present, neither his Maiesty nor the said duke, to be bound to pay nor satisfie the charges made of either part, in the fortification and repaying of the said places.

8. In like sort the fort of Beeche-Dauphin built by the said Duke during the wars, shall be demanded at the same time.

9. The Inuentories duely certified of all the peeces of Artillery, Powder, Bullets, and other munitions of warre, which were in the townes and places of the said Marquisate, when the Duke entred it, shall be faithfully deliuered vnto his Maiesty when as the Duke shall choise the one or the other of the said two offers, where-vpon his Maiesty shall declare his will for the restitution thereof, the which shall be performed by the Duke, as well in their kindes, as in mony, according to the price, which shall be concluded betwixt his Maiesty and the Duke.

10. All Sucres, Iudgements, and Sentences giuen in iustice, on either side before this present

1600.

A present accord, (when the parties haue consented voluntary-) shall stand and take effect, whether Restitution bee made or an exchange of the Marquisate: yet it shall be lawfull for the parties to releue them-selues by prouision according to the order of the lawes.

11. That no serch should be made of any impositions, contributions and leuies of mony or victuals in the said country, against such as had appointed, receiued or disposed thereof on either part, vnto this present treaty.

12. And to the end that the inhabitants of the townes and country which are to be restored, may not be ouer-charged nor vniustly vexed, with leuies of mony, during the respite granted vnto the said Duke, to make choise of, and to effect one of the said two offers, vnder colour of payment, as well of Arreages of the said impositions imposed before, and since the peace of Veruins, as for the pay and entertainment of Captaines and men of warre, appointed for the gard of the sayd Marquisate. It is decreed, that there shall be no leuy of mony made vpon the inhabitants of the said townes and countries, conformable to that which was agreed vpon, as well by the treaty of Veruins, as by the orders and accords, made since, for the paiement of the said arreages and mony, by the Deputies of his Maiesty and the said Duke, in the beginning of the yeare, for the ordinary entertainment of garrisons, appointed for the gard of the said townes and places, and of officers employed in the estates of the said garrisons without any new impositions of either part. And we declare all that shall be done and attempted to the contrary, subiect to restitution and reparation.

13. And whereas the said Duke hath requested his Maiesty to allow and confirme the feoffment made by him, in the Marquisate, in case he shall choise to restore it: his Maiesty doth declare that being informed of the quality of the Feoffments, he would haue that respect to gratifie the Duke, as his seruice would permit him, without being bound to restore that which had beene payde for the said Feoffments, but as it shall stand with his good pleasure.

14. And for asmuch as the said Duke, hath intreated his Maiesty, to giue him time to confer with his vassals and subiects of both parties, before that he accept of the one or the other, his Maiesty desiring to witnesse vnto him, as well in this, as in all other occasions his good will: doth graunt vnto the sayd Duke his choise, so as hee choise and effect the one or the other of the two offers, by the first day of Iune aboue named, without diminishing or altering of any thing, or vsing of any euasion, delay, or difficulty, grounded vpon any colour or occasion whatsoever.

15. Whereunto the said Duke hath bound his faith and word, and his Maiesty doth the like for accomplishment and execution of all things, granted by these present Articles which depend thereon.

16. In like sort it hath beene agreed betwixt his Maiesty and the said Duke, that they shall consent, as they do at this present, after the restitution shall bee really and fully accomplished. If the said Duke makes choise thereof, that our Holy Father Pope Clement the eight shall Iudge of all Controuersies that are betwixt his Maiesty and the said Duke, according to that which hath beene agreed vpon by the treaty of Veruins, and that within three yeeres.

17. Promising to accomplish and performe, faithfully on either part, what-so-euer shall bee decreed by his Holynesse within the time prefixed, without any delay or difficulty, for what cause or pretext so-euer, as it is concluded by the treaty of Veruins.

18. And for the greater assurance of the execution of the treaty, and euery point and Article therein containned, the said King and Duke of Sauoy, humbly beseech his Holinesse, that as by his good and fatherly exhortations they are entred into this way of accord, that it would please him as a common Father, to continue the care which he hath formerly shewed to nourish Peace, and to assure a firme friendship betwixt them, and in all occasions that should be offered to interpose his authority for the full and reall execution of things promised of either part, as it is containned in this present treaty.

Made at Paris, the 27. day of February. 1600. Signed Henry and Emmanuel, and sealed with his Maiesties seale and the Duke of Sauoyes.

1600.  
The Duke of  
Sauoyes de-  
parture.

The Dukes  
discontent.

Three or foure daies after this treaty, the Duke tooke his leaue of the King, who being followed by all the court conducted him to Pont Charenton, and gaue him the Baron of Lux to attend on him out of the realme, with commandement to the Gouvernours of Champagne and Bourgondy, where he should passe to receive him as his Maiefty.

Whilest he was neere the King hee shewed such outward content, and concealed his greefe so cunningly, as his owne people did iudge that nothing could better please him, but being retyred, his countenance bewraied his discontent and the repentance of his voyage. The farther he went from the King, the neerer he approached to Spaine: being resolute to reconcile himselfe, and to that end he presently dispatched *Bely* his Chamberlor. Being in Carosse, hee said some-times, that hee had bene deceived, that the words which they had giuen to perswade him to come into France, were ill interpreted: and that as soone as he should come to Chambery, he would send to beseech the King to prolong the time, in the which hee would make choyse of the Restitution or the Exchange.

The Baron of Lux obserued his discourses, and aduertised the King of the Dukes intention, wholly inclined to warre, rather then to performe any part of the treatie. Being vpon Saint *Iulians* bridge, the Baron of Lux, hauing commandement from the King not to go any farther, tooke his leaue of the Duke, and assuring himselfe that his words should bee as pleasing vnto him, as hee seemed to haue bene content with his conduct, hee beseeched him not to transport his heart out of France as hee did his body, but to cherish the friendship of so great a King deere, who loued him as his brother. That he feared, that such as had shewed so great discontent, for the voyage, which his Heighnesse had made into France, would reape the profit which he him-selfe might enioy. That he would hold their counsell not onely suspect; but dangerous: as passionate men, whose perswasions were sugred poyson: who being more jealous of his Greatnesse, then desirous of his quiet, would not cease vntil they had diuerted him from the execution of his promises. That if it pleased him to thinke of what was past, and compare it with the present, hee should finde that peace was the inexpugnable rampart of his Estates: and that it was a great misery for a Prince, to submit him-selfe to another's discretion, beseeching him to beleue that the counsell which he gaue him, was the same which he would giue him, if it had pleased God that he had bin borne his Vassall or one of his counsell.

I take (answered the Duke) that which you say vnto me as of a worthy Nobleman, and thanke you: I acknowledge my selfe so much bound vnto the King, as I would sacrifice my life in exchange of the duty which I owe him: and doe promise neuer to giue him any occasion, to esteeme me other then his most humble seruant and louing Kinsman. Men are knowne by their words, as mettall by the sound, and flowers by the sinell: but commonly Princes words serue but to disguise their inward conceptions, houlding dissimulation for a great vertue. Such was the issue of the Duke of Sauoyes voyage. The yeare shall not passe before hee tast the fruits. His presence did procure him the condition of exchange, the which the King would not haue graunted to his Ambassadors. But hee continued not long in this opinion, to performe the one or the other. Going out of the Cittadell at Bourg, they found that sorrow troubled his soule, to leaue a place, esteemed one of the strongest in Europe. His outward shew bewraied his inward discontent. This Prince who could well couer his passions, could not conceale the greefe of this exchange, no more then the discomodity of the restitution. Being arriued at Bourg, hee sent one post vnto the King, to thanke him for the honor he had receiued in his voyage, and for the good entertaynement which *Pradin* had giuen him in Champagne, and the Baron of Lux in Bourgondy. He wrot by the same post to the Gouvernour of Lions, imparting vnto him the contentment which he receiued by the treaty of Paris, and that he went to Chambery, and soone after the feasts into Piedmont, there to resoluue what the King should expect of him.

Bos

1600.

But he staid not long before he gaue eare to their perswasions, who sought to deprive him of all happinesse, which hee might promise vnto him-selfe by his voyage, assuring him that the comming of the Cont *de Farnes* would giue him meanes to free himselfe from the necessity of the exchange and restitution. Hee dissembled the discontent of his voyage with great art, yet still he did vent out some vapour which made the most iudicious to beleue, that hee would bee glad to preiudice the King in any thing with the hazard of his owne.

The commons of France hauing not yet recovered their ruines growne by ciuil wars and now growing vnder the heuy burthen of taxes and subsidies, and complayning of the abuse of officers in the collection thereof: They were humble suitors vnto his Maiesty to set downe a generall order concerning the taxes, and to reforme the abuses; wherupon the king made this Edict which followes, for the releefe of his poore subiects.

Henry by the grace of God, &c. As soone as it pleased God to settle peace in this realme: wee haue cast our eyes with pity vpon our people growne poore and almost ruined by the wounds and calamity of long warre; and haue employed all our care to finde out the meane, to abate the taxes, and other impositions which are leuiued on them with an intent to make them inioy the fruits which peace is accustomed to produce vnder a good King, when as war is ended: being more desirous to pourehase the name of Father of the people doing them good, then to leaue any remembrance to posterity of other more glorious title which our perills and dangers might make vs meritt: but being not able to effect it so speedily as their miseries required by reason of the excessive charges of this estate, which could not be diminished but by little and little, nor the ordinary reuenues to furnish it restored to their value, but in giuing some time to the peace established in the realme, by the speciall grace and blessing of God, to change the face of this great desolation which warre hath left: we haue vpon the complaints often made vnto vs in our counsell of the abuses, in quality, and exactions which are committed in the leuy and perception of the said taxes, deputed commissioners, men of quality and knowne integrity, to informe and punish the offenders, proceed to the reforming thereof, and to giue vs aduice of the meanes which they shall thinke most fit and conuenient to suppress these disorders hereafter, being by their report informed that our subiects haue suffered much oppression, by reason of the said abuses, and disorders, namely that equality had not bin obserued by the Esleuz in the diuision of Parishes: & much lesse by the seffors in the taxes of priuat men, whom they haue gratified, surcharged, or exempted at their pleasures, according to their passions and interest; and also by reason of the many tedious and chargeable suites growing amongst them: and the violence, exactions, and thefts, committed by Sergeants employed for the recouery of the taxes, which desiring to preuent aswell by good orders, as diminution of the charges, vntil that God shall giue vs grace, to make them feeble more abundantly of our Fatherly bounty. We haue with the aduice of our counsell, and of our full power and royall authority, ordained and decreed, and our pleasure is,

1. That our subiects shal fully inioy the discharge of all that which they owe vs of the remainder of the taxes and other impositions laid vpon them in precedent yeares, vnto the yeare, 1598. forbidding our receiuers and others to force them, wee will also that if any bonds haue bin drawn from them by our receiuers, or by ther assignes, in fraud of the said discharges, that they shalbe declared void and not called in question by our iudges, yet we mean not to discharge them toward their creditors, for mony which they haue borrowed to pay the said yeares remitted, or of bonds into the which any priuat men haue entred for them to the receiuers if they haue accompted, as of mony receiued, so as the said bonds were made without fraud.

2. And we ordaine that hereafter, the Esleuz shall make the diuision of the parishes of their election, within 15. daies after the commissions receiued, proceeding therein with all equality and iustice, iudging without passion of the comodity, or discomodity of the said Parishes, and if any shal do other-wise by corruption or fauor, they shalbe deprived of their offices and punished exemplarily.

3. And



1600.

3. And to the end they may be the better instructed, what every Parish should beare A  
and by that meanes without excuse, if there be any inequality, in their diuisions, they  
shall be bound to make their visitations every yeare, in due time from one place to  
another, and not goe two yeares together into the same Parishes, informing themselves  
of the ability of the number of plowes, and traffice which is made in the said Parishes,  
together with all other commodities, and discommodities which may make them rich  
or poore.

4. As also the names of such as are exempt, and the cause of their exemption, they  
shall also learne if there be any inequality in the taxes of Priuat men, and if they finde it  
so, they shall take the aduise of 3. or 4. of the honestest men of the Parrish, who are best  
acquainted with their estates, to be in the assembly of the officers of the election, where  
they shall tax them which did exempt themselves vnduly, & moderate, or augment the  
taxes of others, as they shall thinke fit, according to the report of the said honest men. B

5. Which taxes shall be inserted, to the commissions which the Esleuz shall send to  
the Parishes of there iurisdiction, adding that such a one, who pretending himselfe vn-  
duly to be exempt, shall pay so much, as an other which was not taxed according to his  
meanes so much: and if those that are taxed shall call the seassors into question, they  
shall not be admitted, so as the tax doe not exceed the Summe of twenty shillings.

6. And to auoide the tediousnesse and charge of the same sure concerning taxes, wee  
will that the parties shall be heard before the Esleuz in their owne persons, without the  
helpe of Aduocate or Proctor, the said causes to be iudged according to the rule of the  
three precedent yeares, and with the aduise of 3. or 4. of the chiefe of the Parrish. C

7. The said Esleuz shall take but one fee, for the signing of euery commission, al-  
though it containe debts of diuers natures, and whereas they were accustomed to take  
of little Parishes as much as of greater, wherewith they were many times more charged  
then with the tax it selfe, the whole summe for the said fee of signing, for al the parishes  
of any election shall be put together, and then diuided amongst them after a Soulz vpon  
the Liuer, hauing regard vnto the great tax.

8. The registers of elections shall not take the fees which are given them, but con-  
tent themselves with 15. Soulz for a Parrish, although the number of commissions and  
the nature of debts were greater, and if it bee lesse, they shall content them-selues with  
there fee, after the rate of two Soulz, and six deniers, vpon paine of concussion. D

9. The Hamlets which haue bin diuided from the bodies of Parishes, shall be vnited  
by the Esleuz vpon the first diuision: and to take away the causes which haue moued  
the said Hamlets to pursue this seperation, they shall ad in their commission and di-  
uision of the summe which is to bee leuied vpon the whole Parrish, that such a Hamlet  
shall pay so much: and yet the said Hamlet shall not bee answerable for the tax of the  
Parishes, no the Parrishes for the Hamlet.

10. And to take away the abuses which are committed by the seassors, wee ordaine  
that they shall not take them lesse then they were the yeare before, vnlesse they haue  
had some notable losse in their estates, the which shall be duly examined by three of  
the Esleuz, and if they doe other wise, their tax shall be augmented, and moreover E  
they shall pay the said summe in way of a fine, for the first time, and if they continew,  
they shall be punished at the discretion of the Esleuz, whome wee inioyne to proceed  
therein with all severity.

11. We will also that the said seassors shall be collectors, in the yeare of their charge,  
by which meanes the poore shall not be charged aboue their abilities, and that none of  
the Parrish, if he bee able to pay, shall be exempted from the sayd charge of collectors,  
but bound to execute it, euery one in his turne.

12. There shall be foure collectors, chosen euery yeare, for great Parrishes, taxed at  
three hundred crownes and aboue, and for lesser, two, who shall make the said collec-  
tion together or apart, as they please, but yet they shall be answerable one for another. F

13. The sayd Collectors shall not bee discharged, vntill the Proctor of the Par-  
rish bee heard, and by three of the Esleuz, who shall signe the time of the said  
Iudgement, whereof the Register shall make mention, vpon payne of Nullity.  
And

1600.

A And notwithstanding any discharge, the sayd Collectours shall receiue the money,  
vntill there be others in their places, and shall recouer their dammage and Interest, a-  
gainst the Inhabitants that shall forbear to name them.

14 And to the end there may be a sufficient number of the Esleuz, to iudge of the  
sayd causes, and others which depend of their Iurisdiction, they shall be actually resi-  
dent, where their elections are, vpon payne of the losse of their Fees, for the time they  
are absent, and if they continue it without a iust cause, they shall be deprived of their of-  
fices, whereof the Treasurers shall take information to giue vs aduice.

15 If there be any inequality in the Seafment, the which is disauowed by the Inha-  
bitants, the sayd Seafors may be sued by them that shall complaine.

B 16 To know at the inspection of the Rolles, whether the tax haue bin well layed  
or not, the condition of him that is seast shall be added to his name, as of Iudge, Notary,  
Sergeant, Marchant, or Labourer, whether he labours for himselfe, or for another, and  
with how many Plowes, and so of all others.

17 The names of Exempts (if there be any) shall be set at the foote of the Roule,  
with the cause of their exemption: and for default thereof, we enioyne the Esleuz to a-  
merse the Seafors, and to punish them exemplarily, if they find they haue willingly made  
the sayd omissions.

C 18 The sayd Seafors shall not make any seafment but in a free place, where no man  
shall asist, but they shall haue the charge: forbidding the Lords of the Fee, to proceed in  
their house, or to be present, nor in any sort to force the will of the sayd Seafors, con-  
straining them to do that otherwise then they ought, vpon paine of losse of their fees, and  
Rights of high Iustice. And for that the sayd Seafors, haue often complained, that the  
Registers augment and diminish the Seafments of the Inhabitants at their pleasure,  
wherein it is easie to deceiue them, for that most of them can neither reade nor write:  
We will, that it shall be lawfull for the Seafors during the yeare of their charge, to ap-  
point some fit men for the execution thereof, paying vnto the sayd Registers the Fees,  
which were given them by the Edict of their creation.

D 19 The sayd Seafors shall comprehend, among them that are contributaries, the  
Farmers of Clergi-men, of Gentlemen, and other priuiledged persons, aswell by reason  
of their goods, as of the profits they may raise in the sayd Fermes. And for that some  
of the priuiledged persons commit fraudes, and giue their Lands to men, who enioy  
them vpon secret Rents, making shew notwithstanding that they are their household  
seruants, so as the richest of the Parish take vpon them this name and qualitie, to ex-  
empt themselves from paying of the sayd Taxes, to the preiudice of the other inhabi-  
tants, we do expressely forbid them, to commit any such fraude, vpon paine to looke the  
priuiledge of holding their Land by them, and to pay like summes which the Farmers  
should haue payd, if they had let their Lands for a rent, for the which the Reuenues ther-  
of shall be bound.

E 20 And generally al they shall be ceased by them which are to contribute by reason  
of their meanes, wherefoeuer they be, moueable or immoueable Trafficke and Indu-  
trie, according to our Edict made in Ianuary, 1598. and if they exempt any, they shall be  
answerable, and pay in discharge of the other Inhabitants of the parish, the summes  
wherein the sayd pretended exempts should haue bin ceased, inioyning also the Esleuz  
to amerse them, and to punish them exemplarily.

21 And for that some haue residing places where the Taxes are reall, hauing not-  
withstanding most part of their goods in places where they are personall, and yet are  
not ceased, by reason they haue no dwelling there, and by that meanes exempt them-  
selues, from a great part of the charge which they should beare: We will that hereafter  
they shall be ceased in the sayd places for the goods which they possesse, and the profits  
arising of their lands, shall be affected for payment of their Taxes.

22 Many to exempt themselves from the payment of Taxes, haue accustomed to  
publish before S. Remy, that they will go dwell in another parish, and then return when  
the seafment is made, so as many times they are not seast in the one nor the other, or  
Xxxx  
else

1600. else there, where being little knowne, and hauing no goods, they are taxed at much lesse. A then they ought: others beeing vpon the confines of diuers Elections or Generalities, build some little cottage out of the place, out of their ordinarie abode, and in another election where they reside, and are taxed there also at some small summe, and yet they go and come to the place of their right abode, where they haue part of their family, cattle, and all other commodities, to make profit of: notwithstanding the Seassors dare not taxe them, for that they maintaine themselves to be dwelling in another Parish. To preuent the which, we enioyne the sayd Seassors, to taxe the first in the place of their auncient abode, vntill they haue remained a yeare and a day in the place where as they meant to retire: And for the rest, they shalbe alwaies taxed in the place of their true abode, notwithstanding that they bee taxed, whereas they haue malitiously retired themselves, vnlesse they haue giuen their Lands of their first dwelling to Farmers, who pay the Taxe in their places, by reason of the profits which they may make, as is accustomed in the ceassing of these that are of that quality.

23 After that the diuision of the great Taxe is made, all others for what leauie fouer shalbe ordered after the same rate, of a Soule vpon the Livre, without any alteration, the which if the sayd Esleuz, or Seassors shall infringe, they shall be bound to pay all damage and interest to them that shall complaine.

24 The Collectours shall make receipts vpon the Roules signed by the Esleuz, and shall hold it in their hands when as they gather the Seassments, to crosse and indorse at the same time the payment which hath bin made, vpon payne of falshood. C

25 The corruption of time hath beene the cause that many vnder the pretext of bearing armes during the troubles, haue vsurped the name of Gentlemen, to exempt themselves vnduly from the contribution of Taxes: to preuent the which, we forbid all men to take vpon them the title of Squire, and to thrust themselves into the Body of the Nobility, if they be not issued from Grandfather and Father, which hath made profession of armes, or serued the publike in some honorable charges, such as by the lawes and customes of the Land may giue a beginning of Nobilitie to posteritie, hauing committed no vile act: and that they haue also followed them in this commendable kind of life, vpon payne to be degraded with dishonour from the title which they haue presumed to vsurpe vnduly.

26 In regard of Bastards, although their fathers were noble, yet shall they not challenge the title of Gentlemen, vnlesse they obtaine letters of Nobility from vs. grounded vpon some great consideration of their merits, or of their fathers.

27 Such as haue caried armes, and bin inrolled in companies of men at armes, or of foot, as Captaines, Lieutenants, or Ensignes, by the space of 20. yeres, wherof they shall make good prooffe, and haue not during the sayd time nor since, committed any vnworthy act, shalbe exempted so long as they shal continue in the sayd seruice, and no longer vntill that hauing serued 25. yeres in the sayd charges, they haue obtained our letters, verified in our Courts of Ayds, to be dispensed of the seruice, and to enioy the sayd exemption during their liues, as a reward of their vertue and merit.

28 And hereafter we inioyne all Captaines of Companies of men at armes to fill them with Gentlemen, or with such as haue serued 10. yeres at the least in foot companies, as Captains, Lieutenants, or Ensignes. And if they intertaine any other of base quality, they shall not enioy the exemption, vntill they haue serued 10. whole yeres in the sayd companies, and so long as they continue in the sayd seruice, and do no base act.

29 The Commissaries, Controulers, and pay-masters of the sayd companies, shalbe reduced to a moderat number, and shall enioy the exemption. But as for inferior Officers, as Smiths, Surgeons, and such like, they shal not enioy it but so long as they follow the sayd companies, and being returned to their houses, they shalbe taxed like to the other Inhabitants.

30 As for Colonels, Captaines, Lieutenants, and Ensignes, of Companies of intertained Regiments, they shalbe also chosen out of the Nobilitie, or else old experienced soldiers, hauing followed armes ten yeres at the least, and giuen some notable proof of their

A their valour, the which appearing, they shalbe exempt so long as they do seruice, vnlesse they be dispensed withall by vs, as is sayd.

31 The Prouost Marshals, and their Lieutenants of the short Roabe, shall enioy it, and as for their Archers, to the summe of tenne shillings only, which shalbe deducted out of all their Taxes: But as for the rest of the Prouosts Officers, as Seassors, the Kings Proctour, Commissarie, Controuler of Musters, Pay-master, and Register, they shall bee comprehended and brought in for the whole, like vnto others that are contributarie.

32 Beeing also necessarie to reduce the exemption of many Officers, which haue no dignitie, to a certaine summe, to take from the rich all meanes and desire to abuse B it, who hunt after the sayd Offices, and for the most part do no seruice: Wee will, that hereafter the Exemptions granted to Officers hereafter named, in whom the Commissioners haue found greatest abuse, shalbe reduced: That is, for the Riders of the great Horses, beeing fixe and twentie in number, and doing their actuall seruice, and giuing their attendance at Court three moneths at the least in the yeare, to the summe of fortie shillings. The Post-masters to the like summe, with permission to either of them, to hire thirtie Acres of another mans Land, without preiudice to their Priuiledges. The Archers of Townes to twentie shillings. The Guards of our Forrests to tenne shillings: and Salt-peeter men to the like summe of tenne shillings, the which shall C bee abated out of their Taxations, and they shall pay the ouer-plus, like vnto others that are contributarie.

33 And for that Collectours may find some difficultie, to cause such as pretend themselves to be exempt to pay their Taxations, who many times are feared and respected in the place where they dwell, after that the Seassments, haue beene signified vnto them by the sayd Collectours, if they refuse or delay to pay, the Recei- uers of the Taxe shall be bound to make the poursuite, at their charge that are taxed, and the said Collectors shall be discharged for so much.

34 The Receiuers of Taxes, and other our Reuenues, shall not giue their war- rants against any one priuate man for the whole summe, at which the Parish hath bin D taxed, but in cases excepted, that is, of Rebellion iudged by the Esleuz, or not to haue named a Collectour, or else that the sayd Collectours haue not beene found sufficient, in all which cases, Wee will (to the end that Sergeants commit not the like abuses, as they haue done heretofore, taking money of rich men to exempt them, in whose places they commit poore men to prison, who after they haue endured much, are relea- sed without paying any thing) that the sayd Warrants signed by an Esleuz, and a Re- ceiuier, shall containe the names and sur-names of three or foure of the richest and best able Inhabitants of the Parish, or more if it shall bee needfull, hauing regard vnto the greatnesse of the summe that is due: To whome and to no other the sayd Sergeants shall be bound to addresse themselves, vpon paine of exemplarie punishment, and re- E stitution of all damage and interest to them that shall complaine of such grievous Impositions.

35 To take away the meanes from Sergeants, to exact greater Fees of Colle- ctours, and other Inhabitants of Parishes, then is allowed them by the Ordonances: Such as shall be hereafter employed by the Receiuers, for the recouerie of Taxes and other our money, shall not receiue their Fees, but from the hands of the sayd Re- ceiuers, and not from the Collectours and Inhabitants of the Parishes: The which wee do expressly forbidde vpon payne of death, and the money thus aduanced, they shall receiue againe, vpon the first payment the Collectours shall make. And to lessen the sayd Fee for the ease and further satisfaction of our subiects, wee inioyne our sayd F Receiuers to giue their Warrants for many Parishes lying together, to one Ser- geant, who shall execute and performe them at one voyage: wherein if they sayle, the excesse of the Taxe shall bee layd vpon them without any hope of recouerie. Wee enioyne the Esleuz to haue a care thereof, vpon paine to be answerable in their owne priuate names.

1600. 36 The Registers of receiuers shall from the beginning of the yeare, be quoted and A signed in euery lease, and the names written at length not in cipher, by one of the *Esfleuz*, in the presence of one of his companions at the least, wherein they shall set the summes they shall receiue, and when the payment shall be made, as also for what yere, and vpon what nature of mony: and they shall giue quittances to the Collectors in the same forme vpon paine of concussion.

37 The inhabitants of many parishes of this Realme haue bin forced to sell their Commons at an vnder-value, to pay the Taxes and other great summes of mony which were leuyed with violence during the troubles, and oftentimes by them which had the assignations: We will and ordaine, that although the sayd sales were made without any B clause of redemption, it shall be lawfull for the inhabitants to redeeme them, restoring the price which was actually payed by the purchasers, within foure yeares after the publication of these presents.

38 We enioyne the substitutes of our Proctors generall in the Elections of this Realme, to receiue the complaints made by our subiects, to informe themselves, instruct and iudge the proceffe against the offenders with care and diligence, not forcing the Plaintiffs to make themselves parties, nor to be at the charge of the suite: and to the end it may be the better knowne if they haue well discharged themselves, or haue vsed partialitie, they shall be bound to giue an act signed vnder their hands, to the parties that shall require it, of the day of complaint which hath beene made.

39 We will also that the priuat orders made by the Commissioners, where they haue C held it necessary, shall be kept, vnlesse they be contrary to this present order, and other our ordonances, and of our predecessors: but if our Courts of Aydes find it fit to make any change, then to giue vs aduice, that we may prouide accordingly.

40 And for that we are aduertised, that many haue appealed from iudgements giuen by the Commissioners, some complaining of criminall proceeding and condemnations made against them, others to haue bin ouer-taxed or made contributaries, pretending themselves to be exempt: Our intencion being to haue iustice done to euery man, and that what hath bin done by the sayd Commissioners for the good of our subiects may be kept. We ordaine, that as for appellations in case of Seafures, they shal not be receiued, D against the Taxes made by them for one yeare, yet may they moderate them in the following years, if it be thought reasonable, they which haue interest being called & heard. In like maner they shall not be receiued in criminall causes, in the which they had liberty to iudge Soueraignely, hauing called our Officers of those places vnto them: and in regard of Appeales in all other causes, we haue reserued the knowledge thereof to vs and our Councell, and for certaine causes do send them vnto our Courts of Aydes, euery one into their Iurisdiction. We haue also giuen them the Iudgment of Sutes, instructed by such as the said Commissioners haue substituted by vertue of the authority which we gaue them, be it in causes concerning the Nobility, criminall or others: charging their E honors and consciences, to follow the ordonances, and this present order in their Iudgements, and to proceed with the greatest ease of the party that may be. Wee command our faithfull Councillors holding our Courts of Aydes, Treasurers general of France, and all others to whom it shal belong, to cause this present Edict to be read, published, and inrolled, and to be inuiolably obserued, in euery point, causing all troubles and lets to the contrary to cease: for such is our pleasure: and to the end it may be firme and stable for euer, we haue caused our Seale to be set to these presents.

*Giuen at Paris in March, 1600.*

Signed. HENRY.

THE Lords of Sillery and Alincourt by the Popes aduice, and the Kings commande- F ment, went from Rome to Florence, to treat a marriage betwixt the King, and the noble Princeesse *Mary of Medicis*, the which had bin propounded before. This demand was so pleasing vnto the great Duke, as he made no difficulty. The Articles of which Treaty are as followeth.

First,

A First, the sayd great Duke, doth promise in the name and faith of marriage of the sayd Princeesse, and with her will and consent, as shee hath declared vnto the sayd most Christian King, who in like manner doth promise by the sayd Lord of Sillerie to take for his loyall Spouse the sayd Princeesse, as soone as might be, according to the Lawes and holy Constitutions of the Church, and doth presently promise, to appoint some man of qualitie with sufficient Authoritie in his name, and as Proctor to his sayd Ma- iestie, to wed by words of present the sayd Princeesse, vntill by the presence of the parties, the marriage might be confirmed and solemnized in the face of our mother the holy Church. In fauour whereof the great Duke, aswel for the singular affection which hee beares to the Princeesse his Neece, as for the greatnesse and dignitie of the House, into the which shee is receiued, doth promise to giue in dowrie to the sayd Princeesse, B the summe of fixe hundred thousand crownes of Gold, euery one beeing seuen Livres, foure Deniers of the money of Florence, whereof the sayd King hath already receiued two hundred and fifty thousand crownes payed into the hands of his Treasurers. And as for the three hundred and fifty thousand crownes remaining, they shall also be payd in ready money, in the towne of Marseille or Lyons, when as the sayd marriage shall be confirmed and solemnized in the Church, as hath beene declared in the pre- mises.

The sayd great Duke doth also promise to cause the sayd Princeesse to be conducted C and honourably accompanied at his owne cost and charges, and as is besitting a Princeesse of that qualitie, honour, and dignitie, vnto the Towne of Marseille: and moreouer to giue her Jewels and other pretious moouables, fit for the dignitie of the sayd Princeesse, and the House from the which she is descended.

In regard whereof, it hath beene accorded, that the sayd Princeesse shall renounce the succession of her father and mother in the best forme that may be for the contentment and satisfaction of the sayd Duke her Vncle: And to this end the sayd Princeesse shall haue authoritie, and the sayd renunciation shalbe confirmed by the sayd King, when it shalbe required. And at this present the sayd Princeesse acknowledging freely, that in regard of the sayd Dowrie and Jewels which shall be giuen her, shee is bounti- D fully satisfied for all that which might belong vnto her for her Portion, in the succession of her father and mother, and that of her owne free-will shee doth renounce, to the profit and commoditie of the sayd great Duke, and of his descendants males, or of those which shall haue interest by reason of the sayd great Duke, of what degree or qualitie soeuer, to all Rights, Names, Reasons, and Actions, which shee may haue, or in any sort pretend, to the sayd Successions, whereof as much as need shall require, the sayd Princeesse shall make Session and Transport to the sayd great Duke and to his Descendants.

And to assure the sayd Summe of fixe hundred thousand Crownes giuen in Dow- rie, be it in case of Restitution or otherwise, It hath beene agreed vpon and confir- E med, that certaine Lands shall be assigned, granted, and giuen in Mortgage, for the assurance, confirmation, and restitution of the sayd Summe of fixe hundred thousand Crownes, which no Obligation shall make void: so as by this meanes the sayd money may be deliuered vnto the sayd great Duke, or to them that shall haue charge from his Highnesse, to be restored to the sayd Princeesse or to her Heires, as shalbe sayd hereafter: with the interest after siue in the hundred, the which shall beginne to haue course, and to stand firme and effectuell from the day that the sayd money shall be restored.

The sayd most Christian King shall assigne vnto the sayd Princeesse for her Ioynter, twenty thousand Crownes by the yeare, which shall be payed out of Lands with Iu- risdiction, whereof the chiefe place shall haue the Title of a Duchie, and the rest next vnto it: which places thus assigned to the sayd Princeesse, shee shall enioy by her selfe or by her Officers with the sayd Iurisdiction: And she shall haue the gift of all Offices falling void, as the Queenes of France haue accustomed: alwaies provided, that the said Offices be giuen to naturall French-men. And the sayd Princeesse shal begin to enter into posses-

1600. possession of the sayd lands, as soone as her Dowrie or Ioynter shall haue place, to enjoy it during her life, whether that she remaine within the Realme of France, or retire else-where. The sayd King shall also giue vnto the sayd Princeesse, Jewels befitting the dignitie of the Queenes of France, the which shall remaine proper vnto her selfe, as things belonging to her, and not otherwise. And for the intertainment of the sayd Princeesse, future Queene of France, during her marriage with the sayd King, there shall be Officers and seruants appointed for the seruice of the sayd Princeesse, in such number and qualitie as shall be conuenient: and for her charges there shall bee a conuenient summe appoynted, the which shall be payed euery three moneths out of the Treasurie, according to the order which hath bene obserued by the Queenes. And in case of the dissolution of the sayd Marriage, by the death of the sayd Princeesse without any children, the sayd King shall restore vnto the sayd Duke, or to him that shall haue charge from him, the Jewels which haue bene giuen her, according to an Inuentorie that shall be made, vnlesse shee hath otherwise disposed thereof: and withall 400000. Crownes, which are two third parts of the 600000. Crownes giuen in Dowrie, vnlesse his Maiestie be desirous to enjoy the whole summe during his life: In which case the sayd summe of 600000. Crownes shall be fully restored after his Maiesties death. And if the sayd Princeesse leaue any children, issued of the sayd marriage, the sayd children shall succcede in all the goods, moouable and immoouable which shall be left by her, and that may belong vnto her, the which shall bee diuided according to the vse and custome of France. But in case the dissolution of the Marriage bee by the death of the King, the sayd future Queene suruiuing him, whether shee haue children or not of the sayd Marriage, the sayd Princeesse shall haue againe all the money, dowrie, and Jewels brought by her: and moreover, those which shall be giuen her by the sayd King, excepting alwayes the Jewels of the Crowne, the which are left as it were in Guard with the Queenes of France. And in this case the sayd future Spouse shall also enjoy her Dowrie, and all about mentioned, whether she remaine in France, or make her residence else-where at her pleasure.

All which Articles and Conuentions haue bene treated and concluded in the name of the sayd King, by the sayd Lord of Sillery, and by the sayd Duke as well in his owne name, as for the sayd Princeesse, the sayd parties promising faithfully to keepe and obserue them in euery poynt, without any contradiction directly or indirectly: and they haue promised to furnish all letters, prouisions, and expeditions necessarie for the accomplishment thereof. And so they signed

*Sillery and Ferdinand Duke of Tuscane.*

A greater portion then that of the Lady *Elizabeth* married into Spaine, who had but 400000. crownes in dowrie. The Queen mother had but 30000. crownes of *Lewis D.* of Vrbin her father: but her mothers inheritance, among the which was the Earledome of Laragois, was valued at a million of Gold, and the Pope in consideration of the greatness of the House, whereunto she matched, gaue her an hundred thousand crowns and many Jewels. She had for her Ioynter but a thousand pounds a yeare.

The contract was past in the pallace of Pittie, the five and twentieth day of Aprill, in the presence of *Charles Anthony Putei* Arch-bishop of Pisa, and *Virginio Duke of Bracciano*. All Florence shewed great ioy thereat, and the Princeesse was presently declared Queene of France. She dined publicly vnder a cloth of Estate, the great Duke sitting farre beneath her. The Duke of Bracciano gaue her water, and *Sillery* the Kings Ambassador the towell. The rest of the day was spent in all kind of sports. Soone after *Monsieur Alinecourt* went to carry these good newes vnto the King, with the Queens picture, which the great Duchesse sent him. The King sent *Frontenac* to serue the Queene as her chiefe Steward, who presented vnto her his Maiesties first Letter, and withall he sent his Portrait to the great Duke. The King resolved to effect the promises of Marriage, as soone as the Duke of Sauoy had performed his, touching the Restitution or the Exchange of the Marquisate of Salusses, and to go to Anignon to receive the Queene: but the Duke was much perplexed what he should do.

After

A After the Duke of Sauoy departure the King went to passe the Lent at Fontainebleau, where there was a great conference betwixt the bishop of Eureux and *Philip de Moray* Lord of Plessis Marly, Gouverneur of Saumur, Intendent of the house and crowne of Nauarre: in the presence of the King, Princes and Officers of his Crowne, Councillors of State, Prelats and other Noblemen of marke. It was touching a booke which *Monsieur du Plessis* had published of the Institution of the Lords Supper, and against the Masse, wherein the Bishop did taxe him to haue falsified many Authorities. Whereupon *Du Plessis* presented a petition vnto the King, that his Maiesty would bee pleased to appoint Commissioners to examine euery passage of Scripture cited in his booke.

B The King yielded to this conference, that the truth might bee made cleere against the darkenesse of slander, referring the care thereof to his Chancellor. The Commissioners appointed for the Catholikes were *Augustin Thuanus* President of the Court Parliament at Paris: *Pithou*, Aduocate in the Court, and *Fenre* schoole-maister to the Prince of Condé, in whose absence came *Martin* the Kings Philition. And for the other, the President of Calignon, Chancellor of Nauarre, in whose place entred *de Fresnes Canay*, President of the Chamber of Languedoc, and *Causaubon*, his Maiesties reader of the Greeke tongue. All singular men in learning and tongues.

This conference beganne the fourth day of May, in the Hall at Fontainebleau in the midst whereof was a Table of a reasonable length. At the one end sat the King, on his right hand the bishop of Eureux, and on the left, right against him *Du Plessis*, *Pasquier*, *Vassaut* and *Merger*, Secretaries of the conference were at the lower end of the same Table. Somewhat higher on the Kings right hand sat the Chancellor and the Commissioners. Behind the King stood the Archbishop of Lions, and the bishops of Neuers, Beauvais and Chastres. On the Kings left hand, were the foure Secretaries of State. Behind them which conferred, were the Dukes of Vaudemont, of Nemours, of Mercure, of Mayenne, of Neuers, of Elbeuf, of Aiguillon and Ionuille, the Officers of the Crowne, Councillors of State, and other Noblemen of quality. After that all were commanded to keepe silence, his Maiesty hauing said, that the dispute was not betwixt party and party, but particular betwixt the two conferences, not for any question of right and Doctrine, but for the literall truth of some passages: and that he desired they should treat with al mildnesse and moderation, without any bitternesse or passion, but that of the truth. Declaring moreover that hee did not meane that this dispute, should in any thing alter or disquiet the peace of his subiects, as the Chancellor did then declare vnto them at large by the Kings commandement.

My masters, said hee, all things worke to worke good in them that are good, if in the businesse which presents it selfe, wee bring spirits of peace and charity, the God of peace and charity, will assist our good intentions with his graces. The question is now vpon that which *Monsieur du Plessis* hath giuen the bishop of Eureux, to vnderstand that he will verifie before the King, and such Commissioners as hee shall please to depute, all the passages quoted in his bookes. Wherevnto the sayd bishop had answered, that hee would binde himselfe to shew five hundred falshoods in his booke against the Masse: That his Maiestie hath suffered this conference, which is made betwixt two learned men, not to enter into disputation, touching pointes which concerne Doctrine, and matter of Religion, the which his Maiesty would not indure without permission from the Pope: But onely to make cleere the literall truth or falshood of the sayd Allegations. And as it is not meant that there shall be any question made here touching controuersies of Religion, in like manner, his Maiesty declares vnto you his firme and certaine resolution, for the obseruation of his Edict of Nantes, made for the preservation of the quiet and publicke peace. Hee wills and commands that this conference may be made without contention, and with all the moderation that is requisite in a matter of so great importance: So as the good vniou and correspondency which is so necessary for the generall good of this Estate, and for euery one of vs in peticular, may not bee in any thing altered, but rather increased by the mildnesse and modesty which shall be

1600.

A conference at Fontainebleau.

The manner of their sitting at the conference.

The Chancellors discourse at the conference.

The Queenes picture sent to the King.



1600. shalbe vsed on either part, and that wee may finish this disputation with a good resolution to carry our selues and to liue peaceably together, like good brethren, friends and fellow citizens, as his Maiesty now commands vs by his Edi&ct, whereof he hath cuen now renewed his commandement vnto vs. These words were confirmed by the King, who commanded the Bishop of Eureux to speake and to begin the conference, the which he did in these termes.

Discourse of the Bishop of Eureux at the beginning of the conference.

Sir I present my selfe here to obey your Maiesties commandements, and to appeere at the assignation which *Monsieur du Plessis* hath giuen mee. The offer which I haue made was to shew him 500. false Allegations in his booke against the Masse. Your Maiesty according to your singular wisdom hath very wel concluded that this offer might wel be accepted without offending either spirituall or temporal lawes, which forbid all priuate persons to dispute publicly of Religion. For here the question is not to call in doubte the faith of the Antient fathers of the Church, or to examine if they haue written wel or il, but whether *Monsieur du Plessis* hath cited them truly or not. Heretofore *Hunneric* King of the Vandales hauing called the Catholikes of Africa to enter into disputation with the Arrians, *Eugenius* Archbishop of Carthage answered him, that he might not accept of that combat without the consent of other bishops, and namely of the Church of Rome, which was the head of all the Churches. If I at this day forbear to make the like difficulty, it is not that I carry lesse respect to the Apostolike sea then that holy Bishop did, above twelue hundred yeere since: But for that the question now is for some priuate passages of *Monsieur Du Plessis* booke, and not of the general Doctrine of the Church; wherevnto the modesty your Maiesty hath pleased to vse in this action hath imboldened mee. For you would not take the Incense as the King of Iuda did, who was stroken with a Leprosie, that is to say, you seeke not to vsurpe any Priestly Authority, nor to make your selfe a Iudge or to appoint Iudges in Ecclesiastical causes: But only to call learned witnesses and worthy of credit, which may testifie the truth of this conference, and in case of difficulty, vpon the version of words and edition of examples, giue their aduise: imitating therein the piety of those good Emperors, *Constantin*, *Valentinian*, and *Theodosius*, the first and second, who would neuer attribute vnto themselves the Iudgement of controuersies of the faith, but did alwaies referre the decision to them whom God had appointed Pastors and Rectors of his Church. And therefore vnder the Authority of his commandements, I will enter cheerefully into this conference, hauing first protested that I am not prickt forward by any spleene against *Monsieur Du Plessis*, whom I respect and honour for his good parts, neither doe I pretend to charge him with any fals-hood in his booke, but onely them vpon whose faith and instructions he hath relied, as it shall appeere by the mildnesse and modesty, I promised your Maiesty to vse towards his person.

Discourse of Monsieur Du Plessis at the conference.

*Du Plessis* declared, that hee was come thether, seeing it had so pleased his Maiesty, to answer for his booke, which ambition had not caused him to write, but should rather haue diuerted him, to preserue his good fauour: But zeale to serue (during his reigne) for a holy reformation in the Church, after which many good men haue so long sighed. If it might any way serue, hee should hold himselfe happy, though it were with his great losse; If not that hee would haue burnt it, yea with his owne hand. Yet his hope was, that when hee should be equally examined, all men should finde that hee had carried himselfe faithfully and dilligently, al though it were not to be held strange, if in five thousand passages or more, they haue found some wherein his eye, his memory or his Iudgement hath wauered: yet so, as they did not impugne the truth of that whereof hee treated.

Oh sayd hee, that the bookes of the Doctours of the Roman Church, which haue written within these hundred yeeres, were examined with this rigour, how many should you finde that could indure this triall? Finally he protested with his Maiesties leave, that this act was perticular, and could not preiudice the truth of the Doctrine of the reformed Churches of that Realme, which had beene before him, and should bee after him. And so they entred into the matter.

After

1600. After the first daies conference, *Monsieur du Plessis* fel very very sicke, as as they could proceed no further. The King did write the same day, vnto the Duke of Elpernon, what had past in this conference, and shewed by his letter what his iudgement was. My friend, he Diocesse of Eureux hath vanquished that of Saumur. Wherewith *Monsieur du Plessis* was discontented, so as in a discourse which he (or some of his friends) had printed soone after, touching this conference, he termed this letter *A puer of fire*, and that the Bishop of Eureux Flic, was made an Elephant.

Some moneths after this conference at Fontainebleau, *Canay*, one of the Commissioners and President in the Chamber of the Edi&ct at Castres, a man learned in Philosophy and the tongues, and well read in the History of the Church, left his profession of the reformed Religion, and became a Romish Catholike. Many thought that *Causabon* the other Commissioner would haue followed the same course: But he left not the world long in this opinion, hauing written vnto the Synode of Ministers assembled at Gargeau, that he was not so wretchedly instructed in piety, as for want of knowledge of the truth hee should suffer himselfe to bee carried away with euery humor of Doctrine. As the Synode reioyced at the constancy of *Causabon*, they grew in chollor against the change of *Canay*, who answering the first letter, they added this exclamation against the second, Oh miserable man who hath purchased with the losse of firme felicity, the disguised wretchednesse of this world, the which shall hereafter perish both in his life and sight, vnlesse that in the end with a feeling hee acknowledge that he hath not with reason lost his Iudgement, but rather without reason is become foolish. God of his mercy take pity of him, and giue him grace so to weepe for that which hee hath committed, that he commit no more that which he must weepe for.

The King had particular aduice that the Duke of Sauoy was irresolute what to doe, and that he had sent vnto the Pope, and to diuers Princes and common-weales in Italy, to let them vnderstand that hee had beene forced to the Treaty of Paris, and how much it did import them if this treaty were effected: but he found not their intentions to iumpe with his, neither had he the answer which he expected. His Maiesty had alto intelligence of his deepe dissembling, saying sometimes; *That hee would not restore the Marquisate, but by force*; sometimes, *That he had rather de iure Bresse then the Marquisate*; and most commonly he would say, *That he would restore the Marquisate*; and that with a double desaigne. The one was that the King (thinking he proceeded faithfully) would grant him some delay for the Restitution of the Marquisate, during the which, and before that the King should leauy an army, winter should come, the which would hinder the French from attempting of any thing against him this yeere. The other was, to the end that the King of Spaine and his counsell (who apprehended aboue all, the restitution of the Marquisate, for the neighbourhood of the French, to the Duchy of Milan) should grant vnto *Bely* the Dukes Chancellor and his Ambassador in Spaine (whither hee had sent him expressly to pacifie the Spaniards, who were offended with the Dukes voyage into France) succours of men, and money in case the King would force him: or else that hee might draw some recompence from the Spaniard for the exchange of Bresse with the Marquisate. *Bely* complained to the counsell of Spaine, of the little time which they remained for the Restitution of the Marquisate to the French, to whom they answered, That armies were not so soone leauied in France; that he should assure the Duke his Maister, that the Count *Fuentes* should bee at Milan by August (whereas two millions of gold attended him) with so many men and other prouision, as whosoeuer should seeke to force him, should haue inough to doe to defend himselfe.

The King beeing well aduertised of all these practises; The first of Iune beeing past, by the which the Duke according to the Treaty of Paris should restore the Marquisate, his Maiesty came to Lions; where the Duke intreated him by his letters to giue him some daies of respite, and that hee would satisfie him by his Ambassadors. Wherevpon the King yeelded. Then the Archbishop of Tarantaise, the Marquis of Lullins and *Roncas* his Ambassadors came to Lions, the sixteenth of Iuly. Who said vnto the King.

That

1600.

Causabon's letter to the Ministers.

The Duke of Sauoy's resolution.

The Council of Spaine answer to Bely.

The King comes to Lions the ninth of Iuly.

1600. That the Duke their Maister did complaine of the Treaty of Paris, that he durst not refuse any thing to his Maiefty, when as he was in the chiefe city of his Realme; that hee might bee more blamed for holding of the accord then in breaking it, for the great interest of himselfe, his children and his countries; Notwithstanding hee was ready to yeeld the Marquifate, but he beseeched his Maiefty to grant him the Inuestiture thereof for one of his sonnes.

The Duke's  
Ambassadors  
come  
to Lions.

The Kings  
answer to  
the Ambassadors.

Monseigneur  
De Sillery and  
the President  
La Mignon  
Deputies  
for the King.

Difficulties  
invented by  
the Duke.

An attempt  
to poyson  
the King.

The King answered them. That the Duke had written many letters vnto him from Chambery and Thurin, aduertising him that hee was very well pleased with the accord which he had made at Paris, promising to effect it, as hee was bound to doe. As for his demand of the inuestiture of the Marquifate for one of his sonnes, there was no likelihood he should vse any such bounty, hauing so small cause. To conclude, he was much discontented with the difficulties which the Duke made vpon their accord, the which if he did not performe by the first day of August, hee should prepare to defend himselfe. *Roncas* the Dukes confident seruant returnes to his highnesse, to let him vnderstand the Kings discontent and resolution, but especially to giue him time to thinke of his affaires. At that time *Fosseuse* returning out of Piedmont, assured the King, that he had heard the Duke of Sauoy sweare, that hee would neuer yeeld vp the Marquifate, and if the King did attempt to make warre against him, hee would shew him sport for forty yeeres, with such like words which were vnpleasing to the King. *Roncas* returnes speedily, bringing newes that the Duke was content, seeing the King would haue it so, to restore the Marquifate of Saluces, according to the Treaty of Paris. The King seemed well pleased with this resolution, giuing the charge to *Brulart* and *Ianin* to treat with the Dukes Ambassadors, how the restitution of the Marquifate should bee made. The Articles were agreed vpon, and beeing ready to signe them, *Roncas* said vnto the Ambassadors, that his master might take it ill, if they should signe them before hee had seene them: that there were strange humors about his highnesse, and that it would bee more easie for him to get him to approue the Articles when they were not signed, *Roncas* takes vpon him to carry the Articles, the King hauing giuen him leaue to go, and know his masters last resolution, shewing that he was determined not to suffer himselfe to bee entertained any longer with words, but in steed of returning, he sent backe a letter whereby they found that the Duke did nothing but dissemble, and entertaine the King with delays, vntill that the Count *Fuentes* came out of Spaine, and that hee had assembled his forces and provided for his safety.

But the Archbishop of Tarantaise and Lullins entering againe into conference with the sayd President *Sillery* and *Ianin*, they propounded foure difficulties.

- 1 Vpon the restitution of places in the Marquifate, by the Duke, and of Pont de Vaux in Bresse by the King, at the same time.
- 2 Vpon the restitution of the Baillicke of Gex.
- 3 Vpon the restitution of the artillery and munition that was within Carmagnola.
- 4 Vpon the nomination of a Gouvernor in the Marquifate.

All which beeing resolued, the Dukes Ambassadors beseech the King to giue them time to aduertise their master thereof, the King answered them that if by the sixteenth of August all his places in the Marquifate were not restored vnto him, that he would seeke to recouer that by force which he could not haue by reason. Before the Kings departure from Paris, the diuill had perswaded a wretched woman called *Micole Mignon*, to poyson him, who had some meanes during the fore-passed warres, hauing had the fauor to talke priuately with the King who is as full of bounty, as the libertie of armes, in time of warre, giues such familiarities: and Princes some-times frame themselves vnto it. Beeing kept backe from the Kings presence, with whom he would needs speake in priuate, being full of indignation and hauing resolued this cruel attempt against the King, shee addresseth her selfe to the Count *Soissons* a Prince of the bloud and Lord Steward of France, that hee might giue her husband some place in the Kings kitchin, and so in going to see her husband, shee should haue meanes to effect her damnable enterprife. In the

At the end she had access to him, that shee was resolued to doe an act, which should make him the greatest Prince, and her the most contented woman in the world. He desired to vnderstand of her the meanes in particular, whereat hee was much amazed. And for that it was a matter of importance hee wished her to come againe the next day, for that it deferred to bee well considered of. The Count of *Soissons* goes presently vnto the King, and telles him what hee had heard of this woman, beseeching him to giue him some confident man, who beeing shut vp in his cabinet might heare the same, when as shee should come at the time appointed. The King commanded *Lomeny* Secretary of his cabinet to goe. Shee returnes full of courage and resolution to effect this wicked deaigne. Shee speakes more, and protests to doe worse then shee had done the day before. Hee preft her to tell who had counselled her, and why shee attempted so dangerous a thing. He could draw nothing from her but that it proceeded from the deuill, from whom comes all damnable inspirations, and whose actions are murders, sacriledges and impieties: When shee had all sayd, shee was apprehended by the Prouost, and led vnto the Court. Beeing examined, shee denied the accusation and reproched the accuser as audaciously, as she had shewed her selfe furiously resolued to the execution. *Lomeny* was produced against her, and her conscience (although very desperately wicked) could not deny that which shee had before time deposed, but confessed the truth, and was condemned to bee burned quick.

She is burned  
aliue.

It is miraculous what hath past in diuers conspiracies against the King, and how Diuinely God hath deliuered him. It was one of the causes, which made the Duke of Sauoy seeme so resolued to hold the accord which he had made with the King at Paris for the Marquifate of Saluces, hauing vnderstood that the King had beene so often threatened by the attempts of such murderers, presuming that it was not possible but some one would hit: and about the same time there was one taken, come out of Piedmont to kill the King, whereof their was great rumor and suspicion. And three others which had vnderaken to kill him, when as he was in Sauoy, whereof they had certaine intelligence, with their portraites, the which were well knowne. And as they would haue taken them, his Maiefty would not suffer them saying. *Let those wicked wretches alone, God will punish them without my doing.*

Foure enter-  
prises against  
the King.

The sixteenth of August the King was aduertised, that the Duke had refused the last conditions agreed vpon by his Ambassadors, wherevpon hee countermanded the Count *Passage*, whom hee had sent with five hundred men to command in the Marquifate of Saluces, and to enter the towne and castle of Carmagnole, which the Duke should yeeld vp the sixteenth of August, according to the last accord. And withall the eleuenth of that month he published a declaration how hee was forced to take armes against the Duke of Sauoy, to haue reason for the Marquifate of Saluces, surprized by him, and vsurped vpon the crowne of France, in a time of peace, during the life of the deceased King, *Henry* the third, Predecessor to his Maiefty, and a benefactor to the sayd Dukes father: giuing all men to vnderstand, that hee was vnwillingly drawne to this remedy, for the singular desire hee had to reigne in peace, and to liue in loue and friendship with all his neighbours, hauing done as much to auoide it, as his honour, and the duty of a Prince which loues the publike quiet, and the good of his Estate, did require: taking into his protection and defence, all Clergy-men, and places, which should not fauour, nor serue for a retreat or assistance vnto the said Dukes armies: and all Inhabitants of townes, which should open their gates vnto his Maiefty and to his seruants: Meaning, that no actes of Hostility should bee vsed, but against such as should carry armes, and fauour the sayd Duke of Sauoy and his adherents. Forbidding all sacrilege, rauishing of women and maides, and burning of houses, places and castles vpon paine of death. Commanding all Frenchmen his subiects, beeing in seruice with the sayd Duke, to retire themselves and returne into his Realme within fifteene daies after this Proclamation made in his armies, vpon paine to be declared and punished as guilty of high treason.

The Duke re-  
fuseth to signe  
the Articles a-  
greed vpon by  
his Ambassa-  
dors.

The Kings  
declaration  
vpon the be-  
ginning of the  
war, against  
the Duke of  
Sauoy.

1600.

The Kings  
preparations  
for warre.

The King finding that all the Dukes temporisings and delays proceeded from a bad intent, was forced at one and the same instant, against the precepts of warre, to proclaim warre, and to prepare for meanes to make it. Hee gaue out Commissions for the leauing of foote in the neighbour Prouinces. Hee sent the Duke of Guise into Prouence, to looke to his Gouvernement, hauing intelligence that the Duke practised some surprises. The Marshall of Biron had charge to draw downe all his forces out of Burgundy, hee caused bullets to bee made in Niuernois, Dauphiné and Burgundy, and sent out Commissions for to leauy Pioners. The Marquis of Rosny great master of the Artillery, was sent to Paris, who returned within fifteene daies to his Maiesty, with incredible speed, so as in lesse then three weekes, the King had men, money, canon and munition. Hee sent Monsieur De Vie his Ambassador speedily into Suifferland with money, to preuent and disapoint the Dukes practises, and to assure a leauy of Suiffes at need.

The King who knowes that in warre, nothing doth so much aduance the execution as the presence of the head: beeing resolute to assaile the Duke on two partes, by Bresse and Sauoy, hee parted from Lions the same day that hee proclaimed warre, and came to Grenoble to goe to the enterprize of Montmelian in Sauoy, and to bee ready at all occasions. The Marshall of Biron vnderooke the surprize and taking of Bourg in Bresse, the which was assoone knowne as conceiued. The Marquis of Lullins the Dukes Ambassador beeing at Lions, aduertised the Count of Mont-maior Governor of Bresse, and Bouvens, capitaine of the Cittadell of Bourg of the enterprize, and that they should stand vpon their guards. A Gentleman of Bresse which had beene amongst the Marshall of Biron's troupes, seene the petards, and numbred the souldiars in passing the bridge at Macon, went before, to giue notice to Bouvens capitaine of the Cittadell, that the Marshall was within a league of him. But neglecting all these aduertisements, & trusting to the force of their wals and gates, they found, that the Marshall of Biron with twelue hundred men onely and two petards, forced the first and second port of the towne, and entred it without any resistance, or the losse of one souldiar. The troupes entred without disorder, and marched directly to the place before the Cittadell, and came not away, til ten of the clock, whilest that they did capitulate with two hundred Suiffes, which had shut themselves into a Bastion, whom they suffered to depart free with what was theirs: and also to attend if Bouvens would fall out off the Cittadell, as hee made shew. The Marshall of Biron left the Barron of Lux at Bourg, and went with fise canons to finish the conquest of all that which lies on this side the riuer of Rosne, taking at the same time Pont d'In, Poncin, Saint Denis, Saint Rumbert, Beley and Pierre Chastel. Some yeelded at the reputation of his presence, others would see the canon. There was no garrison in all the country, but at Seizel. A strang humor of an enemy, not onely to make warre vpon bad grounds, and to imbarke himselfe in a rotten ship, but also to refuse peace, and yet to haue no man in his country, to make warre. Those which made any resistance, shewed themselves in the end more valiant in tongue then with the sword. So as the King beeing at Grenoble, receiued in one day and in lesse then sixe houres, newes of two memorable exploits: the taking of Bourg with seuen ensignes, and one corner which the Marshall sent him, and the taking of the towne of Montmelian by Les Diquieres. Creguy offered a scalado to the curtaine of the towne of Montmelian towards the castle, and the petard to the port of Arban with such fury, as the souldiars retired themselves into the Church, and the Inhabitants into the Cittadell, leauing their houses to the discretion of all that warre allows in a towne that is either forced, or surprisid. The King commanded Grillon to lodge with the Regiment of his gardes in the suburbs of Chambery, all which was done, without any great resistance.

The souldiars did not defend themselves without feare and amazement, and the people were so lulled a sleepe with this opinion of peace, as nothing was more hatefull vnto them then the remembrance of warre, holding all care of armes to bee vaine and vnprofitable.

The

1600.

The Duke of  
Sauoy trou-  
bled in mind.

A The Duke past his time amongst the Ladies at Thurin, attending the pleasing effects which his Diuines had promised him, as wee haue said. Hee is aduertized that the King is in Armes, his Country in prey, the meanes to defend himselfe farre off, and Hannibal at the foote of the Alpes: That onely Montmelian is left him on this side the mountaines; That his chiefe towne had acknowledged the King for Soueraigne Lord, and that all his subiects yeelded willingly to his obedience. Yet hee continued his sports; And esteeming little the losse of all his Estates, so as hee might saue Montmelian, hee holds it but losse of time for his enemies; that hee would make them abandon what they had taken, and of their victories they should carry backe nothing but Trophies of straw, to conclude hee seemed for a time (as one would say) to consent to any thing, which the King did.

B But when hee came in the end to consider of the abuses and deceits of his South-laiers, to whom hee had giuen to much credit; That so many proiects laied with the Marshall of Biron tooke no effect; that his Ambassadors had commandment to retire (yet full of griefe that their masters inconstancy, had drawne his Estate into apparant ruine and to much incensed the Kings patience) that his country was in prey, that the great meanes of resistance which were promised him, from beyond the Pirenean mountaines were yet farre off: Hee awakes at the thunder of the canon: Hee castes his eyes and thoughts on all sides, and findes no Mediatour capable to repaire that which hee had ruined; no friends to support his quarrell, no neighbours which C sturre for him. Euery one blames him, euery one cries out that hee is in the wrong, he is the sole instrument and cause of his owne misery, and hee alone must seeke the remedie.

The Patriarke of Constantinople is at Turin, a man of a great spirit, and much practiced in affaires of this world. The King sees and heares him willingly. Yea; but the Duke had suspected him at the Treaty of Paris. Hee hath commandment from the Pope not to depart from thence, before his highnesse had performed his promises. Hee thought that hee was there onely to obserue his intentions, and to presse the effects of his words. Hee had well obserued that the Duke did not shew him to good a countenance, nor did so willingly see him as when hee past for the Treaty of Veruins. Hee is offended at this contempt, and it may bee wilbe reuenged when opportunity serues. Hee knows also that the Duke did not like of them that did conferre with him; and that hee had encouraged the King to continew the course of his victories and not to trust vnto the deceits of the Sauoyard. What likely-hood was there then in so vrgent a businesse, to imploy a great Prelate incensed, a great spirit offended?

Yet must hee coniure this French tempest, and by some meanes stay the exploites of so rude an Officer. The Patriarke's qualitie bindes him to mediate the reconciliation of Princes diuided in Christendome; and his presence, to bring water and not Oyle to the combustions which deuoured the Dukes Estates. Hee intreates and coniures him to goe vnto the King. They say that (in despite of the bad reception hee had had at Thurin, or well acquainted with the Dukes intentions) he sent a small noate vnto the King, aduising him to continue the course of his armes, and not to desist for any propositions or offers made by the Duke, who sought but to deceiue him, and withall hee accepted of the charge.

The Patriarke came vnto Grenoble the fifteenth of August, and spake vnto the King coming from Euentong: Hee giues him to vnderstand how much the Pope would bee discontented with this warre: hee coniures him in his name to resolute to a peace, and to returne for that effect to the Treaty of Paris: for that in demanding his owne, both the Pope and all the Potentates would fauour his demand: but in seeking to restore the ancient inheritance of the Duke of Sauoy, hee had no reason to hope for any fauour. The King answered him, that hee was infinitely greued the Pope should bee any way discontented with his taking armes, the which hee did not vndertake vntill it was apparent to all the world, that the Duke deluded him. That beeing the person whom

The Duke  
sent the Pa-  
triarke of  
Constantino-  
ple to the  
King.The Kings  
intere to  
the Patri-  
arke.

Yyyy

1600. whom his Maieſtie did moſt honour, and to whom he acknowledged himſelfe ſo much A bound, as hee could not deny him any thing, yet hee held him ſo full of luſtice, as hee would neuer aduiſe him to any thing that ſhould bee againſt reaſon and the dignity of his crowne. That the Duke hauing reſused to performe the Articles of the Treaty at Paris, he was not bound to obſerue them.

The Patriarke laied before him the miſeries which this warre would bring, the ruine and deſolation of the people, and the aduantage which the common enemy of Chriſtendom ſhould get by it. The King answered him in this manner. You exhort me like vnto a great Diuine and one of the chiefe Prelats of the Church, to deſiſt from this warre, to auoide the miſchiefe that may fall vpon Chriſtendome. I know not ſo much B Diuinity as you doe, yet am I not ignorant, that I haue a ſoule to ſaue, and that one day I muſt giue an account of my actions, and that God will impute the miſeries that ſhall happen by this warre, vnto him that giues the occaſion. Let the Duke of Sauoy lay his hand vpon his heart, and iudge if it bee not his obſtinacy and couetouſneſſe to hold that which belongs to an other, which is the cauſe of all the oppreſſion which his poore ſubiects doe now ſuffer. He hath preſumed with two great contempt of mee, to hold that which is mine by cunning, againſt my will. Hee that detaines an other mans vniuſtly, may iuſtly bee deſtroyed of his owne. Hee that denies vnto the ſtronger that which belongs vnto him, abandons vnto him by the ſame meanes all that hee hath: as it is no honor for him to bee obſtinate to warre, for the deſire he hath to hold an other mans eſtate, ſo ſhal he reape no other profit then the ruine of his owne I cannot com- C ceale it reuerend Patriarke, that although I haue euer found all integrity in your Negotiations, yet am I troubled how I ſhall carry my ſelfe with you, touching that which you propound, for in truth I hold you for a very good man, a moſt vertuous Prelate, and a wiſe Negotiator.

The Duke demaunds two Legats.

On the other ſide I can let you ſee in writing how the ſayd Duke hath giuen Authority to *Jacob* and the Preſident *Rochette* to treat with mee, with a declaration that neither you nor his Ambaſſadors, that are within my Realme, are priuie to his intentions. Hee hath made them propound, that I ſhould moue the Pope to depute two Legats, one of them ſhould cauſe reſtitution to bee made of that which I hold on this ſide the D mountaines, and the other ſhould make him reſtore that which he detaines from mee on that ſide the Alpes. I find his manner of proceeding to be very bad. To conclude reuerend Patriarke, I will beſeech the Pope to take my anſwere in good part, who holds that I cannot bee urged by any reaſon to lay aſide thoſe armes which the Duke hath forced me to take, hauing runne head-long without any neceſſity into this warre, in the which I am engaged againſt my will. I meane not to bee irreconcilable to him, but I will tell you that hee hath carried himſelfe in ſuch ſort towards mee, as I will no more relie vpon his words. After ſo many breaches, hee muſt finde ſome other meanes to warrant that hee ſaith, or ſome others then my ſelfe to belecue him. His former carriage makes mee iudge what the future may be. It is euident that in a full peace, he viſited the Marquiſate of Saluces from the deſeased King his benefactor, alledging no other reaſon, but that hee would keepe it more ſafely for him, then the Huguenots, who would vſurpe it, promiſing to doe as hee pleaſed. I can ſhew his letter written vnto the E King. But when there is any queſtion to keepe his promiſe, hee then no more remembers it. Iudge alſo how I can bee aſſured of the loue of this Prince, who during the miſeries of France, ſought to vſurpe Dauphiné and Prouence, where with his friends hee hath cauſed infinite ruines, and where hee pretended no other right but neighbour- hood and conueniency, and to make himſelfe great with his neighbours loſſe, ſo as his Ambaſſador in Switzerland in an open diet at Bade (excusing his maſters couetouſneſſe to the thirteene Cantons) ſayd that his children which were many, were iſſued F from Kings and Emperours, and that it was naturall for fathers to ſeek all meanes to make their children great, and to thinke of it in time, ſeeing that no man knowes what time he hath to thinke of it. The which ſhould giue occaſion to all his neighbours, to fore-caſt how they ſhall keepe their eſtates vntill his children bee provided for. The warre

The Dukes letter to the deſeased King.

He excuſeth the taking of the Marquiſate.

A warre which I make ſhall not trouble the quiet of Chriſtendome, I am ready to deſiſt, when hee ſhall doe mee right, for many iuſt pretenſions which I haue vpon his E- ſtates and countries, the which hee detaines from me, to the preiudice of my crowne. Let no man doubt of my reſolution to obſerue the Treaty of Veruins, but it doth not binde mee to quit mine owne. The Patriarke ſeeing that hee would allow no other reaſons then his owne, beſeeched the King to grant a ceaſſation of armes, but his re- queſt was not granted, the King being vnwilling his army ſhould reſt, vntill it had taken Montmelian and Bourg, being dangerous to remaine in an enemies country, and not to bee aſſured of the chiefe places of ſtrength, the loſſe whereof ſtrikes terror into the reſt. The King ſent the Patriarke to Lions, to treat with his counsell more amply of his propoſition.

The Spaniſh Ambaſſador conſidered the courſe of this warre, yet he made no ſhew that the King his maſter deſired for all this to alter the publike peace, notwithſtand- ing hee could not forbear to ſay, that beſides the naturall affection which hee bare to the Duke of Sauoy and to his children: hee held it the dutie of a mighty Prince, to lend his helping hand to them that were vniuſtly oppreſſed, yet hee made no proteſtation which might make them doubt of the obſeruation of the Treaty. The King alſo ſayd that hee would cheriſh the loue of the King of Spaine, ſo long as hee ſhould make account of his, but he would neuer trouble himſelfe with ſo difficult a thing as to keepe a friend by force. Hee commanded the Marquis of Lullins to retire, for if an Ambaſſador be alwaies ſuſpected during an aſſured peace, there is no reaſon to truſt him in time of warre.

The King being reſolute not to looſe any time in a ſeaſon which was ſo precious, parted from Grenoble, dined at Baraut, viſited his troupes which were at Montmelian, and from thence went to the Marches, viewed Chambery, and being come vnto the ſuburbs, hee commanded *Villeroy*, to ſpeake vnto *Jacob*, who commanded in the towne, and to lay before him the danger whereinto he thruſt himſelfe with all the Inhabitants, if they attended force in ſo weake a place. That the King deſirous to preuent the ruine of ſo many poore innocent creatures, offered mercy, and ſought to vanquiſh them D by mildneſſe, before he imploied any other meanes. *Jacob*, accompanied with the Preſident *Rochette*, thanked the King, and beſeeched his Maieſty to ſuffer them to aduertise his highneſſe in what Eſtate they were. The King granted them three daies to reſolue and to ſend to the Duke, but the people not attending his reſolution, being deſirous to free themſelues from the apprehenſions of the miſery which follows them that are obſtinate, forced him to enter into parlie, ſo as the towne was yeelded to the Kings ob- edience. Thoſe within the caſtle promiſed to yeeld within ſix daies, if they were not ſuccored with ſufficient forces to raiſe the ſiege. The King left *La Buiſſe* a Gentleman of Dauphiné there for Gouverneur. Hauing effected ſo great a matter with ſo ſmall forces, hee was well pleaſed to ſee his army augmented, by the troupes which *La Guiche* E Gouverneur of Lions brought vnto him, being about three hundred horſe, of the Nobility of his gouernment, and of his company of men at armes. Being maſter of the field, he reſolued to haue the chiefe fort, he ſeized vpon the two approaches of Tarentaiſe and Morienne.

The King offers mercy to the inhabitants of Chambery.

Chambery yeelded the 21. of Auguſt.

He parted from Chambery the 26. of Auguſt, lodged at *Saint Peter d' Albigny*, and the next day came to Conſlans, where he found that *Des Diguieres* had by maine force drawne two canons to the top of a mountaine, battred a pauiſon, and made a ſmall breach in a curtaine. The place was ſufficient to haue aſſured women, but they that were within it ſhewed not themſelues men, being one thouſand five hundred in number, amongſt the which there were a hundred all armed, and three hundred more which carried Cuiraffes. They had ſcarſe made fifty ſhot but they yeelded through feare, and demanded no other compoſition but their liues, thinking themſelues very happy to redeeme their liues with the loſſe of their armes, horſes and baggage, the which the King gaue them out of his bounty, well ſatiſfied with the place, their enſignes, and the promiſe which they made him not to carry armes for twelue daies.

The King comes to Conſlans, and battens it.

Yyy y

As



1600.

The distinction of Charbonnières.

As *Conflans* commands the passage of Tarentaise, so *Charbonnières* holds that of *Marin-ence*, being seated at the entry of the mountaines, which makes the valley ioyning to *Mont-Cenis*. This place stands vpon a rocke, at the foot whereof runnes the riuer of *Arc*, inaccessible of all sides, but onely a narrow way to goe vnto the Port; This Tower of *Charbonnières* serues them as a dongeon and is al that remains of the first fort and retreat of the Earles of *Sauoy*. *Beralde* Duke of *Saxonic*, the first Earle of *Maunne* made it his palace in time of peace, and his fort for the warre. It is also remarkable for the birth of *Thomas sonne* to *Humbert* the third Earle of *Sauoy*, and Prince of *Piedmont*. The towne of *Aiguebelle* is at the foot of this rocke, the King caused it to be surpris'd by the Seigneurs of *Crequy* and *Morges*, not giuing them of the castle any leisure to burne it.

His Maiesty knowing that this place was well furnished to resist an army, caused his troups to march, and then hee battred the tower with nine canons, and two small peeeces, from the breake of day vntill noone. The besieged (having endured sixe hundred thirty and seuen canon shot, without any hope of succours) did capitulate the tenth of September, to depart with their baggage, and their marches out: the King sent their ensignes to the Marquise of *Vernuel* being then at *Lions*, the which are now in the great Church of *Saint Iohn*, and so they departed to the number of two hundred. The King returned to *Grenoble*, to purge himselfe by the aduice of his physition, commanding *Des Diguieres* to passe with the army into *Tarentaise*, the which hee did, the enemies quitting the passage of *Briançon*, retyring themselues into a rocke which was inaccessible of all parts, the which did so bridle the passage, as it might stay any force: *Des Diguieres* hauing intelligence that the port being but two foote wide, was not wel rampared, and that the place was better furnished with peasants then with souldiers, he planned two canons against it, the which in sixe volles made a breach, the souldiers grabled vp courageously to the top of the mountaine, to enter in at this hole, the captaine with in it was hurt with a shot, and all the rest were taken prisoners. The army lodged at *Monstiers* the Metropolitaine of the whole country, hauing conquered the vallies and mountaines of *Maurienne* and *Tarentaise*, where they found nothing so difficult, as the season, being more troubled with the weather, then with men: onely *Montmelian* remained, which was held inpregnable.

The King desirous to haue the causes of this warre knowne to all the world; commanded his Ambassadors to aduertise his friends thereof. The Spanish Ambassador in *Suitzerland* was not mute in this occasion which ministred matter for all the world to talke of. His discours was, that the French King (hauing taken armes when as euery one thought to enioy the sweetnest of peace) put all the world in ialousie, bound those that were neerest to runne to quench this fire, and in oposing themselues to the oppression of the Duke, preuent the designs of the seruitude of *Italy*. That to this end the Count of *Fuentes*, had commandement from the King of *Spaine* his maister, to leauy men to assure the Duchy of *Milan*, and to intreat that valiant nation of the *Suisses* to grant him a leauy of six thousand men. *Monsieur de Vic* the Kings Ambassador, made it known in an open assembly of all the Cantons, that the King had had more patience, then the iniury done vnto his crowne did permit, being vnwilling to take armes vntill that al Europe had iudged, that the Duke of *Sauoy* proceeded not sincerely, and that hee vrged his Maiesty to repell by force the iniury of the detention of the Marquise of *Sarvrg*, yet could he not keepe the petty Cantons from granting a leauy vnto the Duke, the which notwithstanding was by him made vnprofitable. Vnto may not here omit a particular accident. Amongst the chiefe gentlemen which *La Guiche* Gouvernor of *Lions* had drawne out of his government to serue the King in his army of *Sauoy*, were *Chazeul* and *du Bourg* both well knowne for their valour and experience in armes. The King made good esteeme of them, and gaue a Commission to the last, to raise a regiment of a thousand men. Being gone to make this leauy (Enuy which doth alwaies oppose it selfe to the merits of vertue, and which is incurable in the beginning of prosperity) was greued that a gentleman which had followed the League, should be chosen among

The army lodged at Monstiers.

The King of Spaines Ambassador in Suisse complained of the King.

Monsieur de Vic the Kings Ambassador in Suisse.

A strange imposture.

1600.

A among so many others to serue the King in this warre, and forged an imposture sufficient to ruine him if it had incountred a Prince as apt to choller as hee is to Iustice and Clemency. They cast abroad tickets in the Kings chamber and with-drawing chamber, that these two Gentleman, hauing failed in an enterprise vpon his Maiesties person at the passage of the riuer neere vnto *Chamouffier*, had referred the execution thereof to *Morters*, and that his Maiesty should remember that vpon the way to *Chamouffier*, one of them (his courage fainting) drew backe from the King to talke with a knight which marched on the one side. This was enough to kindle the Kings choller, and to make it passe like vnto a thunder-bolt, which breakes and wounds before wee see the lightning or heare the cracke. But this Prince (who all his life had followed the precept, which the Emperour *Basilius* gaue vnto his sonne, not to giue eare to slanderous and enuious reports) found that this billet proceeded from a wicked and malicious passion, for that he remembered well, that to speake, with *du Bourg*, hee had caused *Chazeul* to change his place, whereof mention was made in the billet. He shewed it to *La Guiche* gouernor of *Lions*, who presently conceiued that it was an imposture: He called *Chazeul* vnto him, more to confirme the good opinion he had of his Loyalty, then to shew him that this note were able to giue him any signe of ialousie or distrust. And for that the bruite of this trechery could not bee kept secret, hee caused a letter to be written to *Du Bourg*, commanding him not to discontinue the leauy of his regiment, for any thing he should heare spoken against his Loyalty, whereof hee would haue no other prooffe but his courage, and the execution of that which he commanded him. *Du Bourg* being at *Lions*, and hearing there were things spoken of him which he neuer thought, he takes post and comes to the King as he rose from dinner, being enuironed by all the chiefe Noblemen of his Court. As soone as he perceiued him he asked why he was come. *Sir* answered *Du Bourg*, it is sayd at *Lions* that *Espinasse* would kill you, *Du Bourg* brings you his head. The King replied, that hee held him to honest a man to haue such a thought, and that such as had giuen this intelligence where wicked impostors. They did see that I ment to imploy you, as I will alwaies when any occasion is offered for my seruice. They could produce no other effects of their enuy but in writing of this billet, but they haue not found mee so tractable and credulous as they thought. Princes Courts were neuer without them, but hee hath fewest that doth least beleue them, I doe not as Kings my Predecessors, who kept in minde, while they liued what two or three had could them. No man knowes my Realme better then my selfe. I haue found three factions. That of the deceased King hath troubled me. Of three I haue made one: there is no more any distinction. I am King of the one as well as of the other, and hold them all for my subiects. I make no difference among them for their affection to my seruice, but I know how to make choise of them that are capable of charges, and for your regard you shall neuer be forgotten when any is offered. *Du Bourg* hauing thanked the King for the confidence it pleased him to haue of his Loyalty, seemed notwithstanding much afflicted for this slander. The King sayd vnto him, that hee had already told *Chazeul* that it pittied him to see him afflicted for a thing which hee had neuer beleued, and which he held incredible: he asked him if he suspected any one, assuring him that if he did name him, he would of his absolute power put him to the racke, and if any one should accuse them, he would alwaies hold the accusation scandalous, being farre from the thought of gentlemen of their sort: and if he should beleue billets; there were no safety for good men in his Court. But the King ads (to increase the hearts griefe of these spiteful spirits) goe and raise your Regiment, and beleue mee that if you bring speedily the number of men which you haue promised, you shall punish them more rigorously then Iustice would if they were knowne: for there is no such torment to an enemy as to doe well. That which was sayd of these two was very false, but that which was sayd of two others was very true. The King had intelligence that two disperate men, by one motion and diuers meanes had an enterprise vpon his person. The aduise was accompanied with a discription and the Portraits of these wretches. One of them was knowne, and scene two or three times neere vnto the King. One to whom

Two desperate men sent to kill the King.

Yyyy 3

1600.

The siege of  
the castle of  
Montmelian.

whom *Villeroi* had giuen a copy of the Portraits, to watch and obserue this villaine, A seeing him one day neerer vnto the King then he should be, wished his Maiefty to take heed. Hee contemned this aduice, saying that his life depended of God, and not of the practises of his enemies. He would not suffer them to apprehend him, saying, *Let him alone he is a wicked man. Such villaines shall not goe unpunished, God wil punish them without my doing.* The castle of Montmelian was held one of the strongest places in Christendome, and those which haue seene the protrait, with the order of the Kings campe and the forme of his battery, haue wondred that it did so sodainly yeeld. The King himselfe sayd it was impregnable. It is seated vpon the top of a mountaine, the ditches be precipices on euery side, the defences sue great bastions well flanked: there is but one passage to it from the towne, but so vneasie as it not to be wonne; being ditcht, trencht and flanked with aduantage: but there is no fortresse that may not bee termed strong if it be not assailed, and they measure the strength or weakenesse of a place more by the quality of him that doth besiege it then by her owne forces. The King (whose reputation assured a happy end) resolved to besiege it, being informed of the Estate of the place, and confirmed in his resolution by *Des Diguieres*, who sayd these words vnto him. *That he would submit himselfe to pay the charges of the army if that fort were not taken within one month.*

It was vnfurnished of munition, and many ruines neglected, did blemish that ancient reputation, by the which it was held one of the strongest places in Christendome. The C captain and soldiers had equally need of courage. It is better to haue sheepe commanded by a Lion, then Lions commanded by a sheepe. The Earle of Brandis of the house of the Earles of Montmaior had the government. The execution of a councill is neuer better performed then by him that giues it. *Des Diguieres* had bene the chiefe Author to make the Army passe out of Maurienne, into Tarentaise. The King therefore iudging that he could not be better serued by any other in his Army of Sauoy, he commits the charge vnto him of the execution of that which he had aduised.

The castle  
sommoned to  
yeeld.The Earle of  
Brandis ad-  
uocare.

The French Army marched to besiege the castle of Montmelian, which the Lord of Crequey (commanding in the towne since the taking thereof) had blockt vp as well as hee could. His Maiefty being arriued, he sommoned the Count of Brandis D to yeeld, and to receiue his commandements, threatening him with the furie of fortie canons: the Earle answered, *That hee would neuer yeeld the place but to his Soueraigne Lord the Duke of Sauoy, and if they did besiege him, Montmelian should bee the Sepulchre of the French.* Some thinke that this insolent answer proceeded onely from feare.

In the meane time the Marquis *Rosny*, great maister of the Artillery, lost no time to plant his batteries, drawing vp seuen canons by the force of mens hands, to command the castle, and to batter it at randon: then in the same plaine, at the foote of the hill hee caused two batteries to bee made by *de Bordes* (Lieutenant generall of the Artillery) as well against the Bastion of Mauvoisin, as other places which they held easiest to bee E battered, especially that which was before the Bastion *Bouillars*, the which might also batter an old tower or dongeon, being foure-square, and almost ruined; hauing bene battered in former time by the army of King *Francis* the first.

The two batteries one the other side of the water plaid vpon the base Court, and into the portall of the dongeon at randon, vpon those that should issue forth, or offer themselves to defend the breach, the which did more amaze the besieged then any thing else, who being well furnished with artillery and other munition, spared not their shot, the which notwithstanding could not hinder the lodging of the Kings Artillery. Whilest the planted the canon, the King went to view the passages of the mount- F taines by the which the Duke of Sauoy might enter on this side. He was then at Thurin and did not bouge, seeming carelesse of the ruine of his Estates: yet some time some of his most trusty seruants would say. *The King of France takes townes in Sauoy, but pitiencie His highnesse will take as many in France and better:* these words being reported, made the King to suspect some bad desaigne considering the aduertisement they had of three murderers

The vantage  
of the Sauoy-  
ards.

1600.

The causes of  
the Marthal  
Brons discon-  
tent.

Bruits in Italy

The Duke of  
Sessa request  
vnto the Pope.Cardinal Aldo-  
brandino sent  
Legat to the  
French King.He came to  
Thurin in  
September &  
is receiued by  
the Duke.

A Murderers, whereof one was come expressely out of Piedmont to murder the King: yet he feared not them but rather *la Fin*, who was very inward with the Marshall of Biron, and that they would seeke to effect the desseignes which they had plotted at Paris, when as the Duke of Sauoy was there, whereof the King had had some intelligence, but hee could not beleue it. His Maiesty who loued the Marshall of Biron well, wished him to dismisse *la Fin*, that his company was dangerous, and that in the end he would deceiue him. But the Marshall was no more capable of counsell: two great and violent passions, Ambition and Reuenge had so distempered his iudgement, as he was no more himself, the which grew vpon occasions which fell out in this warre of Sauoy. The first was des- pight and iealousie, to see all the authority of command, all the honor of enterprises, all the conduct of executions giuen to *Des Diguieres*, for that he knew the countrey, and the enemies forces better then any other. He was discontented for that hee was not at the siege of Montmelian, as he had bene at the siege of Amiens. The other was the re- fusall which the King made vnto him, to dispose of the Cittadel of Bourg, when it shold be taken, which refusall was grounded vpon great considerations. The first, that it was not reasonable to trust a place of that importance to him that was suspected to haue in- telligence with his enemy. The second, that Gouvernors of Prouinces which command in chiefe, ought not to haue the gard of places and fortresses. The third was, that the King ment to commit the place (as one of the Keyes of his Realme towards Italy) to one that depended immediatly on his Maiesty. But we must ioine this discourse to his pro- cesse, and to the discouery of his conspiracies, the which he thought to be very se- cret, for that they were not knowne nor divulged.

All Italy being amazed to see the King at the foot of the Alpes, and the three for- tresses which remained in Bresse and Sauoy so streightly beleeged, as they must needes fall into the power of the victorious French, sayd, *That the Marquisat was the pretext, but Naples and Milan was the cause of the warre.* The Duke of Sessa the King of Spaines Ambassadour at Rome, represented vnto the Pope the infinite ruines and desolations which would follow by the continuance of this war, and the victorious successe which the Turke had vpon the frontiers of Austria, being ready to make a great breach vpon D the Christians, whilest the Princes which he feared most were at warre, and the most warlike people of Europe killed one another. He therefore beseecheth him to send his Nephew vnto the King, to stay the course of his Armes, and to resume the execution of the Treaty of Paris. The Pope (to whom the diuision of Christian Princes hath al- waies bene displeasing (desiring more then any of his Predecessors to assure the publike quiet) grants this famous Ambassage of Cardinal *Aldobrandino* his Nephew, who young of age, but not of wisdom and iudgement, would not depart out of Rome be- fore the Duke of Sessa had giuen his word vnto the Pope, that he would cause the King of Spaine to approue, and the Duke to obserue whatsoeuer he should treat with this assurance he past to Milan, getting the like promise from the Count of Fuentes vnder E his hand, being there ready with the King of Spaines forces to succour the Duke of Sauoy, to whom he sayd: That he made this voyage for the onely respect of the King of Spaine, and if the Duke of Sauoy onely had bene interessed, he would not haue ab- sented himselfe so long from the Consistory, he was not therefore resolved to proceed any farther, if he did not assure him to make the Duke obserue all that he did treat, and to retire his forces if he made any difficulty. The Count who sought but to saue that which was on the other side of the Alpes, to serue as a rampier for Milan, promised him, *as a passage might be reserved for the Spaniards to go into Flanders.* It was a great wis- dome in this young Cardinal not to treat of so important a busines, but vpon good cau- tions. The Cardinal being thus assured, leaues his traine at Alexandria, and comes to F Thurin, faining his intention to be, to finish his pilgrimage to our Lady at Mont De- uis, and to see him in passing. The Duke enters into complaint of the losse of his Estates, and swears to seeke all means to haue his reuenge. The Legat seemes cold, hee repre- sents vnto him the necessity of Peace, and the good of Concord, and he lets him know that he should desire to kepe his friends which are the true Scepters of Princes. He adds moreouer,

1600. moreover, that he was forrie for the bad estate of his affaires, the which if hee A might repaire, he would willingly go to Chambery. The Duke intreats him to take the paine, giues him a blanke, and assures him, that he wil neuer haue any wil nor resolution to contradict that which he should conclude in this negotiation: with this promise (and an assurance that he should not attempt any thing more then the succoring of Montmelian) he passed the Alpes. And for that he feared that the King in his great aduantage would not harken to a peace, and much lesse grant any truce, and that this inequality would make all reasons vnequal, he would not aduise the Duke to send his Ambassadors, vntill he first knew the Kings mind. He therefore commands *Hermínio* his Secretary to aduertise him of his comming, & of the desire he had to serue his Maiesty, not for the continuance of the war, but for a confirmation of a Peace. The King vpon this aduice staies at Annessy, to giue audience to *Hermínio*, who was presented vnto him by the Patriarke, who said vnto him, that the Legat his master was sent by the Pope to quench the fire of war. The King excused himself, vpon the disaduantage he should receiue, and the preiudice it would bring to his affaires, in retiring when he should aduance, and to neglect the commodities and occasions which were offered vnto him in this enterprise by the consideration of time and place. But he assured him that the Cardinall should be very welcome for the respect of his Holines, for the particular of his person, and for the iubicat of his Legation, although his enemies had giuen it out, that it was made in the Dukes fauor. That he did attribute all to piety, wisdom, and a fatherly care in his Holines: who should alwaies find as much will in him to maintaine peace, as he had bin grieued to come to armes, refusing neuer any treaty, so as it might be with honor and safety, beeing resolute neuer to indure any iniury from the Duke of Sauoy nor his adherents. *Hermínio* made some other propositions, the answer whereof, the King referred to Chambery, whither the King appointed to come within foure or fiue dayes: The King went from Annessy to Beaufort, to view the passages of the mountain, by the which the Duke might come, he sent the Duke *Biron* to discover that of our Lady of Gorge, and others altogether inaccessible, but onely for Beares and Camels. The King went vp the mountaine, as far as the pace of Cornet, where he dined vnder a rocke, to defend himselfe from snow: after he had viewed the passage which may serue the enemy, hee parted D from Beaufort, and took his lodging at Gilly neere to Conflans, where hee was informed of the true estate of the beseege, who had no hope but in themselves, beeing impossible for the Duke of Sauoy to succor them. But what doth the Duke whilst the King rules in his Counties, and that *Des Diguières* spoiles all the vallies of Morienne and Tarentaise? Hee which had bin the Kings Agent with the Duke, hauing taken his leaue, came to his Maiesty at Grenoble, telling him that the Duke talked of nothing but fighting: he answered, *that he should find him ready to shew him sport*. The Spaniards who would make him apprehend the voyage of Paris, sayd, that they might not breake the body of their troupes, nor diuide their forces, appointed for the defence of Piedmont. The Duke would haue sent 3000. Spaniards to defend the valley of Tarentaise, but they would not march, not for feare, but by order of their Commander, which kept them backe. *D'Albigni* had much ado to make them stay at the Fort of little *S. Bernard*, on that side of the valley of Aost, which if they had done, the Duke might haue attempted something in Prouence and Dauphiné to haue diuerted the Kings forces.

But it hath bin alwaies obserued that such as haue trusted to the succors of Spaine, haue tried to their grieve, that they desire rather to intertaine the disease, then to aduance the cure. It is a militaric Maxime among them, to make one Body of an army, but especially, not to do any thing without direction, so as oftentimes great opportunities are lost in attending, for if the Councils be far off, they come alwaies after the effects. The King E hauing provided for the passages returns to Montmelian, he sent word to the Earle of Brandis, that if hee would forbear to shoote that day, hee would also cause his batterie to cease. They told the King that the Earle granted it as willingly, as if he had no resolution to refuse any thing to so great a Prince. The King was not ignorant of the estate of the beseege, for besides that at the taking of the Towne, hee had taken Notes and Inuentories

The Cardinal sends *Hermínio* his Secretary to the King.

The King passes the pace of Cornet the 12. of October.

The Duke refuses to fight

A Maxime of the Spaniards.

The King returns to Montmelian.

A Inuentories of the munition that was in the castell, there alwaies escaped some one or uer the wall which brought newes, and described the place in as miserable an estate as they could, as well to excuse their flight as to tell the truth. A Cannon shot from one of the Kings batteries, pierced the wall within a foote of the caue, whereas all the powder and munition of warre did lye, the which had ended the batterie, if it had gone a little further. The Earle of Brandis seeing that nothing came from without that might incertaine hope, and iudging that nothing was lesse beleeving a Captaine, then rashnes, did not contemne the perswasions which necessity and the aduice of his friends gaue him to thinke of the souldiers health, seeing that of the place was desperate. The King summons him againe, not to be obstinate: they found him so well disposed thereunto, B as presently they did iudge whereunto things would tend. The Earle calls together the Captaines and Gentlemen that were with him, to determine of some whole some expedient, not to offend the seruice of their Prince, nor to incense the power of a great King, and to provide for the common health of them all. If he were resolu'd to hold it out, he should not aske counsell but of such as were of the same resolution, being easie to iudge, that amazement will alwaies carry them to opinions contrary to duty, and that from a fearefull man you shall neuer draw good counsell. Euery thing is vnpleasant to a man that feares. Being therefore assembled, he spake vnto them after this manner: "My masters, when I consider that we hold this place for our Prince to defend it for him with the price and perill of our liues: I do not find, that either feare of danger or C despaire of succors, or rigour of afflictions can discharge vs: but when I consider the state wherein we are, the extremities which presse vs, the great distance of our hopes, and the weaknesse of our force, I say that in the end we must submit our willes to that which may be, and that it should be an ouer-weening, to will that which is impossible. It is not the custome of a Gouvernor in a place beseege, to publish the wants he finds, for commonly a good shew couers defects, to the end that his wauering daunt not the courage of his souldiers. In like manner I haue concealed as much as I could the necessities which enuiron vs: but seeing you see them, and feele them no lesse then my selfe, iudge what the issue of this seege may be: I coniure you by the duty which bindes D you to his Highnesse, by your loyalties, honors, and consciences, you consider the choice of two things, whereof if it were possible, I would desire neither the one nor the other, which is, either to indure all the attempts of the Kings army, and to yeeld vp our liues with the place, or to capitulate to yeeld it vp vpon the longest time we can obtain. If we follow the first, we cannot auoide our owne ruines, nor the losse of the place: if necessity suffers vs to make vse of the second, we may giue his Highnesse leysure to do his businesse, or to succor vs. Thinke not that any base apprehension of danger makes me to vse these words. I shall neuer in all my life find a more glorious death. All that may be done out of this place to saue a mans life, I will do it to find death, and in euery thing E elie that shalbe vnfortunate, I will euer remember, that it is not the duty of a Commander to haue care of his owne safetie, but of the preservation of his Souldiers.

Take therefore this proposition as I giue it you, and expecting your resolution, shew vnto your companions, neither feare in your courages, nor despayre in your words, and in all your resolutions, cast your eyes not so much vpon that which you desire, as vpon necessity which must giue a lawe vnto your desires, remembering that they pittie such as fall into accidents not fore-seene, and mocke at those which fall into apparant dangers.

This proposition was not applauded of them all: some representing, that there is no crime more horrible nor detestable, then to yeeld vp a strong place, without extreame and most apparant violence, remembering, *That his Highnesse had honoured them with the guard of the onely Bulwarke of his Estates: they should rather all die therein, then yeeld the place to the French King, and that the apparant danger might be auoied by some favorable accident*. Others of the contrarie side maintained, That accidents were doubtfull, that it were better according to the time to take an assured and easie party. That euery one knew that the most Christian King was well informed of the estate of that place: That

Speech of the Earle of Brandis to his soldiers,

1600. That they had suffered to the extremity. That they were battered with 40. Cannons: A  
 " That they had receiued many disgraces and losse of men, burnt by fire which had taken  
 " their powder. That since two moneths they had receiued no newes from his Highnesse.  
 " That they wanted all kind of victuall but corne, which with good husbandry could not  
 " last to the end of Nouember: That it were better to enter into composition, seeing the  
 " King offered it, and take a reasonable tearme to yeeld vp the place, whilest that his  
 " Highnesse should giue order to succour them, or to treat of a Peace. The most reaso-  
 " lute where shaken at these words, and in the end all concluded to make their Peace in  
 " time, whereunto in the end they had beene forced. The Earle made an Act, the which  
 " was signed by all the Capitaines and officers of the Garrison, by the which he deman-  
 " ded a truce of the King for five daies, at the end whereof he did Capitulate to depart he  
 " and his company with Liues and goods, Enseignes displayed, Drums sounding, Boulet B  
 " in the mouth, Harguebuze charged, their matchets light, and furnished with what muni-  
 " tion of Warre they could carry, without serch, if the Duke did not succour them within  
 " one month, the which was granted, and moreover they had leaue to fend a Capitaine to  
 " the Duke to aduertise him thereof. The Cheualier *Bricheras* had the charge to carry  
 " these newes vnto the Duke with letters containing this in substance: That hee and his  
 " had suffered and did suffer all that humane flesh could indure, besides an infinite number  
 " of disgraces, and losse of many men burnt, euen by fire which fell among the powder.  
 " That the King being informed of the estate of this place had summond it three or C  
 " foure times by letters of his owne hands, to yeeld it vp vnto him, beeing come in per-  
 " son foure times into the towne of Montmelian to heare his answer, the which he had  
 " forborne vntill he had seene nine Batteries planted about the Castell, consisting of for-  
 " ty Cannons.

The capitulation of the  
castell of Mont  
melian.

The Earle of  
Brandis letter  
to the Duke of  
Sauoy.

" That his Highnesse must consider he was besieged by a Royall armie, in the which  
 " were three Generals; the Duke of Espernon, the Marshall of Biron, and *Dees Diguieres*,  
 " with many Princes and Noblemen. That hauing receiued no newes from his High-  
 " nesse sithence his letter of the fifteenth of August, he had lost all hope of succours, and  
 " had propounded vnto all the Captains, to try if they could get a sufficient time to giue  
 " his Highnesse meanes either to succour them, or to treat of a peace.

" That holding a delay of more aduantage then such a sodaine losse, he had entred in-  
 " to Treatie, hauing demanded a much longer time then they had graunted him, not-  
 " withstanding that all prouision of victuals wanted, except corne, and Rice, the which  
 " with very good husbandrie could not last till the end of Nouember.

" That hee was much grieued to yeeld the place to any other then to him to whome  
 " it did belong, and if he could as well dispose of all them that were with him, as of him-  
 " selfe, and of other chiefe Officers, to die when as the place should change his master,  
 " he would rather take that resolution, then present himselfe before his Highnesse after  
 " so great a losse, in comparison whereof his owne fortunes and safetie seemed nothing  
 " vnto him.

" That if his Highnesse did not succour them within the moneth, the place was lost  
 " the K. hauing giuen it out, that he wold not yeeld it again notwithstanding any peace

The same day the Capitulation of Montmelian was made, the King sent the secreta-  
 " ry *Herminio* to goe and meete the Cardinall *Aldobrandino* his Master, with charge to  
 " assure him of his Maiesties willingnes to peace, and of the desire hee had to see him to o-  
 " pen his heart, and to represent vnto him the iustice of his armes, and to let him know  
 " that hee had not vnderaken them to trouble Italy or Christendome, as his enemies had  
 " maliciously giuen out, after that they had forced him to protract his marriage, and to  
 " take the way of Sauoy, the which was not greatly pleasing vnto him in this season, in-  
 " treating him to take it in good part, if he did not answer to the particular propositions  
 " propounded vnto him by *Herminio* vntill his arriuall, assuring himselfe that he would F  
 " come with sufficient power, to conclude a good accord, without any more trouble of  
 " doing it wise. But his Maiestie excused himselfe from any surceasing of armes. It being  
 " vnreasonable to liue idly in an enemies Country, whereas the entertainment of his army,  
 " cost

A cost him two hundred thousand crownes a moneth, and that he should attend the win-  
 " ter, and giue the enemy leysure to prepare himself. The Duke held this Treatie of Mont-  
 " melian to be sudden and rash: some braue spirits about him imputed it to cowardlines,  
 " rather then to treason. He made answer by *Bricheras*, and assured the besieged to succor  
 " them: and presently after he sent another letter in these termes: "*Monsieur Brandis*, for  
 " the execution of that which I haue signified vnto you, by the Cheualier *Bricheras*, be-  
 " hold, I am on horsebacke ready to passe the Alpes with so mighty an army, as if you will  
 " giue me some litle time, more then is specified in the capitulation, you shall see the sport,  
 " and bind me, mine, and all Sauoy for euer, to acknowledge you for the most faithfull,  
 " the most profitable, and the worthiest subiect in my Estates; you shall be noted through-  
 " out all Christendome, which now attends your resolution, and you shall free your selfe  
 " from the ignominie and reproch which you should incurr by your Capitulation. Shew  
 " your selfe (I pray you) a Knight worthy of the house from whence you are descended,  
 " and of the loue I haue borne you: regard herein your honour chiefly, and the conse-  
 " quence which shall grow by your resolution, it is but for a few daies, and not by  
 " the time limited, and the Cardinall *Aldobrandino*, who is gone thither-ward, effects not  
 " what he doth expect, you must not respect your hostages, it is not likely they shall mis-  
 " carrie, and if the worst happen, they cannot import so much as the losse of that place.  
 " Write vnto mee (if it bee possible.) In my hope from you, depends all that I am to do  
 " with these goodly forces. If I were not assured to succour you speedily, I would not per-  
 " swade you to breake the Capitulation. But this assurance makes me say vnto you, that  
 " you ought not to doubt, for these reasons and infinite others which you should lay be-  
 " fore you. The Duke had added in the end of his letter, these words with his owne hand.  
 " I thinke that *Bricheras* is already come vnto you, hee will shew me now the proofe of so many promi-  
 " ses which you haue made me, and giue me the time that I haue set downe, and you shall see the  
 " sport where you are.

By this letter it seemed the Duke cared not much for the life of his Hostages: The  
 " Duke of Espernon went by the Kings commandement and acquainted the Earle of  
 " Brandis with this letter, who answered, you may say vnto his Maiestie, that I will keepe my  
 " word, in the assurance whereof I hold my life and honor. The King tooke a new assurance in  
 " writing, signed by him and the other Capitaines, which had signed the Capitulation.  
 " Five dayes after this confirmation, the Cardinall *Aldobrandino* past by Montmelian, the  
 " army standing in battell, where he was saluted by the Kings artillery, and that of the ca-  
 " stell. The Duke of Espernon met him first vpon the bridge of Montmelian, and then all  
 " the Princes and Noblemen incountred him vpon the way, and accompanied him to  
 " Chambery, whereas the K. receiued him with great honor; who in his first audience at  
 " the Capuchins, he sayd vnto him: "That he doubted not of the iustice of his armes, and  
 " of the aduantage which his valour had gotten him ouer the Duke of Sauoy, but he held  
 " him for a Prince so full of affection, to the good and quiet of Christendome, as he wold  
 " neuer vse the fruites of his victorie to the ruin of the peace, and publike tranquillite, but  
 " would suffer the Popes earnest motion vnto him to desire peace, to be of more force  
 " then the perswasions of such as inuited him to continue this warre: a warre which was  
 " neither worthy the greatnesse of his courage, nor the fruites of his armes: for if it were  
 " made to enlarge his Empire, the Estate of Sauoy is a small thing, and if it were for the  
 " reuenge of some wrong, hee should consider that the reuenge which is not betwixt  
 " equal parties, is alwaies vniust, and hath no sparke of generosity in it. That war is vn-  
 " certaine, and the end is not alwayes answerable to the beginning, and there was no  
 " Prince that for the most assured opinions of Victorie, was to bee commended in refus-  
 " ing the conditions of an honourable Peace. A Peace which the Pope desired for the  
 " good of all Christendome: for the consolation of those which trembled at the Turkes  
 " approches: who feared that this diuision would ingage France in the fore-passed mis-  
 " ries. A Peace which the Duke of Sauoy desired, and for the which hee promised to  
 " yeeld himselfe more tractable then euer hee had beene. A Peace which would bring  
 " forth meanes to succor the Christians affaires in Hongary, to root the memorie of the  
 " Turke

The Duke  
letter to the  
Earle of  
Brandis the  
30. of Octo-  
ber.

The Legats  
speech vnto  
the King.



1600.  
The Kings  
answer.

Turke out of the world, and free Europe from his fury. The King answered him. That he had alwaies held it for a rule of conscience to content himselfe with his owne, as well, as not to suffer an vsurpation. But he could not hope for any reason from the Duke of Sa- uoy but by armes, the which he was forced to vse to reuenge the vsurpation of his Mar- quisat, seeing neither the feeling of his owne conscience, nor the iudgement of his Hol- ines, nor the assurance of his promises made at Paris, could moue him to do that which he ought. That if his army did passe the Alpes, hee should find good seruants in Pied- mont, and that the soile was as fertill as euer it was to plant the Flower-de-luce there, and make it flourish, but when he should haue gotten all that the Duke holds on this and the other side of the mountaines, he wold alwaies leaue it in yeelding vp his Marquisat. B The effect of this Ambassage was, that *Herminio* went to informe the Duke, that the Cardinall his master had disposed the King to a peace; the Duke receiued these newes with ioy, and made choice of the Count *d'Arconas*, and the Seigneur *d'Alimes* for this negotiation, commanding them to do all the Legat should commaund touching the peace. The King notwithstanding sayd, that he would not thinke of any peace vntill that Montmelian were yeilded. And that his Councell was not neere him, the Constable and Chancellor beeing sent to Marfeilles to receiue the Queene. And the Duke was not so much inclined to a peace, but he did his indeuour to succour Montmelian. The 12. of Nouember he came to the valley of Aost, with ten thousand foot, foure thousand Harguebuziers on horse-backe, and 800. men at armes: hauing past the Mount Saint C *Bernard*, he lodged at Ema beeing himselfe in person.

The King commanded the Count *Soissons* to go to Moustiers, where as *Des Diquieres* attended the enemy, and his Maiefty went from Chambery to Montmelian, to expect the yeelding vp of the place, the which was deliuered vp the sixteenth of Nouember ac- cording to the capitulation by the Count *Brandis*, with great store of artillerie, bullets, and powder to shoote about 20000. Cannon shot: the Marquis of Rhosny and *Cregny* (who was appointed Gouvernor by the King) entred into it with 500. men. His Maiefty hauing giuen order for Montmelian, departed the next day ( without entring into the Castell) to visit his army.

He had his thoughts turned to peace, not so much for his owne inclination, nor for D the consideration of his affaires, as for the reuerence he bare vnto the Popes aduice: his zeale to the publike good, and knowledge he had of the disloyalty of his chiefe seruants. But he was sorry the Duke of Sauoy should take the paines to come so neare him and not see him, for he lay still at Ema at the foot of the Mount Saint *Bernard*, two leagues onely distant from Moustiers, whither he had sent the Earle of Soissons and *Des Diquie- res*. He came thither himselfe in person to view the feate of the Dukes lodging, and the countenance of his army, vnto a village called *Villette*, and caused a skirmish to bee gi- uen to fixe hundred men which were there for the gard of a bridge, which they must passe to go to Ema, it was so faintly defended, as they thought they would stand vpon their aduantage, and not abandon the riuier which serued them as a trench and ditch. E The King returned the same day to Moustiers, and went to lodge at Villars neare to the towne of Beaufort, whereas the Dukes of Montpensier and Espernon were lodged. He commanded *Nereftan* to go and discouer the passage of Cornet, and to see if there were any meanes to enter that way into the enemies lodging, the which he performed hap- pily, for he charged and defeated a Corps-de-gard of Milanois, which the Duke had placed vpon the descent of the passage, and presented some prisoners vnto the King. Hereuppon his Maiefty resolued to charge the enemy by two wayes at one instant, meaning to enter by the passage of Cornet, and commaunding the Earle of Soissons to charge by that of Tarentaise: but there are accidents, though naturall and ordinarie, F which cannot be foreseene, and yet stay great executions: for the same night the Dukes armie was so barricadoed with Snow, as there was no meanes nor deuice possible to approach.

The King stayed three dayes to see if the weather would alter, and make the passa- ges accessible, but it fell out otherwise, for the Snow increased. Hee returned to Chambery

Skirmish nere  
to Vilette.

A Chambery, from whence he sent the Earle of Soissons to Saint *Katherines* Fort, with an intent to follow him speedily, hauing caused two thousand foote, and two hun- dred horse, to passe along the Marquisate of Saluces by the valley of Maire, vnder the conduct of *Dauriac*, who tooke the Fort of Assell by Petard. 1600.

His Maiefty comming to Chambery, the Cardinall *Aldobrandino* presented vnto him *Arconas* and *D'Alimes*, the Dukes Deputies for the Peace, to whome hee sayd. *Your Master hath nothing but words, and I shew the effects: I sayd vnto you at Paris (spea- king to Alymes) that you were welcome, so I say now, but I mean not to treat but with this Reuerend personage, speaking of the Legate.* Two dayes after this, the King went to take Horfe (hauing referred the Treatie of peace to the returne of his Chancellor and Coun- cell from Marfeilles) and went with the rest of his armie to assure Saint *Katherines* Fort, whether in the beginning hee had sent the Lord of Sancy, to rayse a Regi- ment of foote in the Countrey, to keepe in the Garrison of the Fort, and afterwards Mounfieur de *Vitry* with the Regiments of the Cheuallier of Montmorency, *Corces* and other Troupes. Saint *Katherines* Fort is built vpon an high hill, which over- looks all the Countrey: it consists of fixe Bastions which are not walled, yet it is ditched and furnished with all things necessarie: It lyes two Leagues from Geneva, de- fended by fixe hundred men, whereof two parts were Suiffes. Some few dayes before the Kings arriual one of the Captaines of the beseged, went forth with his Maie- sties leaue to the Duke of Nemours, who with the Kings good leaue was retired to his Houle of Anniy, that hee might be freed from this Warre, and not hurt or preiudice his Cousin the Duke of Sauoy, the King sent presently one of his Guard to bring him to Leluisel, where he was lodged, a quarter of a League from the Fort: hauing let him vnderstand the resolution of his desseigne, the greatnesse of his forces, and the final hope they should haue of the Duke: he preuailed so, as soone after his returne to his Companions, they did capitulate to depart with their baggage and armes, their Drums sounding, and Ensignes displayed, carrying away with them a third part of the Artil- lerie, if they were not succoured within tenne dayes. The King left the Count Soissons to attend the effect of this Capitulation, and went to Lyons to meete the Queene, as D we shall shew hereafter.

The Duke of Sauoy hauing sayled at Montmelian, gaue it out, that he would succor Saint *Katherines* Fort. Hee had a goodly army, and those that were about him thought there were but too many to chase the French out of Sauoy. Moreouer, hee thought to haue a passage by Valais, either willingly or by force: hee had also good friends among the pettie Cantons of the Suiffes, being distastd with the seruice of this Crown, for that they were not payed what was due vnto them. *De Vic* the Kings Ambassadour, made all their friendship fruitlesse, employing himselfe worthily against all his practi- ses: he assisted in all their assemblies, hauing good words to content some, and patience to digest the indiscretion of others, and couragious answers against the threats and E braueries of the most difficult, yet hee could not hinder the Leue of foure thousand men, granted to the King of Spaine, by foure or fixe Cantons, for the defence of Mil- lan, with charge not to enter vpon the Kings Dominions, vpon paine of death: but he kept them from marching so soone as the enemy desired, which stay made them not onely vnprofitable, but also hurtfull, by his great expences. The fixe dayes beeing ex- pired, the Gouvernour of Saint *Katherines* Fort came forth with fixe hundred men, ac- cording to the Capitulation.

All the Captains of the Duke of Sauoys places excused their yeelding vpon necessitie, to accuse their Prince of indiscretion, who had reason to complaine of their valours, for they might haue done better. The Count Soissons aduertised, after the yeelding of S. *Katherines* Fort, that the Duke comming by the Tarentaise, aduanced with his whole army, to succour the beseged, he assembled his troupes, and resolued to meete and fight with him if hee durst hazard the day. But hee was sooner aduertised of his retreat then of his marching: The Duke had sayd at Paris, and to the Seigneur of *Fesexesse* at Turin, that whosoever would make warre against him, he would shew him sport. Z z z

The Dukes  
Ambassadours  
presented to  
the King.

The situation  
of S. *Katherines*  
Fort.

The capitula-  
tion of Saint  
*Katherines* fort

A leue of  
Suiffes vnpro-  
fitable.

S. *Katherines*  
Fort yeilded

1600. sport for forty yeares space, but he lost all Sauoy in lesse then forty dayes, and there remained nothing in Bresse but the Cittadell of Bourg. The Baron of Lux had reduced them within it to despair of all succours and constancie, and although they had great aduantages ouer him, yet they got nothing but blowes in all their Sallies. They were more in number in the Cittadell then in the Towne: There were no retrenchments to hinder their sallies, and yet Wit and Vigilancie prescribed a Law to force a number. There was a conuoy readie in the Franch County, prepared to put into the Cittadell: The entrie was easie by a way which the Baron of Lux had discovered. They sought to corrupt him: but hee was so farre from giuing care vnto this Charme, as hee fortified this place with a good and vigilant guard: so as hauing reiected the enemies offers, hee hindred the execution of their desseignes.

Hee was aduertised that *Vatulier* making shew to retire himselfe into the Franche Countie, and to lay down Armes, for that hee would not oppose himselfe against the Neutrallitie, had seized vpon a Castell neere vnto Bourg, called Vernay, where there was great store of victuals, and plentie of prouision appointed for the Cittadell. Hee sent speedily thither, and hindred *Vatulier* for drawing any thing out of that lodging, but his person and trayne. After the Marshall of Biron's returne from the Kings armie, the Baron of Lux went to giue an accompt of the Seege, whereupon the King tooke the Subiect of this Letter which hee sent vnto Bouuens, commaunding at the Cittadell of Bourg.

The Kings  
letter to the  
Governor  
of Bourg.

Monfieur de Bouuens hauing now more reason then euer, to hope for speedie Reduction of the place, I will let you vnderstand what esteeme I make of those which resemble you in Vertue and Valour, and testifie vnto you my bountie, by inuiting you to treat with me of a thing which in time cannot escape me, whether the warre be continued, or the peace bee made. For if your Duke could not succour the Castell of Montmelian, to whome in the Capitulation I had giuen a moneths respight to do it, how shall hee now free you from the extremitie whereunto you are reduced, being to fight with Reason, the length and discommoditie of wayes, the aduantages which the occupation of Countries, and passages of Riuers haue giuen me ouer him with my armie, which is as strong and as well ledde as his? And thus much concerning warre. In respect of Peace, with the bruite thereof the sayd Duke doth comfort and entertaine them that serue him, it is not a worke that can bee finished in few dayes, It may be you shall come to the extremitie of your victuals before it be any thing aduanced. I haue demanded reason of the sayd Duke for many pretensions well grounded, which the Crowne of France hath vpon his Countries, the which will not bee soone enough ended to draw you out of payne. Moreouer, if I should be contented to treat onely for the Marquisate of Saluces, the sayd Duke offers allreadie to leaue me Bresse, with the place you hold for part of a recompence: So as it resteth onely in mee to haue it either by warre or peace. Which being, you shall much better your condition, if you treat presently with mee, and satisfie mee, for I will giue you occasion to commend my bountie.

You haue hitherto performed as much as a Gentleman of Resolution and Honour might do, to defend that place, hauing in this dutie exceeded all others in the like charge, that I haue assayed. No man is bound to do things impossible. It is the necessitie of victualles and other things which oppresse and presse you, and which prescribe you a Law, with the small apparence there is now to hope for any succours of what kind soeuer.

Resolue then to do that which you cannot auoyde: You are aduised thereunto and inuited by a Prince, which makes profession of Glorie, and to loue and esteeme men of Honour. If you consider the priuate estate in which you are, and whereunto the publike affaires are reduced, you would not loose this oportunitie to assure your reputation, your person, family, and goods, being certaine, that if you reiect it, you cannot auoyd to make tryall of the rigours of Warre, which they deserue that attend the last extremitie should reduce them to their enemies mercie and compassion. Let me

A me then vnderstand your resolution by the returne of this Trumpet, whome I haue sent expressely here-with, and if you desire any further satisfaction of my intention concerning this Subiect, my Cousin the Duke of Biron will giue you content, being very well informed thereof, and on whom I do greatly rely, &c.

This Letter was brought by a Trumpet vnto the Marshall of Biron, who sent it vnto Bouuens, and did accompany it with one of his owne, exhorting him to resolue according vnto necessitie, and not according vnto the affection which hee bare vnto his Prince, nor that which his courage did suggest: for Constancie must bee measured according vnto Reason: and it is rather Oblinacie and Wilfulness, when it resolues to things either impossible or vnreasonable. Bouuens answered not discretely, but courageously, so as he seemed to be grieved, the French did not know his courage and vndunted valour.

Sir, when this place was put into my hand by the Duke of Sauoy, my Lord and Master, I resolved to burie my selfe in it, and to performe the dutie of an honest man. I greue at nothing but that your Maiestie will not make triall thereof by violence and force. Yet I hope to winne as much glorie in surmounting the necessities wherein your Maiestie thinks I am, as in resisting your attempts: And so I beseech you to beleue that I will alwayes remaine your Maiesties most humble, most loyall, and faithfull seruant.

C Hee wrote in like manner to the Marshall of Biron, that hee held him to bee so great a Souldier, and making profession to loue men of worth, as hee would allow of his Resolution, which was to keepe the place for him that had giuen it him in guard, vnto his last gaspe, holding it the greatest honour that could happen vnto him, to giue a testimonie vnto his Prince of that whereunto hee was borne. His constancie was commended by the King, recompenced by the Duke, and propounded for an example to others.

But the Duke exhorted them by Letters, to hold it good vntill the Treatie of Peace, whereof hee assured them: the which was the onely meanes (as wee shall shew) to free the besieged from the necessitie whereunto they were reduced, and without the D which they must needs haue fallen vnder his Maiesties subiection. Behold, all which passed of greatest import in the conquest of Sauoy and Bresse by the most Christian King. But this warre did not hinder him from thinking of his marriage; hee had bene contracted at Florence the five and twentieth of August, Monsieur de Belle-garde, Master of the Kings horse, carried the procurator to the great Duke of Tuscany. The Duke of Mantua came to Florence the second of October, and the next day arrived the Ambassador of Venice. The Pope would gladly haue had the Queene receive this blessing of her marriage at his hands, and to haue done the like honour, as hee did to the Queene of Spaine at Ferrara, the which for certaine reasons could not be effected, and therefore hee sent the Cardinall *Aldobrandino* his Holinesse Legate and Nephew, in whose hands E the words of present Marriage were made.

The fourth of October, the Cardinall *Aldobrandino* entred into Florence with great pompe and magnificence, riding vnder a Canopie, and the Duke on his left hand, and so was conducted to the Dukes Pallace. After Supper in the presence of the great Duke of Tuscany, the Dukes of Mantua and Bracciano, the Princes *Joan* and *Anthony* of Medicis, together with the Lord of Belle-garde the Kings Ambassador. Hee deliuered vnto the Queene the contentment which the Pope had of this Marriage, with a sweete kind of Grauitie and Modestie: and a Discourse full of pleasing words: hee conceived great hopes of great good to come, by the meanes of this happy coniunction, not only for the houses of the Kings of France and the Dukes of Tuscany, but also for all Christendome: and not onely for Christian kingdoms, but for all the whole world; so as the Queene moued with ioy and great hope, thanked his Holinesse for this salutation, and sayd: That God hauing so decreed it, shee assured her selfe, than the blessing of the holy Father would bring the grace of God with it, wherof she would endeavour to make her selfe worthy and capable, recommending her selfe most humbly to the prayers

*Aldobrandino*  
his speech to  
the Queene.

Her answer.

1600.

The Queene  
parted from Flo-  
rence to go  
into France.She arrives at  
Marseilles.Du Vairs  
Oration to  
the Queene.The Queene  
perfections.

of his Holines and of the Church. Which words were deliuered after so maiestically a manner, as if this Princeesse had vsed alwaies to command absolutely: and so that day was spent. The 5. of October the marriage was celebrated after a Royall manner, the Legat sayd Masse, the which being ended the great Duke had a Son christened, the Seigneurie of Venice giuing it the name. The Queen parted from Florence the 16. of October, and came to Liouorne the 17. where she embarked in the great Dukes generall Galley, beeing assisted by fise of the Popes Gallies, fise of Malta, and sixe more of the said Dukes. The King hauing intelligence of her imbarcking, prouided for her reception at Marseilles, and gaue the charge of his Will to the Duke of Guise, his Maiesties Lieutenant generall in Prouence: he also sent his Constable and Chancellor with the Dukes of Nemours, Guise, and Ventador to receiue her. The Cardinals of Ioyeuze, Gondy, Guiry, and Sourdy, with many Bishops and Noblemen of the Councell. The navigation was dangerous in many places, and fearefull streights betwixt Genoua and Marseilles: yet with a resolute and chearefull countenance she seemed to scorne the tempests of the sea. The 3. of Nouember she tooke port at Marseilles, beeing accompanied by the great Duchesse of Florence, the Duchesse of Mantua her sister, *D. Anthony* her brother, and the Duke of Bracciano. At their comming to land, there was a great question who should haue the right hand: The Knights of Malta would fight for it with fise Gallies, against the Florentines who had seuen. Without it they had the rancke which they desired, and with their valour had maintained since they were planted at Rhodes, there were no prayers nor coniurings could make them quitte it, no not for a moment. The great Prior of Champagne vnderooke the answer, and sayd: *A head stricke off can neuer be set on, and that their Generall brought his owne in danger, if he allowed any precedence for a lesse time.*

The Queene leauing her Galley, entred vpon a Theater made of two great boates: whereunto ioyned a bridge, which went vnto her Pallace. The Constable receiued her, the Chancellor deliuered the Kings pleasure, 4. Consuls of Marseilles presented her the keyes of the citty, and a Canopy of cloth of siluer, vnder which shee was conducted to the Pallace. One of the most remarkable actions during her abode there, was the protestation of obedience, which was made vnto her by the Court Parliament of Prouence, in the great Hall of the Pallace, *Monsieur de Vair* making a most eloquent Oration.

Madame, seeing your Maiestie to arrive in this Prouence, and with you the felicitie of France, wee haue abandoned the seate of Iustice, where wee haue the honour to sit, to come and prostrate our selues at your seere, to yeeld you the noblest and most worthie Homages which are due vnto the Crowne that doth now enuiron your head, and withall to pronounce our selues bound for all the vowes which wee haue at any time made for the good of this Estate. For assuredly wee beleue that this day wee are heard, and thinke that so many wonders, which God hath wrought for the restoring of this Realme, are fully accomplished, and that our good fortunes which seemed to bee wauering, as now settled vpon a firme and irremouable foundation.

God hath giuen vs a King excellent in vertue, admirable in bountie, and incomparable in valour, who by his labours hath giuen vs quiet, by his perils, safetie; and by his victories, glorie: So as in a manner wee tearmed our selues happie, if this mournfull thought had not often troubled the course of our ioy. This care I say, which represented vnto vs, that nature hath limited the life of all men, that Solitarinesse and Liberry made our Princes life lesse pleasing, and did diminish his care to cherish and gouerne it. For the which our wifhes did euery day seeke remedie, and knew not where to hope for them, vntill that the beames of your royall countenance had pierced through the cloudes of our cares, and lightened our eyes with a liuely hope, to see our happines as durable as it is admirable.

For seeing in you so many graces wherewith Nature hath endowed you, admiring that rare beautie wherewith shee hath adorned you, considering that naturall sweetnes wherewith shee hath tempered your royall grauitie, and hearing with our eares the voyce renowned by Fame, which proclaimes the quicknesse of your spirit, the soundnesse

A soundnesse of your Iudgement, the Elegancie of your discourse, and that which doth exceede all the incomparable commendation of your holy and religious disposition: Wee perswade our selues that you are she whom the heauens had appointed by your pleasing company, to mollifie the life of our King, to prolong his dayes by his content, and to make his Raigne perpetuall by the continuance of a great and happie posteritie.

Wee beleue, that you onely are shee vpon earth worthie to make the life of the most triumphant King vpon earth, to rest in your chaste bosome, and that hee aboute all others, did merit to embrace the most vertuous and pleasing Princeesse in his victorious armes.

Whereby wee preface, that we shall soone see a number of goodly Children carrying on their Fore-heads their fathers Valour, their mothers Vertue, the greatnesse and nobilitie of the House of Fraunce, whereunto you are allyed, the happinesse and power of that of Austria, from whence you are issued, and the wisdom of that of Florence in the which you were borne.

To the beleefe of this preface, all things seeme to inuite vs: but chiefly the Heauen and Sea, for that we see plainly at the very arriual of your Maiestie, the Sea full of torments is growne calme, and the Heauen ouercast with Cloudes is cleare, as if they would with a pleasing Skie celebrate with vs the magnificence of your happy reception.

In good time then, O great Queene, are you come vnto our coasts, long may you liue happely in Fraunce, and for France: That the age which we beginne may see you in the end a happie Wife to our King: And future ages may tearme you a happie Mother of Kings. But to heape vp the measure of your glorie, remember, and remember againe, that as you are a great Queene, for that you are married to a great King, euen so you become a charitable mother of children, whose true Father he is.

And therefore beginne to take your share of this Royall care, and seeing that the Subiects happinesse is the true glorie of Princes, foster and increase by your ayde and fauour, the loue and affection which this great King doth naturally beare to the good and ease of his people, to the end they may seele you as a new Starre shining ouer them, carrying them a happie and auspicious influence of all good and plentifull prosperitie.

And wee which seeke no other happinesse in this world but in his seruice, nor honor but in his obedience, and seeing you aduanced with him in his Throne, wee consecrate vnto you all the remainder of our liues, as wee do presently our hearts and affections to remaine for euer your most humble, most faithfull, and most obedient seruants.

This discourse was pleasing vnto the Queene, who by her attention and answer did witness how much shee was pleased there-with. The Princes and Princeesses did commend it, and learned men did admire it.

Hee made the like at Aix, whither the Queene went the seuenteenth of Nouember, from whence shee parted the next day with aboute two thousand horse, and made her entrie on the nineteenth into Auignon, where shee was receiued with greater pompe and magnificence then in any other place: Shee stayed but three dayes at Auignon, and passed to Valence, Roussillon, and Vienne, and came on the Satterday, beeing the second of Decembre, to Guillotiere.

The next day approaching neere vnto Lyons, shee was met by *Monsieur de la Guiche* the Gouernour, with the Nobilitie of the Towne and Countrey, who hauing done their obedience in the open field, went to horse-backe and conducted her to her lodging. There *Raque* brought her newes of the King, and presented her in his Maiesties name with the great Royall Collar of inestimable value, the which did beautifie her other ornaments. The next day after shee entred into the towne. They had erected a Theater at La Motte couered with rich Tapistrie, in the midst whereof was a throne for the Queene, where shee receiued the honours, and heard the vowes and prayers,

Zzzz 3

of

1600. The Swisses and Germanes haue a priuiledge to speake standing to the King.

of all the Orders of the Towne. The Chancellor was in this action the townes Interpreter, the which is as much honoured by his birth, as Athens was by the *Phocians*, and Rome by the *Catoes*. The Clergie spake standing, all the rest kneeled, except those which spake for the Germaines, Imperiall Townes, Suisses, and Grisons. The Chancellor willed them to do as the rest, and telling them that in this action, Strangers had no priuiledge, and that they should doe as the Princes subiects did, vnder whose lawes they liued. They gaue him to vnderstand, that they were in possession to speake standing: that at the entrie of King *Henry* the second, they were no otherwise presented, and that the like difficultie happening at the entrie of the King now raigning, in the same Towne, his Maiestie tooke it not ill they should stand vpon these tearmes. The Constable, who thought that an action of that consequence, should not lightly be passed over, nor the truth carelessly and inrespectiue examined, as it happened often in like accidents, hee would bee informed, if at other entries the Suisses and Germaines had bene presented vnto the King in other manner and fashion then the French. The Gouvernour of Lyons reported the truth, wherewith they were satisfied and contented.

The whole Bodie of the Towne protested their obedience and affection at the Queenes feete. *Balthazar* of Villards President of Lyons wonne much honour, for the grace, grauitie, and eloquence of his Oration. He spake for the Court of Iustice in this manner.

*Balthazar* of Villards. Oration made to the Queene at Lyons.

Madame, the wonders which God would haue the world see in the birth and progresse of the life and actions of our King, haue bene the effects of his diuine Iustice, to preferue vnto our Soueraigne Prince the lawfull inheritance of *Saint Lewis*: but that which wee now behold with admiration of this great Alliance, is an assured and infallible testimonie of his diuine bountie, and of that which hee hath decreed for the good of the whole Realme. Time by his accustomed inconstancie, did threaten our happinesse with a great fall, wee did not enioy our quiet, but with feare to loose it: Our prosperities were but Leaues, and our Peace as a Flower. The wofull and lamentable Historie of our fore-past disorders and tumults, did set before our eyes a fearefull image of future miseries: Our goodly dayes were troubled with nights of care, which a violent imagination presented vnto vs. It was the will of God, that for a full reuolution of the happinesse of France, she should haue a second recourse to the most famous Race of the *Medicis*, to make our Flower-defence not onely flourishing, but fruitfull and abounding in Royall Issue, the sole and true support of an Estate. Doulphins are prefaces of a storme at Sea, but a Royall Daulphine shall be to vs a pawne of the eternitie of our health, and of the assurance and happie confirmation of our quiet. It is the holiest of our good Kings desire, it is the worthy subiect of all good and faithful-hearted French-mens vowes. Your Maiestie hath bene referred by Heauen, to continue the sacred Stemme of our Kings, and to make their succession equal to the continuance of the world. Nature hath infused into your Maiestie all her greatest and richest gifts, to make you the ornament of France, which is the ornament of Europe. Young Eagles are exposted to the Sunne-beames, to trie their naturall generositie, and your Maiestie beeing issued from the Eagle by the mothers side, hath onely been found capable to gaze vpon this Sunne, who with the beames of his Royall vertues, doth not onely lighten France, but all the world. All other eyes haue bene dazeled with the aspect of so great a light, onely yours will indure this shining, and by a sweete reflection, the shadow of your Royall countenance, will raise our hopes to the highest heauen of felicity, and shal make vs see in our dayes the most firme assurances of our peace and quiet. Receiue Madame if you please, the homage which wee yeeld vnto your Maiestie, to whom we offer our hearts as pleasing sacrifices of our most humble obedience.

She stayed 8. dayes at Lyons before she could see the King, demanding euer when he would come, and in this expectation the hours seemed years vnto her. The King after the capitulation of *S. Katharins* fort, took post and came the 9. of December to Lyons. The Chancellor aduertised her that he should come that day. Beeing at supper a Gentleman came

A came to tell her, that the King was within a quarter of a league of the city, and that with- in lesse then an houre shee should see him. The ioy of this good newes had taken away her appetite to any meate. The King was already entred disguised, and was gotten into the presse among certaine Gentlemen, where he might see and not be scene. After supper he retired into her chamber, & the King entred presently after: the Queene cast herselfe at his Maiesties feete, and hee tooke her vp and imbraced her, where after many kinde imbracings of mutuall loue and respect, the King went to supper. During the which, the King sent the Queene word by the Duchesse of Nemours, that he was come without a bed, hoping that shee would afford him part of hers, which should bee common vnto them from that time: To whom the Queene answered, *That shee was come to please and obey his Maiesties will, as his most humble seruant*. This being deliuered vnto the King, he vnclathed himselfe and entred into the Queenes chamber, whom he found in bed, and then the Ladies retired. The Cardinal *Albbrandino*, the Popes Legate, beeing at Chambery, the King sent to inuite him to his marriage, and to come to Lyons with the Duke of Sauoyes Deputies, where they should treat more commodiously then at Chambery. Hee made his entry the sixteenth of the month, where hee was receiued with honors fit for so great a dignity: the Prince Cony and the Duke *Montpensier* conducted him, going vnder a canopy carried by the Burgeses of the town, the streets were hangd, the inhabitants were in armes, and the Clergy went singing before him: and in this sort hee was conducted to *Saint Johns* Church. And although the marriage were perfect (the King hauing ratified it by procuracion, and by words of the present which the sayd Legate had receiued, so as there needed no other solemnity) yet would he make his subiects partakers of this publike ioy, appointing the ceremony the Sunday following, the which was celebrated before the Great Alter of *Saint Johns* Church, whereas the nuptiall blessing was giuen by the Legate to the married couple. After the which a Largesse of peeces of gold and siluer, marked with a special deuice were cast vnto the people. All which performed, they went to the Royal feast in the Archbishops great Hall.

1601. The Kings highness of the queene.

The Cardinals entry into Lyons.

Wee haue said, that in the end of the last yeere, the Cardinall *Albbrandino*, Legate to his Holinesse, made his entry into Lyons to treat a peace betwixt the King and the Duke of Sauoy. Presently after the ceremony and confirmation of the nuptial blessing of their Maiesties, they beganne the Treaty of this peace: the proposition had bene made at Chambery, but the conclusion was referred and ended at Lyons. The King had made choise among all his counsell of the President *Sillery* and *Ianin*, to deliuer his intentions vnto the Legate, who acquainted *Arconas* and *Aymes* therewith. First the Dukes Deputies demand peace of the King, in yeelding vp vnto him the Marquisate of Salusses. The King answered, *That hee loved warre, but hee had neuer refused peace to them that had demanded it: that seeing the Duke desired peace, and his Holinesse perswaded him to it, for the quiet of Christendome, that hee was content to grant it, so as Duke did yeeld him his Marquisate, and pay him eight hundred thousand crownes which he had disbursed for the warres of Sauoy*. The Legate found well by this demand that the peace was not so easie to bee made as hee expected: hee spake vnto the King and told him, *That the Duke could not yeeld the Marquisate, and so great a summe of money, but he would giue him all Bresse in exchange: and for all the charges and other his Maiesties pretensions, hee would giue him moreover Bangey, Verromey and other Lands vnto the river of Rhosne*. This proposition was accepted by the Kings Deputies, so as they yeelded vp the castles of Centall, Mont and Roque-palmier, which did not belong to the Marquisate, but to the Prouinces of Daulphiné and Prouence. The Deputies sayd, *that what they offered was for all pretensions: to whom they answered, That nothing could then be concluded*.

Of the peace betwixt the French King and the Duke of Sauoy.

Propositions for the peace.

These things were so wisely handled by the Kings Deputies, as the Dukes Deputies offered besides a part of the Baylyweeke of Gex, a hundred thousand crownes, so as the King did yeeld vp what hee held in Sauoy, especially the castle of Montmelian and *Saint Katharins* fort, in the same Estate they were. As they were vpon these termes, newes comes



1600.  
Saint Catherine's fort ruined by the Genoese.

comes, that they of Geneva had ruined Saint Catherine's fort, and that with such animosity and diligence, as within two daies after you could scarce discern the forme of it, for this fort was built but of earth. The Legate was wonderfully discontented thereat, and complained saying, *That hee would returne to Rome, without doing any thing, seeing they kept not their word with him, that hee reuoked his repunting this demolition as an affront done unto him.* The Kings Deputies answered him, *That the King had no need of a Peace with the Duke, but for that his Holinesse perswaded him thereunto: that it was a small cause to breake the Treaty of Peace seeing it was but a peece of earth: that the foundation should remaine unto the Duke, the which he might repare when he pleased.* The King tooke the Legats words for a renewing of the warre, and gaue leaue to his army, to doe all acts of Hostility, charging the Commanders to stand vpon their gard, to defend and offend, as occasions and meanes should be presented. Wherevpon al displaying of peace, made new enterprises; iudging, that the King would not rest, hauing so great aduantages, they talked of nothing but of scouring of armes, preparing of horses, seeking of money, and to make them ready for a new warre.

The Kings answer to the Ambassadors of Spaine.

*Taxis* the King of Spaines Ambassadour came vnto the King, to let him vnderstand, *That if a peace were not concluded, his Maister should bee forced to enter into this warre, to preserue his Nephewes Estate.* To whom the King answered, *That hee would line in peace with them that loued peace, but whoeuer should seeke to support the Duke in this unjust warre, hee would make them repent it. That hee would make warre like a Lion against them that played the Foxes with him, and would strike them, that should make but shew to threaten him.*

The Dukes Deputies (thinking that the Kings victory was neither absolute nor perfect, so long as Bourg held good) did still temporise, not caring to presse the conclusion of this peace, no further then the extremity of this place did presse them, and in the meane time the Duke should haue leasure to attempt some thing vpon his owne or vpon that which was the Kings. And in truth if Bourg had bene releued, or the conuoy which was in the Franche County had entred, the peace had bene broken. Besides the wants and impatience of the besieged, they without vsed a policy which made them almost desperate: some men chosen for the purpose gaue them to vnderstand, that the Dukes Deputies did prolong things, vpon assurance that the Cittadell might hold good a month, and that they cared not to finish the Treaty, nor to supply the necessities of the besieged, so as this temporising, at what price and perill soeuer, might giue the Duke time to doe his businesse. This did peece so deeply and wrought such an impression in the besieged, as (despighted with the tediousnesse of the Treaty, and wearied with the languishing of the besieged) they resolved not to suffer any more, seeing the Deputies did not consider what they suffered, but how much and how long they might suffer. Vpon this vaine terror they write vnto the Deputies in these termes, *My Lords,* your protractions and delaies kill vs, the temporising of your Treaty, is preiudiciall to the honor of our master, and the health of his seruants that are in this place: make hast then to finish the peace, for wee cannot hold aboue two daies: it is the prefixed time of our resistance. Beleeue the bearer, who will acquaint you with the rest of our extreme necessity. Attend no other letters from vs, fare ye well &c. Yet they were not so ill as they sayd, but in matter of siege, all failes when as they want patience. This letter with the fearefull report of the horrors and inhumanities which extreame famine caused in the Cittadell of Bourg, awaked the Ambassadors from the slumber, which the ruining of Saint Catherine's fort had held them in.

Bourgs letter to the Dukes Ambassadors.

Vpon these newes they goe vnto the Cardinall, they beseech him, that the ruine of one place (whose foundation remained to the Duke) might not hinder the perfecting of this great building of peace, the which notwithstanding could not bee but necessary, and profitable. The Cardinall who knew that the Duke was much discontented with this demolition, and that the Count *Fuertes* army was much increased, and their mindes more inclined to warre then peace, and yet being loath to repasse the Alpes, without the glorie to haue quenched this fire, hee sayd vnto the Ambassadors that hee could not

1601.  
The Treaty renewed.

A not re-enter into the Treaty of peace, if they did not giue it him in writing vnder their hands, that it was their aduice, and that they intreated him to doe it as profitable for the Duke and necessary for his Estate. The Ambassadors being to much amazed with the newes of the extreme wants of the Cittadell of Bourg, fearing it would bee lost before the peace was concluded, the which would impair the bargain, they willingly past this promise.

The Cardinall was still in choller that the demolition of Saint Catherine's fort, should send him backe to Rome, and not carry the Pope that contentment of his Legation which he expected. The King would gladly, the Pope should haue remained satisfied with the sincerity of his actions, but neither his honour nor his humour would suffer him to intreat. Hee therefore thinks it dishonorable to perswade him to peace that hath more need of it then himselfe. Hee is therefore resolved to warre, and seeing that the Legate continued still in his complaints, hee commanded the Marquis of Rhosny to goe to Paris to take order for munitions of warre. Being ready to take horse for the execution of the Kings commandment, he goes to take his leaue of the Legate, and toucheth some things of the cause of his voyage, saying, *That it was the Kings resolution to make warre, seeing they could not hold themselves to a peace. That for his part hee was sorry, that so great a personage as himselfe should take the paines to passe the mountaines and bring them so neere vnto the Temple of peace, and not to enter into it: the Legate answered, That hee was much grieved that his Legation and the paine hee had taken prooued fruitlesse: that hee knew well the King in shew desired peace, but in effect warre was his delight.*

*Rhosny* replied, that if peace were good before the demolition of the fort, it was now also good, that this accident did nothing import, seeing the ground was the Dukes, to doe withall what he pleased, and that for fifty thousand crownes hee might build another fort. The Dukes Ambassadors gaue the same reasons, coniuering him not to abandon the ship in this tempest, seeing hee had taken the helme in hand in a calme season. Herevpon the Legate asked *Rhosny* if he thought the King would bee pleased to recompence this demolition with money. *Rhosny* answered him, that hee knew nothing, but being a thing reasonable, and the King a Prince of reason, hee presumed that if hee should promise it in his Maiesties name, hee would not faile of his promise. The Legate intreated him to acquaint him with it, saying that hee was sorrie hee had delt so sooner in the businesse. *Rhosny* tels the King thereof, and returnes his Maiesties intention vnto the Legate, and so with a little moderation they finish this worke of peace. The Articles were drawne and agreed vpon, and the Ambassadors of Sauoy sent for to signe them, they come and tell the Legat in his care that their master had forbidden them to signe, before that he had talked with the Count of Fuentes.

The Legat who would not haue his word giuen vnto the King to remaine vnprofitable, nor send backe the Kings Deputies, or refer the assembly to an other time, intreats them not to make any shew of this charge, but to signe. They answer him that their hands and tongues were bound. The Legate doth presse them, and they intreat him to giue them leaue to conferre with *Taxis* the Spanish Ambassadour, to the end that their doings might bee countenanced by his councill. They repaire vnto the Oracle, they consult of two letters, the first of the eight of Ianuary, which commanded them to signe the peace, the second of the eleuenth which did forbid them. *Taxis* (who vnderstood the intents of the councill of Spaine; who knows that a peace is desired, so as the Marquitate might continue on the other side of the Alpes, and that there might bee a passage on this side to goe into Flanders; who weighed the conditions of peace, not by the difficulties of reasons, but by the prosperity of euents, not by the peeces, but by the whole, wherein he findes what his master desired) answereth them. That seeing his highnesse hath commanded you to signe the peace foure daies since, I see nothing happened since, that may bee sufficient or available to reuoke this commandment, nor the word which hee had giuen you to effect it. It is true that I thinke by this last letter, you are bound to stay the time which hee demands to conferre with the Count *Fuentes*.

Here-

Monseigneur de Rhosny renews the treaty of peace.

A peace concluded.

The Sauoy Ambassadors consult with Taxis.

1601.  
He perswades  
them to signe  
the peace.

Herevpon arriued the Patriarke of Constantinople, great in perswasions, found in A reasons, profound in counsell, and subtil in inuentions. Hee sheweth them the importance of this breach, the wrong done vnto the King, and the Legats word ingaged. That the Duke writing this letter had not considered that the first was effected, that the Estate of the businesse allowed no countermand, that that which was yesterday voluntary, is this day fastened with nayles of Diamonds to an ineuitable necessity. That the winges of the Dukes hopes were glued with the waxe of his opinions. That resolution the mother of great inconueniences, which had begun his ruine, would finish it: That God was offended with them who reiecte and contemned the conditions of peace that were iust and honorable: that it was a great indiscretion to ingage himselfe in the B perpetuall inconueniences of this warre, vpon foundations that were neither firme nor perpetuall, and to continew a great warre against a mighty enemy, vpon succors which could not be certaine, seeing it depended vpon the wil of another. That a Prince assailed by one more mighty, cannot erre more grossly in his carriage, nor commit a greater fault then to refuse peace, which cannot bee but honorable, seeing it staies the conquerors victory. The Dukes Ambassadors who feared more to erre by disobedience, then by obstinacy, stand firme vpon the necessity of the Dukes command, for the order which a Prince prescribeth to his Ambassador may not be altered. The Patriarke assures them that the Legat, who had authority from their master to command them, and they bound to obey him in all that he should iudge profitable for his affaires, should warrant C them vnder his hand from all blame which they apprehended; that hee would take the paines to goe vnto his highnesse to Thurin, to let him vnderstand that they had done nothing but what hee should haue done himselfe, and that hee would employ all the power his vnkle had, both in heauen, and in earth, to free them from danger. The Ambassadors (who seemed not to will that which they most desired, with such impatience, as the houres seemed yeeres vnto them) were content with this assurance signed by the Legat, and a moneths respite for the Duke to ratifie what they had signed.

The substance  
of the peace  
betwixt the  
King and the  
Duke of Sa-  
uoy.

Bourg yeeld-  
ed to the  
King.

So the peace was concluded and proclaymed at Lions the seuenteenth day of Ianuarie, in the yeere 1601. the substance whereof was. That the Duke should yeeld vp and transport wholly vnto the King, and to his successours Kings of France, all the country D and Seigneuries of Bresse, Beauguy and Verromey, and generally all that belongs vnto him, vnto the riuier of Rhosne, to as all the riuier from Geneva should belong to the crowne of France, the which should remaine vnto the King and his successours with all the Soueraignty, iurisdiction and rights which the sayd Duke might haue ouer the said countries, reseruing nothing but the bridge of Gressin for the commodity of the passage: the which is vpon the riuier of Rhosne, betwixt Escluse and the bridge of Arlay, which by this present Treaty belongs vnto the King: and on the other side of the riuier of Rhosne, the Duke should enioy the parishes of Ella, Luyuent, and Cizerre with all the Hamlets and Territories which belong vnto them, betwixt the riuier of Varenne and the mountaine called the Grand Credo, vnto the village called La Riuere, whereas the riuier of Varenne doth passe, with Margrecombe, vnto the nereft entry into the county of Bourgongne, vpon condition that the Duke should not leauy any impositions vpon the goods and marchandise, nor any tolle vpon the riuier at Pont de Gressin, or any other places before mentioned. Moreover the Duke might not build any fort vpon any place that was reserued for the passage, but should remaine free as well for the Kings subiects, as for al that would go or come into France, and the soldiers which shal passe through the Kings country, for the Dukes seruice, or any other Prince, by the suffrage of his Gouvernours and Lieutenants generall, shall no way annoy his Maiesties subiects. And for the effecting of that aboue mentioned, the Duke should deliuer vnto the King E (or to any one deputed by him) the Cittadell of Bourg, as it then was, without any demolition, and all the Artillery, Poulder, Bullets and munition of warre, which shal be in the place at the yeelding thereof. Moreover the Duke did passe ouer vnto the King on the other side of the riuier of Rhosne, the places & villages of Aux, Chouffy, Vulley, Pont D' Arley, Cessell, Chancey and Pierre Chastel with all the soueraignty & iurisdiction he might

1601.

A might haue ouer those places, and the Inhabitants thereof. The sayd Duke did also transport and resigne vnto the King, the Barony and Baylywike of Getz, with all the appurtenances, as the Duke and his Predecessors had formerly enioyed it, without any retention. All which places and things yeilded and resigned, should remaine vnited and incorporated to the crowne of France, and should bee reputed the patrimony of the crowne, and might not be seperated for any cause whatsoeuer. Also it was agreed that the sayd Duke should truly and effectually restore vnto the King, or to any one deputed by his Maiefty, the place, towne and Chastelleny of castle Daulphin, with the Tower of Pont, and all that hath beene held by the Duke, or any of his, depending of Daulphiné, in the same Estate they then were in, without any demolition or ruine, leauing in the sayd places, all the Artillery, Poulder, Bullets and munition of warre which were then in the sayd places, the souldiars carrying away such goods as belonged vnto them, without exacting any thing of the Inhabitants. It was also agreed that the sayd Duke should demantell the fort of *Beche Daulphin*, the which was built during warre, and should pay for the passage reserued, a hundred thousand crownes in the city of Lions, fifty thousand ready down, when as the fort of Charbonnieres should bee yeilded vp, and other fifty thousand within six moneths after.

And in regard of the sayd cession and resignation, the King should be contented (for the good of peace) to quit and resigne vnto the Duke, his heires and successours, all the rights and pretensions which hee or the Daulphins of France had, or might haue to the Marquisate of Saluces, and all the dependances, with the townes of Cental, Mons and Roque-speruier, without retrayning any thing: leauing vnto the Duke all the Artillery, Poulder, Bullets and munition for warre, which were in the sayd places, in the yeere 1598. The King did also promise to restore vnto the Duke (or to any one that should bee deputed by him) all places that had beene taken since the yeere of our Lord 1588. from the sayd Duke, and now held by his Maiefty or his seruants, all in the same Estate they then were, and without any demolition, and in restoring of the say places, the King might transport all the Artillery, Poulder, Bullets and munition of warre that was in them, and all the goods that belonged vnto the souldiars, not exacting any thing of D the Inhabitants.

These were the chiefe points of the Treaty of peace, the which was signed by the Legat and the Deputies, and thanks giuen vnto God. The King holding his abode at Lions (after this conclusion) to bee vnprofitable, takes post and goes to Paris. The Legate goes to Auignon by the riuier of Rhosne. The King left the Constable, *Villeroi* and the Deputies at Lions for performance of the Treaty. At the same time *Herminio* was dispatched to carry newes vnto the Pope, and in passing to the Duke of Sauoy, and the Count *Fuentes*, he found them both at Some vpon Po to consult of the means which the Duke of Biron propounded vnto them, to resolute vpon warre rather then peace. The Duke receiues it as the most ruinous effect of all his aduentures, swearing that hee would cut off his Ambassadors heads that had signed it. The Count *Fuentes* E sayd that hee had not to doe with this peace, hauing so many iust occasions and such good meanes to make warre, that hee would not let forty thousand men, and forty peeces of canon remaine idle. Both seemed discontented, the one for that the King, or the King of Spaine had all the benefit of the peace; and the other for that his master should haue neede of him by the warre, and hee should keepe Piedmont in awe. The Duke complained that the counsell of Spaine had kindled a warre to consume him: they had thrust him into a storme, to make profit of his ship-wracke, and had drawne him to a preiudiciall exchange, reaping no benefit, for that the French were out of Italy, hauing them neerer neighbours in another place, nor that Milan should bee couered, or that Italy should haue the Alpes to guard it from the inundations which it had receiued in former times by the forces of France, seeing this rampart was made with the weakening of his Estates. The Count of Fuentes fore-seeing wherevnto these complaints F did tend, gaue the Duke to vnderstand, that the King of Spaine his master, had reason to complaine of this great and fruitlesse charge, being a troublesome thing to enter-

The King  
and queene  
goe to Paris.

The Count  
Fuentes  
complains of  
the Duke.

The Dukes  
complaint.

The Count of  
Fuentes complains  
of the Duke.

raine

1601. taine great forces to no effect: that this mighty and fearefull army was not rayzed nor A entertained, but to restore him to his Estate: that the fault was in himselfe, if it were not employed: and withall, hee added the mutinies and murmuring of the Spaniards, who complained, that they depriued them of the fruits of a victorie which they did limit with no lesse then the taking of Lions. In this contention they resolute, not to signe any thing without the King of Spaines commandment, and to keepe the army still ready to march, to make himselfe to be more feared, and to be more assured. The Kings Deputies beeing aduertised that the Duke made no care to confirme what had bene concluded, they aduertised the King thereof, and sent a post vnto the Legat, being at Anignon, to know his opinion thereof. The King commands them to attend the Dukes resolution, without impatience, beeing indifferent vnto him which he made choise of, but hee should shew a weake iudgement, if hee should accept of any but of peace; for that he should not of a long time recouer that by warre, which peace should now presently bring him. The Legat was so moued with this alarum, as hee presently tooke post to goe vnto the Duke, sending Count *Ottavio Tazzoni* to the King, to aduertise him of his voyage; and to beseech him not to enter into any distrust of the Treaty, being so greatly interested in the obseruation thereof, as he could no longer endure this brute and suspence with patience: and that hee would be pleased to grant a prolongation of the truce and a suspension of armes for fiftene daies, besides the time limited for the ratification: Such as knew not the negotiation betwixt the Duke of Sauoy, the Count *Fuertes*, and the Marshall *Biron*, could not beleue that the Duke of Sauoy would make any difficulty to signe the Treaty, but that hee made some shew of it to haue it seeme the better. For those that were interested with him in the Treaty, did not promise to returne any more vnto the warre. It is true, that if the Duke of Biron would haue taken the Cittadell of Bourg, as the Duke would haue deliuered it vnto him, the King must haue returned with as great speed to Lions as he departed. In the meane time the Legat past all passages by post in a troublesome time, and came to Genoa, from whence hee sent to the Duke, and Count *Fuertes* to keepe their word with him. The Duke hearing of his arriuall at *Alexandria*, partes from Nice, and goes to Thurin, and both of them excuse themselves. The Count made his refusall, to take from the Duke all subiect of complaint, that they had abandoned him, and that he had means to recouer his Estates, if they had assisted him. The Duke would be recompenced for this vnequall exchange before he signed by the King of Spaine. So the Legat receiues nothing from the one but complaints, and from the other but respects, and from both words of contempt against the Treaty. Hee met with the Count *Fuertes* at Tortoul, and from thence went to Milan, where hee past the Shroue-tide: The Count *Fuertes* omitting no kind of recreation to driue away melancholy, attending the Duke of Sauoys resolution, who sent to excuse himselfe by the indisposition of his children, and promised to come to Milan, but comming not, the Legat and the Earle went to Pavia, with an opinion that the Duke would come thether. The Legat sends *Tazzoni* vnto him, E who returnes with excuses of his sonnes ticknesse, and his complaints of the vniust and preiudiciall conditions wherevnto he was bound.

The Legat sends backe *Tazzoni* to the Count *Fuertes*, giuing him to vnderstand that hee knew well that his legation had not bene vndertaken, but for the seruice of the King of Spaine, at the intreaty of the Duke of Sessia his Ambassador: that hee was not come for the Duke of Sauoy who mockt him, and considered not that hee had done more for him then father or mother; that hee cared not for his ratification, and much lesse to see him, or to thanke him for his paines: that he excused his affection in the infirmity of his sonne, but if he thought that hee would attend to proceed vntill that hee were cured, hee was deceiued. The Count *Fuertes* answeres that the effect of the Treaty depends not vpon his signing, and that hee must not send vnto him to effect it. The Legat to cut off these temporisings and delaies, and to discover where the fault was, that the peace was not signed, aduised himselfe of a subtilty, worthy of a Romaine, and of a Cardinall. Hee commands the Count *Tazzoni* to say vnto the Count *Fuertes*, that

The Legat aduertised the Duke refused to signe the peace.

The King grants a prolongation of the truce. The Duke of Biron retueth the Cittadell of Bourg, beeing vnfurnished of victuals and munition.

The Legat discontented with the duke of Sauoy.

The Count of Fuertes excuse.

A that he was aduertised from the Duke, that all the difficulties in this businesse were framed by the Count, who restrayned the Dukes liberty, in the signing and execution of the Treaty.

Hee had scarce entred into this discourse, when as the Count *Fuertes* (full of choller that all the blame should be layd vpon him) went to horse, and came vnto the Legat, to whome he discovered all the secret betwixt the Duke of Sauoy and him. Many daies are spent in going and comming. In the end the King of Spaine, who desired to begin his raigne by war, would haue no peace, but vanquished by the perswasions of the Duke of Lerma, who thought peace to be more profitable for his condition, hoping to gouerne his Maister more freely in the delights of peace, then in troubles of warre, sent vnto the Count *Fuertes*, that seeing they restored vnto the Duke of Sauoy his Countrey, and that he might keepe the Marquisate of Saluces, he would imploy his forces elsewhere, and confirme the treaty of Lions. The Duke is forced to follow this course, there is no more army for him. There was one complement yet remayning. The Duke was delicious to see the Legat: the paines which hee had taken deferred this view and thanks. The Legat went to goe speedily to Rome.

The Duke imbarques vpon the riuer of Po, to goe visit him, and sends a Post to aduertise him of the hower of his imbarking. Here was an accident that had almost spoyled all. This messenger reports vnto the Duke that he had met the Legat, and the Count *Fuertes* in Carosse together vpon the way, who returned when as hee aduertised them of his comming. The Duke discontented with this returne, sends them word that hee was gone backe. The Legat enters presently into a small barke, followes after, and overtakes him, whereas the riuer of Tesin enters into Po. The Duke being aduertised, turnes head and ioynes with him. They strue who shall enter into the others boate, but the Duke leapes into the Legates, and sits downe by him: they spent some words in complements, before they entred into the treaty of peace. The Legat protested that in all this negotiation, he had nothing else in his thought, but the good of his highnesse estate, but hee was incountried with so many difficulties, & necessities, which ouer-ruled his affection, as hee was forced to preferre profitable and necessary things, before that which was goodly in shew. The Duke thanked him for the paine he had taken, but so coldly, as the Legat found well, that he held not himselfe beholding to him. The one tooke his way to Thurin, and the other to Pavia, and so to passe to Rome. The Duke had signed, but he was not yet well resolved to obserue the peace. The feare least Bourg should be lost before the conclusion of the treaty, made his Ambassadors to resolute: the Assurance which *Bouuens* now gaue the Duke, that he would incounter all extremities, both of famine and force, made him vnwilling to performe the treaty, sending *Bely* his Chancellor to Rome, to make his excuse, that he signed it not. The Pope tooke it ill, that a Chancellor, a man of peace, should intreat him to vndoe that which the Legat his Nephew had done, and sent him backe with his answer. But for all this the Duke seeks to smother this peace in the cradell, and grounds his last hope vpon *Bouuens*, to whome he sends the countersigne, without the which he was bound not to yeeld it. This token was but counterfet. *D'Hostel* played an other part, he made this his colour, to haue meanes to enter into the Cittadell, and to giue this countersigne to *Bouuens* for his warrant; and therby to assure him that if he had meanes to hold good a moneth, he should disclame the signing of the ratification, and make a shew of disobedience, and he should be releued. *D'Hostel* went into the Cittadell, and found that misery would not suffer them to vnt of resistance as they had done, that things were no more in the Estate that *Bouuens* had represented them; and that their necessities were so extreame, as there was no meanes to suffer them any longer, being prest without by the Kings army, and with-in by cold and hunger, which made the Duke more tractable to yeeld that which hee could not hold, sending the ratification in the beginning of March, and at the same time the Cittadell was deliuered into the Kings power.

The generall censures of this peace were diuers. The King was pleased that the profit was apparant, and assured for his Estates: hauing for one Marquisate, more Earles and Marquises

1601

The Legat and the Duke of Sauoy meet

The Dukes ir-resolution.

He sends *Bely* his Chancellor to Rome.

A countersigne carried to *Bouuens*.

1601. Marquises, then there are Gentlemen in the Marquifate of Saluces, inlarging his frontiers about thirty leagues, and so restrained the Dukes estate on this side the mountaines, as he hath left two third partes, lost eight hundred Gentlemen, and a fort which he himselfe (writing vnto *Bourneis*) esteemed more then all the Marquifate, with Prouinces as fertill as any be in France. It is true that the Honour to keepe that which was the cause of the warre remayned to the Duke, and by this meanes of a peace hee hath no more neede of Spaniards nor of the Count of Fuentes, who did him alwaies some Spanish affront, and is free from all feare of the French, who kept Piedmont in awe while they had a retreat there. The Duke who neuer went out of the gates of Thurin without six Companies of horse for his gard, and entertayned Garrisons which cost him more then the reuenues of the Countries exchanged, may now sleepe, and goe and come in safety. This Moneth of March *Louise* of Lorraine, Dowager of France, Widow to *Henry* the third King of France and Poland died: her death was better knowne by the losse of such a light, then by the mourning of her Heires, or the Honour of her Funeralls, for the Duke of Mercure her Brother to whome she left her goods and the execution of her will was then in Hungary. The Duchesse of Mercure attended on her vntill she died, and layed her body in the Couent of *S. Claire*, vntill she might be enterred with greater pompe. She desired to be layed in one Tombe with the King, whose body attendes vntill that the piety of the liuing, may remember the condition of the dead, the which giues cause of amazement, that the Earth which neuer sayles for the life of Princes, should now want for their interment.

Discourse vpon  
or the life of  
*Louise* of Val-  
demont write  
to King *Henry*  
the 3.

A goodly har-  
mony of mar-  
riage.

Iellously of  
the Queene.

The desire of this Princeesse was not performed, although the will of the dead ought to be religiously obserued, the best part of her life had bin a troublesome carier of affliction, more fertill in thornes then in Roses: but it is the way of Heauen, which hath bene beaten by all the happy, and there is noe reason to make a new for them that came last, how great and mighty soeuer they be. King *Henry* the 3 going into Poland saw her so fayre, as at his returne (when as death had made him forget the Princeesse of Conde, in whose remembrance he did sometimes forget the greatnesse & grauity of a king) he remembered her, and by the aduise of the Duchesse of Lorraine his Sister, who saide that there was not any woman in the world more fit for his humor then this Princeesse, he demanded her, and had her to wife. *Gast* was sent vnto her, and found her comming from Saint *Nicholas*, whether shee had gone in Pilgrimage on foote. The Queene of Nauarre did much disswade this Alliance, apprehending to march after a daughter to the Earle of vaudemont: for this cause the king would not haue her go on day after her who should thinke her selfe honored the next day to be the first after her; so as there was noe intermission betwixt her comming, making sure and marriage. Sixe weekes after her marriage they found her to be with child, but soone after shee had a mischance, and had a false birth being a Sonne. This caused her to haue a laundise for a time, and an indisposition for euer, which made the King and realme out of hope to see her a Mother. This barrennesse made the Queenes life barren of all content. It is true that the three or foure first yeares were spent in all delights. The King made no voyage without her noe feast where she was not; he could not be to any other being wholly to her, his delights were vnto her desires. Before his marriage he had loued *Chasteau-neuf* one of the Queene-Mothers maydes, the fire had bene so violent as the ashes were yet hotte, and had bene sufficient to kindle a new flame, if the Queenes wisdom had not caused them to be cast into the winde, when this great beauty appeared the rest lost much of their light. The Queene was somewhat troubled: but when as the Queene-Mother told her that shee had indured much more, her grieue was somewhat allwaged though not altogether taken away. She dessembled vntill that she saw this virgin come one day to daunce attired, by emulation, like her selfe, at what time she tould the Queene Mother that shee could indure it no longer: she who loued her dearly, wrought so as this Star was eclipsed, and appeared no more, she left the Kings hart, as well as the court, and in dispiight married at her owne will.

This Princeesse who had neuer bene bred vp but in her Fathers Court, grew sodenly very

A very skilfull in all the complements of Court. The King instructed her himselfe in all the perfections which the world admires. Neuer Queene before her did better vnderstand what did belong to Queenes. She had past through all the honours which are due to Kings Wiues. She was crowned Queene, she had set twice in the assembly of the Estates of the realme: She receiued all sorts of Ambassadors, with more or lesse respect, according vnto the dignity of the Prince from whence they were sent, and shewed in her discourse wisdom, gouernment, and much iudgement. She wone the Queene-Mothers heart so absolutely as none but she did possesse it; there was such a conformity betwixt them, as what pleased the one could not displease the other. There was also a great intelligence betwixt her and the Duke of Alançon, who honored her as much as if hee had bene farre inferior vnto her: It was thought that if the King had died vpon a disease in his care, whereof the Physicians where in some doubt, hee would haue married her, vnlesse the Pope had denied a dispensation. Also when hee was dead, it seemed she would no more vse her eyes but to weepe. They held her to be very disdainefull, neither did she regard the Princes and Princeesses of the blood as she ought, louing none but them of her owne house. The Kings great heat of loue began to grow cold. His hart was like a tree planred on the high way, whose fruite is free for all passengers: He committed much excessse and gaue him-selfe to the pleasures of the Court, which did then abound: hee was not pleased to see her richly attired, nor to be seene in companies. Hee made two voyages to Lyons without her, his nature still affecting new things. She who loued the Princes of her house, and was greeued to see them sequestred from the Kings fauours, which the Dukes of Joyeuse and Espernon did wholly inioy. They were all in court, and did possesse the Kings heart absolutely. Then she began to take the course of Piety and deuotion, which she had rather discontinued then forgotten, hauing sucked deuotion from the bosome of piety. The king on the other side began to frequent reformed Cloysters. She was rather seene in Churches then at the Loure. This Sphere of deuotion did alwaies turne, neither could any occasion either within or without the Court stay the course thereof. She began to neglect that great beauty, which at her coming had made her amiable, and admirable, and gaue her the price of all the beauties of the West. The Roses and the Lillies of her liuely hewe were withered, more through the rigor of affliction then for age. And though the Kings affections were much diminished, yet they had neuer but one bed, neither did they lie a sunder but fixe or seuen moneths, by the aduise of the Physicians, vpon an infirmity of the Kings which was contagious. She was much afflicted for the death of the duke of Guise, from which time afflictions neuer left her, for presently after followed that great insurrection of all the townes in France, the which wasted the Kings treasure, and reduced him to necessities that were vknowne, and incredible, shee was forced to send all her maides of honor to their houses, shee remayned alone with foure Ladies, with the which she retired to Chenonceau after the Kings departure from Tours to beseege Paris. There shee had newes that a Monke had hurt the King at Saint Cloud, and resolved to goe and see him; but she was carried backe to Chenonceau whereas the Earle of Fiesque and then *Dinet* her Preacher told her that the King was dead, the newes of his wounding had already prepared her to this accident, for as soone as the King was hurt, hee wrote these few words vnto her with a trembling and dying hand. *My friend you haue heard how I haue bene miserably hurt, I hope it wilbe nothing, pray to God for me, farwell my friend.* Not-with-standing vpon the newes of his Death she fell downe in a fount, and then began to die in this death. She caused foure of her maides of Honor to returne, who found a wonderful alteration betwixt the visage of the Loure and that of Chenonceau: for the necessities were so extreme, as most of them liued of their owne purses. She had no dowry, and the liberal-ty she receiued from the King was lesse then her necessity: hee was much wronged by her during the raigne of the deceased King. She could not dissemble the hatred she bare him when he was at Tours, where she shewed him so cold a countenance, & gaue him so bad a reception, as foreseeing the mildnes of his nature, he said that he would thinke of it, and that she should repent it. But being king of France hee would not reuenge the

1601

The Kings les-  
ter being hurt  
to the Queene

The Queene  
necessity.

A a a a a

wronges



1601.

Dutcheſſe o.  
Beaufort lo-  
ued not the  
Queene.

wronges done unto the King of Nauarre, no more then *Lewis* the 12. would those of A the Duke of Orleans: for he releued her necessities as much as his affaires would permit him, and gaue her after the death of Queene *Elizabeth* the dowry which shee inioyed, and had giuen her more but for the Dutcheſſe of Beaufort, who loued her not, for that they had reported some words of contempt which she had vsed on her. She bore a singular affection to the Princes of her house. And although that friendships grounded vpon vertue are better then those which grow from nature, as being more voluntary, yet she did not esteeme any friendship but that of her own blood: which made them say that she had intelligence with the Princes of her house against the King: but she shewed that her actions were free from it, refusing to see any of them after the death of the King her husband, for the which shee was so afflicted, as the violence of her hearts griefe did ruine the vigour of her body, by a continuall defluxion vpon her lights, and coldnesse of her braine. She could neuer vse the soueraine remedy of the most inuerrate vicers of the mind, forgetfulnesse: she alwaies represented vnto her selfe, how she could possibly liue, seeing the spirit of her life was dead; for euen then shee began to die, all the rest of her life was but torment and languishing. She went to the King to Mantes, where after she had implored iustice, alwaies assisting at the throne of God, she cast her selfe at the Kings feete to haue a Iult and lawfull reuenge for the death of the King her Lord. *Du Buisson* of the cheefe of her counsell made a learned and eloquent speech touching the iust affliction of this Princeſſe. *La Gueſſe* the Kings Proctor made another able to moue the hearts of the most barbarous Scythizans. After the end of the Kings masse, when as this Princeſſe heard the Psalm which the deceased King did vsually cause to be songe, C her griefe renewed with such violence as they held her for dead. The King ran to helpe her, and kneeled downe to lift her vp. All the time of her widowhood which was spent at Chenonceau, & at Molins, was rather the life of a priuat Lady then of a Queene or of a religious woman then of a widow. The best part of the day was employed in prayer, and that which remayed after the howers of eating, and of Buisines where spent for some workes for the decoration of alters, there being few Churches in France where she hath not sent of her worke. And although she were often visited by Princes, Princeſſes and great noble men, yet she neuer neglected one minuit of her deuotion. To conclud she was a sweet vessell of piety, and as a viol full of excellent Balme, or some Odoriferous lyquor, whilst it is whole it giues noe sent but to them that are neare it, but being broken it delights them that are farre of. So this vessell of most Odoriferous vertue, beeing broken by death, hath powered forth her sweete sents ouer all the Earth.

Death of the  
Princeſſe of  
Condy.The Princeſſe  
of Condy dies.The Du-  
cheſſe of B.  
quillon dies.

The same yeare also, Madam *Francis* of Orleans, Princeſſe of Conde, Mother to the Count of Soissons, died in her house of Grenelles at Paris, the Funerall Pompe was celebrated in the Abbey of Saint *Germain des pres*. About the end of this yeare the Princeſſe of Condy died of a great and languishing sicknesse, as shee went to her house at Bonnestable in Perche, to change the aire by the aduice of her Physicians, but she changed her life, leauing one onely Daughter, the which the Count of Soissons married. Afterwards the Dutcheſſe of Eguillon died, being Daughter to the Duke of Nevers deceased, who left great cause of Mourning to the Duke of Esquillon, eldest Sonne E to the Duke of Maine, and the rather for that she died in child-bed, and the child also with her. The King in fourty daies had conquered all Sauoy, with in fourty after he married, treated of a peace, made the Queene in case to be a Mother, went in post from Lyons and came to Paris, who bare his long absence impatiently. His returne gaue the world to vnderstand how quiet and constant the affaires of France were, that a King which went a hundred Leagues with twelue onely in his traine, was well assured of his subjects, and feared not his neighbours.

The Queene followed by small iornies, and came to Fontainebleau, where shee staid not long, but came to Parris about *S. Germaines* fayre, her first lodging was at Gondies house her first Gentleman of Honnor, being in the suburbs of *S. Germaine*. The next was at Zamets, superintendant of her house, and then she came to the Louvre. The Parisiens

1601.

The Queene  
comes to Pa-  
ris.

A Parisiens prepared them-selues and besought the King to giue them leaue to make her a stately entry: but his Maieſty would haue the charges of this entry referued for a more durable worke. All the Princes of the blood, with the chiefe Ladies of the Court and Citty presented them-selues to kisse her hands, and to do their duties vnto her Maieſty. She made much of all them that the King fauored, and resolved to loue what he loued, framing her will in such sort vnto his, as she held his will for an vnwritten Law.

This yeare the Pope granted a *Tubile* and pardons to all the French that should goe visit the Church of Saint *Croix* in Orleans, doing the workes of Christian charity. An infinite number of people went thither from all parts of France, the King and Queene went thither with the first, and gaue meanes to helpe to build this Church, which had bin ruined during the fury of the first ciuill warres. The King layd the first stone of this building. An act worthy of a Christian King, the true successor of the piety of Saint *Lewis* his Predecessor. But whilst he gaines pardons, his enemies watch to surprize the best places of his realme. He was disarmed vnder the assurance of the Peace. The army of strangers was still whole together, and became fearefull to all Italy. All the Princes were troubled thereat, and although they be not well vnited together, yet when there is any question of danger, they haue good correspondency. At Rome they said it was for Geneva, and that the Marquise of Aix was gone to intreate the Pope to fauour him with his blessing, and to fortifie him with his meanes. Many other discourses were made touching this army, but time discovered that it was entayned for *Marceilles*. There is nothing so holy, but mony will violate, nor so strong but it will force. The Count of Fuentes vpon promise of great recompence, had practised an enterprize very easie to execute, if the bargaine had held. It was a doing during the treaty of Peace with the Duke of Sauoy, who sent *Don Sanchio de Salina* to Milan to the Count of Fuentes, with two of them which made this snatch, whereof the one gaue aduice to the President *Du Vair*. He which had promised to deliuer the tower of the Port for an entry to the enemy, discovered him-selſe to the Duke of Guise. *La Goye* (a gentleman of Prouence) was sent vnto the King, to beseech him to giue him leaue to encounter them with the like practise. The King who desires not to gaine by trechery, said that hee was content to keepe his owne, and to let the world know who did first trouble the peace. At that time

An enterprize  
vpon Mar-  
ceilles.

another enterprize was discovered vpon the towne of Metz. The King sent the President *Janin* thither, the accused were brought to the prison of the Pallace at Parris. The proofes being weak, some were enlarged, vpon condition they should appeare when they were called for, his maieſty commanding they should informe more amply against the rest, banishing two from the townes of Metz, Thoul and Verdun. This great army finding no employment in France, made worke for the hangman in Italy, by the discovery of many conspiracies.

An enterprize  
vpon Metz.

*Rocheport* being Ambassador in Spaine, certaine French Gentlemen (among the which his Nephew was) had a quarrell with some Spaniards, who did iniury them, and cast their Clothes into the water, they being a swimming. The Spaniards had the worst, and some were hurt and slaine. Their kinsmen demanded iustice of the King, (who commanded his officers to doe it) but the Ambassadors lodging was forced, and the Gentlemen drawne forth to prison, notwithstanding any thing that he could say or doe to maintaine the liberty of his place, the which is inuolable euen among enemies. The King was so offended with this iniury, as he commanded his Ambassador to returne, giuing the King of Spaine to vnderstand, that he assured himselfe, that hee would do him reason, when he had well considered what cause he had to complaine. Wherevpon all Trafficke was forbidden betwixt these two Realmes. The Pope fearing that this violence done vnto the Ambassador of France, could not passe without some feeling, and that this Coale might kindle the fire of Warre betwixt these two great Kings: hee sent into Spaine to haue the prisoners, the which were sent vnto him: and the Pope deliuered them presently vnto the Lord of Betunes the Kings Ambassador at Rome; and so the Peace was continued.

Monsieur de  
Rocheport  
Ambassador in  
Spaine.

The Ambassadors of Venice were better intreated in France. That great and wise

1601.  
An Amba-  
sage from  
Venice.

Senate holding themselves bound by the lawes of friendship, to deplore the misfortune, A  
and to reioyce at the prosperitie of their friends, hauing beene long troubled for the af-  
flictions of France, they send a great and solempne Ambassage to congratulate the frute  
of the Kings victories, and the beginning of his Marriage. The Ambassadors were cho-  
sen out of the Procurators of Saint Marke, and of the cheife men of the State. They  
came to Paris, the King sent the Marquis of Rhosny to conduct them to Fontainebleau,  
and to intreat them, to bee contented with their reception in that place whereas the  
Queene was, seeing their Ambassage was common to both, and that for the indisposi-  
tion of her greatnesse, it could not be at Paris; which occasion did renew the ioyes of the  
Court, the which was in so great Tranquillity as it seemed neuer to haue beene in trou-  
ble. The Great Turke sent *Bartholomeo de Cueur* his Physitian vnto the King, to ac-  
quaint him with the Estate of his affayres, and to intreat him to mediate a truce in Hun-  
gary. When as this man spake of the Turkes power, he did so extoll it, as if he had beene  
able to vanquish all the Princes of Christendome, not excepting Pope nor Emperor,  
so as the King of France did not meddle in it. He presented a Dagger and a Gymliter  
vnto the Kings Maiesty, whereof the Hilts and Scabberds were of Gold, garnished  
with Rubies, and a Plume of Herons feathers. The King related vnto him what he had  
done in Sauoy, and complained that (to the preiudice of ancient Capitulations) not  
onely the English were distracted from the Banner of France, (vnder whose gard and  
protection they were bound to trafficke) but also the Flemings, Hollanders and Zelan-  
ders were comprehended vnder the Banner of England. To this complaint he added an  
other, against the courtes and violencies of the Pirates of Algier, and the Coast of Bar-  
bary, saying that if the Iustice of the great Turke, did not cause these Piracies to cease  
he should haue no reason to beleue his friendship.

The order of  
Recollets.

At this time there sprong vp Religious men in France, who said they were true obser-  
uers of the order of *S. Francis*, and that the Franciscans and Capuchins did not main-  
taine it so exactly, but they needed reformation. The King gaue them a Couent  
at Beaufort, and by the example of this piety many other places desired it. They would  
lodge at Balmette neere vnto Angers, the which had beene founded by *Rene* King of  
Sicillia. The Franciscans (who could not indure to be dispossessed by these Recolets) be-  
seeged them, offered to force their Gates, and to scale their Walles. The besegged de-  
fended not them-selues with words and exorcismes, but with stones, and in such  
choller, as if the people had not come, the scandall had not ended without Murder.  
The Prouinciall seeing that the Recolets would not receiue him, and that the Bishoppe  
would not suffer him to vse force, appealed, as from an abuse of their establishment.  
The Recolets shew vnto the Court, that they are the true Children and Disciples of  
Saint *Francis*, liuing according to the Rule and Discipline that was obserued in Italy,  
from whence the good Precepts of the Reformation of Regulars were drawne, that if  
those of the Famely of Obseruance, and of Capuchins were tollerated and honoured in  
France, they should be of noe worse condition. This cause was the argument of  
a famous pleading in the Court Parliament, in the which *Servius* the Kings Aduocate  
said; That a Reformation was necessary not onely in the Order of the Franciscans or  
Gray-Friars, but also in all others, but they must be careful, not to transforme by Nou-  
ties, in steed of Reforming by Censures, alledging many reasons against the bringing in  
of new Orders.

A great  
pleading in  
the Court  
of Parla-  
ment.

The King goes  
to Calais.

The Count  
Sors sent vnto  
the King.

Where-vpon the Court pronounced that there was abuse, and restored the Anci-  
ent Religious to the Couent of Balmette, forbidding all religious Men of the Order  
of Gray-Friars, to goe out off the Realme, without licence from the King or their Su-  
periors. Iealous and distrustfull heads gaue it out, that the Peace was in weak estate,  
when as after the iniury done vnto *Rochepos* in Spaine, and the forbidding of Traf-  
ficke, they see the King gonne sodenly to Calais, and that from thence hee had sent  
the Duke *Biron* into England. The Arch-Dukes tooke a sodaine Alarum, and to that  
end sent the Count *Sors* vnto the King, to deliuer vnto him the state of the Seege  
of Ostend, and to beseech him not to suffer that their enemies should thinke that  
these

A these approaches should be to their aduantage, and that their rebellion should be fa-  
uoured by an example so hatefull to all Princes. The King sent the Duke of *Esquillon*  
to visit them, and to assure them that his intention was not to trouble the Peace, but  
onely to visit his Fronter, and to provide for the fortifications. They did not generally  
beleue this, for although he made this Voyage in Post, many thought that he would  
imbrace this occasion of the siege of Ostend, and all the Court followed him, as to  
some great Exploite. And for that he would not haue the world in suspence of his  
desseignes, he gaue the *Gouernours* of his Prouinces to vnderstand that the cause of his  
going to Calais was but to visit his frontier, and to provide for that which should bee  
necessary to assure it, not from present dangers, but from those that might happen.  
He declared also that he had no other desseigne, then the preferuation of Peace with-  
all his neighbours, to enioy that which God had giuen him. But there were other pra-  
ctises which could not be dispersed but by the Kings presence.

1601.  
The Duke of  
Esquillon  
sent to the  
Arch-dukes.

The Queene of England sent *Sir Thomas Edmonds* to visit the King, and the King re-  
turned her the like by the Duke of *Biron*. Hee went accompanied with a hundred and  
fifty Gentlemen. The Count of *Auvergne* was there as vnkowne, but his quality dis-  
couered him. There was nothing omitted that might be for the reception of an Am-  
bassador, & somewhat more. Being at London many Noblemen receiued him, and ac-  
companied him to Basing, where he rested a day or two before he did see the Queene,  
who made him knowe that she was honoured by her Subiects above other Princes. A  
Prince should loofe no occasion to let Strangers see the greatnesse of his Estate, to  
giue them cause to admire him, and to maintaine his Subiects in the dutie which they  
owe him. The Queene of England who hath made good prooffe that Women may  
raigne, as well and as happily as Men, obserues this better then any Prince of her age,  
making all them that followed the Duke of *Biron* in this Legation, to giue the like  
Iudgement.

The Duke of  
Biron sent into  
England.

The Queene beeing set in State, all the French Gentlemen entred first, but  
when as she discovered the Duke of *Biron*, whom she knew by the discription they had  
made of his Face and stature, she spake with a loud voyce; "Ha *Monsieur de Biron*, how  
haue you takē the paines to come & see a poore old Woman, who hath nothing more  
lyuing in her, then the affection she beares vnto the King, and her perfect iudgement  
to know his good Seruants, and to esteeme Knights of your fort. As she spake this, the  
Duke made a low reuerence, and the Queene rose from her Chaire to imbrace him, to  
whom he deliuered the charge he had from the King, and withall his Maiesties Letters  
the which she read. She thanked the King for his remembrance of her: but she said she  
could not conceale, that as there was nothing vnto a heart (like vnto hers) full of af-  
fection and desire more pleasing, then to see and heare what it desired, so could she not  
but feele an extreame torment, to see her selfe depriued of the sight and presence of the  
object which shee had most desired, whose actions she esteemed not onely immortall  
but diuine, being ignorant whether shee should more enuy his Fortune, then loue his  
Vertue and admire his Merits; so much the one and the other did exceed the greatest  
maruailes in the world. That she could not say that a courage which feared nothing but  
the falling of the Pillers of Heauen, should feare the Sea, or not trust vnto it for a pas-  
sage of feuen or eight houres, blaming them rather which had not instructed him as  
well to contemne the Wauers of the Sea, as the desseignes of his enemies vpon the  
Land. From these speeches, she fell into some bitterness of Complaints, which she de-  
liuered with a little vehemency, saying: that after she had succored this Prince with her  
Forces, purse, and meanes, and if she could haue done it with her own blood, and had as  
much desired the happy successe of his affayres as him-sel'e, and the ruine of his ene-  
mies more then him-sel'e, they made no accompt of her, forcing her to thinke that the  
loue they bare her was but for the hope of commodities they might draw from her, the  
which being dried vp, all affection was cold. That they had sought her in the torment  
to forget her when the time was calme. That they preferred new friendship before  
the old, wisdom before Iustice, and profit before reason. And for a signe of inhumanity,  
they

His entry to  
the Queene.

The  
Queenes  
speech.

1601. they refused her her own. Then taking the duke of Biron she led him to a window where A  
 she continued her discourse in softer and milder termes. There she gaue her hand vn-  
 to all the Gentlemen which the Duke of Biron presented vnto her: among them all  
 she nored *Creguy* to be sonne in Law to *l'Esduquieres*. She commanded him to approch  
 neere vnto her when all had done, to whome she declared what esteeme shee would  
 make of him for his sake, whom shee held to be without peere, saying; That if there  
 were two *l'Esduquieres* in France, she would demand one of them of the King her bro-  
 ther. *Creguy* answered; That he would thinke himselfe happy, if by the Kings com-  
 mandement any occasion were offered worthy of her seruice, to witnesse vnto her Ma-  
 iesty that he did partake in the desire which his Father-in-law had alwaies had, to giue  
 her some prooffe of his affection, and that he would alwaies carry himselfe so in-  
 sect, seeing he could not be present but in desire, the Kings seruice binding him to re-  
 maine elswhere. To whom the Queene said; That she did accept of his good will, and  
 wished him to remember. The Duke of Biron receiued all the honours of the Queene  
 and State, that might be giuen to so great a Personage, the particularities whereof I  
 omit for breuities sake. Hauing finished his Legation, hee tooke his leaue of the  
 Queene, to whom she gaue a great present, & so dismissed him with very gracious spee-  
 ches. He found not the King at Calais at his returne, who was gone backe to Fontain-  
 bleau against the Queenes lying down, where he had left her, and the Duchesse of Bar  
 with her. All France attended the Fruit of this birth, as the full of their Felicities, as-  
 suring themselves, that by the birth of a Daulphin, they should finde all that which fore-  
 passed ages, and that which was to come, could desire. Ten dayes before his birth, the  
 Earth quaked in many parts of Europe. The great Duchesse who desired greatly to be  
 neere the Queene; sent her a rich Cradle, exquisitely made at Florence, hoping it  
 should serue for a Daulphin (for she would not haue giuen it with so good a will for an  
 other Sexe) intreating the Gouvernour of Lions, by her Letters, to fauour the passage,  
 and his dilligence that had charge of it, to the end that he might arriue in time, and  
 not to suffer any to open the Coffers.

The Duke of  
Biron returne  
d out of  
England in  
the beginning  
of October.

A Cradle sent  
to the queene

The Princes of  
the blood may  
be in the  
queenes  
chamber  
when she is  
in trauell  
to maintain  
the Salique  
Law.

The Daulphin  
borne.

The queene  
of Spaine deli-  
uered of a  
Daughter.

The Queene fell in labour on Thursday at night, the seauen and twentieth of Sep-  
 tember. The King and the Princes of his blood, were in the chamber, according to the  
 ancient law of the Ceremonies of the Crowne, to the end, that the interested in the  
 succession, may not pretend there was any supposition. The Queene was held for a  
 while in great danger, for she had giuen her selfe such liberty in eating of fruites, as shee  
 felt it, and repented it in her trauell, but in the end, about eleuen of the clock, shee was  
 deliuered of a sonne. The King blessing him put a Sword in his hand, to vse it to the  
 glory of God, and the defence of his Crowne and people. All the Princes and Noble-  
 men flocked to reioyce at this new Grace. The ioy was so great, and the King was so  
 prest with the Congratulations of them that came about him, as going to the Church  
 to giue God thanks for this fauour, he lost his hat in the throng. The Secretaries of  
 State, made dispatches presently into all Prouinces, to make them partakers of this  
 great ioy. The first was brought to Paris by *Varennes* about foure of the clocke, to the  
 Chancellor, the Court of Parliament, and the town-house, presently thanks were gi-  
 uen to God, and bonfires made throughout all the Realme, the people holding this late  
 grace, as an assurance of the fruites of all the precedent. *Sourray* was chosen for his  
 Gouvernour. The Pope sent presently vnto the King and Queene to congratulate with  
 them of this birth, and to carry vnto the yong Prince swadling bands, bearing clothes,  
 and other things, blessed by his Holinesse. All Princes allied to this Crowne, sent to  
 congratulate this happy occasion. The Queene of Spaine was brought in bed about  
 the same time of a daughter. The Spaniards were no lesse content then the French, say-  
 ing that they had rather the Queene should begin with a daughter then with a sonne,  
 least they should fall into the accidents, which Iealousie and Ambition do breed, when  
 the Children appeare so soone to sollicite them to be gone; when as their ages are con-  
 founded, that the one is in the flower, the other in the season of fruites, the which is  
 most capable to command and rule, and that the desire to succeed may not giue occasi-  
 on

on to trouble the order of Nature, and maketh the one repent that they are Fathers, 1601  
 and declares the other vnworthy to be Children.

The Duke of Biron came to Fontainebleau, whereas the King, Queene and Daulphin  
 remained, he gaue an account of his Ambassage into England, & deliuered the Queens  
 Letter vnto his Maiesty. He continued in Court vntill the ende of the yeare, and pre-  
 sented vnto him the three Estates of *Bresse*, *Beauey*, *Veromcy* and *Gex*; whom the King  
 receiued as gratiouly, as if they had bin Frenchmen by birth and affection; he confir-  
 med their Priuiledges, and made them feele the fruits of this change. He erected a Pre-  
 sidiall Court at Bourg, depending vpon the Parliament at Dijon, notwithstanding  
 any opposition made by that of Grenoble, pretending that the Countries exchanged  
 should hold the place of the Marquisate of Saluces, and be incorporate vnto Daulphin.  
 He releued the Countries exchanged, in their impositions and Taxes, and with such  
 moderation, as as the most miserable, promised vnto themselves happinesse, vnder his  
 sweet subiection. Among other speeches, which the King vsed vnto the Deputies, these  
 were noted. *It is reasonable (said he) seeing you speak French naturally, that you should be  
 subiect to a King of France: I am well pleased that the Spanish tongue shall remaine to the  
 Spaniard, and the Germane tongue to the Germane, but all the French must belong to me.*  
 The Daulphin made his first entry into Paris the 30. day after his birth: the Port was  
 beautified with Armes. The pompe was of a cradle in a litter, whereas the Lady of Mon-  
 glas sat with the Nurce. The Prouost of Marchants and Sherifes went out of the Ci-  
 tie to meete him. The Gouverneffe made answere to the Oration. His first lodging was  
 at *Zamets* house. Two dayes after he was carried back to Saint *Germain* in Lay, and to  
 the end the people might see him, passing through the Citty, the nurce held him at her  
 breast. The King had determined to conduct the Queene to Bloys, but the desire he  
 had to instruct the Duchesse of Bar his sister in his Religion, stayed them all at Paris,  
 whether he had sent for the most learned Prelates and Deuines, to satisfie her in the  
 presence of such Ministers as she had brought with her. But they coniured her not to  
 yeeld vnto this change, nor to dismember her selfe from the body and society of the  
 children of God, to bow her knees vnto Idolatry. She continued so constant in her be-  
 leefe, as she made a protestation, that if her Religion were preiudiciall to the Estates of  
 the Duke of Lorraine, she was ready to returne into Bearn, beseeching the King to  
 suffer her to end her life as shee had begun it. So as the conferences vpon this subiect  
 remained vnprofitable, and were of no more effect, then that which was made at Ratif-  
 'bonne at the same time, & for the same cause. The King hauing settled as happy a peace  
 in France as could be desired, he sought to redresse the disorders which could not be  
 cured during the violence of the war, he did two things to reforme the disorders of the  
 Treasure, in the one he cut off a great number of Officers belonging to the Treasure,  
 and in the other he caused a great and seuer search to be made of their abuses. The  
 more Officers the King hath for the managing of his Treasure, the lesse profit comes  
 vnto his Coffers, for that a great part is spent in their entertainements. So as it was re-  
 solved at the Estates held at Roan, to suppress the Offices of the Treasurers of the ge-  
 neralities of France by death without hope of reuiuing.

The Duke of  
Biron returnes  
out of En-  
gland to  
Court.

The King  
confirms the  
Priuiledges  
of Bresse.

His speech to  
the Deputies.

The Daul-  
phins first en-  
try into Paris  
the 17 of Oc-  
tober, 1601.

A Conference  
to instruct the  
Kings Sister.

Many of the  
Treasury dis-  
charged.

A chamber  
erected  
royall ere-  
cted.

As for the abuses of Treasurers, their couetousnesse was so great and their abuses so  
 countenanced, as no man liued happily but they. Such as robbe the Poore die in pri-  
 sons and are hanged, but they that steale from the King and the publicke, are at their  
 ease. When as *Rhosny* was called to be Superintendant of the Treasor, they were out  
 of hope to do their busines as they had wont. By his aduice the King commanded a  
 strict search to be made of their abuses in the Treasure, and to that end he erected a  
 Chamber (or Court) which he would haue called *Royale*, consisting of Iudges chosen  
 out of his Soueraigne Courts of one of the presidents of the Court of Parliament, two  
 Masters of requests of his houshold: Two Councillors of his Court of Parliament,  
 of one president of his chamber of accompts, Three Councillors of the Court of  
 Aydes, of one of the aduocates generall of his Court of Parliament, and of one of  
 the substitutes.

1601.

The transport  
of gold and  
siluer forbid-  
den.The wearing  
of gold and  
siluer forbid-  
den.An Edict for  
vsury.Ambassadors  
chosen to  
send to for-  
raine Princes.

And for that they had giuen the King to vnderstand, that nothing did so much im-  
pouerish his Realme, as the transport of gold and siluer, the which was visuall by the suf-  
france of Officers, he therefore reuiued the ancient Lawes for the transporting of gold  
and siluer, or bullion out of the Realme, adding paine of death thereunto, and losse of  
all their goods that should do to the contrary, the third whereof should go vnto the In-  
former. He commanded all Gouvernors to haue a care of the obseruation of these pro-  
hibitions, and not to grant any passports to the contrary, vpon paine to be declared par-  
tak-ers of these transports, and for their secretaries that should countersigne them, con-  
fiscation of their goods and perpetuall banishment. But the forbidding of the trans-  
portation of gold and siluer is not the onely meanes to make a Realme abound there-  
with, if the vse of it within be not well ordred. And therefore the King did forbid the  
superfluous vse of gold and siluer in lace or otherwise vpon garments. This Edict did  
greatly trouble the ladies in Court, yet it was obserued for that it was general and ex-  
cepted none: the King himselfe did frowne of a Prince of his house, who had not yet  
thought of this reformation. The King continuing the same care to settle all things  
in good Estate, seeing that forraine Coynes went at a higher rate in his Realme then  
where they were coyned, he commanded that the vse of forraine coyones should be for-  
bidden, after a certaine time giuen to the people to put it away, restoring gold to his  
iust value. This commandement was iust, but it was a great ruine to the people, for  
the Strangers seeing that their Coynes were not currant among vs, discontinued the  
trafficke, and liued without that, without the which wee thought they could not liue.  
Those which were wont to come to Lions went to Geneua, where the Duckats were  
raised as much as we had abated them. The King by all these Edicts had nothing releu-  
ed the necessities of the Nobility, if hee had not provided for Vsuries, which haue ru-  
ined many good and ancient houles, filled Townes with vnprofitable persons, and the  
Country with miseries, and inhumanities. He found that Rents constituted after ten  
or eight in the hundred did ruine many good families, hindred the trafficke and com-  
merce of Marchandise, and made Tillage and Handicraftes to be neglected, many de-  
siring through the easinesse of a deceitfull gaine, to liue idly in good Townes of their  
Rents, rather then to giue themselues with any paine to liberall Arts, or to Till and  
Husband their inheritances. For this reason (meaning to inuite his subiects to enrich  
themselues with more iust gaine, to content themselues with more moderate profit,  
and to giue the Nobilitie meanes to pay their debts.) he did forbid all Vsury or con-  
stitution of Rentes at a higher rate then sixe pounds sixe shillings for the hundred. The  
Edict was verified in the Court of Parliament, which considered that it was alwaies  
preiudiciall to the common-weale to giue money to Vsury: for it is a serpent whose  
biting is not apparant, and yet it is so sensible as it pierceth the very heart of the best  
families.

The affaires of the Realme being in so great tranquility, as the King had no care but  
to enioy the fruites of Peace; He made choise of Ambassadors to send to forraine  
Princes that were in League with him. *Barranx* was named for Spaine, *Betanes* for  
Rome, the Count *Beaumont* was chosen for England, and the President *Fresnes Canise*  
to go to Venice, who had a particular aduice giuen him, the which for that it is of con-  
sequence and serues for instruction to others in the like charges, deserues to be noted.  
It hath alwaies beene obserued at Venice, betwixt the Popes Nuntio and Princes Am-  
bassadors that remaine there, that the last come is alwaies first visited by the others be-  
fore he returns them the like. It happened that *Huraud de Messe* the Kings Ambassa-  
dor at Venice, hauing beene twise or thrise sent backe thither by his Maiestie, and no o-  
ther Ambassadour: at his last returne the Popes Nuntio refused to visit him, saying,  
that hee was not a new Ambassadour, and that it was in him to visit him first, the  
which he did, as well for that they could not take his returne for the beginning of a  
new Ambassage, from this complement of courtesie, the Popes Nuntio would draw  
a consequence of dutie, and would challenge a right to be visited first. So as the Amba-  
sador of Spaine hauing made difficultie to visit the Nuntio, attending it first from him,  
according

1602

A according to the ancient order, they stood so long vpon this Ceremonie, as they pas-  
sed all the time of their Legation without visiting one an other. And therefore the  
King foreseeing that if *de Fresnes Canay* were not informed of these particularities,  
hee might haue beene surprised in this Complement of visiting. In this discourse of  
Ambassadors, let vs see the issue of two important Ambassages, the one for the King  
at Thurin, the other for the Duke of Sauoy at Paris, and both for the swearing of the Kings  
peace. *James Mistes* of *Myolans* Lord of Saint Chaumont, Knight of both the Kings  
Orders, was commanded to goe to Thurin to receiue the Dukes oath. He went well  
accompanied with gentlemen, and neuer Ambassadour was better receiued then he was  
in Sauoy and Piedmont. *D'Albigny* Gouvernour of Sauoy feasted him at Chambery  
like a Prince, the Duke commaunding him to entertain him in all places as himselfe.

B The Duke of Sauoy, exceeds all the Princes of his qualitie in such Ceremonies.  
There is not any Court where they are performed with more order and pompe. The  
Ambassador comming within a League of Thurin, hee was intreated by the Duke to  
stay his entrie one day, for that the Duke of Nemours did feast him, at a house of his,  
and that the cheefe men of his Court being also inuited, desired to be there, and not  
to lose the opportunitie to meet with him, nor the Ladies to see his reception. Hee  
sent for him, and for all the cheefe men of his traine horses richly furnished, with foot-  
men in very good order to enter into Thurin. Two leagues from the Towne he was  
met by his companies of men at armes. The commanders hauing presented them-  
selues vnto him, the companies opened and made them way to passe through the  
middest of them, hauing passed a little farther, he was incountried, by the Marques of  
Lan, in the head of the cheefe Noblemen of the Dukes Court, to accompanie him in-  
to the Towne, at the ports whereof there were twentie Staffieres or foremen euery  
one with two torches of white wax in his hand to light him to his lodging, whether  
presently the Duke sent the Earle of Crenie the first gentleman of his chamber, to let  
him vnderstand how much hee was pleased with his comming, and greeted that hee  
should not see him vntil the next day: At the houre appointed word was brought that  
the Duke desired to see him, whereat the first incounter hee vsed him with more then  
ordinarie words, and great declarations of ioy which the Duke receiued of his arriuall,

D and of the contentment he promised vnto himselfe by the effects of his legation. The  
Ambassador did the Kings commendations vnto him, and told him that he had com-  
mandement from his Maiestie to represent many things vnto him touching the treatie  
of Peace. The Duke answered that they must not talke of affaires, intreating him to for-  
beare eight daies. The Kinges Ambassadour was well aduertized, that he would gaine  
time on the one side, as he lost on the other, attending a Post from Spaine touching  
the oath with he was to make: his good shews could not hide his harts-griefe for the  
losse of part of his estates, the possession whereof had neuer been so pleasing, as the pri-  
uation was troublesome. *Cheurieres* visited the Princes and the *Infanta's* according to  
the Kings commandement. The Ambassador of Spaine went in Pilgrimage to our  
Ladie of Mont de Vic, because he would not be at the Assembly. The Ceremonie was  
like vnto the precedent at Chambery for the treatie of Veruins, after which the Am-  
bassador dined with the Duke, where there was nothing forgotten that might giue him  
contentment. The Duke told the Ambassador that hee would suppe with him, but al-  
waies at his own charge, whether he caused many ladies to be inuited: during the heat  
of these iollities the Duke tooke no taste in affaires he so much desired to content the  
Kings Ambassadour and those that were with him. Yet he did not leaue to satisfie him in  
that which he had propounded, touching the rights & pretensions of the Lady of *Lucey*,  
and for many demands which they of Geneua had made vnto the King, vpon the exe-  
cution of the treatie. For the first they answere that he wil giue the King contentment,  
& for the second, that his Maiestie would neuer iudge it reasonable that he should bind  
himselfe in his owne Estates, to conditions, which they of Geneua would not allow in  
theirs. The Ceremonies being performed, the Ambassador tooke his leaue, and his de-  
parture was not lesse honored then his comming, where he did not forget to giue them  
great

Mons de Cleu.  
rures Ambul.  
lador to  
Thurin.Monsieur de  
Cheurieres  
entry into  
Thurin.The Duke of  
Sauoy attend-  
s a Post out of  
Spaine.The Earle of  
Soissons mar-  
ried the Ladie  
Lucey.Departure of  
the Kings  
Ambassador  
great



1601.

great presents. Some said that after so great an expence in his voiage to Paris, and that A  
hauing wasted his Treasure, and ruined his Countries with war, those which did accom-  
panie *Cheurieres* should nor haue like presents to them that were with *Botheau* when  
as the Duke sware the peace of Veruins. But he did the Contrarie, shewing that the last  
of the vertues which should die in him should be liberality, and that he knew, in whom  
how much, when, and how he should giue, and that in such occasions he was full.  
He gave vnto the Ambassador a iewell of 4000. crownes, and to all the Gentle-  
men hortes. The Marquis of Lullins came into France to take the Kings oath. The Ce-  
remonie was done at the Celestins in Paris, according to the accustomed manner and  
forme vsed in the like treaties, and in the presence of many Princes of the bloud, Noble-  
men, and counsellors of State, the act being signed by the King, by *Villeroy*, and *Forget* B  
Secretarie of State. The seigneurie of Geneva intreated the King to giue them the ba-  
lewicke of Gex, as a necessary thing for the safetie of their Estate. The King answered,  
that being concluded by the treatie, which he had made with the Duke of Sauoy, that  
the lands exchanged for the Marquisate of Saluces, should remain vnited and incorpora-  
ted to the Crowne, he requested them to rest satisfied with this condition, and not to  
hope for any alteration, for this consideration, these countries being of one condition  
with the other Prouinces of the Realm, the would not admit any diuersity in their laws,  
he therefore established the exercise of the Romish religion, and sent the Baron of Lux  
to put the Bishop of Geneva in possession of the Churches of his Diocesse, causing  
Masse to be said in the Churches of Gex. They of Geneva made fasts, and publike pray-  
er to the end (sayd they,) to keepe the Idols from their wals.

The Alliance  
with the  
Swisses renewed.

In the beginning of this year, the Court being quiet, and dreaming of nothing but  
of feasts and dancing, and the whole State in such tranquillitie, as nothing might seeme  
to interrupt it. The King had but one businesse without the Realme, whereon depended  
the contentment which he might giue to the Swisses, in confirming the promise which  
his Ambassador had made of the renewing of their alliances. There had beene many  
Assemblies held to that end at Bade and Soleure, but all vncertaine, as they be com-  
monly. Their resolutions were inconstant and variable, with new demands, which did  
cut of nothing of the necessitie of the first. These diuers agitations sprang from *Milan*  
and *Saues*, who could not endure to see the Flower de Luce flourish in the rockes and  
Alpes, and were grieued to haue spent so many double Ducats in vaine, to choake the  
seedes of their affection to this Crowne. *De Vic* disposed things in as good sort as the  
King could desire, *Brulart* was sent to make the worke perfect. He gaue them to under-  
stand the Kings last resolutions, with so great wiledome and dexteritie, as they were al-  
lowed by the greatest part of the Cantons. After that, the partisans of Spaine and Sa-  
uoy found that all their crosses brought more aduancement then difficultie to the  
Kings affaires, and that the most obstinate became temperate, and were forced to yeeld,  
and that they could not hinder, but that the light of vertue & the Kings fortune would  
shine through the *Caos* of their practices, *Syllery* finding that their wills were well pre-  
pared, and disposed to entertaine and accept of the Kings intentions, he made the pro-  
position of renewing of the League at Soleure in September, After this manner:

A Diet at So-  
leure the 11.  
of September.

Oration of  
Monsieur  
Sillery to  
the Swisses.

My most honored Lords, I haue bene sent into this Countrie by the most Christian  
King my maker, your best friend, allie, and confederate with charge to deliuer vnto you  
his louing recommendations, with the letters which his Maiestie hath written vnto you,  
by the which you may conceiue his intention vpon the cause of my voiage, according to  
the which his Maiestie hath also expressly commanded me, to assure you of his loue and  
affection, and of the esteeme which he had made of your Nation, for that he had made  
better triall of their courage and valour then all other Princes, hauing bin so often with  
them in battell and other exploits of warre, and to tell you that he desires to continue  
with you the antient friendship, alliance, and good correspondency which hath so long  
and happily continued, betwixt the Kings of France, his Maiesties predecessors of hap-  
py memorie to the common good of the one and the other. After that he had receiued  
your friendlie answer dated the 15. of May, in the yeare one thousand six hundred,  
touching

1601.

A touching that which had bene propounded vnto you on his behalte by the deceased  
Monsieur *De Montfornain*: his Ambassador concerning the renewing of the League,  
his Maiestie did presently appoint his Deputies to come and treat with you, the  
which had bene duly effected, if the vnexpected warre of *Sauoy*, contrary to his Ma-  
iesties intention, had not stayed the voyage of his sayd Deputies, the which since hath  
not bene deferred, but to send by the same meanes greater prouision of money which  
cannot bee so soone gathered together as was requisit, for the pouerty of the people,  
who are yet afflicted for the warres and calamities past, which haue so long continew-  
ed, and is the onely cause which hath staied your payments, to the great griefe of his  
Maiesty, and of all good Frenchmen, who were forry to see you vnaccommodated and  
B could not helpe it. This excuse my Noble Lords, is not onely true, but worthy of  
compassion, if it please you to remember the true and first cause of this stay, and the  
great miseries and wronges which all France and so many poore Innocents haue since  
suffered.

And although that by the happy peace which it hath pleased God to giue vs, there  
bee occasion to hope for all prosperity, and that the milchiefe decreasing, and commo-  
dities increasing, as wee see daylie, by the grace of God there will bee meanes, to giue  
his Maiesties good friends and seruants satisfaction. Yet this cannot be so sodainely,  
but it is necessary to haue some time to reape the fruits, notwithstanding it is most as-  
sured, and the haruest, and fruition is neere, which will recompence the long expecta-  
C tion.

I thinke my Lords it were superfluous to shew how profitable, this alliance hath  
bene heretofore to the one and the other, for that it is notorious to all the world, bee-  
ing made manifest by effects, and hath no need of prooffe. We acknowledge freely and  
willingly, that the assistance and succours of your souldiers, which at sundry times, and  
in many occasions, haue bene employed both within and without the Realme, haue  
bene verie profitable for the succouring of the Kings and crowne of France. I assure  
my selfe also that for your parts you will acknowledge how much the Alliance and  
friendship of France hath bene fauorable and helpfull vnto you, since the which you  
haue not bene onely respected of Princes and Potentates, which are nerest vnto you,  
D but haue also bene sought vnto by them that are farthest off: you haue not bene  
molested, nor set vpon by any, and by this meanes you haue increased in wealth, power  
and authority, and your Estate is become one of the most happy and most flourishing  
that euer was.

So your wise Predecessors haue thought that no other alliance could be more com-  
modious vnto you for many reasons best knowne vnto your selues: wee demand no-  
thing one of another, there are certaine conuentions betwixt your nation and ours,  
whereby they agree better then any other. Wee desire your bataillions to forrifie  
our armies, which may bee also sayd that you did neuer trust, nor agree so well with any  
as with our French foote and horse.

E My Lords they which faine imaginary rights and pretentions to any part of your E-  
states, desire not your good nor vnion, and if according to your wisdomes it please you  
to examine strictly the Councils and proceedings of some, who vnder a disguised shew  
of some present profit, seeme to affect your friendship, you shall finde that their chiefe  
end is to seperate you one from another, to weaken and deuide the force and bodies of  
your Leagues, and by that meanes to open and make the way easie to execute their old  
designes, which they haue long projected, being needfull to vse great fore-sight to pre-  
uent them and not to suffer your selues to be abused with their policies.

You must thinke my Noble Lords, that you haue none so dangerous enemies, as  
those which seeke to sow diuision among you in your Councils, for it is directly con-  
F trarie to your greatnesse and quiet. The Kings of France, pretend not any thing of  
you but your friendship, they desire your vnion and prosperity, for the loue and  
affection which they beare you, but to the end that no man may bee in doubt, I  
say they ought to desire for their owne interest, that you should bee alwaies vnited  
and fortified, to the end that your assistance may bee vnto them a speedy, powerful,

B b b b b

and

1601 and assured succour, they which may not faile them when fouer they shall haue need. A  
 The Kings of France and their ministers haue alwaies employed themselves to perswade and maintaine a peace and vnion betwixt you. And it may bee truly sayd that the alliance of France is the most proper and firme bond of your coniunction and friendship, to maintaine you powerfull and happy together by this common intelligence, the which cannot bee when you shalbe deuided. King *Leuis* the eleuenth employed himselfe to compound the controuerfies which were betwixt your famous Predecessors, and the house of *Austria*, and by his Authority and mediation, the Treaty was concluded of the hereditary League, with the Archduke *Sigismund* in the yeere 1474. the which hath bene since confirmed by his successors, and continued vnto B this daie.

In the yeere of our Lord 1531. the fise Cantons hauing some dissention with them of Zurich; were forced to contract with *Ferdinand* the King of Romanes, and since Emperour, brother to the Emperour *Charles* the fifth. The fruites of this new friendship were the cause of a ciuill warre betwixt the sayd Cantons. This warre was pacified by the care and dilligence of King *Francis*, who made both the one and the other capable of that which was necessarie for their owne good and preseruacion. A peace was concluded, but it was expressely agreed that the letters and seales of this new alliance should bee restored, as if it had bene held the chiefe cause of this trouble. In the yeere of our Lord 1582 the deceased King *Henry* shewed no lesse affection and care C to preuent the beginning of a warre, which was apprehended betwixt the Duke of Sauoy and my maisters of Berne, assisted by some other Cantons; there are many yer liuing which can witnesse the good induours of Mounseigneur *De Mandelot* and *Hautefort*, to smother this trouble in the breeding, as in all other occasions the Kings of France and their ministers haue giuen prooffe of their affections to the good and quiet of the Cantons.

Multiplicity  
of alliances  
vnprouisable.

Image of a  
good King  
and of a  
good captain.

My Lords with the alliance of France you may assure your good and prosperitie without any feare, and free your selues from many dangers and inconueniences which doe infallibly follow the multiplicity of alliances. And if the alliance of France hath euer deserued to bee esteemed, if it hath heretofore bene desired; in my opinion it shalbe with more reason now, when as wee are neerer neighbours, hauing meanes to succour one another without demanding passage from any Prince, the Realme of France beeing in full peace, restored to her beautie, and her lymits extended by the force, clemency, wisdom, and conduct, of that great King, who hath iustly merited the title of greatnesse, for the glory and greatnesse of his vertues, and of his high exploits, for in him may bee seene the perfect Image of a good King, and a great D captaine, which is the greatest commendation which the auncient Sages haue thought might bee giuen vnto a mortall man. His Maiestie hath shewed his valour and force of armes during the warre; hee hath also made his bounty and wisdom shine in time of peace. All diuisions are ceased in his Realme, and every man E liues in peace vnder his Authoritie, aswell by his power, as through the loue and affection of his subiects, who reuerence and feare him as a great King, and loue and obserue him as a good father. And doubtlesse his Maiestie hath no other care but to make his subiects most happy vnder his obedience, restoring the manuring of the Land, the Trafficke, Marchandize, order, and policie in all the partes of his Estate; and it is to bee hoped that his raigne will abound in all felicity for his subiects, friends and good neighbours.

This great King, my Noble Lords, desires your friendship and alliance, such as you haue had with the Kings of France his Predecessors. It is not to hurt any one, but to doe good to all. It is not to trouble the publike peace, but rather to maintaine it, his Maiestie hauing giuen good proofes of the sinceritie of his intentions F for the generall quiet of Christendome, by his facility in the Treatie of peace made at Veruins with the King of Spaine, and since confirmed at the Citie of Paris and Lyons with the Duke of Sauoy, whereof I can giue Testimony hauing had the

A the honour to serue in all that which hath bene negotiated in the sayd Treaties of Veruins and Lyons. His Maiestie offers you his loue and affection which is to bee esteemed in a good and iust Prince, whose faith hath neuer failed, to his friends, enemies nor to his owne subiects. Hee promisseth you all affection that can with reason bee desired, aswell for your payments, as for all other conditions which should bee required, and hath giuen power to my Lord Ambassadour, and mee to aduise with you of the best meanes that may bee to renew the alliance with you, and to make it so firme and durable as it may neuer be changed nor altered.

His Maiestie doth also assure himselfe of your wisdomes and equitie, that you would not require any thing that were not reasonable and in his power, and that you would consider and adde therevnto what shall bee required of your part, to assure the effect of a good alliance, that heereafter they might not fall into former inconueniences, by meanes whereof his Maiestie findes himselfe charged with great and excessive debts, the which had not bene if alliances had bene kept: I speake it without offence to any, but onely by the necessity of duty, which binds mee to represent the truth of the fact for two reasons, the one that it may bee provided for, the other to the end that considering the greatnesse and quallity of the debts, you may know we deserue to be a little borne withall in the payment thereof.

I hope in his Diuine bounty, that as it hath pleased him to manifest by so many C Miracles that hee hath taken into his protection the affaires of this good King, this Realme, and this mighty common-weale, that hee will also bee pleased to inspire your hearts with his wisdom, to take a good and holy resolution, which may bee first to his glorie, for the health of both the Estates, and of all good men, and finally for the increase of the honour, glorie, and prosperity of your Estate, for the which the alliance of France shalbe vnto you as it alwaies hath bene very honorable and profitable.

His discourse was very pleasing vnto the hearers, who thought that the alliance of France, with whom they neuer had any question, and whose friendship had not bene troubled with those feelings which the iniuries of warre doe fix deeply in the mindes D of men, was more profitable and necessary then that of other Princes, which haue hereditary defeignes vpon that Estate, who would cast lots againe, and come to a new diuision.

These had some-times sought to make there profit of the diuersity of Religion that is amongst the Cantons, in weakning the body by cutting off the members. France on the contrary side had alwaies exhorted them to liue in peace, and not vndermine the foundation of their Estate the which consistes of concord and vnion. So Princes should alwaies desire that their Allies might liue in Vnion and Peace. This proposition of renewing the League with the King, was very acceptable vnto them all, but it troubled the small Catholike Cantons, who had made new Leagues with their neighbours, and desired that they would propound some meanes vnto them, that in contenting the King they might with honour keepe their latter promises. The Ambassadors answered, that they must take those resolutions of themselves, whereby they might willingly contribute that which depended of them. It is no reason sayd the Ambassadors, that you should bee directed and set into the right way by vs, seeing you left it without vs and against vs. The Cantons sayd, that the friendship which they had sworne to France, was grounded vpon conditions, the which sayling, the duty of their alliance must also faile.

Friendship grounded vpon profit is neuer durable, that of the Suiffes cannot bee otherwise vnited, they loue the *Darigues* more then *Darius* himselfe, and glory to see the greatest Princes of Europe to purchase their friendship. Some aduiled the King to F leaue the petty Cantons, and to take them as his enemies, seeing they had broken the League. But he thought he should wrong the reputation and dignity of his crowne, if hee should loose the friends which his Predecessors had gotten. And therefore his Ambassadors (although they seemed not to care for it) omitted nothing that might B b b b b a serue

1602.  
A million of  
gold granted  
to the Swis.

Assembly of  
the Grisons  
at Coire.

Unreasonable  
conditions.

Difficulties in  
the Treaty.

The Duke of  
Biron sent to  
the Cantons  
to confirm  
the Treaty.

serue to reduce them into the right way, from the which, the opinion of profit, more A then the force of friendship, had drawne them: thinking it reasonable to loue friends with their humours, not for the respect of the continuance of friendship, nor of their constancy, but for the honor of this crowne. They would not binde the Kings word to any other thing then the payment of a million of gold in discharge of their debt or pension. There must be an other day to deliuer that which should be refused by euery Canton vpon the Kings offers and propositions. The petty Cantons appointed a Diet at Lucerna, to resolve of the difficulties they were in betwixt the alliances with France and Spaine, seeing they might not hold the one but they must abandon the other. Their resolution was to accept the renewing of the league, and to esteeme old friends for the best. Yet they did not publish it so soone, that it might bee the better accepted: many daies were spent in generall assemblies at Bade and Soleurre, to reduce it to an immutable point. Monsieur de Vic went vnto the Grisons, and procured an assembly to bee called at Coire of the three Cantons and their commons in their Episcopall city: their were as many difficulties as the country is rough, the Spanish practises had so much withdrawne their affections from France, they could not dissemble the griefe they conceiued for the confirmation of this League. The Count of Fuentes would not suffer any prouision to goe out of the Dutchy of Milan, that the dearth and discommodity of victuals, might make the Grisons know that the friendship of Spaine was more profitable vnto them then that of France, and that they should not so much desire the C number, as the profit of friends.

De Vic propounded the Kings intention to three score and feuen Ambassadors deputed by the three Cantons of the Grisons, and to as many other chosen out of the country. They hold a great liberty of opinions in their assemblies, euery man speaks what he thinks. Heere they which made least shew, spake loudest, in the end they resolved to accept of the renewing of the League, adding therevnto such preiudiciall conditions, as two of them were sufficient to make the League fruitlesse for the King. De Vic sayd vnto them, that they must not thinke that the King would endure any addition or deminution in the ancient Treaty, answering the sayd Articles by writing, to the end that the commons which were to determine thereon, might iudge that their reasons were not stronger then those which he had propounded vnto them, and their commodities and suerties greater with the Kings alliance, then with al others. While that De Vic was with the Grisons, Silery labored to dispose the 13. Cantons to the Kings wil. But there was still more to resolve then had bene resolved on. The Suisses although they haue not the quicknesse of spirit as other nations, yet are they not lesse aduised in the conduct of their affaires. So as when the Kings Ambassadors thought that in the last Diet held at Soleure, there would be but one sitting, for that al difficulties had bene very exactly considered, they must yet haue patience for twelue daies, with more crosses and difficulties then were euer treated of in Suifferland, for the like affaires; for both the Kings friends and enemies, had conspired not to consent to the conclusion of the Treaty, without assurance to be paid vnreasonable sums euery yeere, besides the million of gold, that was granted. The stay of the bringing of the Kings mony did also greatly distast them that should haue the best share in the distribution. The more certaine the hope is, the more troublesome is the stay. This sayling was insupportable vnto them, and thrust them into bad resolutions against the aduancement of the Kings affaires. So as the Ambassadors did thinke for a time they should get much, to breake with some, and to differ with others, rather then to tie the King vnto such forced conditions. But after much toyle of body and minde, the Treaty was concluded with the good liking of the superiors. There remayned nothing but to haue the Duke of Biron come, to authorize by his presence, what had bene concluded by the Kings Ambassadors: hee came in the end of Ianuary, wel accompanied and as well received by the Lords of that common-weale, and by the Colonels and captaines, to whom it seemed that they were in France, seeing him alwaies that had commanded ouer them in the Kings army. The Duke spake vnto them in the general assembly at Soleurre in this sort, Noble Lords, the

A the King my master (making the same esteeme which his Predecessors haue done of your generosity, desiring the continuance of true frindship and faithfull alliance which hath bene of long time betwixt his crowne and your comminalties) hath commanded me to come into your country, for the happy ending of the Treaty which the Seigneours of Silery and de Vic haue managed for the renewing of the League. His Maiesty hath also commanded me to assure you of the account he makes of your Faith, and that he will fully obserue the promises that shalbe made vnto you. He doth also assure himself, that for your parts you will bring al willingness and freedome, now that his Realm is the most flourishing, giuing more cause of Enuy then of Pitty. Hee desires more earnestly to renew the ancient alliances that haue bene betwixt the Kings and crowne of B France, and your common-weale, thinking that the good which shall rise thereby, shall be profitable vnto you, and the best and most assured means for to make you liue powerfully and happily. I wil conceale how highly I esteeme the honor which the King my master hath done mee, in making choise of mee with these Gentlemen, to serue for so good and holy a worke, and also to see my selfe with a Nation, which hath bene often (both in peace and warre) cherished and esteemed by my deceased Lord and father, the Marshall of Biron and of my selfe: For prooofe of my affection, I offer you all that is in my power, being desirous to assist you with all fauor, and to serue you in that which a Knight of honor ought and may.

C The Kings alliance was accepted by the Suisses, publike thanks were giuen to God, and the Duke with the Ambassadors solemnly feasted. The alliance which before had bene contracted but for the Kings life onely, was concluded for the Dauphins also, after that of the Kings, and as many yeeres after as were granted to the deceased King. The King receiued great content to see this Treaty so happily concluded to the honor of his crowne, contrary to the intent and practises of those that sought to hinder it.

The King of Spaine had leauied a great army in Italy; men spake diuersly of his designs, some added that *D'Albigny* was gone to Milan to the Count of Fuentes; that the Marquis of Aix was in Spaine; that the Duke was ready to subiect himselfe wholly to the will of the council of Spaine, to whom he deliuered his two sonnes, having made D them Knights of his Order, to prepare them to the voyage, and had sent *De Joumy* (an extraordinary Ambassador to Rome) to beseech the Pope to send them his blessing. But the King knew well, that vnder these shewes and pretextes, there were other Negotiations to trouble his Estate, whereof hee made no shew: yet such as did see him when hee was most free and priuate, discovered that his head was troubled, and that the toyle and wearinesse of his minde, was much more then that of his body. One day coming from hunting, being very pensie before the fire with his hat on his eyes, hee drew his sword, speaking some words vnto himself, then he turned towards the Vidame of Chartres, who was there present, asking him when *La Fin* his vncler would come, and that hee longed to see him. At the same time there were great reparations made at the Bastille, E rather to keepe that fast, that was to be within it, then to resist without, which made many beleue, that the yeere should not passe, without lodging of some one of marke in the place.

There are crimes, whereof they make no shew vntil they bee committed, but in cases of Treason they must thunder and lighten both together, and it is better to auoyde the blow being farre off, then to attend it, and not regard it, there being nothing so troublesome as to liue in continuall feare of conspiracies, the which the more they are diffembled, the more they are fortified. This winter, the Court was full of iolity and sports, the Queene hauing made a rich and sumptuous Maske, calling fiftene Princesses and Ladies of the Court vnto her, which represented fiftene vertues, whereof the Queene F made the first. The Duke of Vendosme being attired like *Cupid*, marched before the Queene: but within few daies after hee changed that habite into mourning, for the death of the Duke of Mercure his father-in-law, who died of a Pestilent Feuer on Twelfth day in the city of Nuremberg, coming into France to prepare a greater expedition against the Turkes.

1602.  
The Duke  
speech to  
the Swis.

The continuance of the League.

The King discovered touching the Marshall of Biron.

The queenes Maske.

The death of Philip Emanuel of Lorraine, Duke of Mercure.





1602.

The Duke of  
Biron's con-  
fidence was  
discouraged

Spaniards gaue it out, that it was for Algier; but the cleare-sighted knew well that with-  
out some treason among the French, the Spaniards affaires were not in so good Estate  
as to attempt any thing against France. The King was aduertised that the Duke of Bi-  
ron was strayed from his duty, and assured moreouer, that this disposition of his did not  
grow in an instant, and that he had not entred into these bad resolutions suddenly, if he  
had not had conference with strangers. He could not beleue that a spirit so vigilant, so  
active and so valiant, could suffer it selfe to be transported with such violent furies: and  
it seemed a dreame vnto him, that a man which had gotten so much honour, to whom  
his Father had left so much, and who had receiued daily what hee would from the  
King, should resolve to that which was contrarie to his Honour, and the greatnesse  
of his courage. This good opinion made the King not to beleue the aduice which  
was giuen him of his bad intentions, making no shew thereof, but that hee would  
giue him the gouernement of Guienne, and two hundred thousand Crownes recom-  
pence, with the Castels of Trompette and Blay, to draw him from the Frontier, which  
was more commodious for conference with them, who were resolved to withdraw him  
from France, or to ruine him.

The Duke of  
Biron refused  
the gouern-  
ment of Gui-  
enne.

He refused en-  
tainment from  
the Spaniards.

He sayd hee  
would dye a  
Soueraigne.

He was hono-  
red with the  
first charges  
of the realme.

They had sought him after the taking of Lan, when as they discovered, that hee  
was come to Paris in choller, for that the King had refused him something, where-  
with hee gratified the Duchesse of Beaufort: then they offered him two hundred thou-  
sand Crownes yearly entertainment, and to be Generall of all the King of Spaines  
forces in France. As they had found him an *Achilles* in battayle, so they found him  
an *Ulysses* to their words, stopping his eares at their enchantments, saying, That chol-  
ler should neuer draw him from his dutie: that although his Nature were fierie and  
boyling in the feeling and apprehension of a wrong, yet his heart would neuer suffer  
this fire to consume the Faith and Loyaltie, which hee ought vnto his Prince. Hee re-  
tayned nothing of the offer which they made him, but onely the remembrance of the  
reputation and esteeme which they made of his valour, and euen then he suffered him-  
selfe to be carried away with those motions, which do often transport the Mind to in-  
folenie and contempt of all things, when they see themselves assured of ease, how-  
soeuer the chance fall, and that they shall neuer bee vnder the seruitude of Necessitie.  
He was sometimes heard say, That he would not dye, before hee had seene his head set  
vpon a quarter of a Crowne: that hee would rather go to a scaffold to loose his  
head, then to an Hospitall to begge his bread: that hee would dye young, or haue  
meanes to do his friends good. *Either Caesar, or nothing.* Either a free life, or a glo-  
rious death, but hee had neyther of them. His Desseignes made him to vtter words  
of a Soueraigne, and so absolute, as the wife did impute it to extreame arrogancie,  
the which hath alwaies ruined and confounded them that entertaine it. It is a great hap-  
pinesse for an Estate to haue great Captains, but there is nothing so hard to inttaine,  
for when as they thinke, that they haue bound their Country vnto them, although all  
they do be lesse then their duties, they are easily discontented, and like to *Pausanias* and  
*Themistocles* seeke new alliances and friendship from enemies, if they be not rewarded  
to their owne willes; and to the height of their Ambition. The Duke of Biron had  
done great seruice to the King and Realme, so were his recompences so great, as no  
Nobleman of his qualitie in France, but might enuie him: For being not yet fortie  
yeares old, hee had enjoyed the chiefest dignities of the Realme. At fourteene yeares  
hee was Colonell of the Swisses in Flanders. Soone after Marshall of the Campe, and  
then Marshall Generall. Hee was receiued Admirall of France in the Parliament at  
Tours, and Marshall of France in that of Paris. Hee acknowledged none but the King  
at the siege of Amiens, and was his Maiesties Lieutenant Generall, although there  
were Princes of the blood. To increase his greatnesse hee was declared a Peere of  
France, and his Barony erected into a Duchie. And yet not content with all this, hee  
sayd hee would not dye, but hee would straine higher. That hee will go no more to re-  
couer the Townes of Picardie, vnlesse the King set vpp his Image in brass before  
the Louvre, vsing still in his brauerie some very dangerous speeches, and with such  
affection,

1602.

He desires  
continuance  
of the warre.

Affection, as he was not pleased with them that did not applaude them. When hee saw  
after the siege of Amiens, that Brittain was reduced, and the Warre ended, he thought  
that hauing no more vse of his valour, he should haue no more credit: that he should haue  
no more means to play the petty King, & to do all that without feare which he did with  
our Iustice. He complained of the King, and of the vnequall recompence of his Merits  
and Seruice: he proclaimed his discontents, adding threats to his complaints, speak-  
ing of the King with so small respect, as his most passionate seruants held his speeches  
to be insolent and dangerous. It was the defect of his Nature, but Fortune added some-  
thing vnto it, for finding himselfe to abound with all the prosperities that a wel-ordered  
desire could wish for in his condition, he found that men lose themselves, being too  
much at their owne ease. The opinion of himselfe rayfed his thoughts so high, as he va-  
lued himselfe at an inestimable price, thinking that his heart was not of the common  
temper of others: that there was no man living that might equall him, and that none  
that were dead had attained to his merits. And although that in all his life he had shewed  
small zeale to Religion, yet now when as he prepared his heart to the motions of ambi-  
tion, he would seeme very religious, protesting that he would be an irreconcilable e-  
nemy to the Protestants. *La Noüe*, Seigneur of *la Fin*, was (by reason of the troubles of  
Prouence, and the quarrell of *Des Dignieres*) retired to his house, being threatened by  
the King, in quarrell with some great personages of the Realme, and furcharged with  
debts and suites in law. The discontented do still meet by appointment or by chance.  
The Duke of Biron (who knew that he had bene employed in the Duke of Alançons  
affaires, that since he had negotiated with the ministers of the King of Spaine and the  
Duke of Sauoy, during the siege of Amiens, and that he had a heart full of discontent)  
imagined that he sought a Master. They talke together, and mixed their griefes and pas-  
sions in one complaint, they propound to seeke that without the Realme, which they  
could not find within it, and to enter in practise with the Duke of Sauoy: they resolve  
to aduertise him of an intelligence which *Des Dignieres* had vpon the Fort of Barrault,  
the which he executed happily. Now after so many examples of ineuitable dangers, the  
Duke of Biron abandons himselfe to a voyage full of dangerous rocks, and fearefull  
dangers, vnder the conduct of a man who was yet wet with shipwracke which hee had  
suffered.

He went into Flanders for the execution of the Treaty of Veruins, where *Picoté* of  
Orleanse had conference with him, and inspired his heart with desires to raise his For-  
tune with those who both knew and admired his merits. The Duke of Biron heard him,  
and made no shew to vnderstand him, and yet he left him in an opinion, that if he came  
into France he would be well pleased that he should speake more plainly vnto him of  
that subiect. The Spaniards did beleue that he yeelded, seeing he gaue care, and assured  
themselves either to winne him or to vndo him. The King was aduertised by one that  
was then employed in the Arch-dukes Court, of this practise, but he sent him word that  
the Marshall *Biron* was of too a high spirit to yeeld to so great a trecherie. Being retur-  
ned out of Flanders, the King would haue married him, but he made shew that his affec-  
tions were otherwise settled. And although he gaue it out, that he sought the daughter  
of *Madame de Luce*, yet he treated to haue the other daughter of the Duke of Sauoy,  
whereof Cheualier *Bretton* had spoken vnto him. *La Fin* had a promise from the Duke  
of Biron to do all he could to content his hopes. *Picoté* had made a voyage into Spaine  
to receiue directions. *Farges* (a religious man of the Order of *Cisteaux*) went into Sa-  
uoy, and so to Milan, to receiue order how to teare this plant from France: but the  
Duke of Sauoy being at Paris, pulled vp the Flower-de-luce which was planted in his heart,  
and disposed him so to trouble the King within the Realme, as he should leaue him the  
Marquise of Saluces in peace. Vpon this assurance the Duke of Sauoy had no mean-  
ing to effect the Treatie of Peace: warre was proclaimed; the Duke of Biron takes the  
chiefe places of Bresse: being at *Pierre Chastel* in the beginning of September, *la Fin*  
comes vnto him, who by his order had made two voyages to *Saint Claude*, where *Romeus*  
met him. The King had aduice thereof, but he thought it better to dissemble these pra-  
ctises

He discouers  
his discontent  
to *La Fin*.

1602. *Stifes*, then to surprize the best of his seruants in his acts of infidelity. He was content to A draw him into Sauoy, and to tell him that he must abandon *La Fin*, and not giue eare to his bad perswasions. The K. shewed him his error, to guide him in the right way, but as they which are posselt with this violent passion of desire to be Masters, are no more capable of gouernement nor Councell, he conceiued that what the King spake for loue proceeded from feare, continuing still his practises with *La Fin*, and neuer going to see the King, but with a great troupe. He made him beleue being at Annessy, that he desired to discouer some passage, and demanded guides of the Countrie to that end, but it was onely to let *Renazé* passe to the Duke of Sauoy, to discouer vnto him the estate of the Kings armie, and to make *D'Albigny* retire with his troupes, the which without this aduice had bene cut in peeces.

He enters the Kings aduice.

He is discontented for the refusal of the Cittadell of Bourg.

He treats with the Duke of Sauoy and the Count of Fuentes.

They offer him one of the D. o Sauoyes daughters in marriage.

It was at the same time when as the Duke of Biron intreated the King to giue the B gouernement of the Cittadell of Bourg, to him that he should name. It is the nature of great men which serue Princes, to thinke they merit all, and to be more dangerous then enemies, if they be refused what they demand. The King answered him, that hee would commit that place vnto *de Boiffes*. This deniall did so transport the Duke of Biron, and thrust him into such strange and diuellish resolutions, as one morning being in his bed at Chaumont, he made an enterprize vpon the Kings person, whereof mention is made in the deposition of *La Fin* and *Renazé*, but it was not executed. Hee himselfe had horror of so execrable a thought. *La Fin* went also from the armie to conclude the bargain C with the Duke of Sauoy, and the Count of Fuentes. He treated first with the Duke, and the Ambassadour of Spaine at Iurec, and then at Thurin with *Romcas*. Hee went to Milan to the Count of Fuentes, whither *Picoté* also came, bringing an answer from the Councell of Spaine, to the Duke of Biron's propositions, and order to conferre with *La Fin*, and to perswade him to make a voyage into Spaine. Hee sayd openly, that the King of Spaine desired to haue the Duke of Biron at what price and perill soeuer. The Duke of Sauoy, and the Count of Fuentes appointed a day to meet at Somewith the Ambassadour of Spaine, *La Fin*, and *Picoté*. There their minds were knowne, and all difficulties freed of either side. *La Fin* who had pierced into the secret of his counsels, sayd, D That the marriage of the Duke of Sauoy's third daughter, was the Cyment to ioyne together and vnite all this Treatie, with promise of siue hundred thousand Crownes, and the transport of all the rights of the Soueraigntie of Bourgongne. A more sedled iudgment, and greater constancie then that of the Duke of Biron, might haue bene troubled with such plausible and goodly offers: he could not be seduced but by that *Demon* of Ambition, nor stumble but by that blindness.

The Duke of Sauoy gaue him more hope, then assurance of this marriage, and it was not credible that hee would accept of a meane Gentleman for his Sonne-in-law, who was not of so great a House, but there were many better then his in France. Princes promise all, and hold nothing but what doth not preiudice their greatnesse. Whilest that *La Fin* treated of the Duke of Biron's capitulation in Italy, the Treatie of peace at Lyons was concluded. The ignorant sayd, that the King had done ill in not proceeding, and that hee should keepe that great Rampar of the Alpes, for the frontier of Gaule. These were discourses of men which did not consider, how dangerous it is to go farre from the Frontier, and to leaue behind his backe a strong conspiracie: without this peace the King had bene forced to passe the Alpes, the which had bene a fauourable occasion for this Treason. Hee was aduertised of the badde seruices the Duke of Biron did him: and that the enterprizes which hee had vpon the Cittadell of Thurin, and the best places of Piedmont, were discouered by their trecherie, to whome hee had trusted his Crowne and Scepter. A Prince that hath Traytours in his army, neuer fighteth happily. *Charlemagne* repented his trust repofed in *Ganelon*, and *Charles* Duke of Bourgongne in *Campobaccio*.

The Duke of Biron had alwaies dissuaded this peace. For that is alwayes the nature of fouldiers to desire worke at whose cost whosoeuer, and not to haue rest, but in troubles which they breede or entertaine. But finding that this peace must send him home to his

A his gouernment, and that the King had some notice of his practises with *La Fin*, hee leemed to be very penitent, and asked pardon of the King, walking in the Cloyster of the Franciscan Friars at Lyons, beseeching him (with a countenance full of contrition and humilitie) to forget his bad intentions, the which rage and despight for the Cittadell of Bourg had possessed his heart with. The King pardoned him, saying: That hee was well pleased, that he had relyed vpon his clemencie, and the loue which he bare him, wherof he would alwaies giue him so good proofes, as he should haue no cause to doubt, nor to attempt any thing against the assurance he had of his loyaltie. Going from thence, he met with the Duke of Espernon, saying, That (as to his best friend) he would impart vnto him, the best aduenture that euer happened vnto him, having discharged his conscience from the terrors and horrors that did afflict him: and that the King had pardoned him what was past, and had promised him all fauour hereafter. The Duke of Espernon answered, that he was glad, but he must craue an abolishment: for offences of that qualitie are not so easily remitted. How should I (sayd he) assure my selfe better then in the Kings word? If the Duke of Biron must sue for an abolishment; what must others do? The Duke of Espernon had reason to aduise him to take an abolishment, and the other was in no error in trusting to the Kings word, who had forgotten his fault; if hee had done nothing since to renew the remembrance. But here they obserued an act the King, to come and receiue his commaundements, and the testimonie of his clemencie, parts from Bourg, and comes to lye at Vimy. There he made a dispatch to *La Fin*, who was at Milan. Hee goes to Lyons, and is receiued of the King, as the father doth his lost child, whom he hath found again. He stayed some dayes at Lyons, and hauing accompanied the Queene at her departure, he returned to Vimy, where hee made another dispatch to *La Fin* by one *Farges*. As soone as he comes to Bourg, he sends away *Bolco* (cousin to *Romcas*) to aduance the busines.

Crimes of treason are not pardoned without an abolishment.

He continues the offence pardoned.

This negotiation was continued at Some, betwixt the Duke of Sauoy, the Count of Fuentes, and *La Fin*. The Count of Fuentes led *La Fin* to Milan, desiring to be satisfied of some points, but finding his answers not constant, he thought it not fit to trust the secret vnto him, but to dispatch him; who finding that he was vnpleasing vnto them in this negotiation, stayed not long there. Hereupon he sent him backe, and requested him to passe by the Duke. But he did well in taking his way by the Grisons, to recouer Basill, Paurentin, and Befançon, for *Renazé* his Secretarie, who passed into Sauoy was stayed prisoner. The worke changed nothing but the instrument. *Alphonso Casaf*, and *Romcas* continued it with the Baron of Lux. In the meane time the Duke of Biron slept not, hauing sent a man into Spaine, although he were neare vnto the King, who for that he would not loose him, kept him about him, he carried him to the frontier, and sent him into England, where he heard of the death of the Earle of Essex. A fresh example of Iustice against those that seeke to be feared of their masters, and abuse their loue. At his returne he made a voyage into Gasconie, where he was honoured of the Nobilitie as a Prince, and beeing returned to Dijon, he went into Suifferland, to conclude the reuning of the Kings allyance, where he continued his practises with the Count of Fuentes, to whom he sent his Secretarie, vnder colour to conduct his Pages to *Nova Palma*, a Fort of the Venetians. Being returned out of Suifferland, hee went not to giue account of his charge, excusing himself vpon the holding of Estates of the Prouince. The K. who had some inking of these broiles, (by *Cómbelles*) desired greatly to speake with *La Fin*, to be informed of the truth. *La Fin* who had his heart big with despight, that the Baron of Lux would haue all the fruit of this negotiation: and that *Renazé* was detained prisoner in Sauoy, sent *Cerezat* to the Duke of Biron, to tell him that he could no longer be his seruant, if he did not deliuer him *Renazé*, aduertising him also that hee could no longer defer his going vnto the King, and that he desired to know what hee would haue him say, touching things past. He made smal account of one of his propositions, and spake of *Renazé* as if he were no more among the liuing. Touching the other he said to *Cerezat*, that he was of opinion he should go to Court with a small traine, and that he should

1602.

*Renazé* stayed prisoner by the Duke of Sauoy's command.

1602.  
Instructions  
giuen by the  
Duke of Biron  
to La Fin.

La Fin comes  
to Court.

The King ex-  
p. & repen-  
tance only  
of the Duke.

Ana-mv at  
lex for the K.  
of Spaine,

should prepare himselfe at the first, to receiue words of choller and contempt from the A King, the which he should easily calme, in beseeching him to beleue, that the voyage which he had made into Italy, was onely for deuotion to our Lady of Loretto, and that passing by Milan and Thurin, they had charged him to propound the marriage of the Duke of Sauoys third daughter vnto him, which he would not hearken vnto, seeing his Maiestie would take the care to marrie him. He intreated and adiuured *Cerezat*, to aduise *La Fin*, to dismisse all those that had made the voyages with him, especially a Curate, and to lay his papers in some place of safetie, if he would not burne them, and to consider in the end, that he had in his hands, his Life, his Fortune, and his Honour. *La Fin* came to the Court at Fontainebleau in the end of Lent, he spake first with the King, and B with *Villeroy* alone, he had conference with the Chancellor in the night, with *Rhosai* in the Forest, and with *Sillery* at the pressing place, being newly come out of Suifferland. All had horror to see the writings, and to heare the desseignes which they vnderstood. We must not beleue lightly: for Slander is subtil, and doth seeke to supplant the most innocent actions. But when the preferuation of the State is in question, the most doubtfull things are not to be reiected nor contemned. The King could hardly beleue so great a wickednesse: the facilitie of his bountie made him hard of beleefe. *La Fin* made him to see such apparent and certaine proofes of this conspiracie, as hee was forced to beleue more then he desired. Hee declared all that had past in his voyages to the Duke of Sauoy, and the Earle of Fuentes, for the Duke of Biron, saying: That hee desired, C that the returne of the warre might haue troubled his Maiestie, and profited them that were the cause of it. But seeing that his sacred and inuiolable person was not excepted, and that they made cruel desseignes against him, he had such horror, as he was resolu- ed, to giue him intelligence thereof, chosing rather to faile in his promise to the Seruant, then in his duty to the Master. The King full of clemencie and bountie, was wonder- fully grieved to see so vnatural a conspiracie: yet he sayd, that if the Conspirators did their duties, and gaue him the meanes they might to preuent the bad desseignes of his enemies, he would pardon them. If they weepe (sayd hee) I will weepe with them. If they remember what they owe me, I will not forget what is due to them. They shal find D me as full of clemencie, as they are voyd of good affections. I would not haue the Mar- shall of Biron the first example of the seueritie of my Iustice, and that he should be the cause that my raigne (which hitherto hath beene like vnto a calme and cleare skie) shold be suddenly ouercast with cloudes of thunder and lightning. And from that time his resolution was, that if the Marshall of Biron confessed the truth, he would pardon him. His Councell were of that opinion, so as he would employ himselfe effectually, to do as much good for the seruice of his Estate against his enemies, as hee had practised ill among them. Of many papers which *La Fin* presented vnto the King, they made choice E of seuen and twenty peeces, which were not those which concluded most against the Duke of Biron, but which made mention onely of him, the King beeing vnwilling to haue the rest discovered, to the end that the punishment of one, might serue for an example to all. The Chancellor kept these papers with such care, as he caused them to be sowed vnto his doublet, beeing loth to trust any one with them, or shew them til need required. The Baron of Lux was at Fontainebleau when as *La Fin* arriued, the King sayd vnto him that he was very well satisfied, that *La Fin* had spoken so honourably, and so wisely of the Duke of Biron, that he knew well his intentions were not conuerted to any bad desseignes, as they sayd. He returned to Dijon well content, thinking that all things were found. *La Fin* writes to the Duke of Biron, that he had satisfied the King of his actions, and hath sayd nothing but what he thought might serue to banish all bad impressions. The King managed the busines so wisely, as the euent was happy, making shew to feare no enemies but abroad. He grew ielous at the arming of so many gallies at Genoa F for the K. of Spaine, vnder colour of the Prince of Piedmonts passage, least they should haue some enterprize vpon Prouence. He therefore commanded the Dukes of Guise and Ventadour, to be careful of their charges. He writ to the Gouvernor of Lyons (whose intent was to spend some part of the Summer at Chaumont) to return to Lyons, for that he

1602.

A he was aduertised from all parts that his enemies had some desseigne there, whereof they wanted. He commanded *Des Digueires* to go to horse-backe if need were, and when the Gouvernor of Lyons should send for him, and he caused the Marquis of Spinola's troups to bee obserued, the which were ready to passe at Pont de Grefin to go into Flanders, the which in truth were but to couer the Duke of Biron's practises.

The King parted from Fontainebleau to go to Blois and so into Poictou. There are alwaies in States (as in great bodies) swellings and bad humors, which are not to be cured by violent remedies, but gently, and by the Princes presence. There were in Guienne and Poictou, diuers morions, which could not be disperfed but by the light of the King. He resolu- ed to go into those quarters, and to shew himselfe vnto them glorious B in peace, who had neuer seene him but triumphant in warre. Hee past to Blois, Tours, and then to Poictiers. His presence did pacifie all Mutinies, which grew by reason of the imposition of a Soultz vpon the Livre, and through the apprehension which was giuen the people, that he would giue Garrisons to some Townes, and Cittadels to others, and to all in generall an increase of their miseries. But as soone as the King had sayd vnto them, that he came not to see them and ruine them, but to releue them. That he would build no other fortresses but in their harts, nor vse any more constraints to succour the necesseties of the Crowne, then their owne good wils: That he desired more to adde and increase, then to take away or diminish their contents: and that hee would not haue the gold of his treasure to be bathed in the teares and bloud of his subiects: there was no man but did blesse the yeares of his raigne, and did wish it immortal. His presence did also disappoint many bad practises, which were growing. France was so full of corrupt humors, as vpon the least motion that happened, it was readie to fall into her former Phrenesies.

The Livre is  
two shillings.

The great trouble of the Pallace at Paris, by the intermission of hearing of causes, and the dismission of Aduocates, (the which happened the 12. of May, a fatall moneth for the Parisiens by a greater reuolt) seemed to preface some new storme. The cause grew from a decree of the Court, giuen against Aduocates, and by the Kings authoritie and expresse commandement, who before he parted from Paris to passe the Easter at Fontainebleau sent for the chiefe of the Court of Parliament, and of all the other D Courts, to recommend their charges vnto them. From whose owne mouth they vnderstood, how much he desired that Iustice might be administred with lesse charge, and lesse losse of time. That there was no Iustice for them that had no money; so excessiue were the Iudges Spices, and the Aduocates Fees. The Court of Parliament desiring that according to the Kings mind, intention, and last command, the excesse (whereof they complayned) against the Aduocates, might be reduced to a meane and iust temper, assembled to redresse those disorders. The opinions beeing heard and numbred, against Aduocates, the first President shewing that a reformation was as necessarie in Iudges as in Aduocates. In the end a decree was made, by the which it was ordained E and appointed, that euery Aduocate should set downe vnder his hand, in the end of his writings, what he had taken for his owne fees, to the end that in case of excesse, it might be moderated, when as the Court should proceed to iudgement of the proceffe. Moreover, they should giue a certificate what they had taken for the pleading of causes, to be set downe in the taxe of charges, all vpon paine of extortion. This law was not made against the good, but onely to restraine the auarice of others, who preferre the oportunitie of taking, before all apprehension. All notwithstanding did oppose themselves against the execution of this law, saying, that they would rather leaue their places, then subiect themselves to the rigour of the Decree, and do so great a wrong to the dignity and liberty of their profession.

The spices is  
a due vnto  
Iudges, vpon  
euery cause  
that is iudged  
definitively  
in France.

The first de-  
cree against  
Aduocates.

F The Court made another Law, whereby it was decreed, that such as would not pleade, should deliuer their names vnto the Register, after the which they were forbidden to practise as Aduocates, vpon paine of falshood. This second decree was pronounced in open assembly in the house of the Kings Atturney generall. The next day there went out of the chambers of Consultation, by two & two, to the number of three

The second  
decree against  
Aduocates.

C c c c c

hundred

1602.

Defence of  
the Aduocates.

hundred and seuen, they past through the pallace hall, went to the Register to give vp A their hoods, and to declare that they obeyed the second decree, seeing they could not obey the first. From that time the pallace was without pleading, the Aduocates being busied to defend themselves, yet they royle was not great for them to maintaine a bad cause for themselves, which had defended so many for others. The cause was bad indeed, for that it did impugne the Iustice of a law made at the Estates of Blois, and that it seemed priuate men would know more then the law it selfe. They caused a Declaration to be published at Paris, in the name of a young Aduocate, but it was written by one of the learnedst of the pallace, declaring that as of custome they should referre their reward to the discretion of the parties; the reasons were grounded vpon the fidelity, discretion, learning, and eloquence of the Aduocates of the Court of Parliament B of Paris, to whom they could not reproch preuarication, or filthy contracts, so ordinarie heretofore at Rome, or that they euer had proceffe for their Fees, although they plead infinit causes, for the which through the pouertie or misprision of parties, the Aduocates haue not any thing, and others for the which they receiue no recompence, but a yea, yea three or foure after their employments. They shewed, that they could not iudge of the excessiue fees of a Pleader, vnlesse they knew the time which had bin employed to peruse the writings, and to study the questions, and that sometimes bare words cost more whole nights, then a long discourse, which shall containe many Cytations, will require quarters of houres. That for this respect the President Thou in a famous cause, after that he had pronounced sentences, sayd, (as hauing charge from the Court) that all which Princes and Noblemen gaue vnto their Aduocates, could in no sort equall the recompence which their care, diligence, and knowledge did merit. That this profession is very laborious and painfull, to the which the gate of the greatest dignities of the Realme was open, when as they knew not what it was to buy such Offices.

That there is nothing comparable to the apprehension of an Oratour, to loose in one day the reputation which he hath purchased in thirtie yeares, when as he speakes in the presence of 3000. persons which neuer heard him, and that an inconsiderate word or a defect of memorie (wherein the greatest Oratours haue sayled) should blemish all the D fruites of their study. That this profession being an Art which consumes much, it shold be fauored, to the end that such as are in that course might be encouraged to perseuer, and others inuited which might succeed them. That next to the Art of warre there is nothing more generous, then to oppose themselves to the violence of great men, notwithstanding all their secret and open threats: and to make Truth, Equitie, and Iustice to shine through a million of cloudes, which they would obscure by diuers Contracts: To cause the wicked to tremble, to incourage good men, and to be a Sanctuary to innocents oppressed, and by the liuely force of an eloquent discourse, capable to moue rockes, to breake the hardnesse of mens hearts banded to support iniustice and wrong, and according to occasions which should be presented, extoll vnto E heauen, his Prince, and countrey. That it was impossible that they which had attained to the most difficult sciences in the world, shold submit themselves to the scandall of Sollicitours, who would giue lesse to the Aduocate then their masters had commaunded them, and to couer their theft they would make them beleue, they would not giue them quitances for such a summe, although they had taken all. That the very day this Order shold take place, all Liberties shold be banished from the Barre, there beeing few which could resolue to liue otherwise, then vnder the Lawes which great personages haue made, hauing immortalized their names by their Learning and Eloquence, who could not do any thing against their Honour, no more then against their consciences, flying dishonest things, not as vnlawfull, but as shamefull and reprochful. That posteritie will neuer approoue the counsel which some would giue his Maie- F stie, to bee the first that shold beginne to disfaue those which had bene alwaies held and esteemed among the best and most pregnant wits of his Kingdome, and who by their golden penne and immorall sounding voyce do consecrate to eternitie the

1602.

A the worthie actions, and glorious deeds of armes, of great Kings, and great Captaines: yet could they not moue the Court to reuoke or change the Decree; they were forced to haue recourse vnto the King, to reconcile this diuision, which happened vpon a day, which reuiued the memory of a greater trouble, sent his letters to the Parliament in tearmes conformable to his iustice, and the wisdom of his Councel. By the which it was lawfull for Aduocates to exercise their functions, as they had done before the sayd Decree, enioyning them notwithstanding to obserue the ordinance made at Blois in that behalfe, in the 161. Article. The parties which had sutes did languish in expectation of this declaration. As they complained of the corruption, so they suffered the inconueniencie of the remedy.

B The Court which had made many iust and seuer Lawes against Duels and Combats, confirmed the Edict which the King made at Blois. Before his Maiesties departure from Fontainebleau, he had commanded the Constable, Chancelor, Marshals of France and the chiefe of his Councell, to deuise some meanes to suppress the libertie of Duels, being so iniurious and preiudiciall to his Estate. By their aduice an Edict was made, by the which they that call, or are called, or which assist, or second him that calls, or is called, are declared guiltie of high Treason, and to be punished according to the rigor of the Lawes. Commanding the Constable, Marshals of France, Gouvernours, and Lieutenants generall of Prouinces, to preuent Duels, and to forbid them vpon paine of death, to iudge absolutely as they shall thinke good, of all that concernes the reparation of wrongs, and to force them that are condemned, to satisfie by imprisonment. C It is true, that the custome of fighting is stronger then the Law, that the obedience of the Law is alwaies held for faintnesse of heart, and to kill in single combat not for iniuries and offences alone, but for opinions and shadowes of offences is but a sport, being to be feared that Duels wilbe as ordinarie in France as in the Realme of Narsingue, whereas the King doth not only allow them, but doth also assist, and giues markes of honor and recompence to the victors, vpon condition that another might take it from him by the same meanes that he had gotten it, in measuring their armes. But it is lost labor to prescribe lawes to them who thinke their courages cannot be subiect, nor D the French kept from fighting being of such an humor as they cannot liue otherwise, but must with the losse of their liues pay their apprenticeship of Fencing.

Whilst the enemy watched to ouerthrow this Estate, and that to minister occasion to speake of them, they would set *Diana's* Temple on fire, and consume obedience to ashes, the King neglected not the meanes to crosse their desseignes. The voyage which he made into Poyctou, diuerted the effects, and reclaimed them to their duties which by perswasions and dangerous impressions were gone astray. And although wee haue some feeling of the last Frenzie, and that the Feauer which hath so afflicted the body, hath in it some bad humors, that the people is by nature variable and easily drawne away. Yet the pretexts which they tooke to moue them, were reiected like drugges E which had taken wind, and bitter pilles guilt ouer with goodly hopes, to profit by the change of the present Estate. In the end the King effected his busines happily in Poitou: he found so great an obedience in them to please him, as hee remained very well satisfied. His Maiesty left so many testimonies in all places of his bounty, as al had cause to praise him, and to blame their practises which sought to trouble the peace. The D. of Biron did not thinke the King shold haue found so great obedience and loue, among his subiects of that Prouince. He had sent some of his seruants to Court, to learne how the market went, and to shew the discontent he had for the ialousie which was conceiued of his faith and duty. The King who was well informed of his intelligences with the Count of Fuentes, resolved to see him, and to keepe him from his enemies. Hee sent *Descares* F vnto him, with charge to say, that hauing intelligence of the great Leuiies of soldiers made in Italy, hee had resolved to maintaine the bodie of an armie vpon the frontier, and to giue the charge vnto him, and to that end hee had commanded *de Vic* his Ambassador in Suisse, to demand a leuy of 6000. men, and to cause them to march where he shold haue directions: that therein he followed the counsell of the Constable

An Edict against combats.

Fruites of the Kings voyage into Poitou.

The King sends for the Duke of Biron



1602.

The President  
Janin lent vn-  
to him.Diues adui-  
ses giuen to  
the Duke of  
Biron.He receiued  
many misfa-  
ges to turne  
him backe.

his gossip, whose aduice he sent him in writing, and desired to haue his by mouth, con-  
iuring him to come with speed. He stirres not for all that, excusing himselfe sometimes  
vpon the holding of the Estates: sometimes that the enemy being so neare, it were an  
act vnworthy of his reputation to turne his backe and abandon the frontier. The King  
sent the President *Janin*, a man powerfull in perswasion, who comming to Dijon, gaue  
the Duke to vnderstand how much the King desired to see him, and how necessary this  
fight was, and among many discourfes (applyed fitly to his humor) he let him know the  
Kings strength, and the length of his arme. This was not able to moue him. He con-  
sidered that the Duke of Biron must be perswaded to this voyage, by him that was all  
of his counsell, whom he assured that as he should haue all the Honour of this perswa-  
sion, so he could expect nothing but disgrace and ruine of a contrarie counsell. His  
friends notwithstanding did coniure him not to come, one of his best friends sent him  
word by his brother, that his gouernement was disposed of, and that for his last  
hope he aduised him to retire into the Franche Conté. Another friend sent him word  
that he should distrust all he saw, and all that should be sayd vnto him to moue him  
to come: that the Kings letters were golden Pills: that *La Fins* assurances were but de-  
ceits, and to consider that the voyage which the Vidame of Chartres had made to Au-  
tun (to assure him that his Vncle had sayd nothing) was made at the Kings charge. But  
another friend sent him a contrary aduice to come, and that his onely presence would  
disperce all these bad reports. There was danger in either. The King sware hee would  
go fetch him: He should haue seene himselfe beleeged with the Kings forces, and farre  
from the strangers which had charge to passe into Flanders. In going, the foulness  
of his offence could giue him no hope to returne. He takes that aduice which he thinks  
lesse perillous, and nothing doth so much aduance the execution, as the assurance he  
takes of that which *La Fin* had written vnto him, whom he sees returned to his house  
contented, and freed from all distrust. So the Duke promisseth to come vnto the King  
about the middest of Iune, to some of his houses neere vnto Paris. It was a signe of di-  
strust which the King dissembled, as being indifferent vnto him. The President *Janin*  
goes before, and the Duke of Biron with *Desceurs* follow after by easie iourneys. Vpon  
the way he had an aduice sent him to come no further, and being at Montargis he was  
in great suspence, but hee had so great a confidence of himselfe, and of the opinion  
which all the Court had of his valor, as he did not beleue there was any man so hardy  
as to lay hold of him, and that if he might haue but meanes to draw his sword, he would  
free himselfe from his enemies. He flattered himselfe in his vanity, and pleased himselfe  
as *Pigmalion* did in his Image, and *Narcissus* in his Shadow. The counsell which they  
gaue him to humble himself vnto the King, was the last anchor of his health. He found  
no man that spake for his pride, but euery man would haue intreated for his humilitie:  
But his courage was too great to stoope. Presumption had filled his eares with so much  
vanity, as the voice of Truth could not enter. If he were not resolved to take that course  
what need he come? He should consider that he had offended the King, that offences  
of Princes are fixed stars, their fauors are moueable, & are like to the Egyptian wheels.  
That if the King had had no other prooffe of his bad desseignes, but what suspicion and  
opinion might giue him, it had bene alwaies dangerous to approach. If he had known  
nothing but by dreames and diuinations, yet should he thinke it had bene sufficient to  
put him to death. We must thinke (sayd *Neslor* to *Agamemnon*) that all that a Prince  
doth dreame for the conduct of his Estate is true. And if the innocencie of that wher-  
of hee was accused, had assured him of his returne, yet should he consult with his con-  
science: it is better to relye in her, then in all the assurances which the offence can ima-  
gine, to free him from the punishment which followeth him, as the shadow doth the  
body. The conscience is the accuser, the witnes, and the iudge of the most secret crimes  
the poursuites and torments whereof cannot be auoyded.

These with other reasons were giuen to stay him in his iourney. But it is impossible  
to auoyde the prouidence of Heauen. The Duke of Biron will needes carrie his head to  
the Kings Iustice. The discourse of Reason, or the iudgements of Truth preuaile not  
with

A with a spirit transported with passions. There were many badde présages of the Dukes  
voyage. A Duke came into his cabinet and no man knew how, he commanded it  
should be carefully kept, but as soone as he was parted it died. Presently after the horse  
which the Arch-duke gaue him called *Pasfranz*, fell mad and killed himselfe. The like  
happened to a horse which he had from the great Duke. Another horse which the  
Duke of Lorraine gaue him, pined to death.

He came to Fontainebleau, when as they had no more hope of his comming, and the  
King had resolved within two or three dayes after to go into Bourgongne. His Maiestty  
walking in the great garden about sixe of the clocke in the morning, was heard say  
vnto the Lord of Souvray. *He will not come? He had scarce spoken these words, but he*  
sees him enter with him. The King sayd, *he comes fitly to conduct him to his house.* He ad-  
uanceth and makes three great courtesies a good distance off. The King embraced him  
and sayd, *that he was come in good time to conduct him to his house:* which words were di-  
uerly vnderstood by the hearers. The first words he vsed vnto the King, were vpon the  
occasion of his comming, beginning to excuse his long stay. The King gaue eare to  
few words, but tooke him by the hand, to walke and to shew him the plot of his build-  
ing. Passing from one garden to another, the Duke of Espernon saluting the Duke of  
Biron, told him in his eare, that in comming he had giuen more credit to his own cou-  
rage, then to the counsell of his friends. In all the discourse which he had with the King,  
C as there appeared coldnesse in the countenance of the one, so there was some signe of  
perturbation in the others words. The King talked vnto him of the bad course hee had  
taken, the which had no other issue, then ruine, repentance, and despaire. The Duke of  
Biron answered, *That he was not come either to iustifie himselfe, or to demand pardon, or to*  
*accuse his friends.* He let scape many other words, which his Maiestties presence and the  
law of duty should haue restrained. It is not sufficient to be faithfull, if his tongue and  
heart do not witness his loyalty.

Dinner time being come, he desired to dine with the Duke of Espernon, for that his  
owne Trayne was not yet come. After dinner they came to see the King, who hauing  
walked a litle in the Hall, retired into his Cabinet, commanding two or three to enter,  
D and sayd nothing to the Duke of Biron, who stayed at the corner of the bedde towards  
the chaire, obseruing that he was not respected as he had wont to be, and that hee was  
no more in opinion and admiration as he had bene. The Marquis of Rhosny entred in-  
to the Cabinet, and hauing stayed there almost halfe an hower, he came forth and fa-  
luted the Duke of Biron, telling him, that the King asked for him. There he was perswa-  
ded not to conceale that which time could not long keep hidden, and whereof the K.  
was so well informed: that what he desired to know from the Dukes owne mouth, was  
but to let him see, that none but himselfe should haue knowledge thereof. The D. of  
Biron (who thought that *La Fin* had not discovered any thing) continued still firme, v-  
pon the protestations of his innocency, beseeching the King to do him iustice, against  
E them that sought to oppress him by slanders: insupportable to a conscience so cleare  
as his was, or to suffer him to take his reuenge by the sword. The King led him to the  
Tennis court: he could make the match, saying, *That the Duke of Espernon and he, would*  
*play against his Maiestie and the Count of Soissons.* The Duke of Espernon answered pre-  
sently, *You play well, but you make your matches ill.* At night hee supped with the Lord  
Steward. It appeared he was not content. He ate not any thing, no man spake to him,  
and they held him for a man abandoned to misfortune. Yet he thought no man would  
lay hand on him, trusting too much in his owne courage. The King in the meane time  
walked in his chamber, deuising of some great resolution, he was heard speake these  
words, *he must bend or break.* He gaue him time to take counsell of his conscience, & to  
evaporate those bad humors which did choke him. The night past so quietly as many  
thought it would be but a thunder-clap, which made a great noise, and did little harme,  
that the King would rest satisfied to haue discovered the treason, and taken all meanes  
from the traytors to hurt him, not being conuenient to discover all the conspirators.  
He commanded the Count of Soissons to go to the D. of Biron, & to do what he could

C c c c 3

to

1602. to dissolue the hardnes of his heart, and to draw the truth from him: he goes vnto him, A he coniures and adiures him, to think of that which he thought least of to humble himselfe, and to feare the Lyons paw, and the indignation of a King. The Duke of Biron answered, *That the King could not complaine but of the good seruices he had done him, and that he had great reason to complaine that he suspected his loyalty, hauing giuen him so many proofs.* The Count of Soissons hauing obserued his humor, and what little fruite might be drawne from his obdurate heart, by any more perswasions, who beleeued that the K. had sent him to draw something from him, he left him. Early the next morning the King walking in the little Garden, he sent for the Duke of Biron, and talked long with him, thinking to reclaim him, and to giue him means to free himselfe from the mischief in- to the which he did run headlong by his wilfulnesse. He continued long bare-headed, lis- B ting his eyes vp to heauen, beating his brest, and making great protestations to main- taine his innocencie. There appeared choller in the Kings countenance, and by the Duke of Biron's behaviour there seemed fire in his words.

Disimulation  
a new vertue  
in Princes.

In great acci-  
dents iustice  
is without for-  
malitie.

From thence the Duke went to dinner, by the way he met one with a Letter which aduised him to retire himselfe: he shewed it to the Captaine of his Guard, who wished that hee had bene stabd with a Dagger, so as he had not come. He mocked at all them which fore-told his fall, and seemed alwaies hardy and bold in his answers. The King heard his braueries coldly, but not able to apply himselfe to dissemble, which is held a C new vertue in Princes, he still cast out some words of the bad estate into the which his wilfulnesse would bring him. The King was much troubled in mind before he could res- olue: the Lords of Villeroi, Sillery, and Geure went and came often, before they could vnderstand whereunto it tended. Many thought it was to shorten the course of Iustice, in so apparent a crime, and begin with the execution, dealing with the Duke of Biron, as Alexander did with Parmenio: for Princes are Masters of the Lawes, they haue one forme of Iustice for great men, and another for those whose qualitie requires not so great respect. In these accidents there is no difference whether bloud be drawne be- fore or after dinner; Necessity teacheth the disorder, and the Profit doth recompence D the Example, so as the Estate be preferred by the death of him that is prevented. But the King will none of that. He proceeds with more courage and Generositie: these ex- amples of execution had bin blamed in his Predecessors, he will haue his subiects, and all the world to know, that he hath power and authority sufficient to root out by the forme of Iustice, not the authors of such a conspiracy, for they be diuels, but the com- plices and the instruments how terrible foeuer. He will haue the solemnities and lawfull ceremonies obserued, and that they be iudged by the rigour of the Lawes. He vseth no Proscriptions, he makes no Proclamations, that he will giue 100000. crownes to him, that shall bring the Conspirators heads, and will make his house Noble: hee sends for them, they come, and being come hee punisheth them.

The Duke of  
Biron carried a  
short sword.

He prayseth  
the King of  
Spaine.

The resolution was taken to apprehend him, and in like sort to seaze vpon the Count of Auvergne. The King would not haue them taken in the Castell, but in their lod- E gings. The Duke of Biron who had some doubt thereof, and who was prepared for that which he could not fore-see nor prevent, thought that hee needed not to feare any thing in the Kings Chamber, and that all the danger were at the going forth; and therefore he provided himselfe of a short sword, with the which he presumed to make his passage. They gaue the King to vnderstand, that if he were apprehended in any o- ther place, it must needs be bloody: that to auoyde an inconuenience, it was good to passe ouer respects that were more vaine then necessary. The King walking in the Gal- lery, called for Vitry and Pralin, and gaue them order how he would haue his coman- dements executed, and then he called for his Supper. The Duke of Biron sapt at Mon- tigny's lodging, where he spake more proudly and vainly then euer, of his owne Me- F rits, and of the friends he had gotten in Suifferland. Then he fel to commend the decea- sed King of Spaine, his Piety, Iustice, and Liberality. Montigny stayed him suddenly, saying, *That the greatest commendation they could giue vnto his memorie, was to haue put his owne Sonne to death, for that he had attempted to trouble his Estates.* This speech brake off,

A off the Duke of Biron's discourse, who answered but with his eyes, and thought of it with some little amazement. After supper the Count of Auvergne and the Duke of Biron came to the King, who walked in the garden. They were well accompanied, in- tending to haue gone with a lesse traine. It was sayd the Dukes horses were sadled ready to be gone, and that he had asked leaue in the morning. The King hauing done walking, inuited the Duke of Biron to play; they entred into the Queenes Chamber. The Count of Auvergne passing by the Duke at the entry of the doore, sayd vnto him in his care, *We are undone.* There plaied at Primero, the Queene, the Duke of Biron (vpon whom all the mischief must fall) and two others. The King plaied at Cheffe, and in playing did act the part of Vlisses, going and comming to giue order to his affaires. B It appeared that his spirit was troubled with a waighy action. Hee entred into his Cabinet, being perplexed with two contrary passions, doubtfull wherevnto hee should yeeld. The loue which hee had borne to the Duke of Biron, the knowledge hee had of his valour, and the remembrance of his seruices, made him to reiect all thoughts of Ius- tice, and to treat him, as *Licurgus* had done him that put out his eye. On the other side, feare of trouble in his Estate, and the apprehension of the execrable effects of so vnaturall a conspiracy, accused his clemency of cruelty, which preferred the priuate before the publike. Hee praied vnto God to assist him with his Holy Spirit, to pacifie the combat which hee felt in his soule, and to fortifie him with a holy resolution, to C that which should bee for the good of his people, ouer whom hee commanded by his onely grace. His praier beeing ended, all difficulties which troubled him were disper- sed, and he fully resolved to deliuer the Duke of Biron into the hands of Iustice, if hee might not otherwise draw the truth from him of his disloyall enterprises. They conti- nued play still, the King taking the Queenes place some-times, attending the end of his resolution. The Count of Auvergne was retired, the King sent for him, and walked vp and downe the chamber whilst the Duke of Biron dremp of nothing but his game. *Varennas* Lieutenant of his company, making a shew to take vp his cloake, told him in his care, *That he was undone.* This word troubled him so, as hee neglected his game. The Queene obserued it and told him, *That he had misreckoned himselfe to his owne losse:* The D King sayd; *That they had plaied ynough, commanding euery man to retire.* He entred into his Cabinet, and commanded the Duke of Biron to enter with him, whose health or ru- ine depended vpon an answer pleasing to his Maiesty. Who willed him once for all to declare what he had done with the Duke of Sapoy, and the Count of Fuentes, and that he should assure himselfe, his clemency should be greater then his fault. The Duke of Biron who beleeued that hee deserued death that demanded life, had not the heart to humble himselfe, nor the tongue to craue pardon. He answered the King more boldly then euer, *That they had overprest an honest man, and that he neuer had any other design, then that which hee had sayd. I would to God it were so,* replied the King, *but you will not tell it me: Adieu, good night.*

He plaies at  
Primero with  
the queene.

He will not  
humble him-  
selfe to the  
Kings Cle-  
mency.

He is seized  
on at the  
Kings Cham-  
ber doore.

E As he goes out of the Cabinet, and had past the chamber doore, hee met with Vitry, who laies his hand vpon his sword, and demands it of him by the Kings commandment. *From mee (sayd the Duke of Biron) to take away my sword who haue so well serued the King? my sword, who haue ended the war, and haue settled a peace in France? That my sword which my enemies could neuer take from mee, should bee taken from mee by my friends.* Hee intreated the Duke of Montbazon to beseech the King, to giue him leaue to deliuer it into his owne hands. The King sent Vitry charge to doe his commandement. The Duke of Biron was forced to suffer them to take it from him, and in deliuering it, hee cast his eyes about him, to see if hee could seize vpon some other, but they had preuen- ted him. When as he saw all the gard placed in order in the Gallery, hee thought they would haue slaine him, and demanded some-thing in his hand, *That hee might haue the honour to die in defending himselfe, and some little time to pray vnto God.* They answered him; *That there was not any man would offend him, that they had no other charge from the King, but to conduct him to his lodging.* You see (sayd he in passing) how they in- treat good Catholics.

Hee

1602.

The Count of Auvergne taken

False bruits of the causes of his imprisonment.

A Letter written by one of the Kings servants.

The Marshall Launardin sent into Burgundy.

He was conducted to the Cabinet of armes, whereas he neither slept, nor laie downe. A *Pralin* went to the Count of Auvergne, declared vnto him the Kings commandment, and demanded his sword; *Hold, take it said the Count, it hath neuer killed any but wilde boares, if thou hadest aduertised me of this, I had bene in bed and a sleepe two houres since.* These two Noblemen were like vnto two torches, which beeing held downeward are quenched with the waxe which did nourish them and giue them light. And as if all the duques power had bin in his sword, as soone as he had deliuered it, he remained as a body without a soule, and was in a moment depriued of all that which *Galba* held most precious amongst men, faith, liberty and friendshipp. There came no word out of his mouth but did offend God or the King. He suffered himselfe to bee carried away with extreame impatience. The fore-sight of misery which doth moderate it in others, made B it insupportable to him, cursing himselfe and his indiscretion, in that he had not beleueed his good friends, who aduised him to make his peace a farte off. This choller in effect was not much vnlike vnto a mad man, but in the countenance: for suddenly he reclaimed himselfe and considered that all his cries and words, were not of force to saue him.

Presently dispatches were made to all the Princes and Potentats of Christendome, to Gouvernors of Prouinces and to Ambassadors, who were amazed at this accident, as of a most odious conspiracy, by a person that was so much obliged. Those which fauored it, gaue out false brutes in Italy, that it was a blow giuen to Religion, to weaken it in the ruine of him who sayd that hee desired no more glorious tide, then to bee furnamed the *Scurge of the Huguenots*. That it was an aduice from England to breake the lauelins one after another. The King would haue these false impressions made cleere by the light of truth, euen whereas the passion of his enemies did seeke to obscure it.

One wrying out of the Realme vpon this subiect, sayd, That it was no question of Religion, but to dismember the crowne, and to diuide it at the discretion of the Countsell of Spaine, and the Duke of Sauoy, rooting out the King and his Race. It may bee the Authors and vndertakers would haue bene troubled in the execution of their deigne, although we had not preuented them, as now we haue. But it was the end wherevnto they aspired. The names of many haue beene drawn in vnkowne to them, the which the Kings Iustice might wel discerne and verifie: you must not bee moued with the bruits which flie abroad, but beleue what I write vnto you, for it is the very truth. The next day about dinner-time, the Duke of Biron sent to tel his Maiesty, That if hee tooke not order for Burgundy it was lost, for that as soone as the Baron of Lux, should heare of his imprisonment hee would vndoubtedly deliuer Dijon, and Beaune vnto the Spaniard. These words did greatly offend the King, who sayd; Behold the bouldnesse and impudency of the Marshall *Biron*, who sends mee word, that Burgundy is lost, if I take not order, and that the Baron of Lux will draw in the Spaniard when he shal heare of his imprisonment. His obstinacy hath vndone him, if hee would haue told mee the truth of one thing, whereof I haue prooffe by his owne hand writing, he should not bee where he is; I would I had payd two hundred thousand crownes, that hee had giuen mee meanes to pardon him. I neuer loued any so much as him. I would haue committed my sonne and Realme into his hands. Hee hath done me good seruice, yet he cannot deny but I haue thrice saued his life. I drew him out of the enemies hands at Fontaine-Francoise, so wounded, and so amazed with blowes, that as I playd the souldier to saue him, I also playd the Marshall to make the retreat, for hee told mee that hee was not then in case to doe it, nor to serue me. The King attended not this aduertisement from the Duke of Biron, for hee had already sent the Marshall *Launardin* to settle his Authority in that Prouince, with a resolution to march in person if there were neede. His enemies were not without feare, doubting that hee would proceed farther, nothing being so much to be feared as an enemy that hath alwaies vanquished. About fiftene daies before, *Bourg l'Espinaffe* received a Commission to raise a regiment of tenne companies, and *Nereffan* had the like to supply his. The order was to send them into Prouence, but necessity had drawne them into Bourgongne, with two regiments of Suisses, vnder

1602.

A vnder the commands of the colonels, *Galaty* and *Heyd*, and a great quantity of Artillery drawne out of the Arcenall of Paris, and that of Lions, it all the country had not presently yeelded obedience to their Prince. The President *Janin* made many voyages thether with great expedition. Some of the Duke of Biron's seruants had a desire to seeke the prisoners liberty by proofes of obedience, and not by effects of rebellion, and that he would iudge of his intentions by the behauiour of his seruants. The townes of Dijon and Beaune intrenched themselves against the castles, who (acknowledging that it were not onely a rashnesse, but an iniustice to fall from their obedience) deliuered the B care of *Boesfe*. All France was in peace, euery man detesting the Duke of Biron and his adherents. The King seemed to bee very well satisfied, seeing things to succeed better then hee expected, hauing found all obedience and submission in them who in shew were most bold and resolute to trouble his affaires. Hee was more respected and feared of them then euer, and there was no man so great, but did humble himselfe. He sayd openly, that hee was resolued not to indure his subiects to play any more with their King, abusing his bounty as many had done, contemning his actions as vniustly and rashly as without punishment. The prisoners were led to the Bastille at Paris on the Saterdag after. The Duke of Biron going in the boate, seemed heauy and C penfue. The Count of Auvergne was merry and dined. The Duke of Biron entred into the Bastille as into a graue: The Count of Auvergne went as to the Louvre, and imagined that the place where hee should bee, could not be a prison: The King entred into the city the same night, and the people with great cries of ioy, blessed his returne, and praised God for their captiuitie that would haue brought France againe into seruitude.

The King comes to Paris.

This great Prince who like vnto *Augustus* neuer thought of the death of the least of his subiects but with sighes, did shew that a father cuts off his members with griefe. Some daies after a Gentleman comming to doe his dutie to his Maiesty, sayd vnto him, that he held his life, fortune and honour of him, and that hee came for to doe him D homage: To whom the King answered aloud, that hee might bee vnderstood. *I knowe you well, if euerie one did resemble you I should not bee in the paine I am.* There were new forces which passed the Alpes. The Spanish Ambassadour demanded passage for Flanders, beseeching the King not to beleue that his master was acquainted with the Duke of Biron's defeignes.

There was some likelihood that their iourney was not so farre, for they could not but arriue to late, Count *Maurice* was entred into Brabant, to passe into Flanders to the reliefe of Ostend. The Archduke was prepared to hinder him; they must measure their forces, and it was most certaine before this new army had past the Alpes, they had met. This made their marching to bee much suspected, and had done more, if the President *Janin* had not assured the King, that the Baron of Lux would not giue care to the offers that were made him, promising to bring him to the court, where the King offered him all surety. His Maiesty was aduertised that the Count of Fuentes (one of the chiefe instigators of the Duke of Biron's conspiracy with the Duke of Sauoy) had caused his forces to aduance vnder colour of sending them into Flanders, to giue fauor and countenance to his Partisans that were in Bresse & Burgundy, to encourage them and to with-draw them from his Maiesties obedience. For these reasons as the Ambassadour of Spaine did presse to haue the passage vpon the riuier of Rhosne free. The King who beleueed that by reason of things past, hee could not bee to distrustfull answered, *I will not leaue the frontier vnarmed, vntill I bee satisfied by the arraignment of the Duke of Biron, what account I shall make of the faith of the King of Spaine your Maister, touching the obseruation of the peace. You will haue mee beleue that he was ignorant of plots and practises laied with the Count of Fuentes, and I answer that it is hard to beleue that his money, hath bene so bountifully employed without his priuety and command: yet I meane not to breake the commerce that is allowed* by

Passage of troupes for Flanders.

1602.  
The King  
commands  
the Marshall  
Lauvain to  
camp up on  
the frontier.

by our Treaties. He had only commanded the Marshall *Lauvain* to lodge and campe A  
vpon the frontier, to defend the entry of his Estates. *D'Albigny* hauing bragged; that  
it hee attempted to retrench the passage, he should soone hane it laied open by armes.  
But the Spaniards durst not attempt to passe the bridge of Grefin, fearing to bee re-  
pulsit and charged, retyred to Rumilly and Anicy. In the end the King seeing that they  
feared more their owne harme, then they had any desire to doe harme, hee suffered  
them to passe.

The Estate of  
the prisoner  
in the Bastille.

The Greue is  
the publike  
place of execu-  
tion in Paris.

But to return to the Duke of Biron, it was a strang thing that hauing consulted with  
himselſe, whether he should come to Court or not, he neglected his friends aduice, and  
tooke the worst resolution. A minde transported with passion, reiects the best rea- B  
sons, and retaines the most dangerous opinions. Like vnto a boulder which lets the  
floure passe, and keepe nothing but the Branne. Before his departure from Dijon, they  
sayd at Marſailles that hee was taken, and in parting his friends sent him word that hee  
should leaue his head where he carried it: and that there was no returne for him. Neuer  
prisoner was better garded, with more care, order and vigilancy. The King caused the  
Duke to be kept as in his owne house, and at liberty. And for that nature hath found no  
other remedies against the iniuries of fortune, and the wearinesse of life, then death,  
they feared that hee would offer violence to himselſe. And therefore those which kept  
him, carried no armes, and seeing himselſe serued with a knife without a point, hee sayd  
it was the way to the Greue. Scorning at death, he sayd, *that it cou'd not come vnlooked for,* C  
*to a man well resolved, nor strange to him that hath foreſcene it, nor shamefull to a resolute*  
*minde.* Yet he found that it is a miserable life not to be able to die, being deprived of all  
meanes to aduance death, and to haue no other consolation but in the onely desire of  
an impossible thing.

Hee spent the first daies of his imprisonment, without eating or sleeping. These  
violent motions of choller, and the heat of his blood, put him into a Fever, and griefe  
carried fuming passions vnto his braine, which increased his sicknesse, in the which (as  
in all other diseases) the feare of death, the paine of his body, and the alteration of his  
life, did much augment the griefe of his prison. Hee was some-what affraid least vnder  
colour of remedy, they should giue him poyson to cure all his griefes, and therefore he  
would haue them take a taste of euery thing, although there were no other assurance of  
his life, but what his owne conscience could giue him.

His captiuitie deprived him not of the liberty of speaking. The fire of his courage  
was not smothered vnder the ashes of this affliction. What sayd hee? and what sayd  
hee not? choller thrust forth a streame of words, in the which there was not a drop of

His words  
in prison.

reason. Some-times he sayd; That if they desired to put him to death, they should dis-  
patch him; that they should not bragge they had made him to feare death; that they  
should speedily drinke themselues drunke, with the blood which remained of thirty and  
thiue wounds, which he had receiued for the seruice of France.

It is the nature of great spirits not to bee silent for present perils or the feare of serui- E  
tude. They feared that solitarinesse, fasting, melancholy and change of the place  
would trouble his braine, and thrust him into some furious passion. To pacifie the  
discontent of his first imprisonment, they perswaded him to submit himselſe to the mer-  
cy of God, and gaue him hope of the Kings pardon. The Archbishop of Bourges  
went to see him, hee dissuaded him from many bad Maximes of Bourges, and satis-  
fied him of many points which he held against the purity and integrity of a iust confes-  
sion: Hee desired to speake with *Villeroy* and *Sillery*, who went to see him by the Kings  
commandment.

The Constable of Saint  
Paul an ex-  
amplar of an  
ambitious  
man.

They had told him, or hee had learned it in the time of his liberty by the reading F  
of Histories, that the Constable of Saint Paul had bene prysoner in the same place,  
and desired to see the discourse. They gaue him *Enguerrand* of Monstrelet, in whose  
Edition this Tragedy is related. Hee deceiued the time in the reading of Annals, the  
which he had amplified if they would haue let him alone. Hee should haue done bet-  
ter if hee had read them sooner, and had propounded vnto himselſe his fortune, whose  
dignity

A dignity hee did effect, full of so many accidents as it had bene sufficient to correct his. 1602.  
If hee had seene it sooner hee had found precepts which like vnto a Lanthorne had gi-  
uen him light amidst the darkenesse of this dangerous navigation, in the which hee  
had nothing but his owne ambition for compas and saile. Hee should haue knowne  
that *Machiavels* counsell (who saith that priuate men rise neuer from a base to a high  
fortune but by fraude, and force) is ruinous, and that humane lawes being grounded  
vpon diuine, suffer no confusion of designs whilſt that euery one doth limit them by  
this condition, and that hee knows that God doth distribute powers for the govern-  
ment of people: That it is alwaies dangerous to play with his maister, and although  
hee suffer him for a time, yet he is like vnto the Lyon who sodenly laies hold of him that  
thought to haue mastered him. The *Germanes* say wee may not eate Cherries with  
great men, for that they will cast the stones in our eyes if wee play the companions  
with them.

In the beginning of his imprisonment, he talked of nothing but of Iustice, but know-  
ing his fault hee had no hope but in the Kings mercy. Some one published an ad-  
monition at Paris, beseeching the King to change the punishment of death into per-  
petuall imprisonment, that of imprisonment into banishment and his banishment in-  
to an honourable seruitude to make warre against the Turke. That if by his offences  
he did not merit to serue the State, which he sought to ruine, yet he might serue the ge-  
nerall Estate of Christendome.

This counsell was dangerous, for who could assure the King that hee would make  
warre in Hungary: and what caution could bee sufficient for France? Hee had bene  
more dangerous without it, then within. A burning fire-band casts more flame and  
smoke without a chimney, then within it. Hee added moreouer, that hee should  
forbid him the carrying of armes, and tie him from the warre, but if hee should haue  
made his house his prison, who should haue kept him? if he had designed of reuenge in  
prison, what would hee haue done at Liberty? Many which respect no more the Lawes  
of Honour, then of Iustice, would haue repayed vnto him, to bring in ineuitable mis-  
chiefs. There was an intent to saue him. The iron worke was forged in Bresse. The  
refusal of fife hundred crownes, for the *Petardier*, hindred the execution. As soone  
as hee was a prisoner, euery one sayd hee was a dead man: and seeing himselſe so care-  
fully garded, hee sayd; *That they did not put birds of his sort into a cage, to suffer them*  
*to escape.* He made that iudgement of himselſe, which the Admirall did of the Earles of  
Egmont and Horne, when he heard they were prisoners: when they once come to ac-  
cuse and imprison a man of courage and faction, it is more dangerous to absolue him  
then to condemne him.

The King sent his Letters to the Parliament; to proceed in the criminall and extra-  
ordinary proceſse of the Duke of Biron, according to the formes which are to bee ob-  
serued in crimes of so great importance, against persons of his quality: all other af-  
faires set aside. The Commissioners appointed for the King, were *Achilles de Har-*  
*lay* first President in the Court of Parliament at Paris. *Nicholas Potier* second Presi-  
dent and Councillor of State to his Maieſty. *Stephen Fleury* and *Philibert* of the  
Parliament, good Iudges, but not to bee mooued in crimes of  
State. Informations were taken at the Bastille. The prisoner made some ceremo-  
nies to answer, but being entred into discourse, hee gaue the Commissioners matter  
enough to worke on, confessing in a manner all. From his answeres alone they might  
haue framed his condemnation, saying ynough to make him loofe as many liues as hee  
had yeeres. Hee had so ill gouerned his iudgement in his prosperity, as it did him no  
seruice during his imprisonment; yeelding some-times vnto griefe, some-times vnto  
choller, and alwaies to indiscretion, speaking as much to ruine himselſe, as to discharge  
him. Hee was confronted with the witnesses face to face; but when as hee did see *La*  
*Fin*, he fell into an extreame shaking.

The first President asked the prisoner, *if hee would except any thing against La Fin*,  
hee answered; *That hee held him for a Gentleman of honour, his friend, and his kinsman.*  
But

Letters to the  
Court of Par-  
liament to  
make his Pro-  
cedure.

Commission-  
ers appoint-  
ed.



1602. But when he had heard his deposition, hee cried out against him as the most execrable A  
man in the world, appealing to all the powers of Heauen and Earth, to iustifie his inno-  
cency. *La Fin* grieved that hee should hold him for a slanderer (a name common to all  
wicked men) sayd vnto him: *That he was sorry they were in a place where the one was allow-  
ed to speake all, and the other was forced to heare all.* Hee maintained all hee had sayd a-  
gainst him, and spake more plainly of his conspiracy, then in his deposition. The pri-  
soner sayd, *That if Renaze were there, he would auerre the contrary:* He was brought be-  
fore him, whereat he was much amazed to see him, whom he held to be dead; and who  
was out of his remembrance, as in an other world. He then beleued that the Duke of  
Sauoy had set him at liberty to ruine him, hee felt his conscience toucht, when as all B  
things conspired to his condemnation. An admirable iudgement of Gods secret Ius-  
tice, in this escape of *Renaze*. Mens intentions produce contrary effects. He was detain-  
ed prisoner at *Quiers* in Piedmont, to the end he should not discouer this practise; he  
escapes from his gard, and comes to fortifie his maisters deposition, who else had bene  
but one witness.

He is amazed  
to see *Renaze*  
whom he held  
to be dead.

No man dares  
sue for him.

Hee had many friends, but not to iustifie his innocency, as *Plato* sayth, *That many  
friends is a signe of wisdom, and want of them shewes the contrary:* There were none  
that durst presume to sue for his liberty or pardon. The King had made this attempt  
so detestable and odious to all the Princes and Noblemen of the Court, and the means  
to execute it so execrable, as all his friends were silent: there were some that sayd, that C  
for any other crime, yea if he had killed a Prince in the Kings Cabinet, they would haue  
begged his pardon, and would haue sacrificed their children to the Kings Iustice for  
an expiation of the offence, rather then to loose him. But in this act, friendship was  
a conspiracy, and intercession a crime. His friends went to *Saint Maur* where the King  
was: they cast themselves at his Maiesties feet to implore his mercy, and to moderate  
the severity of his iustice, more in consideration of his father, then for any respect of  
the sonnes seruices which could not equall his fault.

The King sayd, That it was a matter of such importance for his Estate, as he was con-  
strained to leaue it to the course of Iustice; that to haue attempted against him who  
was his King, and his benefactor was insupportable; that hee could not remit this D  
crime, but he must ruine himselfe, the Queene his wife, his sonne, and his Estate. That  
hee knew they were such true hearted Frenchmen, that as they desired not the one, so  
they would haue patience for the other. They hauing knowne the foulness of the  
fact, and the reasons which forced clemency to yeeld vnto Iustice, abandoned the pur-  
sute. The Countesse of *Rouffy* solicited the Court: The prisoners mother was not  
there. The King commanded the Court of Parliament to proceed to iudgement,  
without any intermission.

The prisoner was a Peere of France, the Barony of *Biron* beeing made a Duchy and  
a Peere by the King. A Peere cannot be iudged but by the King and his Peeres, but the E  
King is neuer present when he is a party, and that the accusation of the party concerns  
his person, his honour, or his Estate. And although the order of the ancient Peeres  
bee more in number then by the first institution, for that of the sixe secular Peeres, sue  
are vnited vnto the crown, and the sixth doth no more obey the King, yet the new crea-  
ted enioy the same priuiledges and prerogatives that the ancient did, and the last al-  
though hee bee above the number shall not bee iudged but by his Peeres, but may assist  
at the iudgement of another Peere, and haue his voyce as well as the Duke of *Bur-  
gundy*, who is the Deane of the Peeres, yea the wiues, whose Lands are erected into  
Payries, or that hold it by succession may assist. *Mathilda* Countesse of *Arthois* Peere of  
France, was called and deliuered her opinion with the other Peeres at the iudgement  
of *Robert* Earle of *Arthois*. But if the Peeres being called doe not appeere, they may F  
proceed. The Peeres of France were called to the arraignment of the Duke of *Biron*,  
they appeered not.

The peeres  
come not.

The Court forbears not to proceed, notwithstanding their absence. At the cham-  
bers beeing assembled, the Chancellor accompanied by *Mailles* and *Pontcarre* (two  
Councillors

A Councillors of the State) entred into the Parliament, two Sargents at armes and some  
officers of the Chancery going before him. He was receiued at the entring of the Bar  
by two ancient councillors, and being saluted by the Court, hee set him downe in the  
Presidents place: hauing deliuered the Kings intention, and his assurance of the inte-  
grity and wisdom of the Court, vpon an occasion importing the State, and vpon a  
foule crime in a person other waies recommended for his seruices, hee made a signe to  
*Stephen Fleury* the Reporter of the Proceffe to beginne. This was done for want of  
the Peeres. A request was made in the prisoners name that it would please the Court  
to allow him counsell to direct him in the formes of their proceeding, whereof hee  
was as ignorant, as he had let all France know how well he vnderstood the art of warre.  
De la *Guesle* the Kings Attorney Generall beeing heard vpon this request, and *Seruin* the  
S. leiter Generall speaking for him, hee sayd, that although this request seemed to bee  
grounded vpon some Presidents for that the like had bene granted vnto the Prince of  
Condé, Yet there was great diuersity and many considerations for the denying of  
this. Their opinions beeing giuen, it was reiectd. *Cicero* pleaded for *Rabirius* and  
*Anthony* for *Norbanus*, but there is no Aduocate admitted for crimes of State; coun-  
sell depends of the conscience of him that is accused, his defence must come from his  
owne innocency, and hee may well free himselfe from blame, without the mediation  
of any man, and without the helpe of an Aduocate.

His Proceffe  
reported.

His request  
reiection.

They which  
are accused, of  
crimes must  
plead for  
themselves.

C If hee bee innocent, truth will confound all the practises of his accusers; If hee bee  
guilty there is no excuse nor euasion but his guiltiness will appeere. It is not lawfull  
to defend the wicked, and good men haue no need of defence. They spent three sit-  
tings to examine the informations, which done, the conclusions of the Atturney Gene-  
rall were read and followed. There rested nothing but to heare the prisoner and to call  
him before the Parliament.

While they were viewing of the Proceffe, one had set vp a discourse vpon the Pal-  
lace gate, to moue the Iudges to pity, and that they should not punish the weakenesse  
of *Adam*, for the serpents subtilty. The Lord of *Montigny* came vnto the Bastille a-  
bout foure of the clocke in the morning; the prisoner who alwaies slept little (holding  
D sleepe to bee no life) was already vp and at his deuotion: hee would not trouble him  
in so necessary an action, but stayed vntill hee had done. Enting into his Chamber,  
hee told him the occasion of his comming, that the Court was assembled for his Pro-  
ceffe; that the Lord Chancellor was there, and had commanded him to bring him.  
Hee seemed a little troubled, although hee had bene aduertised that hee should bee  
sent for. Beeing ready, hee goes out of the Bastille, thinking neuer to returne, and  
that they drew him out of the cares of captiuitie, to lead him vnto the darkeness of  
death, and that hee left the prison to loose his life. Hee was conducted in the *Mar-  
quise* of *Rhoinies* Carosse, through the Arcenall to the Riuers side, where hee entred  
into a boate couered with Tapistry, in the which the Kings gardes were, the chiefe  
E Approches, the Ports, the Greue and the Towne-house, were manned with Suisses.  
Hee entred into the pallace by the first Presidents Garden, and went to rest him selfe in  
one of the Chambers, vntill hee were sent for, presenting him a breakfast before hee  
entred.

The houre beeing come, the Register went to call him, and hee entred into the gol-  
den Chamber. The place whereas Strangers haue come to implore Iustice of the  
King; whereas great Kings haue held it an honour to haue a place: where hee him-  
selfe had sat, and bene honoured with the most glorious Title of vertue: whereas one  
of the King Soliciters had said; That *Biron* had none before him to imitate: that hee  
could imitate none but himselfe, and that hee made himselfe inimitable to them that  
F should come after him. This place I say, shining with the beames of the Kings Iustice,  
made him to remember the change of his condition, the which forced him some-what  
to blush: an accident which happens to the most assured. The Scarlet robes doe  
more amaze him then all the red caffokes of Spaine, or the most fierce encounters of  
his enemies. He had no other place, then that which was appointed for men accused,

He enters and  
is heard in the  
golden cham-  
ber.

D d d d

beeing

1602. being set vpon a stoole within the Barre, but finding himselfe to farre off to heare, or A  
to bee heard; hee rose vp, and carried his stoole neerer, saying vnto the Chancellor,  
*Excuse mee my Lord, I cannot heare you, except you speake louder.* When the Duke of  
Alancou was examined before the King, and in open Court, hee was set in the mid-  
dest of the Hall vpon a lowe stoole; the Constable of Luxembourg, the Duke of Ne-  
mours, and the Chancellor of Poyet, were set within the Barre like to the Duke of Bi-  
ron. Hee sat with his cloake vnder his right arme, holding his hand sometimes by his  
side, after a brauing manner, the which notwithstanding did not become him ill, hauing  
his arme free to lift vp his hand to heauen, and to strike his breast, when hee would  
protest of his Loyalty to the Kings seruice. They would not haue allowed it in an o- B  
ther, being expected that men accused should shew humility outwardly, and feare  
inwardly.

In this Estate the Duke of Biron thought that in this great Senate hee should finde  
some one that would doe for him as *Sempronius Gracchus* had done for *Scipio*: that hee  
would speake openly, that hee would neuer indure the common-weale should receiue  
that disgrace to see *Scipio* set in the ranke and habit of men accused for crimes. Hee  
whom the Court had scene sit vpon the Flower-de-Luce, in recompence of the great  
seruices which hee had done. The Chancellor fitted his discourse in such sort, as there  
was no occasion to call him by his name, nor by those of his qualities. Of many points  
that were in his Proesse he collected five principall, the rest consisted in presumptions, C  
whereof he made no account, for that we must neuer moue the opinion of the Iudges  
vpon a matter that is without prooffe.

The first was to haue had conference with one called *Picoté* borne at Orleance and  
fled into Flanders, to haue intelligence with the Archduke, and had giuen him a hundred  
and fifty crownes for two voyages to that effect.

The second was; That hee had treated with the Duke of Sauoy three daies after his  
comming to Paris, without the Kings permission, offering him all assistance and seruice  
against all men, vpon hope of marriage with his third daughter.

The third, that hee had had intelligence with the Duke of Sauoy in the taking of  
Bourg and other places, giuing him aduise to attempt against the Kings army, and a- D  
gainst his owne person, discouering many things of importance.

The fourth was; That hee would haue brought the King before *Saint Katherins* fort  
to be flaine there: and to that end had written to the Gouvernor, giuing him some tokens  
whereby he should know his Maiesty.

The fifth was; That he had sent *La Fin* to treat with the Duke of Sauoy, and the count  
of Fuentes. The Duke of Biron denied all that he had confessed at his first examination,  
holding it no danger to suppress the truth, when as confession may hurt.

To the first the Duke of Biron answered, That *Picoté* being his prisoner in the Franch  
County and knowing that hee was acquainted with captaine *La Fortune* (who was his  
friend) he thought he might employ him for the reduction of the town of Seurre, wher- E  
in hee vsed such dilligence, as the place was assured for his Maiesties seruice: that since  
this reduction hee had not scene *Picoté* but in Flanders, when as he went for the con-  
firmation of the Peace, where hee came vnto him with some others, intreating him  
to bee an Intercessor for them vnto the King, that they might returne vnto their  
goods, and liue in their owne houses, promising him for recompence of his intercessi-  
on two sutes of Tapistry, the which hee reiected, with some spleene, for that they  
sought to buy his fauour, and for that they desired from him an assurance for their re-  
turne, he sent them to the Lords of Bellieure and Sillery, who knew what was fittest for  
them, and the formes that were to bee obserued for their returne. That it was true  
that *Picoté* had receiued a hundred and fifty crownes of him, but not for any other re- F  
spect, but for the charges hee had beene at in the reduction of Seurre, hauing often in-  
treated him, & prest him by many letters, to haue pity on him, as of one that was bani-  
shed from his house and country, hauing borrowed this sum to beare his charges in this  
reduction. That hee had put it to account in certaine summes which hee disbursed for

Accusations  
of the Duke  
of Biron.

The Duke of  
Biron's an-  
swer.

A for the Kings seruice, and that he neuer had any other businesse or conference with him. 1602

To the second he answered, that hee came to Paris fiftene daies after the Duke of Sa-  
uoyes arriual there; that *La Fin* who accused him, came after him. That it was true, the  
King dying at Conflans, and the Duke of Sauoy with him, after dinner the King  
retiring into his wardrope, he commanded the Count of Auvergne and him, to enter-  
taine the Duke of Sauoy: That the Count of Soissons, and the Duke of Montpensier  
comming into the chamber, hee gave them place, and went into the wardrope, tied the  
Kings points, gave him drinke, and presently after went to Paris. That vpon some  
speech which *Roches* the Dukes Secretary had with him touching the marriage of his  
Highnesse third daughter, hee acquainted the King therewith, who hauing since giuen

B him to vnderstand by *La Fortune*, that he did not like thereof, hee had no more dreamt of  
it. And in token that he had no intelligence with the Duke, nor will to conspire with  
any of his, the King hauing commanded him to accompany him in his returne, and to  
shew him the strongest towines in Bourgongne, hee had excused himselfe, beseeching  
his Maiesty to dispeace with him, fore-seeing that the Duke would not effect the Tre-  
aty, and that hee should bee greeued to make warre against a Prince, whom hee had ac-  
companied, and made good cheere vnto. Aduising the Baron of Lux to conduct him  
through the weakest towines, and not to giue him any time to view their fortifications.

To the third, that he had intelligence with the Duke of Sauoy, in the conquest of the  
country of Bresse, giuing him aduise to attempt against the Kings army. He answers, C  
that if he had had intelligence with the Duke of Sauoy, hee would not haue vnderaken  
Bourg, against the Kings opinion, being not assisted by any, but such as were ordinarily  
with him. That the Gouvernours of places (who were then the Dukes subiects and now  
the Kings) could witnesse if there were any fauour vsed, and if in making warre, hee had  
any other object, but the execution of his Maiesties commandements. That if he had  
had any bad intent, he had not yeilded vp Bourg so easily as he did.

To the fourth, vpon the aduise giuen to the Gouvernor of *Saint Katherins* fort to kill  
the King. He seetheth his Maiesty to remember, that hee alone did dissuade and diuert  
him from going to view the fort, giuing him to vnderstand, that there were very good  
D Gunners in the place, and that he could not goe without great danger. That vpon this  
aduise, his Maiesty altered his purpose, saying, that if hee desired to see the place, hee  
would bring him a plot of it the next day, offering his Maiesty to take it with five hund-  
red Hargubuziers, and that he himselfe would goe vnto the assault.

To the fifth, that hee had treated with the Duke of Sauoy, and the Count of Fuentes  
by the mediation of *La Fin*. Hee answered that beeing denied the keeping of the Cit-  
tadell of Bourg, hee grew into that dispaire, as hee had desired to bee all couered with  
bloud, being capable to say or to doe any thing. At these words the Chancellor asked  
him, with what bloud hee desired to bee couered? with mine owne answered the priso-  
ner, wishing to liue no longer after this refusal, and I would haue ingaged my selfe in  
E such sort among the enemies, as I would haue died there, or would haue returned all  
couered with bloud. That for two moneths space hee had written and spoken more  
then he ought, but hee had not omitted to doe well. Hee added moreover that *La Fin*  
had bewitched him with enchanted waters, and by speaking Images, as he was forced  
to submit himselfe to his will: That he spake not vnto him, but in secret and vnknowne  
words, calling him his Maister, his King, his Prince, his Lord. And scratching his left  
care. He spake execrable things against *La Fin*, to moue the Court not to regard his ac-  
cusation, and testimony. Hee that had not scene the fact verified by his owne letters,  
would haue sayd it was *vlisses* accusation, forging false letters from *Priam* to *Palame-  
des*. He still fled to his pardon, saying that hauing done nothing since, the Kings clemen-  
cy should remit his fault, and that if he must implore it once more, he had his knees as  
supple as euer to doe it. The Chancellor sayd vnto him, that he had written a letter vnto  
F *La Fin* since the Dauphins birth, by the which hee did aduertise him, that seeing it had  
pleased God to send the King a sonne, hee would no more dreame of those vanities, de-  
siring him to returne, and if he had not employed him he would not haue written.

D d d d d 2

This

1602.

Proote by  
writing of  
the conti-  
nuance of  
his practi-  
ces.

This letter was produced to shew the continuance of his bad desseignes, whereof he made vse to iustifie himselfe and to shew his repentance, saying alwaies that hee had done well, although hee had some thought of doing ill.

The Chancellor sayd vnto him, that seeing he felt his conscience so cleere, and knowing that hee had done nothing, why did he not lay himselfe more open vnto the King, who sought him with great affection at Fontainebleau, to tel him the truth of that which hath beene since discovered by the proesse. Hee wauered at this demand, saying that he did not thinke the King had knowne any thing of that which had passed betwixt him and *La Fin*, for that hee had assured him by othes and fearefull curses, that hee had sayd nothing that might hurt him. That hauing conferred with a Religious man of the order of the Minimes, to know (if hauing past his word with an oth to *La Fin*, neuer to discover what had past betwixt them) hee might with a safe conscience say any thing? Hee had answered him, that seeing there was no more any intent to execute the things that were sworne betwixt them, hee ought not to reueale them: That this resolution continued so constant in his minde, that although the Arch-bishop of Bourges had visited him in prison, and had giuen him many reasons to free him from these scruples, yet hee held it an act vnworthy of a man to falsifie his oth, and that it was onely fit for a soule hardened with Atheisme (the spring of all impiety) to sweare with an intent to circumuent. Here his speech sayled him with the violence of his griefe, but recouering his spirits, he spake these words.

My misfortune hath this consolation, that my Iudges are not ignorant of the seruices which I haue done to the King and Realme, and with what loyaltie I haue carried my selfe in the greatest and most important affaires, to restore the King vnto the Realme, and the Realme vnto the King: to preferre the Lawes of State, and to settle you in this place, from the which the Saturnales of the League had expelled you. This bodie (whereof you hold the life and death in the disposition of your Iustice) hath no veine which hath not beene opened, and which I would not willingly open for you. This hand which did write the letters, which are now produced against mee, is the same which hath done the contrary to that which it hath written. It is true, I haue written, I haue sayd, and I haue spoken more then I ought; but no man can shewe that I haue done ill. And there is no law that punisheth the lightnesse of a simple word, or the motions of the thought with death: my words haue beene alwaies feminine, but the effects of my courage Masculine. Choller and despiht haue made mee capable to say all, and to doe all: but reason would not suffer mee to doe any thing, but what deserued praise and imitation. I haue had bad desseignes, but they neuer past my thought. At the same instant they sprong vp, they were smothered. If I had beene desirous to nourish and make shew of them, I haue had great meanes and occasions. I could haue done bad seruice to the King, in England and in Suiferland. There are aboute a hundred Gentlemen that can witnesse of my behauiour in the first Ambassage, and for the second, I desire no other testimony but that of the Seigneurs of *Sillery* and *de Vie*, who know in what manner, and with what fidelity I employed my selfe to reconcile and vnite so many wils disioyned and with-drawne from the Kings alliance. If you will consider how I came, and in what Estate I left the places of Bourgonne, it wil be impossible to haue any bad conceite of my desseignes. They found not a man of warre in my Gouvernement. I haue left the places without garrisons. I haue giuen the captaines no other commandement but to serue the King well, and to doe that onely where vnto they are bound.

Euery man aduised mee not to come to Court. I met a foote-man by the way who brought me a letter from one of my dearest friends, who coniured mee not to aduance: being arriued, my sister of Roussy sent me an other, aduising me to be gone without taking of my leaue: I shewed it to a Gentleman that was with mee, who sayd vnto mee, That he would willingly bee stabbed in the bosome, so as I were at Dijon. I answered, That if I were there and were assured to receiue a hundred stabs at the Court yet would I come vpon the Kings word. A guilty minde and prest with horror of his conscience had

Hee shewes  
by what  
meanes he  
might haue  
done ill.

The King  
did giue  
him his  
word with-  
out demand-  
ing it.

A had fallen in pecces with feare and trembling, and would haue imbraced an other party. The secret knowledge I had of my loyaltie, and the innocency of my desseignes, could not giue mee any imagination of distrust: I alwaies sayd within my selfe, I haue serued the King too well, to haue a thought that he should not account me his seruant. The King hath had too many proofes of my faith, to suspect my loyaltie. I could not comprehend, that the Kings Iustice, could touch a man resting in the tranquility of his conscience, and in the expectation of his commandements. Moreouer I was assured that the King had pardoned mee, and that I had not offended him since his pardon. I cannot deny that I could him, nor all that had past in this action, but in saying vnto him that the refusal of the Citadell of Bourg made mee capable to say and doe any thing, I did thinke it was not needfull to speecifie that which I was ashamed to haue attempted, and that the consideration of the good which I had done vnto the King in his seruice, should alwaies weigh downe the euill that I would haue done, and the which I haue repented. That if he hath not giuen me life, but to put me to death, he must consider that it is more commendable for a Prince to giue it, then to take it away from him to whom he hath giuen it, and that his clemency shines neuer more cleerely then vpon offences that concerne himselfe. If it please not the King to regard my seruices, and the assurances which he hath giuen me of his mercy, I confesse my selfe worthy of death, and hope for no health in his Iustice, but in yours, hoping you will remember better then hee doth the dangers I haue vndergon all my life for his seruice. I implore his mercy, and although I should not say any thing; yet the wounds which I beare would speake for mee. I hope for it the more confidently, for that it hath neuer beene refused to them that haue done worse then my selfe. I would haue done euill, but my wil did neuer passe the tearmes of their first conception, being ouercast with the clouds of choller and despiht. It were hard if I should be the first President to bee punished for thinking. Not that I feare death, the which I hold to be ordayned, not as a punishment, but for the end of Nature, and that it imports nothing to leaue this life in the midst of my course, if it were with as much honor, as I haue had in the beginning. My fault is great, but it was onely in conceite and not executed: in desire and not in effect. Great offences must haue great fauours. I am he alone in France, which feelles the rigour of iustice and cannot hope for the merit of mercy. What soeuer chanceth, I rely more vpon you my Masters then in the King: who hauing heretofore regarded me with the eyes of his loue, looks no more on mee now but with choller, and holds it a vertue to be cruell vnto me, and a vice to vse any act of clemency towards mee. It had beene better for mee that hee had not pardoned mee at the first, then to giue mee life and then to make me loose it with shame and dishonor.

They gaue him leaue to speake what hee pleased, the Chancellor holding it reasonable, that seeing he had no counsell to aduise him what he should say, they should in regard thereof giue him time to speake all, and hearing, to consider his reasons, and the variety of his first answeres with the last, in the which there were great contradictions. Those which are accused of any cryme take it for a fauour to bee heard patiently vnto the end: although for the most part they doe but increase the reasons of their punishments. Hee spake so boldly and so eloquently, as if a man should iudge of the fauour of a discourse by the attention, there was not any one of long time heard with greater patience in that place. Some shed teares in the place and wept in their houses, for pity, not of his innocency (for that appeered not) but of his fortune so miserably delected. Heate is more naturall to a man then cold; and mildenesse more then rigour: but hee could expect nothing but Iustice from this great assembly. It was impossible that passion, fauor or respect, should alter the integrity of their iudgements. The opinions of some weake spirits may be moued, who regard more the apparence, then the essence of things, and which beleeue not the harme vnlesse they feele it, or that the fire is hot, vnlesse it burne them. But to blinde so many graue heads from seeing the truth, it was an enterprife of too great difficulty. A little water may bee poysoned, but not a whole riuer.

D d d d d 3

The

1602.

The prisoners discourse was so long, as they had no time to give their opinions. Hee A was sent backe to the Bastille, returning more cheerefully then he came, for as in going forth of the Bastille to the palace, he imagined that he went to his death, so seeing himselfe brought backe, he conceiued that he returned to life. And for that he had answered the Chancellor to all his demands, and had moued some of his Iudges to lament his misfortune, many to detest his accuser, and all to wish that the fowlenesse of his offence, and the good of the State would allow of his pardon. He thought that hee had so ballanced their opinions, as mercy should preuaile about rigour. He therefore neuer ceased all Saterday, Sunday and Monday, to relate vnto the captaines, and to the gard, that kept him, all that had beene demanded of him, what he had answered, & how brauely and discretely he had satisfied all, adding withall, that hee did imagine hee saw the B Chancellors countenance going out of the great chamber. Hee did counterfeite him in his staiednesse and the grauity of his words, fit for a man of his age and quality, imagining, that he spake in this manner. *Behold a wicked man, hee is dangerous in the State, wee must dispatch him, he deserves death.* Which words neuer came out of his mouth, hauing carried himselfe very respectiue in this Arraignement, hauing neuer pronounced that word of *Death*, but in concluding the iudgement. And therein hee alwaies vsed some words to qualifie his grieve in the Image of his affliction, more then of his innocency, vnable to forget the remembrance of the good that was past, or the feeling of the present euill. These were the last fits of the prisoners hope, the which finding no solid body, did run after the shaddowes of his imagination, and flattered him so pleasingly, as hee thought not to die, saying, *That they could not supply his place if hee were dead.* Noting among all them, that thought themselves most capable, great wants and imperfections. Yet in all these extremities he had nothing that lulled him so much a sleepe as his owne prayes. Sometimes hee would say, *Is it possible, that the King should bee so vaine, as to make him to apprehend death, and to thinke to terrifie him therewith?* But hee conceiued of things according to his imagination, the which was not answerable to the truth.

The iudgement of the proesse.

The Iudges opinions.

Principal reasons of their opinions.

In treason the intent is punishable.

On Munday the Chancellor returned to the Pallace to determine on his sentence. They continued vntill two of clock in the afternoone in giuing of their opinions. They D were drawne from one principle of truth, as many lines are from one center, and did concur all in one resolution conformable to the conclusions of the Kings Atturney generall. That it was iust, necessary, and profitable to quench these burning flames of ambition in the blood of the Duke of Biron, if they would not see the Realme in combustion. A whole day, and a good part of the night would haue beene spent, if euery one had giuen a reason of his opinion, those of the great Chamber onely, and the Presidents of the Inquests spake what they would. This subiect is like vnto a great and thicke forest, they know not what tree to choose: It is so full and so rich, as abundance of reasons troubles the choise: And these were the chiefe. There was a concurrence of a great crime and great merit. All France was a witnesse of the one: and of the other the truth E was apparent. The proofes which are required to discover a secret crime are here made perfect. Prooofe by mouth, and the prisoners answer. Prooofe by writings, letters and instructions. Prooofe by the deposition of witnesses, against whom hee hath obiected no exception, which might impugne that which they sayd and maintained.

By these three sorts of proofes we see that monstrous attempt against the Kings person verified, and that furious conspiracy to trouble his Estate, and to make it a prey to his enemies, and both the one and the other doth make the prisoner guilty of high treason in the first and second degree. Hee confesseth that he would haue done ill, that his intent was written and imparted to others, and yet he neuer did ill. That it neuer past his thought. That thoughts are not to be punished as he sayd. That the desire to steale F makes not a theefe: It is true, but the guilt of treason is so detestable, as the intent how farre so euer from the execution, is punished and reputed for the effect. Repentance which followes after, and changeth the desaigne, may well serue for the offence, but it helps nothing for the punishment.

A Gen-

1603.

A Gentleman hauing attempted to kill King Francis the first, repented, and reuealed it in his confession, yet being accused by his Confessor, he lost his head. As the respect of the Image of God, grauen in the Maiestie of Kings, frees them from all lawes made by men, so the dignitie of their persons doth warrant them from all enterprises and conspiracies of humane malice, the which dares not once thinke to put them in practise against their Images, much lesse against their persons. The prooofe of an intent, although it were not resolued nor determined goes not vnpunished, which passeth often times vnto things without life. To houses, images, ashes, yea and to the memorie it selfe: This crime troubleth the dead, thirty or forty yeares after their funerals: for that it is not extinct in dying, and (the which is contrarie to common sense and natural humanitie) they punish the child, the wife, and the family, for the fathers offence, being a contagious Leprosie, and hereditarie to all his race. The father cannot excuse his sonne. And the Senator Fuluius was commended to haue put his Sonne to death, for that he had beene one of Catlines conspiracie. Let him then plead no more, that hee hath done no euill, it sufficeth that he would haue done it. Lawes are not made for bad actions onely, but for Councils also and resolutions. His intent began the crime, occasion had ended it, if he had not beene preuented. If hee had done no other euill, but to giue eare to the promises and perswasions of the enemies, he were guiltie. For in matters of State, the subiect cannot dispose of any point of his will, without the permission of his Prince. We must not stay till venomous beasts haue bitten, and then kill them, nor Traitors intents executed, before we discover the Treason. It is then too late to iudge of the crime, but to complaine of indiscretion: then they seeke no more releefe from Law, but they flie to Armes. It is not then time to accuse and to punish, but to weepe and to flie. The city of Rome laboured in vaine to resist Caesar, after that he had subuerted the lawes, vsurped the Dictatorship, and terrified all Italy with the brute of his forces. If they should haue stayd vntill the prisoner had executed his desseigns, there had beene no talking of Iustice nor of State. You must not tarry till the house shake, and be ready to fall, you must vnderprop it, and repaire it in time. It is a miserie (sayd the Emperour Domitian) when they will not beleue a conspiracie against Princes, vntill D they be slain by the Conspirators. Now that God by a singular work of his prouidence hath discovered this conspiracie, it toucheth the health of the State, and the honor of the Court, to punish these Conspirators. Reason requires that the example may make knowne how execrable this offence is, for the which it is lawfull to torment the dead, and terrifie them that be liuing, to make the children partakers of their Fathers punishment, and to assure them rather of miserie then of life, that the world might haue more horror of his wickednes then feare of his punishment. The Kings Clemencie hath had her turne, now Iustice must take hers, making her authoritie to be feared and admired, like vnto the sea, which is more admired when the waues are swolne, and risen vp to the clouds, then when it is calme and still. But they consider the qualitie and merit of the E prisoner. First, Iustice hath her eyes blinded, and shut from all distinctions, but that it holds the offence greater in a great person, then in a mean, and by this proposition, the punishment must be greater. The fautes of mean men are hidden in the multitude, their fortune and reputation is one thing. Those which raised to great places, do good or harme by the example of their good or bad actions, are they which are knowne and discovered to all men. In matters of rebellion and crimes of State, they regard not what is past, they looke onely to the present, and what they may expect hereafter: the most vertuous actions yeeld to the violence of the bad. The accused hath serued the King, it was his dutie, he hath bin recompenced. He hath attempted against his seruice, therein he hath done what hee ought not. The offence and the punishment are twins: at the same instant that he hath offended, he drawes vpon him the rigour of punishment. F If with Antipater, hee hath carried vpon his bodie the markes of vertue, there is nothing now to be scene but signes of infidelitie in his heart. His merits haue mounted to the greatnesse of the first dignities of France, his ill-deseruings cast him downe with shame, and shew him to be vnworthie of those excellent degrees of honour. Good seruice

In crimes of State they consider nothing but the punishment.



1602. seruice cannot enter into comparifon with bad, nor crimes in paralell with merits. The offence which is greater then the seruice, changeth the bond of recompence into punishment. He that helpe to build a house, deserues much of the owner, but when he sets fire to it, all the remembrance of his good which he hath done vanissheth away. The accused hath had a good share in the restoring of the State, but since he would haue vndermined it, and ruined the foundations, he hath practised to make it a prey to the enemy, they can no more returne to that which he hath done, they iudge what hee would haue done, and shall haue no other esteeme or reputation, but as an *Arifon*, a *Nabis* or a *Catilin*. He hath bin profitable to the State, it is true. But he hath offended against the Lawes of State. Their preferuation is so necessary, as it were better to loose the most profitable members in an Estate, then to suffer them to be violated: for in putting them to death, it doth but decrease the number of valiant men, but in suffering them to liue, you do wrong vnto the Lawes, and thereby ruine the quiet of the State. Hee hath done well for the preferuation of the State: it is true. But he that seekes to destroy what he hath preferred, makes himself an enemy, and the remembrance of his well-deseruing dies in the iniurie which he would haue done to the whole body. He hath begun well, but he ended ill. All actions are censured by the end. If the heele, (that is to say) Constancie and firmenesse, had not failed in *Achilles*, he had bene immortall. It is not sufficient for a man to begin to do well, if he desists in the midst, and continues not vnto the end: who deserued better at Rome then *Manlius*, the onely preferuer of the Capitoll against the Gaules? and who was more seuerely punished then he, whom they cast downe headlong from the Capitoll, for his factions and mutinies?

If it were a crime not to serue the Prince, was it not execrable to hinder, and to conspire against his seruice? As the seruices done by the accused, cannot be compared with his offences, so his quality cannot moderate his punishment. Iustice hath no eyes to regard a Dukes Crowne, a Marshall of France his staffe, nor a blew riband. All these are no prerogatiues, but that he which attempts to trouble the State, shall be held an enemy to the Maiestie of the Prince, & the publike good. Great men are greatly punished. Dignities aggrauate the offence vpon him that is bound not to offend. The greater the bond is, the more execrable is the ingratitude. There is no gentleman in France more bound vnto his Prince then the accused. If duties and bonds hold no place in the affections of subiects to their Prince, to what Altar shall they go to seek assurance of faith? must not the King in these continuall doubts of disloyaltie, trust the gard of his Person vnto strangers, as *Lewis* the 11. did vnto the Scottishmen. And finding no religion nor conscience among men, trust vnto beasts, as *Masini* (sa) did? God is offended when as respect of the quality withholdeth the course of Iustice, & threatens that Estate with ruine, wherein they suffer a wicked subiect to liue. *Achab* felt the heauie hand of his wrath, for that he saued the life of *Benadad*. As this furious desire of soueraigne command, troubles all the considerations of Nature, Friendship, and Duty. So in punishing them wee must neither regard the respect of bloud, the remembrance of seruices, nor the motions of friendship. The offence is of too great a consequence to dissemble it. Hee that doth not punish an euill, allowes of it. But they say it hath bin pardoned, that wee must not open a wound which hath bene closed vp. Kings and Fortune do often pardon, to punish them more seuerely that haue abused their pardon. The prisoner confesseth that he did not say all, and a pardon cannot extend, but to those things that haue bin mentioned and confessed, the greatest part of the offence hath remained in the will of the repentant, he hath confessed but as litle as he might. There was a difference betwixt him that did pardon, & him that demanded pardon. The King pardoned to the end he should not fall into a relaps of his former faults: & he demanded pardon that he might offend more safely. It appears by his confession, and by that which he hath sayd in the face of the Court, when as he was demanded why he had not discovered his offences frely vnto the King, when as he gaue him so great assurance to forget it. He answered, that hee did not thinke *La Fin* had sayd any thing, and that hee had kept his word, hauing confirmed it with great oaths, that if he had acquainted him with that which hee had discovered

Euill vn-punished is suffered. A pardon extends but to confession.

A couered to the King, hee would haue cast himselfe at his Maisties feete as readily as he did to craue pardon. There was then some-thing betwixt them that was not yet pardoned. They which offend do often mis-reckon the time, seeking to excuse their fault. The conference of times discovers the continuance of intents. The pardon was in Ianuary, and after September he writes, That seeing it had pleased God to giue the King a Dauphin, he wold no more thinke of those vanities, and *La Fin* addes, that there was a billet of a contrarie tenor, that the negociation was continued, and that the King had no knowledge thereof from the prisoner. The pardon should haue drawne him to repentance, and not to ingage him in new trecheries, the which could not bee remitted nor pardoned, for that he had offended often without punishment. Hee must not continue his errors, the last payes for all the precedent. The Court allowes not of this pardon in a crime that is beyond all pardon, and whereof the abolishment depends not of the King, who may not be prodigall of his subiects bloud, nor bring the health of all in generall in danger, for one in particular. This reason moued *Alexander* to put *Philotas* to death, being giuen to vnderstand, that if he pardoned him, hee would make him able to attempt new treasons against him, when as it should not bee in his power to pardon him. A pardon doth not change the bad intent of a mighty malefactor. This *Philotas* knew well, that they which had exhausted all mercie, and drawne it drie, hauing no more hope, did runne head-long into despaire. That there are benefites which are odious, for that he blusheth to confesse the cause, and to acknowledge himselfe debtor for his life to any one. *Alexander* had enemies enough abroad, hee had no neede of any at home, and assuring his Estate of those, he needed not to feare the rest. Kings like vnto Physitions must know the diseases of their States, the accidents that are past, the present, and the future, and employ Iustice as a drugge, the which is not good for them that bee sicke, and may profit others before the disease hath actually seized on them.

A Prince cannot be liberal of his subiects bloud.

There remains one onely consideration, that the D. of Biron may do great seruice, and that it is not impossible but he may returne to the way of his first innocency. There is lesse harme not to beleuee it, then to beleuee it. Wee must not vpon an vncertaintie that is to come, neglect the remedie of a present mischiefe. There is more trouble to absolue him, and more danger to set him at liberty, then to put him to death. Hee is not likely to do any more good: we can expect nothing but reuenge from his courage. There is no more any *Furius Camillus* who changed his exile into a bond vnto his country that had banished him. Serpents seeme dead in winter, the cold keeps them from hurting: but when as the Sunne recouers his forces, they spend their venom. The prisoners bad intents might sleepe for a time, but it should be to awake againe and neuer to leaue the State at rest. He that can neuer profit by his vertue nor his loyalty, must profite by his example. These were the reasons of the Court, vpon the which by a generall consent a sentence of death was concluded against the Duke of Biron. E There were few in condemning him but sayd, that it was fit to arraigne *La Fin*, and giue warrant to apprehend him, and that it was impossible he should bee cleane from the slime which he had handled, and that if the affaires of Spain (which is like vnto the Temple of *Hecatompodon*, the which goes forward in words and not in workes) had bin answerable to the vehemency of their affection, hee had sayd nothing. The King was aduertised thereof, who assured *la Fin* by his letters, that he would neuer endure that so great a seruice done to the Crowne, should bee his ruine. It was reason, for if the Ancients did appoint Honours for Beasts, that had done any seruice to the Commonweale, they should bee no lesse thankfull vnto a Gentleman that had saued his country. Whosoeuer discovers a Conspiracie against the sacred and inuiolable person of the Prince, ought to bee rewarded by the publike. So was *Vindicius* by the Romans. Princes loue them for awhile that haue done some great villanies for their seruice, the which is soone turned into deadly hatred, lothing to looke on them, for that their preference doth reproch them with the wronging of their conscience. But this happens not to him who without any instigation of the Prince, but moued onely with

Qui nec vir, tute nec fide prod' est, pre' exemplo.

1602.

The Chancel-  
lor pronoun-  
ce in the sen-  
tence of death

The Duke of  
Biron desires  
to see Mon-  
sieur de Rhoiny

The Chancel-  
lor comes to  
the Bastille.

The Duke of  
Biron's words  
to the Chan-  
celor.

with his duty doth reueale a conspiracy, choosing rather to faile in the office of a friend; A then in duty of a faithfull subiect. The Chancellor concluding their opinions pronoun- ced the sentence of death, and by graue reasons and great examples reconciled some few opinions for the apprehending of *la Fin*. Saying, that the enterprife of the priso- ner condemned, was not in his head alone, that there were others, who having a de- sire to say some thing, would retire themselves when they should see *la Fin* so intreated, who in the common opinion had deferred reward. And although that *Mars* would not haue the day which is giuen vnto him, to bee the last to one that had deferred the name of a second *Mars*, yet the shadow of death did enuiron him on Tuesday about Noone; seeing a great multitude of Parisiens about Saint *Antonie's* gate, hee then B beleueed that he should be a spectacle vnto them. The Lord of Vitry's Lieutenant freed him from this imagination, making him beleue that it was to see certaine Gentlemen fight. Hereupon (and of that which the heart doth alwaies diuine in the like accidents, seeing more signes of death then of life) hee framed in his imagination infallible con- sequences of his death, sending the Seigneur of Baranton to intreat the Marquesse of Rhosny to come vnto him, or if he could not, to be an intercessor vnto the King for his pardon. He answered, that he was extremely grieved that he durst not do the first, and had not meanes to effect the second. That the King was forry that at his coming to Fontainebleau hee was obdurate and would not deliuer the truth, which tooke from him the meanes to saue his life, and for his friends to sue for him. This multitude did not runne to the gate without some occasion, they knew that the sentence of death C was giuen the day before: Certaine Officers of the Court and the Executioner were scene enter into the Bastille, the Scaffold which should bee set vp at the Greue was made, but they were ill-informed: for the King hauing commauded the Chancellor to send him the sentence, after he had giuen it in the Parliament, that he might let him vnderstand his pleasure touching the execution, *Sillery* who had carried it to Saint *Ger- maine*, returned with letters, by the which (for the auoyding the ignominie of his death at the sute of his friends and for other considerations) his Maiesty was pleased to change the place of the execution, and to appoint that in the Bastille, which should haue bene at the Greue.

These letters being verified, on Wednesday morning the last of Iuly, the Chancelor accompanied with the first President of the Court of Parliament, *Sillery* and three Ma- sters of Requests, and followed by some Officers of the Chancery, *De Vosson* Register for criminal causes, & 6. others, came to the Bastille about 9. of the clock in the morning to let him heare the sentence of the Court. At his entring hee commanded them to make the prisoner dine and not to aduertise him of his coming, remaining in a little chamber neere the entry on the left hand about an houre and halfe: where he resolved who should be sent for to assist at this execution, of whose names he made a list. He that apprehends death hath no desire to eate: yet he set him downe, rose againe presently, and according to his vsuall manner went vnto a window which looked into the Court of the Bastille, where hearing the cries and lamentations of a woman, he thought they were for him, and had this sad content to see they wept for him before his death. Soone after the Chancellor goes towards him, who crossing through the Court, the Duke of Biron espied him and cried out, *that he was dead. You come (sayd he) to pronounce my sen- tence, I am condemned vniustly, tell my kinsfolkes that I die an innocent.* The Chancellor went on without any motion, commanding that they should bring him into the Chap- pell. The prisoner seeing him come a far off, cried out: *Oh my Lord Chancellor is there no pardon? is there no mercy?* The Chancellor saluted him and puts on his hat. The Duke of Biron continued bare, and hauing abandoned all the powers of his soule to griefe and passion, he tooke the aduantage to speake first, and to speake all that a tongue ouer- grieved might vtter, reproching the Chancellor that hee had not had so great a desire to saue him as to condemne him. Hee added thereunto certaine words, the recording whereof is prohibited, and the report punishfable. But Princes regard not the railing of subiects against their Maiesty, the which returnes alwaies from whence it came. The Duke

1602

Men con-  
demned  
may pick  
any thing.

A Duke of Biron knowing not whom he should challenge most for his misfortune, turned towards the Chancellor, and shaking him by the arme, sayd, *You haue iudged me: God will as-for me, hee will lay open their iniquities, which haue shut their eyes, because they would not see mine innocencie, you my Lord shall answer for this iniustice before him, whe- ther I do summon you within a yere and a day, I go before by the iudgment of men, but those that are the cause of my death shall come after by the iudgement of God.* All which was deli- gered with such violence, as he cryed out and stormed both against the King and his Parliament. They beare withall which proceedes from choler in a condemned man of his humor and qualitie. But this excesse to adorne a Chancellor to heauen being 70. B yeaes old, was held vnworthy the great courage of a Captaine, blaspheming and bra- uing death, and yet ignorant how they pleade in another world. He was not the first in the like extremities, that haue adiourned their Iudges before the throne of God. *Iohn* *Hus* sayd in dying: *That those which had condemned him should answer a hundred yeres af- ter before God and him:* and the Bohemians who preferred the ashes of his bones and maintained his doctrine, coyned money with this adiournment. But the Duke of Bi- rons assignation was vaine: for the Chancellor appeared not, but hath bin more health- ful since then before. He found no meanes to enter into discourse amidst the confusion of so many words which were like to a violent streame. Yet he interrupted him, to tell him that he had need of Gods help, and that he should recommend himselfe vnto him. C He presently answered, that he had thought vpon God, and implored his ayde to giue him patience against their iniustice, but neither he nor his Iudges had thought of it in condemning him. *Passion* (sayd the Chancellor) makes you to speake many things with- out any colour, and against your owne iudgement. There is not any man hath better knowne your merits then my selfe, and I would to God your offences had bin as much vnknowne as they haue bin dissembled. The knowledge thereof was so great and so perfect, as your Iudges haue bin more troubled how to moderate your paine, then to haue you punished, they haue more laboured to iustifie you then to condemne you.

Passion  
transports  
the tongue.

Whilest the Chancellor was speaking, the Duke of Biron turned towards *Roissey* Ma- ster of Requests, and asked him if he had also bin one of his Iudges, *Roissey* answered. *My D Lord, I pray God to comfort you.* My father loued you so intirely (replied the Duke of Biron) that although you were one of them that had condemned me I would forgieue you. And so returning to his discourse, he addrest himselfe vnto the Chancellor, who was saying something vnto *Voisin*. I see well (sayd he) what it is, I am not the most wicked, but I am the most vnforgotten. Those which haue done worse then I would haue done, are fauo- red. The Kings clemencie is dead for me. He doth not imitate the examples of *Cesar* nor *Augustus*, or of those great Princes, who not only pardoned them that would haue done ill, but euen them that did ill, and who were euer sparing of their blood, yea of that which was least esteemed, wherein can the King shew himself greater then in pardoning? Clemency is a kingly vertue, euery one may giue death, but it belongs onely to Soue- E rains to giue life. And cruell that he is, doth he not know well that hee hath pardoned me. I had a bad desseigne, he granted me grace. I demand it againe, you may easily ad- uertise him, a Post will soone returne. The Queene of England told me, that if the Earle of Essex would haue humbled himselfe and sued for grace, shee would haue pardoned him. He grew obdurate, and would neuer implore her mercie, taking from her all meanes to shew the effects. She like a generous Princeesse desiring to pardon him, euen as she would that God should pardon her. He was guilty, I am innocent, he sued for no pardon for his offence. I craue it in mine innocencie.

Clemencie  
is a kingly ver-  
tue.

Is it possible the King should thinke no more of the seruices I haue done him? doth F he not remember the Conspiracy at Mantes, & the danger he had run into, if I had had intelligence with the conspirators, who found nothing that did more hinder the effects of their desseigne then my loyaltie, nor a more readie meanes to attaine vnto it then in causing me to be flaine? There is no veine in my body which hath not bled for his ser- uice: He shewes that he neuer loued me any longer then he thought himselfe to haue need of me. Hath he forgotten the siege of Amiens, where they haue seen me so of- ten

1602.

ten couered with fire and bullets, and to be in so many dangers either to giue or to receiue death? He now quencheth the torch in my blood, after that he hath vsed it. My Father exposed himselfe to a thousand dangers, and purchased death to set the Crowne vpon his head. I haue receiued fife and thirty wounds vpon my body to preserue it for him, and for my reward, he takes my Head from my shoulders. Let him beware least the Iustice of God fall vpon him. Hee shall find what profite my death will bring him, it will nothing assure his affaires; but impaire the reputation of his Iustice. Hee doth loose this day a good Seruant, and the King of Spaine a great Enemie. I am not put to death for that I treated with him, my courage raysed mee vp, and my courage ruines me.

A condemned man may not dispute.

There is no charme nor violence that can force an honest man to do ill.

The Diuels answers are deceitfull.

Supposition of letters.

The Duke of Biron deliueres vp the Kings order.

It is not lawfull for a man condemned to dispute of that which hath beene iudged against him. And therefore the Chancellor said; that he should not torment himselfe any more against his Iudgement, that they had done him that Iustice which a Father is bound to pronounce against his owne Sonne if he had offended in the like sort. At that word, choller makes him to breake forth, saying, What Iustice? I was neuer heard but once, I could not deliuer the fiftith part of my Iustification. What Iudgement vpon the testimony of the most wretched and most execrable man in the world, who neuer came neere me but with enchantments, nor went from me but he had enchanted me? He bit me by the eare, and made me to drink enchanted waters, calling me his King, his Prince, his Lord. Hee cannot deny but hee made me to see an Image of waxe which spake these two words in Latin. *Thou shalt die wicked King.* If hee hath this power ouer a senselesse Image, what might he not do vpon me whose will he did tyrannize vpon by his witch-craft, forcing me to do what he pleased. But *la Fin* sayes, that he knowes not what this Image meanes. If it be true, these words discouer the Diuels pollicie, who speakes the truth in his miserie that trusteth vnto his lies, and intangles him still with inscrutable ambiguities. So he deceived *Craesus* when he told him that the Riuer Halys should loose a great power, meaning his, not that of *Cyrus*, against whome he went to fight. So the Diuell meant not any other King then he whome *La Fin* saluted by the name of King, calling the Duke of Biron his Prince and his King. At euery word now he vttered some execration against *La Fin*, taxing the Court of Iniustice, to haue condemned him vpon his accusation. The Chancellor sayd vnto him that the Court had considered aduisedly of his answers and his letters. It is true, sayd the Duke of Biron, I haue written some, but there are some that by an odious wickednes premeditated haue beene counterfeited. Those that were of my hand-writing were not my intention. I disauowed them when I sent them. There are some that can counterfeite letters so artificially, as they that are charged therewith are confounded, and beleue they had written that which they neuer thought. The Marquesse of Vernueil confessed to haue written that which was not her hand, nor euer in her thought, and when she had read the letter, she cryed out, that her hand had betrayed her heart, hauing neuer any thought of that which was contained therein. The Chancellor wold haue interrupted his discourse, but he prest him in such sort as there was no meanes to make any way. He spake of the Kings pardon which he had granted him, as if he had relyed vpon his word, not seeking any other assurances. He told what letters the King had sent him to perswade him to come, and the policie of the President *lanin* to draw him there-unto, to deceiue him as he sayd, calling him a Deceiuer, the aduice of his friends coniuring him not to come with many other vnneccessarie discourses.

The Chancelor to interrupt him, sayd, that the King demanded his Order, the Duke of Biron drawing it out of his pocker, deliuered it vnto him, protesting and swearing vpon the saluation and perill of his Soule that he had neuer broken the oath which hee had made in taking it. It was true that hee had affected Warre more then Peace, to make himselfe necessarie, and to maintaine the reputation which he had gotten by the practise of armes. It seemes he had not well obserued the articles of this Order, by which no Knight of the Holy-Ghost might take any Pension, Entertainment nor Money from a forraigne Prince, nor tye themselues to the seruice of any other person during

1602

A during the Kings life, but should faithfully reueale all which they knew did import his Maiesties seruice. The Chancellor would haue had him to reade his sentence: he beseeched him not to intreat him with that rigor, that he knew what it did import, but the King should content himselfe with his Life, and suffer his Goods to go vnto his kint-folkes, ending his paine with his death. The Chancellor said that he doubted not but the King like a Prince full of bounty would let his kint-folkes knowe that hee had loued him. Although the losse of life is nothing comforted by the preseruacion of goods, yet this gaue him some consolation, so as the fume of his choller was sodenly disperied. The Chancellor sayd, *That he had brought two Diuines to comfort him and to prepare him for death.* The prisoner said vnto them, *That he was already prepared, and had his Soule in that tranquillity, as the night before he had spoken with God, and that his gard had heard him laugh in his sleepe.*

The Chancellor who had much forced his patience, sayd vnto him, we will bidde you fare-well. *What fare-well said the condemned?* I will come and see you againe after dinner, answered the Chancellor: As he went forth he intreated him to grant him the last consolation that remaines for men that are dying, when they may haue their wils to passe after their deaths, and to suffer him to make his Testament. It was granted, and he disposed thereof with a spirit free from all perturbation. He remembered his seruants and friends, not forgetting the Baron of Lux whom he lamented aboue all. He drew three rings from his fingers deliuering them to *Baranton* to giue vnto his Sister of *S<sup>t</sup> Blancart*, desiring her to weare them in remembrance of him. He had about three hundred Crownes when he was taken prisoner, a part he playd, the rest he gaue away to the poore. Eight or ten of his gard came to take their leaues of him with reares in their eyes. He gaue them Apparell, Shirtes, Cloakes and all that he had in his Cofers. So when the table is taken away, they giue the meate that remaines, to them that haue waigted. *Garnier* the Kings preacher and now Bishop of Mompellier, with *Magnan* Curat of Saint Nicholas of the field, presented themselves to comfort him, to take from him the violent fittes, which the opinion of his innocency did giue him, and to with-draw him from the affections of the world. *Voisin* told him that it was the course of Iustice to reade the sentence, and that he must kneele downe before the Altar. *Read it saies he, I will be as supple as a gloue.* It was read in these termes.

The Processe beeing extraordinarily made, and examined by the Court and Chambers assembled, and by the Presidents and Councillors that were deputed, by letters patentes of the 18. and 19. of Iune, at the request of the Kings Attorney generall, against *Charles Gontault* of Biron, knight of both orders, duke of Biron, Peere and Marshall of France, gouernor of Bourougne, prisoner in the Bastille, accused of treason: interrogations, confessions & denials, confronting of witnesses, letters, aduises and instructions giuen to the enemy, confessed by him, & al which the attorney generall hath produced. A sentence was giuen the 22. of this Moneth, by the which it was decreed in the absence of the peeres of France (being called) they should proceed to Iudgement, the conclusions of the Kings Attorney Generall beeing giuen, and the prisoner beeing heard by the Court vpon the Crimes wherewith he was charged, all considered it was said. That the said Court had declared and did declare the said Duke of Biron guilty of high Treason, for his Conspiracies against the Kings person, enterprises against his Estate, and treacheries and treaties with his enemies, beeing Marshall of the Kings army. For reparation of which Crimes, they depriued him of all his Estates, Honours and Dignities, and condemned him to loose his head vpon a Scaffold at the Greue, declaring all his goods mouable and immouable wherefoeuer, to be confiscate vnto the King: the Signeury of Biron to loose the name and title of Duchy and Peere for euer, with all other goods held immediatly of the King to bee vnto the Crowne of France, decreed in the Court of Parliament the last day of Iuly 1602. and signed by *Belluere* Chancellor of France, and *Fleury* Councillor in the Court and Reporter of the processe. Hee grewe into choller thrice in the reading of the sentence: when they said that he had attempted against the

He is suffred to make his will.

The Duke of Biron kneeles to heare the sentence of death.

The crimes for the which the Duke of Biron was condemned.

He falls into choller after the reading of his sentence.

E e e e

Kings

1602.  
He falls into  
choller after  
the reading of  
his sentence.

Kings person, hee protested with great Imprecations that it was false. That hee had neuer made any conspiracie, that he had his head troubled with some enterprises of State, for that he would not liue idly in peace, but giue some imploiment to men of warre. But it was about two and twenty moneths since hee had any thought of it; desiring that *Voisin* might raze that out of the sentence. When hee heard that hee should bee executed at the Greue, hee said he would not goe thither, but would rather be drawne with foure horses, and that it was not in all their powers to lead him. *Voisin* sayd, that they had provided for it, and that the King had done him the grace to change the place of his execution, hauing appointed it in the Bastille: *What grace answered the Prisoner*? The third point of his sentence was, that hee was troubled for the reunion of the Duchy of Biron to the Crowne, the which hee said, could not bee forfeit to the prejudice of the substitution of his Bretheren, and that the King should bee satisfied with his life.

After sentence pronounced they vnto him their hands.

The Diuines after the pronouncing of the sentence spake more boldly vnto him of death, and to free him selfe of all worldly cares as he had done of his goods, and that he should haue no other thoughts but of his Soules helth. Hee then grew into choller, swearing that they should suffer him in Peace, and that it concerned him only to thinke of his Soule, with the which they had nothing to doe. It is the order in Cryminall executions to deliuer the party condemned into the hands of the Executioner as soone as his Iudgment is read. They would haue done so with him: but *Voisin* went to speake vnto the Chancellor, to know if they should not distinguish him from other prisoners. The Chancellor was in doubt whether they should binde him or not. He asked *Sillery* what he thought, who vnderstanding by *Voisin* that the party condemned was well pacified, sayd, it was to bee feared that in seeking to bind his hands they would cause him to breake the bonds of patience, and enter into new furies, for that they which are in that distresse, are distempered for small matters.

Yet the Chancellor would haue the aduice of the first President, who was in another Chamber, for that hee had dined before he came vnto the Bastille: Hee said that it was dangerous to suffer his hands free, and therefore they must binde him. Euerie one was of *Sillerys* opinion, who considered not so much what should bee done as what might bee done, for the Party condemned would neuer haue suffred him selfe to haue beene led bound to the place of execution but in Fury and Dispaire. The Executioner (who said since that a young hangman and not experienced would haue died for feare) had beene in danger to endure that which he would make him to suffer. In this liberty, his spirit was alwaies free in his thoughts for the last disposition of affaires: the Diuines intreated him to consider that he was no more what he had beene: that within an houre or two he should be no more: that he must leaue this life to liue for euer: that his Soule must goe before the fearefull Throne of the liuing God, to bee rewarded with a more happy and perfect life then that which he had past in this world, or condemned to infinite paines, in comparifon whereof, that which he should suffer was but a light pricking, in respect of the burning flames of the diuine iustice.

He confesseth him selfe.

Hee then entred into the examination of his Conscience, in the which he remained about an houre. This action required an Humble, Penitent and a contrite heart, and yet he seemed much more carefull of worldly things, and of the affaires of his house, then of his Soules health, and as it were a young apprentice in the first praier of his Religion, praying vnto God not as a deuout Christian, but as a Soldiar, not as a religious Man, but as a Captaine, not as *Moyse* or *Elias*, but like to *Iosua*, who, on horse-backe and with his sword in his hand prayed and commanded the Sunne to stand still. His confession being made, he walked vp and downe the Chappel, still casting out some exclamation for his Innocency, and some execration against *la Fin*, asking if it should not bee lawfull for his brethren to cause him to be burnt.

Here-vpon *Voisin* comes, who tells him that the Chancellor and the first President were very glad of the constant and generous resolution hee had to die, and that they would come

1602  
He resolues to die.

A come presently to see him. He answered that he had beene long resolued, and that it was not the paine of death, but the manner that did amaze him. Whilest hee attended them, there were many notes brought him, touching his affaires, where-vnto hee answered without trouble or passion. Hee recommended the payment of some debtes which he did owe to gentlemen, that had nothing to shew for it, and among others, to the Ambassador in England: when the Chancellor had dined, he came to see him with the first President, and found that as a troubled water growes cleere being settled, so the time which he had giuen him to thinke of his affaires, had taken from him the violent agitations of his fantasie, and freed his heart from the feare of death, he commanded all that were in the place to retire, and they sat downe together about halfe an houre, but their discourse is vnkowne.

In the end the Chancellor sayd vnto him, I should do wrong vnto your courage, if I should exhort you vnto death, she hath presented her selfe vnto you in so many places, as it is not in her power to trouble the Constancy and Patience, where-vnto I belecue you are disposed. You find it hard to die in the flower and vigour of your age, but if you consider that our dayes are lymited, and that they depend on the fore-sight of the Gouvernor of the whole world, you will receiue this death as by the will of God, who meanes to retire you out of this world for your owne good, before that some great and long misery shall send you. As wee may not desire a death which is farre off, so may we not reiect that which offers it selfe. No no answered the party condemned, labour not (my Lords) to fortifie me against the feare of death, these twenty yeares it hath not feared me, and knowing not where she would take mee, I haue expected her euerie where. You haue giuen me forty dayes to thinke vpon it, yet I could not beleue that it being not in the power of my enemies to take away my life, I should be so miserable as to bee seized on by death, with the consent of my friends. The King (said the Chancellor) hath cut off all that might be shamefull and ignominious. He then asked him if hee would speake with any one. He sayd that he desired to see *La Forfe* and *Saint Blancart*. They told him that they were not in the City, but there was a Gentleman of the Lord of Badefous, and after that he had demanded for *Preuost* (Comptrouler of his house) and that they had answered him that hee was gone three daies before to a house of his in the Country, he then sayd, that he ought not to haue beene there, that hee had all his blankes, adding there-vnto these words of Compassion. *All the world hath abandoned me. In these crymes friendshipp is dangerous, friends faile, and the disease is taken by acquaintance, as well as by infection. Hee is wise that knowes no man, nor no man knowes him.*

He desires to see his friends.

At these words the Chancellor and the first President tooke their leaues of him with teares in their eyes. He intreated them to receiue a good opinion of his life, by the assurance which he gaue at the point of death, that hee had neuer attempted any thing against the King, and that if he would haue vndertaken it, the King had not beene liuing three yeares since. The Chancellor went out of the Bastille with the first President and *Sillery*, and stayed in the Arcenall vntill the execution was done. The Duke of Biron intreated the Knight of the Watch to go after him, and to request him that hee would suffer his body to be interred with his Predecessors at *Biron*, for although nature hath provided that no man shall die without a graue, yet men thinke curiously thereof before they die, and imagine that as glory preserues the reputation of the life, so the Graue maintaines the remembrance of the body. He that had scene him would haue thought he had not beene ready to die, so little care he had of death, or else he promised to himselfe some vnexpected effects of the Kings mercy, or to escape by some miracle. There is no such deceit as imagination frames in these extremities, when the flatters herselfe with vaine hope, imagining that God doth greater wonders, and that they haue scene a pardon come betwixt the Executioners sword and the Prisoners necke: *Voisin* asked him if he pleased to say any thing else that might serue to discharge his conscience. The Preachers exhorted him not to conceale any thing, and to consider that they could not giue him Absolution but for what he should confesse.

The Chancellor takes his leaue of him.



1602. He answered, that although the King did put him to death vniustly, yet he had so much loued his seruice, and had serued him with so great loue and obedience, neuer diuiding the one from the other, as he felt in his thoughts of death, those of his loue, to bee so liuely and ardent, as hee would not conceale any thing that hee knew to bee against his person or state, for all the world, no not for the assurance of his life he would not speake any thing that was not true.

He drew *Voison* and his confessors a part and whispered some-thing vnto them, the which was presently written. Hauing continued with his Confessors halfe an houre, (being neere fise of the clock) one came and told him that it was time to part. *Goe we* (said he) *seeing I must*. Hee then kneeled downe before the Altar, makes his prayer, and recommends himselfe vnto God, before hee goes out of the Chappell. Hee asked B if there were any one that belonged vnto the Marquesse of Rhosny, *Armaut* was there, whom he willed to present his commendations vnto his Maister, in remembrance not so much of him that went to dye, as of his kins-folkes which remained aliue, and to assure him that hee held him for a good seruant to the King, and profitable and necessary for his seruice, and that hee was sorry hee had not followed his counsell. Hee knew one that followed the Duke of Mayenne, and intreated him to say vnto him, that if in his life hee had giuen him some cause not to loue him, yet hee desired him to belecue that hee died his seruant, and the Duke of Esquillons and the Earle of Sommeriues his children. Hee charged *Baranton* to deliuer his last words of loue and affection vnto his bretheren, commanding them to keepe the faith which bound them vnto the Kings seruice, C not to apprehend his misfortune, nor to come at Court vntill that time had worne out the skarres of his ignominious death. Hee intreated one of them that had garded him to goe tell the Earle of Auvergne that hee went to dye with-out griefe, but for the losse of his friendship: that if God had giuen him a longer life, hee would haue done him more seruice, beseeching him to belecue that hee had sayd nothing at his arraignment that might hurt him, if it were not that hee had more want then bad meaning.

He sends commendati-  
on to the  
Count of Au-  
uergne.

The Count of Auvergne receiued this farewell as from a true friend, and with a feeling, worthy of his friendship, hee intreated him to leaue him a base childe of his, the which hee would bring vp with his owne. Going out of the Chappell, the Executioner presented himselfe vnto him. Hee asked *Voison* what he was. *It is* (said he) *the Executioner of the sentence. Retire thy selfe* (said the Duke of Biron) *touch mee not vntill it be time. And doubting* least he should be bound, he added, *I wil go freely vnto death, I haue no hands to defend my selfe against it, but it shal neuer be said that I die bound like a sheefe or a slave*, and turning towards the hang-man, hee sware that if hee came neere him hee would pull out his throate. Hee could not endure the sight of the Executioner: Hee had reason, for they torment the body, as Diuels be executioners of the soule. And although they be men and the instruments of iustice, yet they are held execrable, and had no dwelling house allowed them in Rome by the Cenfors Lawe. The two Preachers led him downe, intreating him to resist his impatience, which did but distemper his minde, and made him loath to leaue the place which he could not hold against his will. Comming into the Court, he went fise or sixe paces without speaking a word, but he, *ha, ha*. He cast his eyes vpon the Lieutenant Ciuil, in whose house *la Fin* was lodged, to whom he sayd, *I am your friend, beware you be not abused with Sorcerers and Magicians if you free not your selfe of them, you will repent it*.

He growes  
into chollet  
when he sees  
the hangman.

He goes to  
the Scaffold

They had made a scaffold in a corner of the Court of the Bastille before the portall going into the Garden, sixe foote high and some-what longer, there were fise steppes to goe vnto it. There were no Ornaments, no Tapistery, no distinction. The most stately death is not the least troublesome, the greater the preparation is the more remarkable is the infamy. It is no great honour to kneele vpon a veluet Cushion, vpon a Scaffold spred ouer with Tapistery, and to haue by him an Executioner clad in black veluet and Crimson Silke, with the sword of gold of *Helioabulus*, The death

A death which is least ceremonious is the best. The beholders were some at the windowes, some in the Court. There were the Prouost of Marchants, foure Sheriffes, three or foure Maisters of Requests, some Presidents of the Chambers of Accounts; and some Councillors, the Lieutenants Ciuill and Criminall, and the Kings Atturney Generall. The Duke of Biron comming to the Scaffold kneeled vpon the first step, praying in few words, and his eyes lift vp to Heauen. Hee was exhorted to kisse the Crosse in remembrance of his redemption. Hee was attyred in Russet Taffata with a blacke hatte. He cast a furious looke vpon the Executioner. *Voisin* perswaded him that it was an other, but he knew him wel, saying, *that they sought to deceiue him, but he commanded him to stand by, and when it were time, he would call for him*. He threw downe his hat, and cast his hand-kercher to a boy, and presently called for it againe to vse it, seeming in this act that he had not the corrage to looke vpon death with open eyes. He put of his dublet, and cast it to the same boy, but the Executioners man got it, and kept it.

The Executioner offered him a cloth to put before his eyes, the which he reiected, saying, *that if hee toucht him, but to giue him the stroake of death, hee would strangle him*. He sayd vnto the souldiars which garded the Port (throwing them his naked brest) that he should be much bound vnto him that would shoote him with a Musket: what a pity is it sayd he, *to die so miserably, and of so infamous a stroake*? They might see by his hollow eyes, that his thoughts were distempered. At these words the teares fell from the souldiers eyes. All those of his profession sware by his Spirit, and by his good Angell, as the Ancients did by that of their Prince. The poorest souldiar was cherished by him, at the least he had some good words to assure him of his good liking. The Hargubuziers did wound him at the heart, through the extreame compassion they had of him. So were the souldiers of *Eumenes*, moued when they saw him bound and manacled, intreating them to kill him. He asked if there was no pardon, and directing his words to the standers by, he sayd, *that he had made his soule ready to present it before the face of God*; but he tooke pity of the Kings soule, who put him to death vniustly; that he died an innocent, and that his death was the recompence of his seruice: *Voisin* said vnto him, *that it was the manner to reade the sentence*. He was angry that they would make him to feele death, and to die so often before his death, for he felt him selfe to dye cruelly in the repetition of the crymes of his condemnation, beeing sufficient that they had brought him thether where he was ready to obey, and that they which did see him were not ignorant of the cause.

When as the Register answered him that it could not bee other-wise, hee gaue him leaue: but vnderstanding the words: that hee had attempted against the Kings person and State, hee sayd that it was false. That God was his iudge, that he would bee depriued eternally of his grace, if it were true, that for two and twenty monethes past he had neuer any thought of it, and that the King had pardoned him. Hee talked all the while that *Voisin* read his iudgement, so as neither the one nor the other could be vnderstood, the Auditors not knowing to whome to giue care. The party condemned protesting still, and coniuring the Assistants to remember that these two and twenty monethes he had not attempted any thing against the Kings seruice. No man doth at any time condemne him selfe. You shall see few of these great Spirrits, that die by their owne confessions, although they bee found guilty. Some confesse the Fact, but they hold it no Cryme, as that young Gentleman who was one of them that murdered the Duke of Milan, beeing ready to receiue the stroake, hee cried out, *that the Death which hee suffered was troublesome, but his Reputation should bee eternally glorious*.

His iudgement being read, the Preachers perswaded him to call to God for helpe, and not to thinke any more on Earth, but to yeeld his Soule to the immortal disposition of the Creator, and to leaue his body to that which Iustice had decreed. Hee asked what he should doe, and takes his hand-kercher, with the which hee blinds his eyes, asking the Executioner where hee should set himselfe: hee answered him, there my Lord, there. And where is that? Thou seest that I see nothing, and yet thou shewest me as if I

1602.

Stantem Imperatorem excedere terris decet.

He sweares and grooves into choller.

did see plainly : and therewith being in choller, he pulled away his hand-kercher to see: A He blinded his eyes againe, and for that it is a kind of grace to be soone dispatcht, and a great cruelty to languish in the expectation of a paine, he commanded the Executioner to make an end. He desired to die standing, according to the aduise of *Vespasian*. The Executioner answered him that he must kneele, that he might doe nothing out of order. No no, said the Duke of *Biron*, *if thou canst not doe it at one, giue thirty. I will not stirre*. They prest him to kneele, and hee obeyed, willing the Executioner to dispatch, then he start vp sodainly againe, casting his eyes vpon the Executioner, and looking vpon the standers by, he asked if there were no mercy: It was imagined, that either hee would haue laied hand vpon the Executioners sword, or that he presumed that when he should bee ready to receiue the farall stroke they would bring him his pardon, and that the King would doe him no other harme then feare him, as *Papirius Curfor* did one of his souldiers for breaking of his ranke. The Executioner intreated him to suffer him to cut his heire. At that word he grew into coller againe, hee vnbandd himselfe, and sware that if hee toucht him hee wold strangle him. You may see in two persons, two extreame passions. Feare rettyred the Executioner within him-selfe. Choller transported the Duke of *Biron* beyond himselfe. The one trembled for feare, the other for rage. *Voisin* sayd vnto him, *that he had too much care of his body, which was no more his owne*. He turned to him in choller with an oth, saying, *I will not haue him touch me, so long as I shall be liuing: if they put me into choller, I will strangle halfe the company that is here, and will force the rest to kill me, I will leape downe if you thrust me into dispaire*. His colour did rise, and shewed a distemperature in his face. Those that were vpon the scaffold went downe. The Executioner remayned amazed, fearing death more then he that was to die.

But this choller preuailed nothing, it was like vnto *Ctesiphon*, to kicke against the Moiles heeles. Resty horses get nothing but spurring, they are neither freed from their burden, nor from their iourney, he must resolue to goe this way, the which he must pacfe at length. *Voisin* intreated the Preachers to goe vp againe, and to pacifie him, fearing least he should fall into dispaire, for his soule being much troubled, with the violence of so tragical an end (entring into these furious motiues) was subiect to great distemperatures. They goe vp againe, and speake some good words vnto him in his care, the which doth temper his furious rage, and calme the choller which the Executioners presence did thrust him into: he had alwaies liued in Warre, he could not die in Peace. All men found these furious passions strange in the last act of his life, the which required a great constancy of mind, and a perfect iudgment to know God, to call to him for mercy, and to pray him to intreat his Soule more fauorably then iustice had done his body.

Hetherto they beleueed, that although hee were entring into death, yet he thought not to die, and that he would feaze vpon the Executioners sword. Sodenly he resolue to free this passage, & hauing receiued his absolution, he said, *My God, my God, my God take pittie on me*. Then turning to the Executioner, he takes the binder that was in his hand, trusses vp his haire behind, and binds it vpon his fore-head, and with his hand-kercher hee blinds his eyes, and so kneeles downe. The Preachers comfort him in his last resolution, assuring him that his Soule was ready to see GOD, and to bee partaker of his glory in Heauen. *I sayd he, Heauen is open for my Soule*. And this done hee bends downe his head, presenting it as willingly vnto the sword, as *Agis* did his vnto the balter, saying vnto the Executioner. *Strike, Strike, oh Strike*. This was to die in commanding, and to command in dying.

The Executioner hauing scene him to rise, and to vnblind him-selfe thrise, that in turning towards him being not bound, hauing the sword in his hand, he might wrest it from him, thought that there was no way to execute him but by surprise, and therefore hee sayd vnto him that hee must say his last prayer to recommend his Soule vnto God, intreating the Preachers that were gone downe to cause him to say it. At which wordes the Executioner made a signe to his man to reach him his sword, with

1602

Hee cuts off his head.

A with the which hee cut off his head, euen as he was speaking. The blow was so sodaine, as few men perceiued it, the head leaped from the scaffold to the ground. The Preachers prayed for the happy departure of the soule, from so vnhappy a body, the which was presently stripped into his shirt, and couered with a sheete. His heart panted, as if in rising against the head, it had said as *Apollodorus* thought that his did when he drempt that one did hee in peeces. *It is for thee that I suffer*. This head full of the fumes of Ambition, was the cause of the Hearts death. The Executioner struck him so high about the nape of the neck, as hee glanced vpon his lawe-bones, and left a great tuft of haire on his neck. Being dead, he shewed choller in his countenance, as they write of the Souldiers which dyed at the battle of Cannas. Euery one departed, commending the Kings iustice, and lamenting the misery of so valiant a man, beleening that of long time they should not see his equall. His kinsfolkes would thinke themselves happy, if the glory of his life might wipe away the infamie of his death, if the shining of his first actions, were not obscured with the darknesse of the last; that for a recompence of all his seruices which haue made him so famous, they might obtaine the fauour that they would neuer speake of him. But there is no lawe of forgetfulness, to deface the memory of that which hath beene, and of that which is. About nine of the clock at night, he was carried to Saint Pauls church, and buried in the middest of the body, before the Pulpit, the *Ce-laines* hauing refused to giue him buriall, hauing had no permission nor commandement for it. He was not distinguished from others by his Funerall pompe, nor by the number of Ensignes (like vnto that great Capitaine at Granado), but by the holy water which the Parisians did cast hourly vpon his graue. Such was the end of the Duke of *Biron*.

Great Gan-saine dying had a hundred Ensignes hung ouer his graue.

There is no calme but hath a storme: one would haue said to haue scene him at the height of his prosperities; *That he had fixed a nayle on Fortunes wheele, that it might not turne*, and yet he is sodainly cast downe. There past but one night, betwixt his glory and his ruine. The Flower being so sodainly blowne, the first Northerne winde did wither it, and carry it away. His honours and greatnesse were the meanes to ruine him, like vnto *Abisalon*s long hayre, by the which he was hanged. King *Lewis* the eleuenth did alwayes say, *That Pride carried Ruine behinde him*. A heart which knowes from whence the good comes which it inioyeth, is alwayes an enemy to Pride. So there is but a moment betwixt glory and ruine. Great trees are long in growing, but are rooted vp in an instant. And it is true, if the Duke of *Biron* had had a braine, hee had not lost his head, and had not brought it into the hands of his Princes iustice, whom hee had so much offended.

This Marshall had goodly parts, communicable to few, his valour was admirable, The Marshall and happy in all his incounters; of an inuincible courage, infatigable and neuer tired with any toile, continuing ordinarily fifteene dayes together on horse-back. Hee was not inclined to voluptuousnesse, nor much to the loue of women, sober inough, the which began to quench that furious humour, as intemperancie and greatnesse increased, or that rest did moderate his boyling passions. Hee was extremely vaine-glorious, yea some-times hee would refuse his meate, and content him-selfe with little glory. to feede his fantasie with glory and vanity. Hee was of a meane stature, black, reasonable grosse, hollow eyd, and rough in speech and conuersation. He was aduenturous in warre, ambitious beyond all measure. The excessse of his ambition made him to braue it without iudgement. Hee became so presumptuous, as he thought that neither the King, nor France could subsist without him. Hee was become ill-tongued, speaking ill of all the Princes, threatening the Parliaments, and the officers of iustice, some with death, and to dispossesse others of their places. Hee was aduanced from the meaneft to the highest degrees of honour, of a simple souldier, hee became a Capitaine, then a Colonell, afterwards Admirall and Marshall, and in the end Lieutenant of the Kings Armies, and in his heart hee aspired to bee Duke of Burgundy, Sonne in Lawe to the Duke of Sauoy, and nephew to the King of Spaine. If *Sylla* were resolute, cruell and bloody, hee yeelded nothing to all men together: If hee were valiant, this

A comparison betwixt Sylla and the Duke of Biron.

1602. this man exceeded him by ten degrees, and all the Romaine Princes together. Their Actions and their ends were almost alike, but that *Sylla* dyed after he had vanquished: this before he could vanquish, and in the midst of his course, did feele the vengeance of Gods wrath. Howsoever he had wonne the Souldiers hearts, to whom hee gaue all liberty, hee purchased credit with them that had neuer seene him (for they that had seene and felt him, withed him at the Indies) and made Strangers admire his valour: the Constable of Castille in the Franche-County, the Archduke at Amiens, and the Marquis of Waranbon in Artois, whom he made to pay forty thousand Crownes for his ranfome, with many Spaniards which hee caused to be hanged sodainly, for that they had called him Baron. Moreouer the Kings exceeding fauours, the praises where-with hee did publicly honour him: his admirable fortune, his comming to the restoring of the last ruines of the State, like to another *Camillus* to deliuer the Capitoll, had made him not onely famous throughout all Europe, fearefull to all the neighbours, but necessary for France. Behold a man that was happy, full of content, which held Fortune captiue, withall her treasures: he commanded the felicities of this world, he had glory, honour, riches, and those gifts which Fortune imparts to her darlings. He was raised to the top of Fortunes wheele, but hee fell, for he that gouernes the helme and all her motions, could no longer endure his insolencie and vanity. *Sequitur suberbos vltor a tergo Deus*. The causes of his ruine are infinite; the contempt of piety is the chiefe: this ground taken away, all vices abound, and as the seruant said to King *Asneus*, O Prince, follow the infallible way of Piety, and your Scepter shall be durable: for whereas faith and holinesse hath no place, there is no happinesse; the reason is, for that without God wee hold all things indifferent, the Law folly, Iustice frensie, and Faith a fantasie; we hold the words of vertue and vice to be idle, whereas the feare and trust in God, limits our passions and insatiable desires, so as gouerning our actions by a iust proportion we cannot erre.

Shame fol-  
lowes pride.

He was often-times seene to iest at the Masse, and to laugh at them of the reformed Religion, with whom he had beene bred vp from his infancie. For at the age of eight yeares, the Lady of Brifambourg his fathers sister (beeing of the reformed religion) did so affect him for his actiue disposition, as she demanded him of his Mother, the which he granted, and from that time she made him her onely heire. Vntill the age of fixteene yeares he was called *Charles of Gontault* (for then hee had an elder brother which died since at the Duke of Alançons voyage into Flanders) and bred vp at Brifambourg neere vnto S. Iean d'Angely, where he was nothing giuen to his booke, but wholly inclined to Armes, for which consideration, his father the Marshall *Biron*, a martiall man, and then a catholike, tooke him from his Aunt, and led him for a while with him through the countries of Xaintonge, Aulins and Angoulmois, where hee caused him to be instructed in the catholike Religion: but vpon false principles which he did learne of some Courtiers, hee did often mock at all religion. The second cause of his ruine was the alteration of his fortune. After the death of his elder brother, his father caused him to be called Baron of Biron, and brought him to Court, where at the first he had a quarrell with the Lord of Carency, sonne to the Earle of la Vauguion, the which was ended by a combat of three against three, *Biron*, *Loignat* and *Ienissac* of the one side, *slue Cerency*, *Estissac*, and *la Bastie*: their quarrell grew for the heire of Caumont, which either of them affected in mariage, yet neither of them had her. The Duke of Espernon got his pardon, the which was confirmed through the credit which his father had then in Court. Some say, that being thus in trouble, hee went disguised like a Carrier of Letters, vnto one *la Brosse* a great Mathematician, whom they held to be skilfull in casting of Natiuities, to whom he shewed his natiuity, drawne by some other. And dissembling it to bee his, he said 'it was a Gentlemans whom hee serued, and that he desired to know what end that man should haue. *La Brosse* hauing rectified this figure, said vnto him. That hee was of a good house, and no elder then you are, said hee to the Baron, asking him if it were his? the Baron answered him, *I will not tell you: But tell mee* (said hee) *what his life, his meanes, and end shall bee*. This good old man who was then in a little

He went to a  
Mathematici-  
en to know  
his fortune.

A little Garret which serued him for a Study, said vnto him, *My sonne, I see, that hee, whose nativity this is shall come to great Honours, by his industry and military valour, and may bee a King, but there is a CAPVT ALGO which hinders it. And what is that* (said the Baron of Biron?) *Aske me not* (said *la Brosse*) *what it is. No* (said the Baron) *I must know it*. In the end he said vnto him; *My Sonne, it is, that he will doe that which shall make him loose his head*. Wherevpon the Baron (as they report) did beat him cruelly, and hauing left him halfe dead, he went downe, and carried away the Key of the Garret doore, whereof he bragged when he was gone. They say he had conference with one *Cesar*, who was a Magitian at Paris, who told him, *That onely a back-blow of the Bourguignon would keepe him from being a King*. He remembered this prediction being a prisoner in the Bastille. And intreated one that went to visit him, to learne if the executioner of Paris were a Burguignon, and hauing found it so, hee said, *I am a dead man*. During these last ciuill warres, his father being commander of the Kings Army, of a young Baron hee was so-dainly made a Captaine and Marshall of the campe. After his fathers death at *Espernay*, hee was Generall and Admirall of France, then Marshall and Lieutenant of the Kings Armies: the defeat of the Spanish succours at *Laon*, with his exploits in *Burgundy* and *Picardy*, made the King so to loue him, as he onely was in credit: there remained nothing but to vse his happinesse modestly. Doubtlesse hee did great seruices to the King and to the Crowne, but he was rewarded with great fauours, and aduanced to the greatest dignities and honours of the Crowne, the which if he could haue vsed temperately, euen in the height of his Fortune, hee had beene too happy. It is reported that his father said vnto him, seeing his haughty disposition; *Baron I would aduise thee when a Peace shall be made, to go and line priuately at thine owne house, else thou must leaue thy head at the Grene*. In many things Soueraigne Princes haue a common interest: a blow giuen with the right hand is fencible to the left: A conspiracie in one place, giues example and consequence in another. Who so hinders his neighbour from punishing the felonies of his subiects, binds him-selfe to the like, and may suffer the same storme, for euery Soueraignes country is apt to breed sedition and treacherie, and as intercessions are odious, so the defence and protection is vniust. Whatsoever is said that Princes should imbrace them which are persecuted, as one element defends him that is afflicted by another, it is not to be vnderstood but of persecutions apparantly vniust. Hence growes the custome of Princes to congratulate for the discouerie and punishment of treason against their estate.

The Marshall  
Biron words  
vnto his Son  
when he was  
but Baron of  
Biron.

Inter: A com-  
mon to all  
Princes to  
punish treas-  
on

All Princes that were allied to the crowne of France reioyced at the discouery of the Duke of Biron's treason. The Queene of England, and the King of Scotland sent their Ambassadors vnto the King to congratulate that God had so happily preuented this last conspiracie. The King of Spaine did the like by *Taxis*. The Archduke laide all the blame vpon the Count of Fuentes. The Duke of Sauoy sent the Count of *Viesque* vnto the King, as well to obserue how the Duke of Biron's death had beene taken in court, and in that great city whereas there was diuersity of humors and opinions, as to excuse him from the imputation which was laid vpon him to be the Architect of this conspiracie.

The Ambassadors of England, Scotland and Sauoy, were receiued of one day at *Monceaux*. The King in receiuing of them made a great difference, for hee receiued them not with one countenance. The last was not vsed like vnto the first, the King leaning vpon a window, shewed by his gesture, that hee was not pleased with his excuses, and that words alone could not repaire so bad effects, nor make him beleue that the Duke of Sauoy had not beene an actor to corrupt the Duke of Biron. The Dukes Ambassador made his excuse with a great grace and boldnesse, although it be a very hard thing to discourse of a subiect to one, that can giue no beleefe vnto it. The Count of *Viesque* passing through *Lions*, visited the Gouvernor, and gaue him a letter from his Maister, the which hee sent vnto the King, who was very well pleased with his proceeding, and writ vnto him in this sort. *It was not needfull to send mee this letter, but onely Guiche the 1. of September to giue mee a new confirmation of your loyalty, which I hold so assured, as it needed neither that,*

1602

The Kings  
Letter to  
Monsieur de la  
Guiche the 1.  
of September  
1602.

1602. *that, nor any other. But the wisest doe alwayes obserue the ancient formes, whereof that is one of the principall, not to see nor heare any thing from forraigne Princes, without the priuie and permission of his Maister.* The King parted from Monceaux to goe to Paris, where he dispatched the Ambassadors. That of Sauoy came to his Maister beeing newly returned from Vercel, where hee had visited the Duke of Saxonyes brother passing into Italy. He presented him with eight horses richly furnished, and a hat-band with a Jewell esteemed at twelue thousand crownes. Soone after hee went to Riouly for his pleasure of hunting, leading *D'Albigny* with him, to whom hee made shewes of extraordinary loue. Mens coniectures were not able to pierce into the secrets of that which they treated of together; but they will burit forth before the yeare shall end. The Count of Viesque came to Riouly in the beginning of October. Euery man said at Thurin that his Ambassage was gracious, and that the King was well pleased with that which the Duke of Sauoy would haue him beleue, yet all Sauoy was full of Souldiars, and no man knew how they should bee employed. Some said that the Duke of Biron's death would breed a new storme in France, but all the choller and threats of them that repined thereat, was but a fantastieall lightning. The Count of Fuentes would haue done his best to haue bred a storme: his spirit which hath no rest but in exercise, thinking (with *Teres* father to *Sitalces*) that nothing doth distinguish him from the rest of his Maisters seruants but warre, was so much discontented for this death, as hee could not sleepe. He did meditate of reuenge, and the King was well aduertised thereof.

Brates of w  
of the Duke  
of Biron.

It was thought that vnder colour of passing a new Armie ouer the Alpes, hee would discouer some desseigne, and the King was aduertised from many parts, that the City of Lions was not the last, nor the least in his chollerick thoughts. That three and twenty companies of Spaniards (in the which were at the least three thousand men) had past the Mountaines, and were dispersed in Sauoy: that the Duke of Sauoy had at Romilly five hundred men, vnder the regiment of Valdisers, and at Anissy fiftene hundred Neapolitains; that they attended some Lansquenets: that neere vnto Genoa there were thirtie companies of Spaniards landed: and that they fortified Saint Genis (against the last treatie of Peace) a fitt place to execute any desseigne vpon Lions or Vienne. The King therefore fore-seeing that if they sought any aduantage vpon France it should be rather for Lions then any other place, he therefore lodged in the Bastions of Saint John and Saint Clair five Companies of the Regiment of *Bourg L'Espinaffe*, and those of *Nizet*, at Montluet and Seissel.

These troups  
of the Duke  
of Sauoy  
were not for  
Lions, but for  
Genoa.

The Baron of  
Lux comes to  
the King.

The opinions of this new Armie was as diuers as their desseignes were secret, yet it seemed that the Duke of Sauoy feared, least his countrie should bee forced againe by the Kings army, and that hee should not haue so good a composition as the first, and therefore he provided for all his places in Sauoy, but this hatched another great dessein whereof wee will speake in the end of this yeare. The King was much troubled to search into the depth of the Duke of Biron's conspiracie. *La Fin* was not acquainted with the last resolutions, the party condemned would neuer discouer his complices. All this practise was well knowne to the Baron of Lux, who came vnto the King vpon the assurance of his Maiesties word to goe and come freely: yet hee was aduised not to approach neere vnto the Court of Parliament, who would not intreate him more mildly then they had done the Duke of Biron, seeing hee had bene imbarked with him in the same vessell, and to consider that Princes promise any thing to discouer a Treason, but they neuer trust the traitors, and if happily they fauour them for a time, the hatred which followes after, is more violent and irreconcilable. That they vse men, as a countryman doth his Bees, when they haue drawne out the Honey and Waxe, they chase them away with fire, & smoke. The King was so well satisfied with that which the Baron of Lux had said vnto him (hauing talked long with him) as entring into his Carosse, he told the Count *Soissons*, and the Cardinall of Ioyeuz, that hee would not for two hundred thousand Crownes, but to haue spoken with the Baron of Lux.

His pardon past in the Parliament at Paris, and hee was receiued in that of Dijon, with the same honours he had before, and his charge of Lieutenant in the government of

A of Bourgongne, and of the country of Bresse, his wisdom did conduct him in a stormie sea, to a safe Port, and made him to auoyde some dangers, whereas any other would haue lost both Card and Compass. The greatest indiscretion which the Duke of Biron had committed, (next to the giuing care to the promises and perswasions of strangers) was that he had written his intentions, and had imparted them to another. It is a maxime in matters of conspiracie, not to commit any thing to writing, but all must goe by mouth. They could not haue condemned the Duke of Biron, but by his owne letters. And of all those of whom hee spake in his letters, there was nothing found of theirs in writing. Letters serue indifferently for an assurance of the faith that is giuen, and for a prooffe of infidelity.

B Hee would dye with that content, that none of his friends should bee toucht but him selfe. *Hebert* his Secretarie indured the Racke, and his patience did iustifie him, but the Kings words were a more violent torture vnto him, drawing the truth from him, the which hee would not confesse vnto the Court. The Baron of Fontanelles (who was found to haue intelligence with the Duke of Biron) was broken vpon the wheele by the decree of a great Councell. *Mom-barras* Gouverneur of Rennes was committed to Prison. Such as had knowne him during the last troubles full of resolution and affection for the reducing of Brittain to the Kings obedience, lamented his misfortune. The Earle of Auvergne continued two moneths in the Bastille after the execution of the Duke of Biron. The King set him at liberty and receiued him into fauour, after three or foure dayes that hee had purged himselfe and discharged his conscience to the Chancellor, the Marquis of Rhosny and to *Sillery*. Hee grew presently familiar with the King, as if hee had neuer bene sequestred from his presence, wherein appeared his Maiesties good nature and his generous spirit, which doth neuer remember any iniuries.

H-ber the  
Duke of Bi-  
rons Secretary  
put to the  
Racke, and  
Fontanelles  
broken vpon  
the wheele.

This generous and naturall disposition to forget offences, hath alwayes bene obserued in him when as hee commanded armies. The Author of the free discourse saith, that he had scene within a quarter of an houre after a battle wonne, the vanquished so familiar among the victors, as they could not distinguish them; they came ordinarily to his Maiesties rising and going to bed, to his dinner, to his chamber, and into his cabinet, and were for the most part petty maisters of the campe in those ciuill warres, who neuer durst to haue spoken to the King, if they had not bene his enemies, and in this qualitie they receiued a good countenance. But the Duke of Bouillon considering what had bene done in the Bastille vpon the person of so great a Captaine, would not trust to this great mildnesse, although he had as great prooffe thereof as any other. The King sent for him, and hee desired to iustifie himselfe in the chamber at Castres. The King let him vnderstand, that the pretext which hee tooke to flie vnto the Chamber at Castres for Iustice, was without ground, for he was not called into question, and when he should do it, it could not bee there, for that hee depended not of that iurisdiction, neither could they take knowledge thereof without commission from his Maiestie. Hee attended not to vnderstand his pleasure more particularly by the President *Cau-  
martin*, whom he resolved to send vnto him, but tooke the way to Geneua, and so to Heidelberg. The Subiect may neuer capitulate with his Prince, but if necessity doth require it, it must not be betwixt two Barres, like to the Constable of Saint Paul, but as farre off as hee can.

The Duke of  
Bouillon re-  
fused to come  
to the King.

The Duke of Bouillon beeing in his Viconte of Turenne, when as the King sent for him, he answered him with this letter. Sir, hauing vnderstood by that of your Maiesties owne hand of the eightene of this moneth, that I had bene accused by those which had bene examined in Councell vpon the conspiracies of the Duke of Biron, & that you commanded mee to repaire presently to court to iustifie my selfe, I sent away him presently that came, with answer to your Maiesty that I would follow instantly, the which I had done, if I had not receiued certaine intelligence who were my accusers. The which made mee to change this resolution, and humbly to beseech your Maiesty to consider that the treacheries and disloyalties against your Person and State are so fully

His letter  
to the King.



1602. „fully prooued against my accusers, as it disables them to accuse mee, and much lesse to A  
 „condemne mee. They haue not, nor cannot haue but lying tongues in their accusati-  
 „ons, the which hauing failed them in the execution of their intention (being preuented  
 „by your Maiesties happinesse and wisdom) they employ them to make you suspect the  
 „second Officer of your Crowne, and your house-hold seruant, who hath neuer sought  
 „any glory in this world, but what proceeds from your Maiesties grace and fauour, and  
 „who hath so long serued you. It is to bee presumed that hauing an intent to hurt mee,  
 „they haue incited your displeasure against me, by the most horrible crimes they could  
 „inuent. They would make mee the Instrument of that which they haue promised to the  
 „enemies of your Estate to preiudice you. And seeing they cannot now suborne any B  
 „others, they will accuse them who in the like affaires haue made prooue of their Inno-  
 „cencies, by so many circumstances, as it is not to bee beleued they would haue any  
 „thought to the contrary. They doe ill acknowledge your mercy, to continue still culpa-  
 „ble, changing onely their offence. Seeing that since they are become false witnesses, I  
 „will say vnto you my Liege, as the Psalmist said vnto God. *Lord come not neere me, un-*  
 „*till I bee fortified.* I must confesse that I feare your countenance (hauing admitted such  
 „men to accuse me) seeing that your Maiestic demands my iustification, the which hath  
 „retained me, not that my conscience doth accuse me of any fault that is worthy of such  
 „an examination. Seeing it doth import your seruice, it is requisite I should satisfie your  
 „Maiesty, your realme and mine honor, and free them of my religion from the scandall C  
 „which they should receiue, if my crime were not punished, & mine innocencie knowne.  
 „For the attaining whereof, I assure my selfe that your Maiestic would not deprive mee  
 „of the liberty, which all your subiects of the religion enioy, and the rather, for that no  
 „Iudges can be more interested in these affaires, seeing the question is of the decay of  
 „your Realme to augment that of Spaine, wherein all your subiects haue one common  
 „losse; but those of the Religion (whereof the Chambers do consist) haue a more par-  
 „ticular: the which they esteeme more deare then their liues, which is the losse of their  
 „exercice. They will therefore bee seuerer Iudges rather then milde. If they shall finde  
 „mee guilty, they will hate me more then any other, from whom they did least expect it.  
 „I must humbly therefore beseech your Maiestic, to send my accusers and accusations, D  
 „thinking the imputation which is laide vpon mee heauie, and the time tedious, vntill  
 „your Maiestic may be fully satisfied of mine innocencie, for the speedy effecting where-  
 „of I will attend at Castres the iustification of my fault or Innocencie, Iudging that the  
 „time which I should haue spent in going to your Maiestic, would haue but prolonged  
 „the affliction of my soule remaining accused, seeing that your Maiestic was to send  
 „mee backe to the Chambers, to condemne or absolue mee, beeing the Iudges which  
 „your Edict hath giuen mee. That it would therefore please you to releue my minde  
 „speedily in giuing mee the meanes to make my Innocencie knowne, and that by this  
 „prooue you may rest assured of my faithfull seruice, and I of your fauour, the which shall  
 „bee about all things desired of your most humble, most obedient, and most faithfull  
 „Subiect, and Seruant.

Henry de la Toure.

The Prince of  
Ginuille com-  
mited.

The King caused the Prince of Ginuille to be committed to the Duke of Guise his brother. Sillery examined him very carefully, his Maiestic relying vpon his wisdom & integrity. He aduertised the Gouvernours of Prouinces why he did it, vsing these words. *I haue committed my Nephew the Prince of Ginuille, vnto my Nephew the Duke of Guise his brother, for that he had rashly and indiscreetly giuen care to certaine propositions, that were made vnto him against my seruice: I will hold him in the same gard vntill that matters be made plaine. But I assure my selfe it concernes him onely, wherein those of his house haue no share, neither is there any one named or comprehended with him, whereof I thought good to aduertise you.*

Wee need not feare that the hearts of the French, although they be inconstant, will passe any more into Spaine. The Marshall of Biron, head hath stoppt the passage. There

A There is no man desirous to giue care to the promises of Spaine, hauing such ruinous effects: and who doth not detest that cruell ambition, which hauing corrupted the best blood of the Duke of Biron, bred in him so violent and continuall a Fever of the mind, as after that it had afflicted him about foure yeares, there was no other remedie but by that shameful letting off blood, which made his soule all bloudie and violently to leaue his body. Those that will not be diuerted by the aspect of this head, and which imagine vnto themselves mountains of gold beyond the Pirenes, let them consider that a Prince and chiefe of his party, hauing followed their desseigns, hath gotten nothing but ruine, after that he had ingaged his liuing, his wiues, and childrens, he spent fife hundred thousand Crowns in ready mony, and became indebted vpon his own credit, and his friends in about a million of gold, he was in the end so disliked, hated, and contemned of them, as in stead of canonizing him, the Duke of Feria did giue aduice to make him away, or to keepe him prisoner. We must resist the first thoughts of despite, discontent, and rebellion, and take heed least the desire of new fauours which we affect of the Prince, make vs not forget the former: for hence grow discontents more powerfull to draw vs to ill, then reason is able to restrain vs to good: from despite spring bad desires, which neuer increase but by furie and blindness, and produce violent motions of ambition, which bind him to vndertake and to do any thing, although there bee nothing that may dis-  
 pendence the subiect from his durie to his Prince.

C They did speak, write, and discourse of this death both in their Prose and Rime, some with so small reason, as they strued to find innocency in the life, and constancie, and resolution in the Duke of Biron's death, although that in the last there were more colour and violence, then constancie, whereof patience is one of the principall branches, and in the first so great guilt, as if the Court had quited him, his conscience could not absolue him. Such as in these discourses desired rather to seem learned, then wise, repented their knowledge, and were in paine. Herein some one did me a bad office, which forceth me to adde something in this Narration for mine owne defence, and if that which I shall say, doth not content Slander, yet shall it be according vnto truth, or like vnto bad Musitions, who are neuer wearied themselves though their musicke be vtunable.

D Presently after the Duke of Biron's execution, I did write sixe lines to Lions vpon this subiect, to dispenge my selfe of a longer discourse which they expected, meaning to reserue it for this History; whereunto I added sixe verses written (as it was sayd) by one of the first Poets of France, vpon the heads of the father and sonne, the first struck off with a Cannon, the other with a sword. This letter coming before all aduice of so famous an accident, was imparted and copied out greedily, contrarie to my intent. In the end it returned to Paris, and from thence to Monceaux where the King was. Hauing found opportunity there to speake vnto his Maiesty after supper, of a busines far from this letter, wheron I dreamed no more: hauing told me his pleasure he added these words: *Go and speake with Monsieur de Villeroy*, I asked if it were for the busines whereof

E I had spoken vnto him, No sayd he: and drawing me aside it pleased him to heare mee, and to giue me better words then I could hope for, adding in the end, *Speake to Monsieur de Villeroy*, without giuing me any farther knowledge of the matter. I repaired vnto him early in the morning, not knowing what to say, but only to receiue his Maiesties intention: after some complements of courtesie, he caused all them in the chamber to retire, and then he sayd vnto me: You are made the author of a letter touching the Marshall of Biron, which hath gone far out of the Realme: it containes but fix or seuen lines, and hath points in it, which the King hauing well considered of, is so much the more offended, that hauing made you his Historiographer, it appeares plainly what your passion might be, words beeing the Interpreter of the minds affection.

F It behooued me then to protest, that I had neither spoken nor written any thing against the Kings Iustice; to lament the Duke of Biron's death, who in his life had not giuen me any occasion to bewaile it, with any other then a common affection, which grieues that so braue a Knight should so forget himselfe: that hauing seene a discourse of my writing of the causes and effects of the warres, betwixt the Houses of France

F f f f

and

Discou-  
ses  
vpon the D.  
of Biron's  
death.

Peter Malbrey

1602. and Austria, vnto the peace of Veruins, thinking that I had not spoken of him neither so often, nor so highly as he desired, for that all the glorie of braue exploitcs should be referred vnto the head, especially beeing in the armie, hee complained to the Chancellor of Belieure, and discouered his choller more plainly to *De Vic*, Ambassadour in Suifferland, adding cruell threatcs to his bad words against me. Here he cut me off, and sayd: This letter speakes not after this manner, and I belecue you will know it by the copie. At the first three words I did auow that which was of my style, if I had denyed it, they could hardly haue represented the Originall: but beeing loth to lye vnto God, I spake my conscience, which was free from scruple and apprehension. He approoued this freedome and sayd, that the last line was it which had offended the King. *They which haue his life do not beleue his death:* whereunto I replied, that the copie was not comfortable to the Originall, and that by an iniurious forgetfulness, or an extreame impofigure they had left out a word which did peruert the fence, and had giuen the King occasion to be offended, and that there was, *They that haue knowne his life, will not beleue his death:* That besides this omission there was nothing in the letter, but might be spoken of so extraordinarie an accident, & death of that quality, & that there was great difference betwixt writing of an Historie and a letter. And admit he had sayd, that hee went as chearefully to execution, as he had in former times to a charge, that hee had amazed death, and made the hang-man to tremble, this did not impugne the iudgement of the Court, seeing that the innocencie of the condemned is not iudged by his constancie in dying: That it is not strange nor incredible to write that a man which had contemned his life, and braued death in so many occasions, had shewed courage in this last action.

That if they had obserued violent motions in him, a death of that fashion might well put a man of his humor into furie. This letter did also speake of that head which had caused the death of the bodie, saying, that the one was generous, and the other full of glorious wounds. But these tearmes were to bee considered according to the simplicitie of my intention, which did not iudge of this head as it was vpon a Scaffold, but for that which it had beene in many great actions, and had purchased honourable makes of valour for his Princes seruice: That it were a point of great ignorance, or impudent flatterie, to attribute glorie vnto an act full of shame and ignominie, and to confound the light of his first actions, with the darknesse of the last. These reasons did content him, and he ended with these words. The King would not speake vnto you of it, for that hee hath a good opinion of you, but thought fit that I should tell you of it. Thus much I thought fit to say for my Apologie, passion hauing moued me to make this little digression. The King hauing since beene satisfied of the truth, he returned againe into fauour.

Humbert de la Tour Daulphin, giues Daulphine to the first sonne of France.

There came 15, or 16. Deputies out of Daulphiné to Paris. This Prouince was giuen to the Crowne of France, by Humbert Prince of Daulphiné, vpon condition, that the K. eldest son, (the presumptiue heire of the Crown) should be Soueraign therof from his birth. Hauing made great ioy for this blessing, and to see that which they had not seene since K. Charles the 8, they made choice of some out of the 3. Estates of the country, to go and performe their first duty of subiection, and to know their Soueraign Lord. *Jerome* of Villards Archb. of Vienne, was the chiefe of this Ambassage, the which he gouerned and performed happily, and with honor. Hauing done their duties to the King and Queene, and let them vnderstand the charge which he had from the States of the Countrey with the other Deputies, he was led to Saint Germaines, to see their new Prince, who was vnder a cloth of Estate in his Cradle, vpon a little bed. The Count Soissons, Gouvernour and Lieutenant generall of Daulphiné, his Gouvernesse and his Nurse were by him. The Arch-b. of Vienne spake vnto him standing, all the rest kneeled of one knee. The substance of which speech was. That the ioy of France had beene infinite by his birth, fore-seeing that her felicitie should be imperfect without it, and that the blessing of Peace could not continue without his birth, who should bee the death of all pretexts of Ciuill Warres, but your Prouince of Daulphiné hath farre greater cause

The Archb. of Viennes speech to the Daulphin.

A cause of Ioy, for that it feesles in effect, that which the rest of the Realme hath but in hope. Those which haue beleueed that felicitie could not be in the infancie of a child, seeing it requires a continuance of yeares, and a constant knowledge of vertue and fortune, meant it not by Kings children, and above all of the first borne of the Crowne of France, at whose first birth we see all the fauours raine vpon his head, the which Heauen can powre vpon them whome it will make happie. The same day my Lord, that you saw the light, the Sunne did salute you a great Prince, and the sonne of a great King, you are borne our Soueraigne Lord, and we are become your faithfull vassalls, and most humble Subiects, so as this Prouince which amidst so many afflictions hath sighed aboute an hundred yeares, for the day when it should see borne that sacred bud of the Royall flower, holds it the greatest point of glorie and felicitie, not to know any power more absolute and soueraigne then yours, and to obey you before that you know what it is to command. This cradle (my Lord) about the which the Eternal Prouidence (which hath a speciall care ouer this Realme, and hath appointed his Angels for your guard) is the throne wherein we adore in your liuing Image the inuisible Maiestie of the liuing God. The rocking of this cradle hath settled the felicitie of France, which began to be shaken by furious and dangerous attempts both without and within. It is an extreame griefe vnto vs, that the law of this cradle will not suffer vs to heare you, and make vs so happie as to vnderstand you. And if you vnderstand not but by the Language of infants, which be teares, you shall know the affection of your peoples hearts, by the teares of ioy which fall from their eyes, praying God that it hath pleased him to giue them a Prince issued from the first Crowne of the world, who carries in his heart the generosity of his father, and in his eyes the sweetnes of his mother. A Prince which in greatnesse of courage and in reputation of braue and immortall actions, shall exceed the glorie of all the Princes of the land and sea, as the Daulphin in lightnesse and swiftnesse passeth all the creatures both of land and sea. We acknowledge you for our Prince and soueraigne Lord vnder the King your father, and the Queene your mother, and we do now offer vnto your Highnesse, our liues, our persons, and our fortunes, for homage of your most humble and faithfull subiection. These goodly words were accompanied with a rich present. It was a cupbord of Plate richly wrought and beautified with sundry figures of Daulphins, beeing valued at twelue thousand Crownes. All that attended vpon the Prince had presents of some value, or else Meadilles made for that purpose.

The sonnes present serued for the mother. The King was the better pleased with this Deputation, for that it was in the first yeare of his sonnes infancie: and it is certaine, that of all the proofes of duty and affection which the subiects can yeeld vnto their Soueraigne, those are most commendable which are done without desigine. As Daulphiné doth acknowledge this Prince for their Soueraigne Lord vnder the King: so Bourgongne and the Countreies of Bresse, Baugey, Valfomey, and Gez, (which are annexed vnto it) had him for their Gouvernour: But during his Infancie, and vntill hee were capable to vndergo the functions of that Charge, the power of Licutenancie was giuen to Roger of Bellegarde, first Gentleman of the Chamber, and Master of the Kings Horse, who tooke his oath in the Kings hands: His Pattent was read in the Parliament of Dijon, the Cittie receiued him with all sorts of honours, and went to fetch him at the Carthusiens where he made his abode, attending the preparation for his reception.

The Kings desires beeing seconded with so many prosperities, it pleased him of his owne bountie to take pittie of the ruines and calamities of his subiects, in reuoking the Imposition of the Soulz vpon the Livre (or two shillings) which they called the Pancarre: Hee would not that this great releefe should surprize his peoples hearts, declaring his pleasure some moneths before it was put in practise, to the end that things beeing first expected before they were enioyed, might bee the more acceptable. The King rayled his coynes of Gold and Siluer, the Crowne to fixe shillings and fixe pence, the quarter of the Crowne to fixteene Soulz, and the Francké to

F ffff 2

one

1602  
Children cannot be termed happy.

A present giuen vnto the Daulphin.

The gouernment of Bourgongne giuen to the Daulphin.

Reuocation of the Pancarre.

1602.

Dozen is a  
peece of coine  
two parts  
more then a  
penny in  
twelue.

Mynes of  
gold discou-  
red.

An Edi& for  
the ordering  
of the mynes.

one and twenty and foure Deniers, that the coynes of siluer might be valaed after the A rate of threescore and foure Souls to the Crowne. And as that which is held good and profitable at one time, is not so at an other, the counting by Crownes (found in the yeare one thousand five hundred seuentie and seuen, profitable and now verie preiudiciall) was forbidden, and that of the Lyure brought into practise in Contractions, Obligations, and Acts of Iustice, as it was before, since King *Philip* the faire, *Francis* the first, and *Henrie* his Sonne. There is no law which should be more firme and lesse variable then the stander of mony, and there is no crime lesse pardonable then that which offends the Kings picture. For the effecting whereof all coynes should be of pure metall without mixture, all gold, all siluer, or all copper. For as long as mixtures shalbe B allowed, the mint-men will alwaies alter the price of that which should be immurable. The abundance of Dozens in France is such as it is impossible to purge the Realme, but by a generall decay of those that are made, which would be the ruine and impou- rishment of the poore people, or by a defence not to coyne any other hereafter but of siluer.

There sprung vp a new ioy for all France. The Heauens which in former times did raine gold at Rhodes for the birth of *Minerva*, did now poure forth a great shower of Ioy for the birth of the Kings first lawfull daughter. The Queene was happily brought in bed on the two and twentieth day of Nouember in the morning, and thanks were giuen vnto God according to the vsuall custome. The Riuier of Saonne was ouer- flowed in that sort as the Townes that were seated vpon the bankes, were in great dan- C ger of this inundation. The bridge at Lions was so shaken, as if it had not beene forti- fied by the waight that was layd vpon it, the two Townes had beene diuided by the riu- er. This inundation was greater and more furious, then that which ioyned the riuers of Rhosne and Saonne, in the place of Comfort, but not so terrible as another which happened an hundred yeares since in the moneth of Februarie, with such violence as the waues past ouer the Bridge, and beate downe one of the Arches towards the Ex- change.

This yeare all the Elements did contribute to the prosperitie and blessings of the Peace, the Earth did let the King see a new production of his Treasure. They discou- D red in many parts of the Realme mynes of Gold, Siluer, Copper, and Lead. In the Countrey of Lionois, neere vnto a village called Saint *Martin* the plaine, which de- pends of an Earledome of the Church of Saint *John* of Lions; there was a myne of Gold found by a Countriman, who labouring in his Vineyard, found a flint stone in- termixt with Gold, wherby they gathered an infallible assurance that this member was not without a bodie. *De Vic* Superintendant of the Iustice at Lions, had commande- ment from the King to set some to worke in it. The first production was admirable, and among many goodly peeeces, one was shewed vnto the King very rich, in the which the Gold did appeare, and put forth like vnto the buddes of a Vine, as fine as that of Caruana, so as it might be sayd, that these five thousand yeares the Sunne had made E nothing more perfect in the bowels of the Earth. For it was not Gold in pepin nor in poulder, as in the running streames of the New-found Land, nor mixt with sand as in Bohemia, but in Stones and in Rockes, all pure Gold or pure Siluer: for alwaies the one goes with the other, perfect of it selfe without mixture of any other mettals. The King imitating his Predecessors who had alwaies fauoured the workes of Mynes, which bring infinite commodities, made a generall Edi& for the ordering of the worke and worke-men: Hee created a great Master and a Controuller generall ouer all the mynes of France, with priuiledges to draw in forraigne worke-men which they could not want. *Bellegarde* was the first great Master of the Mynes, who resigned it to *Rufé Beaulieu* Secretary of State. *Bellingin* first Groome of the Kings Chamber, was F Controuller generall.

The new alliance with the Suiffes beeing concluded, they deputed fortie two a- mong them, to whome they gaue power to sweare the obseruation thereof. They came into France in September being honorably receiued in al places. The fourteenth of

1602.

A of October they came to Charanton a League from Paris, where they were royally feasted at the Kings owne charge in *Senamys* house. After dinner the Duke of Mont- bazon, and the Lord of Montigny Gouvernour of Paris went out of the city with an hundred or sixefcore Gentlemen to meete them, and to welcome them in the Kings name. At *S. Anthones* gate, *Bargelone*, Prouost of Merchants, with the Sheriffes, Councillors of the City, Quarter-Masters, chiefe Bourgeses, and the three Compa- nies of the Archers of the citie, receiued them, and conducted them to their lodging in Saint *Martins* Streete. Where besides good words of welcome, they found presents fit to procure thirst, Gammons of Bacon, dried sweet meates, and store of Ipocras and choise wines. The next day they dynd with the Chancelor, after dinner he went to his Maiestie to the Louvre, desiring them to haue a litle patience, vntill the King sent for them. Soone after the Duke of Esquillion accompanied with fifty young Gen- tlemen of the best houses that were then in Court, went to fetch them and to conduct them vnto the King: entring into the base Court of the Louvre, the Duke *Montpensier* with many Knights of the Holy Ghost, and Noblemen of marke, receiued them in the Kings name: at the stayres-foote going vp to the Hall, the Count of Soissons with ma- ny Gouvernors of Provinces, and old Knights of the Order, receiued them, and so con- ducted them into his Maiesties chamber, where they did their obeysance, the King ta- king euery one of them by the hand. Then the Aduoyer of Bearne who was their spea- C ker, sayd vnto him in his owne language, *That the cause of their comming, was to sweare the renewing of the Alliance, and to assure his Maiestie of their faithfull seruice.* *Viger* did interpret vnto the King, who after he had answered them, and witnessed the con- tent which he had of the Declaration they had made in the behalfe of their superiours, hee told them, *That they were welcome*, from thence they went to kisse the Queenes hand, who was in her chamber, with all the Princesses and Ladies of the Court, pre- senting their seruice vnto her, and the good affection of their Superiours, for the which she thanked them.

Before the oath was taken, they intreated the King that it would please him to heare some particular charges they had from their Superiours. The Chancelor was appoin- D ted to heare what they demanded: the which the Aduoyer of Bearne deliuered vnto him in three Demands. The first was, that it would please his Maiestie to augment the summe of eight thousand Crownes, which was appointed to be distributed euery yeare among them, beeing not sufficient to pay their interests. The second was that the priuiledges of those of their Nation, which trafficked in France, might bee confir- med. The third was, to giue them the declarations that were promised, as well vnto the five petty Cantons, for the continuance of their Alliance with Milan and Sauoy, without infringing that of his Maiestie, as to the Protestant Cantons, that they might not be forced to giue men to make warre in France against them of the Religion. To the first his Maiestie made answer, that the ciuill and forraigne Warres where-with his E people had beene ruined, would not giue him meanes to do better yet, and that they must content themselves with that which had beene promised. The second and third were granted, and the Declarations required by them, signed. Sunday the twelfth of October was appointed for the swearing of the Alliance in our Ladies Church, where the Ambassadors were conducted by Monsieur *De Vic*. The King beeing come to the Church and set in State, the Princes of Conde and Conty went to fetch the two and forty Ambassadors in the Bishops Hall, and conducted them to their places. All be- ing set, the Arch-bishop of Vienne approached to his Maiestie, carrying a booke of the Euangelists in his hands, and at the same instant the Ambassadors drew neere also. Be- fore them was *Vagner* Secretary of State at Soleuvre, betwixt *M. de Sillery* and *de Vic*, he carried betwixt his armes a cushion of crimson veluet, garnished with Gold, on F the which were two Treaties of the Alliance, the one in French, the other in the Ger- mane tongue, sealed with his Maiesties Seale, and those of the Cantons and their Al- lies. After they had all done their duties, and saluted his Maiestie, Monsieur *de Sillery* sayd vnto the King: That these Treaties of Alliance were the same which his

The Suiffes  
demands.

Ffff 3

Predecessors

1602.

Predecessors had made with the Seigneuries of the Cantons: and that whatsoeuer was added, was for the honor and profit of his Maiesties seruice. The Aduoyer of Beame who deliuered the speech, sayd: That the Seigneurs of the Cantons, their Superiors, had held it for a great honour, that the King desired their alliance, for the which thinking themselves much bound, they had enioyned them to thank his Maiestie, and to offer him on their behalfe their most humble seruice in all occasions that should bee offered, and of all might be expected of true and faithfull allies and confederats, according to the Treaties of their alliance. That they were also sent by their superiors for the performing of the oth, to the end they might faithfully obserue what was contained in the Treaty, and to beseech his Maiestie to do the like for his part, as it belongs to good and loyall friends, allies, and confederats. That by his Maiesties commandement they presented themselves for the performance of the oth, praying God to poure out his blessings vpon so good an alliance, to the content of both the Estates: with prayers, that it would please God to preferue the King and the Dauphin their new ally, in all prosperitie, and giue him a long life and happy reign. The King hearing him, stood vp with his hat on, and answered him with a great Maiestic. That he desired to renew the treaty of peace and alliance with the Seigneurs of the Cantons, for the great esteeme he made of the valor of their nation, who had alwaies bin partners of the honor of his victories, and had made better triall thereof then any of his Predecessors, hauing bin happily assisted by them. That he did accept the offer of their succors, and did in like sort promise to assist them with all his forces and means against any one that should seek to oppresse their liberty. The which he desired them to beleeeue, with assurance, that he had neuer failed in his promises: being ready to sweare the treaty of alliance with them, and to obserue it inuolably, as he had giuen charge to the Chancelor to let them vnderstand more at large.

The Kings  
answer to  
the Suilles.

Oration  
made by  
the Chan-  
celor to the  
Suilles.

The Chancelor made a long speech vnto them to the same purpose, saying: My masters, you haue heard from the Kings mouth, the contentment he receiued of your Legation, and the esteeme which he makes, and will alwaies make of the good friendship, Alliance, and Confederacie of the Cantons, ancient and faithfull friends, Allies, and Confederats to the Crowne of France. Whereunto I will adde the ioy and generall content which the three Orders of the Realme do in like manner receiue. The memorie of former ages, and all Histories may teach vs, that those Estates haue bene held most powerfull and assured, which haue bene supported with most friends, and yet it is seldome seene (what neede soeuer Potentates haue to fortifie themselves with alliance of their neighbours) but that there remaines some distrust, that the greatnesse of their Allies will in the end cause the ruine of their Estates. The Alliance of France with the most vertuous nation of the Leagues, hath alwaies bene free from suspicion. First, there was neuer question, pretension, nor contention betwixt the two Estates, by reason of the Countreys which are held by either part. The Kings of France since the Treaties, and long time before, haue alwaies desired to fauour the greatnesse and prosperitie of the Nation of the Leagues, whereunto besides their naturall inclination and good will, they were moued by their owne interest and reason of State. The greater and more happie that you haue bene or shall be, the more they shall thinke themselves fortified with so great a friend. You haue heretofore made the like Iudgement of the Kings of France, and his Maiestie, here present, assures himselfe, that you will continue the like opinion of him, as you haue had of his Predecessors, and will still haue the same confidence, and retaine the same good opinion of your friendship.

Hee thinke, that your greatnesse is his owne, hee loues and esteemes you for the great and worchie proofes he hath made of your valour and affection to the good of his affaires, hee intreates you to beleeeue, that his greatnesse and prosperitie shall bee alwayes yours, and vpon your loyaltie, at your command, onely bound to the assistance which is promised you by the Treaty of Alliances, but also if it should chance that any Prince or Potentate whatsoeuer, without exception, should attempt against

1602.

A against your Estates, hee hath resolved to let you know, by the effects, that your greatnesse is in like recommendation vnto him as his owne, and in such an occasion hee will neither spare his person nor any meanes which God had giuen him. I will tell you that as you haue found the Kings of France affected to loue and cherriish you, so haue you found their Ambassadors most ready to serue you, and to imploy themselves in anything that might concerne the good and prosperitie of your affaires, they did neuer thinke, that which we haue blamed in some, that they should neuer confirme our vnion, but by diuiding you, and troubling your quiet: but contrariwise I may speake confidently and with truth, that they haue done the best offices they could, to nourish peace, concord, vnion and good correspondency amongst you, the which hath made you hereto fearefull vnto all your enemies, and your country as happy and flourishing as any others of Christendome: The actions of the Ambassadors discouer their masters intentions. The successe of things happened, doe also giue a great Testimony of the good that is in this happy alliance.

In the time of King Francis the first, of glorious memory, wee did see in the yeere 1544. all Germany, the Nether-Lands, Spaine and in a manner all Italy had conspired the ruine of this Realme of France, vnder the conduct of the Emperour Charles the fifth, with whom Henry the eight King of England did also ioyne. King Francis had not then any other friend, or confederat to succour him but the Nation of the Leagues, wherewith hauing fortified his armies, hee wonne the battaile of Cerisoles, made head against the great forces, which the Emperour had gathered together from all parts of Christendome, made him to consume his army, which was entred into Champagne, and forced him to demand a peace, the which was afterward concluded at Crespy. As the alliance with the Leagues hath bene happy for France, so wee may say that the alliance of our Kings, hath brought that happinesse to your Nation, as when they haue seene France vnited and in League with the Cantons, neither the Emperors nor any Prince of his house or others, durst attempt to make warre against you, and yet before Maximilian the first and his Predecessors you haue bene forced, for the preservation of your liberty, to hazard many battailes, in the which by the grace of God you haue gotten the victory. Wee hope, and wee promise with the helpe of God, that this good fortune shall continew of either side, if wee doe follow the wise counsell and resolutions of our forefathers, remayning wel vnited together, & not giuing care to any thing that may breed alteration, or a coldnesse in our alliance; if wee preferue it carefully in the same faith whereon it is grounded, and doe cherriish it by all the good offices which true and faithfull friends, allies and confederats, may expect. It is the oth and promise which you make presently vnto the King. It is the oth and promise which the King doth make presently vnto you, and will religiously obserue. These words being ended the Chancelor inuited them to the oth.

Which done the Ambassadors presented themselves to sweare the oth, laying their hands by order of their Cantons vpon the holy Euangelist, to euery one of the which, the Chancelor sayd. *You sweare and promise vpon the holy Euangelist, in the name of your Seigneurs and Superiors, well and faithfully to obserue the Treaty of alliance made betwixt his Maiesty and your superiors, without any contradiction or breach directly or indirectly.* The order which the Ambassadors held in the oth was, first. The Cantons of Berne, Lucerne, Zurich, Schwits, Vonderwald, Zug, Glais, Basle, Fribourg, Soleurre, Schaffuse and Appenzel. And of allies, the Abbot of Saint Gall, and the towne of Saint Gall. Of the Grisons, the Canton of Grise, the Cades, the Canton of Droitu-az, Valais, Mulkus, Rotweil and Brenne.

After all the Ambassadors had taken the oth, the King likewise sayd. *That hee did sweare and promise to obserue the Treaty as it had bene agreed.* Which done they dined in the Bishops pallace. The Prince of Condé sat at the bords end, the Princes of Con-ty, Soissons and Montpensier, the Constable, the Dukes of Neuers and Elquillon, the Earles of Auvergne and Sommeriue, with many others were on the right hand, and the forty two Ambassadors with some French gentlemen on the left. About the end

The Amba-  
sadors oth.



1602. of dinner, his Maieſty (who had dined apart) came to ſee them, commanding euery one A to keepe his place, then he called for wine, and dranke to all his friends and allies, and ſo went preſently to the Louvre: towards euening bonfires were made and twenty peeces of cannon ſhot of in ſigne of ioy. During there abroad at Paris they were feaſted by the Prouoſt of Merchants, the Count of Soiffons, the Conſtable, and the Ducheffe of Longueuill, and the Friday after the ceremony of the oth, they tooke their leaue of the King, who gaue to euery one a chaine of gold, with his picture, and what was appointed for their voyage, ſtay and returne, and ſo they returned into their country.

In the iuriſdiction of the towne of Langres (in a village called Aprez) *Claude Berenger*, Lord of Pont, and *Guillemette* of Metz his wife made their reſidence, hauing alſo a Nephew of the ſayd *Berengers* with them named alſo *de Pont*. This woman beeing B ſuborned by a Chanons baſtard of Langres, named *Chauvitey*, *Nicholas Jounet* and *John Pernet*, called the youth, to ſatiſfie their fleſhly luſt without ſuſpition, and at more liberty, they reſolued with her and a maide of hers to make away her husband and his Nephew.

This plot beeing layd, they found an eaſie meanes for the execution. Theſe three Adulterers ſeeing the Gentleman gone to Langres, goe a hunting with his Nephew, whom they ſlew in the thicke of a wood, and threw him into a deepe hollow place betwixt two high rockes, out of the which he could neuer be drawne. Theſe murderers ſeeing themſelues rid of this poore yong man, reported vnto the Gentlewoman C what they had done, concluding with her to cut her husbands throat at his returne from Langres, the which they put in praſtiſe the ſame night that hee returned, for this poore Gentleman hauing receiued a kiſſe (of this daughter of *Iudas*) being very weary, went to bed and ſlept, the which ſhee knew, and preſently brought theſe murderers into his chamber, who coming eaſily to this poore yong mans bed, being a ſleepe, they cut his throat, and bury him abroad among the Rockes.

After this murder they giue it out, that the Lord of Pont was ſlaine in his voyage to Langres. His wife puts on a mourning weed, and makes a counterſeit ſhew of heauineſſe: but God ſuffers not ſuch offences to bee vnreuealed, a poore man found out the hole where they had buried him, and gaue notice thereof vnto the Juſtice, who D went to the place, and cauſed the Gentlewoman to bee brought thither, who at the firſt ſeemed not to know him, but ſeeing that he was knowne by euery one, and vanquiſhed by apparent ſignes, which they ſhewed her, in the end he knew him. But the Officers did not proceed againſt her with that dexterity that *Lagoly* did to the wife of *Claude Anthoine* a Merchant of wines at Paris, who had alſo cauſed her husband *Anthoine* to bee ſlaine coming from a houſe of his, by ſouldiars whom one named *Iumneau* (her Adulterer) had ſuborned, for the wife of the ſayd *Anthony* was hanged, and *Iumneau* broken aliue at the place *Maubert*: but this Gentlewoman *Da Pont*, ſeeing the Juſtice to proceede againſt her by informations, and that they ment to apprehend her, ſhee made an eſcape with all her complices and her ſeruants, and could neuer after bee taken; E yet through their contempt their proceſſe was made, and all of them were hanged in picture.

One Scipio at Paris ſlew his wife and her Adulterer together.

The other accident happened at Paris, of a Gentleman which ſlew his wife and her Adulterer lying together, in this manner. This Gentleman called *Seigneur Scipio*, being aduertified that his wife (a faire young Gentlewoman) did abandon her ſelfe to luſt, and defiled his bed with a young man: hee admoniſhed his wife, and ſayd vnto her; *That hee did willingly paraon what was paſt, but if ſhee returned any more to her ſinne, hee would kill her with her Ruffian, if hee found them together*. The Gentlewoman ſcornes this aduice; and an other giuen her by a wife and vertuous Gentlewoman; *That if ſhee did not carrie her ſelfe more diſcreetlie, without doubt her husband would doe her a ſhrewde turne*. Shee answered her, *That her husband was too verie a ſoule to attempt it*.

*Seigneur Scipio* aduertified of the impudency and leud behaiour of his wife, takes his horſe, and makes a ſhew to goe into the country: his wife goes to the Sermon at Saint

A Saint Germain l'Auxerrois, *Scipio* returnes, and ſhuts himſelfe into his cloſet vnknown of any one. The Sermon being done, ſhee returned preſently to her houſe, and aduertified her adulterer of her husbands abſence, who ſayled not to come at the aſſignation ſhee gaue him, and then they went into the husbands bed: who coming out of his cloſet, found them naked together, and ſlue them, the adulterer had thirty wounds, and the woman ſeuene and twenty: and ſo their deteſtable ſinne was knowne by the view of their dead bodies, the which were brought before the Juſtice, beeing a lamentable thing, and pittifull to behold. The husband did eaſily obtaine his pardon the which proceeds from the Kings bounty. It is a iuſt grieve the which may ſodainly tranſport a husband, finding his wife with an other, as theſe poore infortunate wretches were. The B King about this time pardoned all thoſe, that had beene of the Duke of Birons conſpiracy, ſo as they came and declared themſelues within two months, and cauſed their pardons to be confirmed.

A pardon promiſed to all that were of the Duke of Birons conſpiracy.

The diſcourſe of the enterpriſes and intelligences which the Duke of Sauoy and his father haue had, to ſurpriſe the city of Geneua, with their pretentions, and their defence on the contrary ſide to maintaine their Liberties, would make a good volume. They relied vpon the publike aſſurance of the Treaties of Vervins, Paris and Lions, in the which they held themſelues to be comprehended, and thereby aſſured from all the deſignes of their neighbours. The Duke of Sauoy did not hold himſelfe tied by the C peace, not to ſeek the meanes to become Maiſter thereof, and to reigne there as his Predeceſſors had done, and that there was no danger to breake his faith with people of a contrary Religion. This city doth ſo much import his Eſtate, as it deſerues, if not to breake the peace, at the leaſt to ſtraine and wreſt it. It is ſituated at the end of Lake Lemane, which ſerues for a ditch on the North part: The riuer of Rhosne paſſeth by the towne on the Weſt ſide, and vpon the Eaſt and South is the countie of Sauoy, the great and rich plaines of the Baylewikes of Thonon and Ternier, and the countries of Chablais and Foucigny. The Duke had great pretentions to it, as ſoueraigne of the county of Geneua, and Vicar perpetuall of the Empire. He maintained, that if the Biſhop of Geneua had ſome abſolute authority, it was without preiudice to the Souerain D raignty, the which hath alwaies remained to his Predeceſſors, as Earles of Morienne or Dukes of Sauoy.

The ſituation of Geneua.

The Dukes pretentions.

The city of Geneua (who to maintaine her liberty findes all propoſitions of ſeruitude troubleſome and ſtrange, hath alwaies deteſted the Sauoyards commaundments; That the Biſhops of Geneua haue beene alwaies ſoueraigne Princes of their city, and that the Earles of Sauoy and Geneua, haue often done homage to the Biſhops of Geneua, for the Barronies of Ternier, Remilly, Montfaucon, and for the county of Geneua. That the Duke of Sauoy can pretend no right, as Vicar perpetuall of the Empire, being granted by ſurpriſe, and reuoked after examination of the cauſe by the ſame Emperor, who vpon complaint made vnto him by a biſhop of Geneua, called *Ardubius*, E declared that hee had beene ſurpriſed in that behalfe, and diſannulled all that hee had giuen to the Earl of Sauoy his couſin, forbidding him to contradiſt this reuocation, vpon paine of his indignation, and a thouſand markes of pure gold. The parties differing vpon the maine point, the queſtion could not bee decided without prooſe. The Duke would haue no other production, but his title of Duke and Soueraigne of Geneua, to maintaine the which hee beſieged the towne, and brought it to extremity, as hath beene ſhewed elſewhere. It is true, that without the Kings protection this city would not long reſiſt the forces of the Duke of Sauoy.

The defence of the Geneuois.

The Inhabitants haue beene reduced to that Eſtate as they might ſay as the *Caponans* did vnto the Romaines, imploring their ayde againſt the Samnites: It is a greuous and F miſerable thing, what our miſfortune forceth vs to confeſſe (fathers conſcript) to bee brought to that extremity as hereafter we muſt abandon our ſelues, either to our friends, or to our enemies. If you defend vs, wee ſhalbe yours, if you forſake vs, the Samnites. Being abandoned by the King, there is no defence for them but will prooue weak againſt ſo mighty a Neighbour, who ſhall bee alwaies aſſiſted by the greateſt forces of Italy

1602.

Italy and Spaine. And if they bee succoured by them of Bearn with whom they haue an equall alliance, they shall runne the hazard of common-weales, which in the end haue beene recompensed with a forced subiection. The Swisses propound not bare words in their amities, they ground them vpon equality of profit. The humour of this city is to be free, there is not any cittizen but speakes freely to any Prince how great foeuer, as *Demosthenes* sayd, when they talked of the milde and easie command of *Antipater*. *Wee will haue no Maister how gentle soener*. The Inhabitants of this city haue an hereditary hatred against the Duke, the which is so rooted in them, as if hee did presse them by force to the extremities of a siege, they would resolute with them of Xanthe to mingle their ashes with the smoake of their houses. The Duke B hauing attempted what hee could by force, resolues to surprise them now by policie. Hee made an enterprize as full of proofes of his courage, iudgement and good conduct, as of his misfortune.

It had beene long in hand, and yet nothing was discouered, yet was it well knowne, that hee had caused ladders to bee made. That from all partes hee drew vnto him men of resolution; that hee had good numbers at Chambery well paid, and well entertained, attending the full ripeness of this designe, and yet they knew not how hee would employ them, preparing onely their hearts and armes for the execution of their Princes commaundements, referring the conduct thereof to his wisdom. Yet could they not beleue that this designe was against them of Geneva, for that hee Treated C with them of the liberty of trafficke, hauing some few daies before sent President *Rochette* to let them vnderstand that it was expedient to Treat of some manner how to liue for the ease of the people.

They were so well pleased with this motion and his assurances, that although cities of this condition doe not easily beleue them that make warre against them, yet they were lulled a sleepe therewith, and neglected their preseruacion, thinking that there was nothing of more power to defend them, then the Treaties of peace betwixt France, Spaine and Sauoy. In the which they thought themselves to be comprehended vnder the name of Allies and confederates of the Cantons. In like sort the Dukes subiects went so freely to Geneva, as the Eue before this execution, certaine Gentle- D men who knew something of this designe, beeing come into the city to buy horses sayd. *That they would come the next daie to conclude the bargain*: and others had vsed the like speeches for other Merchandise, beleeuing that the victory was assured: but Heauen which laughs at the presumptions of these Imaginations, had resolved to humble them.

The Gouvernor of Lions had speedy intelligence, that the Duke of Sauoy was come on this side the Alpes, and that hee had brought scaling Ladders: hee aduertised the King thereof, and made prouision for the city of Lions. *D'Albigny* Lieutenant General for the Duke on this side the Alpes, had drawne them downe, and lodged them in townes neere to Geneva. The Rendezuous was at Chambery, the time of the execution was referred to the generall. The troups began to march about fixe of the clock: *Brignolles* gouernour of Bonnes had beene a chiefe actor in this designe, holding it so certaine, as he sayd. *He would die if he did not liue in Geneva*. *D'Albigny* had set gards vpon all the waies to stay all passengers, that no report might goe before them, and that the Duke of Sauoies marching might be vnknowne, to whom they represented the execution to be so easie & certaine, as he would needs be there himself in person to reape the fruite, and the triumph which his grand-father had begunne. Hee past the Alpes but with siue in his company, and came the same day neere vnto Tremblieres, a village but a league distant from Geneva. They which should execut the enterprize & giue the first attempt, went along the riuer of Albe, that the noyse of the water might keepe F the Sentinells from hearing them as they marched. Two things happened that were predictions of bad successe. There appeared vnaccustomed fires in the ayre. A Hare crossed them many times in their way, and gaue them a false alarm. Many things were seene that night that troubled their imagination, causing them to take

Groues

1602.

A Groues for Squadrons of men, and Thistles for Lances, as it happened once before Paris. About eleuen of the clocke at night, they discouered certaine stakes, on the which the Serge-makers of Geneva did drie their Serge. Those that were in the foremost ranks would haue charged them, thinking it was some Ambuscado. From thence they passe along the riuer of Rhosne, placing the body of their troups in the meadow of Plainpallais. *Brignolet* with those that were appointed for the escaladoe, follow *D'Albigny* who leads them into the ditches by the counterscarpe, on the side of the Corraitiere, without beeing discouered by the Sentinells, although the Duckes in the ditch made what noyse they could to awake them of Geneva, as the geese had done at Rome against the Gaules. They passed the ditch vpon hurdells, and planted three b Ladders against the walles, they were of a strange inuention, beeing portable vpon Moyles, and to bee made as long and as short as they pleased, and yet they were as strong as if they had beene but of one peece. If they had beene as fortunate, as they were well furnished of all things necessary, they had executed their designe happily. They had made prouision of hatchets, hammers and pincers, to cut in sunder chaines of iron, breake open lockes and to pull out great nailes and barres of gates. They had many Petards, and few that could vse them.

Fortune which is powerfull in such enterprizes sayled them, after that hee had brought them into the midst of the towne, and made them masters of the streetes about two houres. There were almost two hundred men mounted by one of these Ladders. *Brignolet* was the first, carrying himselfe more valiantly then wisely. Hauing recovered the wall, he surprised the souldiar that stood Sentinell, he got the word from him, slew him, and cast him into the ditch, staying in his place for him that went the round, that he might doe as much to him, the which hee effected, comming to giue him the word in his eare. The boy which carried the Lanthorne fled, and aduertised the court of gard what had happened to his maister, wherewith notwithstanding they were not greatly moued.

The first discovery of the surpris.

This was betwixt one and two of the clocke, attending the houre of foure, for then they had propounded to beginne the execution, meaning to giue more time to them D that were to second them, and to haue the day draw neere, for that in all executions of warre which are done in the night, there is confusion. The assailants had a good houres respight to mount, and as much time more before they incountred any that made resistance. If *D'Albigny* had beene within to vse the benefit of the time, and to dispose more wisely of things, then *Sonars*, *Brignolet*, or *Atsignac* had done, they might bouldly haue sayd the towne had beene wonne. Halfe an houre after two of the clock, a sentinell in the tower of the minste, hauing heard some rustling in the ditch, shot off his peece to giue the alarum, and forced *Brignolet* to discouer himselfe, charging all that were at the court of gard of the new gate, to plant the Petard there, and to make an entry for the body of the army which was in Plainpallais. They forced the court E of gard beeing but siue and twenty men: but against the Maximes of warre, which commands them to kill all, they let one escape, who ran vp and let downe the portcullis, to make their Petard vnprofitable. The towne was full of cries and fearefull exclamations, wherof the Sauoyards should haue made their profit, and increased their courages, as it did daunt the inhabitants, who knew not which way to runne, some crying to one gate, others running to an other. But the assailants lost themselves in the appearance of so happy a successe. Those without should haue giuen an alarm at some gate, to diuide the forces of the towne. Those that were within, made no vse of their hatchets, hammers, and pincers: they did forget to fire some houses, and they were surprised with a dulnesse of spirit, thinking more of booty and spoyle, then to make perfect their conquest. In the meane time, the Consul cries as they did sometimes at Rome. *He that loues mee, let him follow mee*. Some countrymen of the neighbour villages which kept gard in the Towne-house by turnes, being led by some captaines and Townesmen, presented themselves to the new gate, they were valiantly repulsed, and yet the first shot they made, slue their Petardiar, who was busie about his Petard.

The Portcullis at the new gate cut downe.

*Brignolet* Raine.

This

1602. This first charge had not dislodged them, if the whole strength of the Inhabitants had A not come, and charged them so furiously, as they beganne to giue way, shewing neither conduct nor courage. Necessity which breeds assurance, euen vnto them that are borne without courage, made the townsmen so resolute in this defence, as the Sauoyards did presently turne their backs. The nimblest were forced to returne to their ladders, which now could no longer serue them, for a canon planted vpon the Bulwarke de l'Oye, against the ditch, had broken them in such sort, as they left foure and fifty dead vpon the place, along the Curtyne of Corratiere, and thirteene that were taken aliue. If the townsmen had had souldiars inough to haue made a sally in this confusion, those that were at Plainpalais had not returned in so good order. There were thirteene taken aliue, vpon promise that was giuen them that they should bee prisoners of war, for B else they would haue preferred an honourable death, before any promise that was made them, to take them aliue, and to disarme them. *Assignac* was amongst them, who fought courageously, and gaue the order of Saint *Maurice* (which hee wore) to his seruant, willing him to saue himselfe, beeing resolved to die with his sword in his hand. It had bene better for him to haue bene slaine at the combate of *D. Philippin*, then to be reserued for so ignominious a death.

The resolution of the Baron of *Assignac*.

The prisoners are intreated like theues.

They were condemned to be hanged.

Letters from the Seignoury of Geneva to *Monsieur de la Guiche* Gouverneur of Lions.

The Seignoury would not intreat them as prisoners taken in the warre, but like theues that had entred the towne by surprize against the Law of Nations, and the publike faith. They sayd that the Duke was too noble a Prince to aduow so wicked and treacherous an Act. There were many opinions vpon the Iudgement of their death. The most modest concluded to haue them put to ranfome, others to keepe them prisoners, that they might serue for exchange if occasion required, through the continuance of the warre: but the most violent stirred vp the people, representing vnto them their Religion, the rauishing of their wiues and daughters: the murder, sacke and perpetual slavery concluded against them, and the lamentations of their widowes and children that had bene slaine, the which beeing well considered of, made the mildest opinions seeme vniust. So as they were condemned to be hanged. They requested their heads might bee cut off like Gentlemen, the which was granted them, but it was after they had bene strangled. The threescore and seuentene heads, as well of those that had bene hanged, as of the others that had bene slaine, were planted vpon the Galloes, and their bodies throwne into the riuer of Rhosne. On the Twelofday after they made a generall fast for their deliury. They presently sent to all their neighbours for succors. They published in all places, the wonders of this deliury: they write vnto the gouernor of Lions in this manner.

My Lord, you haue vnderstood heretofore, by many of our letters, how his highnesse of Sauoy, notwithstanding that he knew, and had confessed, that we were comprehended in the peace made in January 1600 betwixt his Royall Maiesty of France and him: yet he hath oppressed vs in sundry sorts, not onely by the detayning of our Reuenues; forbidding of trafficke and other violences and extortions, yeelding nothing to the many and iust admonitions of his Maiesty, but also hath attempted often to invade and surprize vs in this time of peace. So it is, that to glut his pernicious desaigne, the Lord of Albigny on Satterday last the eleuenth of this month, about mid-night, had brought before our towne, on the side of Plainpalais, about two thousand choise men, horse and foote, and had cast about two hundred into our ditch, nere vnto the old gate of Corratiere, and hauing planted Ladders one within an other, hee had caused them to mount about three of the clock on the Sunday morning the twelfth of the month, encouraging them, being himselfe in the ditch, so as beeing entred into the towne, some went to the New-gate to plant the Petard, and to draw in the body of their troupes, which made a stand in the meadow of Plainpalais, others would haue seized vpon the Minte-gate, and so haue entred into the midst of our towne. But it pleased our good God to looke vpon vs with a fauourable eye, and to giue courage to our men, so as they haue repulst them so valiantly, as they haue slaine the best part of them vpon the place, and some others haue bene taken, and since hanged by our commandement. The rest

A rest haue cast them selues head-long downe the Walles, so as we heare that many of them are dead or grieuouly hurt. But it is likely that the Lord of Albigny will continue his hatred against vs; hauing also intelligence, that his Highnesse is not farre from vs. Wee therefore most humbly pray and intreat you with all our affections, that it would please you duely to consider the preiudice which the taking of our towne would bring vnto his Maiesties seruice, and to continue your fauour towards vs, and assist vs, with your Wife and Graue aduice. &c.

Many Iudged of the end of this enterprife by the beginning, and were more dilligent to write then they had bin to execute it well. The King had intelligence, that the Duke was Maister of the Towne, and the manner of the execution was represented with so great ease and happinesse, as there was lesse reason to doubt it then to beleue it. The truth was not knowne but by letters from the Gouvernor of Lions, the which came before any discourse that was published by the towne that was deliuered. The Duke repeat the mountaines in post, his Troupes remayned a league from Geneva in three places, at Tounon, Fossigny and Ternier. Hee commanded his Ambassador to giue the Senate of Berne to vnderstand, that hee had not made this enterprife to trouble the quiet of the Cantons, but to prevent *L'Esguieres* from being Maister thereof, who intended to deliuer it vp afterwards vnto the King, who had bene too mighty a Neighbour, and would haue giuen them altogether occasion to feare him. The issue of this Enterprife did shew, that God wil not haue Treaties violated, for the assurance whereof his Name hath bene inuocated, notwithstanding any pretext of religion. Witnesse C *Lewis* King of Hungary in the vnfortunate battell of Varna against the Turkes, where he had broken his Faith.

They beleued in Court, that Geneva was taken.

The Duke returns in post.

His declaration by his Ambassador to the Senate of Berne.

The King aduertised of the successe of this enterprife, hee sent word vnto the Magistrates of this Common-weale, that if their enemy did attempt by a settled seige, or by open Warre any thing against them, hee would assist them, and imploy all his forces for their defence, commanding the Gouvernors and Lieutenants Generall of the nearest Prouinces, to ayde them all they could. The Cantons of Bearne and Fribourg allied to Geneva, being aduertised of this attempt, sent twelue hundred Suisses, and the King who had an entrest that it should not fall vnder the command of any other Prince or Common-weale, sent also sixe hundred French. All prepare to Warre, the Geneuois made some courses into the Duke of Sauoyes Country, and surprised Saint *Gemy* of Aouft, they imagined vpon a little good successe to extend their limits vnto *Mont Cenis*. The King commanded *De Vie* his Ambassador in *Suifferland*, (who returned then to his charge) to passe by them, to assure them, that hee was not of their humors, which frame not their affections, nor bind not the duties of friendship but vpon good euents, louing friends no longer, then they draw profit from them. That he would neuer fayle them for their defence and protection, desiring to know of them, what meanes they might haue to make an offensive warre; to the end, the succours hee should send them; might bee profitably employed. They receiued *De Vie* with a publike applause, sending forth the French Horse and Foote, to meete him: but as hee was deceiued in this v unexpected Ceremony, so were many others which thought that hee came to encourage them to warre. They heard his Propositions in a priuat conference, exhorting them rather to a long and durable peace, then to a short warre. They intreated him to propound the like in their generall assembly, which no man else durst doe, euery one holding it a Crime, and a signe of Basenesse, not to preferre the counsell of warre, before any accord, and not to enter in hostile manner into the Dukes Country. Some which had neuer scene warre, but in the Idea, conceived victories in their imaginations, building vpon the Snow of *Mont Cenis*. That it would not continue aboue sixe moneths; that the warre would be no lesse profitable for the good of their Common-weale; nor lesse happy, then it had bin to their Neighbours, in the time of Duke *Charles*; and that all that had any intrest in their preferuation would assist them. That all those great Spirits which delighted in the exercise of warre, would come and offer them their Armes and Liues.

The King promisth to succour them of Geneva.

*Monsieur de Vie* sent to Geneva.

War is pleasing to men that know it not.

1603.

*De Vic* through the truth and excellency of his discourse, gaue them to vnderstand; A that peace was so necessary for them, and Warre so preiudiciall, as they had great reason to imbrace the one, and to flye the other. That although the causes of warre, bee alwaies goodly, and the meanes made easie, yet the effects were no lesse terrible, the successe being not alwaies answerable to their hopes. That a forraigne Warre was profitable, and to bee vnderaken when as Ciuill Warres could not be other-wise auoyded: but a well settled Estate, which hath alwaies liued happily by Peace, should not seeke these stormes, nor take delight to be at warre with her Neighbours. Thus he perswaded them to imbrace peace, confirmed by an equall commerce of all commodities, and which should roote out all occasions of warre. They entred into some truce with the Duke, but hauing required assurances for the obseruation thereof, it beeing not honorable, B they proceeded no farther, and the Duke gaue them to vnderstand that it was indifferent to him, whether they were his friends or enemies. The King, who is a Prince full of iustice and integrity, foreseeing that this warre would not be ended by them that did begin it, desired to mayntaine the peace which was so necessary for all Christendome, for the which he had layd a side Armes, when as hee might hope for most fruite for the increase of his Estates. His Ambassador therefore in Suisseland perswaded the Cantons of Glaries, Basle, Soleurre, Schaffouze and Appenzel, as least suspected and interested, to be the mediators of this Accord. There was some difficulty, but the Seignoury tyred with a warre, the profit whereof could not repaire the ruines which the want of Peace should cause, and hauing tryed that all the profit they could hope for, depended C on their neighbours succours. That hope which is not maintained but by forraigne supports, is alwaies ruinous: That they had no meanes to reuenge the wrong that was done vnto them: that there was no likelihood that the Catholike Suisses would breake with the Duke of Sauoy for their respect: that beeing so neere they must of force apply them-selues to some quiet and equall kind of lyuing: they yeelded to the perswasions of their friends and Allies, and by their aduice relinquished many demands which their Councell had resolved, and the Duke had reiected as vnjust and dishonorable.

The Cantons of the Suisses mediators of a Peace.

Geneua resolves to a peace.

A Peace concluded betwixt the Duke of Sauoy and the towne of Geneua in July 1603.

A priuiledge granted to the city of Lions.

The Conference of the treaty was at Rouilly with *D' Albigny*; and the conclusion at Saint *Iulian*, betwixt the deputies of either part. If the issue hath beene happy and profitable to both parties, they are bound to none but the grace of God and the Kings wisdom, who desiring to entertaine the publike quiet, hath made a peacefull vnion of those willes that were so much diuided, for at his instance the Suisses had laied a side more Muskets and Pikar which they had prouided, then had beene seene in Sauoy in tenne yeares before, and they of Geneua did moderate their demands, not so much for any respect of their enemy, as to please the King, yet the malicious gaue it out, that the King had incensed them to warre by his Ambassadors. The Consulate of Lions had obtayned of the King (at the Queenes intreaty, and in consideration of the Honor done her at her entry) a Priuiledge, by the which none might come to be Sheriffes, that were not Towne-borne Children, it was the same prerogative which *Pescenius Niger* had E given vnto the Romaines, forbidding any person to bee admitted to publike charges that was not borne and bred a Romaine. Euery Priuiledge which causeth an inequality among Cittizens (lyuing vnder the same Lawes) is the Apple of discord and cause of diuision, like vnto that of the *Bianchi* and *Neri* at Florence. A great towne hath euer but too many seeds of diuision, without seeking new; Most commonly the rich are intollerable to the poore, and the poore enuy the happines of the rich: there is alwaies some question betwixt the great and the small.

This new distinction of persons must needs caused angerous innouations in a city, where the inner part is more to bee feared then the outward. Those which pretended to bee from their beginning, by birth and affection of the Country of Lions, seeing them-selues perpetually excluded from the most honorable charges within the City, had recourse vnto the King, laying before him the inequality of this Priuiledge, the

1603.

A the disgrace which they receaued, and the ruine which should fall vpon the City, when the Inhabitants should abandon the place of their abode, and that they might not remaine in a place where without offence or any iust cause, they were for euer deprived of that little Honor they might hope for, after they had serued the Publike in many burthen some charges. Those which were originally borne at Lions sayd, that the Inhabitants of the Country comming thither, labored more for their owne profit, then for the good of the publike, and did not much affect the publike good, if they did not hope for their owne priuate commodities, hauing no hands but for them-selues. That it was neither profitable nor commendable to impart the chiefe Honours, and to commit the government of the City to new men, for many reasons which haue beene set downe

B by the wife, but especially least they confound the ancient Order and Government with strange Customes and Manners. The King considering that a small matter doth trouble a multitude (as the incounter of a ditch doth disorder the ranks of an Army when it marcheth) hee gaue them to vnderstand that hee desired they should agree together, sending them to *La Guiche* Gouvernor of Lions to reconcile these wills diuided only vpon this subiect, but vnited in all other points that concerned the obedience and seruice of his Maiesty. This diuision began to decrease when as they vnderstood that his Maiesties pleasure was to content both parties, to reduce things to the ancient order wherein they had liued happily, and not to suffer the good correspondency which had beene betwixt the inhabitants of one City, to bee lost by the quality of this Priuiledge, the which by fruitelesse innouations did alter that which the Ancients had allowed and maintayned. The King therefore commanded that the reasons of either part should bee carefully examined and considered of in his Councell. The President *Janin* was reporter of this Controuersie. The Councell hauing vnderstood the Kings intention, and considered of the Gouvernor of Lyons aduice, thought that as they might not chang the Ancient customes in the which they had liued well, so it was iust and reasonable to gratesie the Originall families of the City, for that they had suffered most in these last troubles, and had opposed them-selues most resolutely against the faction. They therefore thought it good that there should remaine a distinction with some marke or prerogative of honor, reseruing the charge of Prouost of Marchants for such as were

The King will not haue this priuiledge to be the cause of any diuision.

The King declares that his meaning was not to exclude his subjects but strangers: only from the Office of Councill.

D Cittizens borne, and that those of the Country which had continued there for tenne yeares Heads of families, should bee capable of the Consulship, to enter indifferently with them that were borne there. By this declaration both the one and the other had part of their demands. The King sending them backe, recommended vnto them obedience, and Respect to their Gouvernor, and Concord and Vnity among them-selues. And for that in the last Consular Elections there had beene some-thing done indiscreetly the Chancellor vsed some words vpon that subiect, both Graue, Iust, and worthy the greatnesse of his Charge. It is my opinion (sayd hee) that as the King hath an interest that none should bee chosen for Magistrats of a towne, but those, of whose Loyalty his maiesty is well assured, so the more the liberty of election is left vnto them, the more E obedience should his Maiesty, the Gouvernours and Lieutenants Generall of Prouinces finde in the Inhabitants, in that which it should please him to command them. The King desiring to increase the comodities of the realme, and to enrich his Subjects, hauing tryed in his royall houses of Fontainebleau, Madril, and the gardens of the Tuileries, that silke-wormes might be bred and brought vp as happily in France, as in any part of Europe, he resolved to adde the art of silke to the felicities of the peace, a speedy and fit remedy to auoyd the transport of gold and siluer. Here-vpon he had the aduice of Commissioners deputed for the establishing of the trafficke, the which he had chosen as well out of his Councell, as of the Soueraigne Courts of Parliament, Chamber of Accounts, and Court of Ayds. They gaue his Maiesty to vnderstand, that for the more F speedy bringing in of this new worke, hee must of necessity begin by the planting of Mulberry-trees, to feed the wormes that weaue and make the silke. And therefore some expert in that Art, did bind them-selues to furnish a great number of white Mulberry trees, and graines to make Nurseries, in foure parts of his Realme, at Paris,

The Chancellors speech.

Inuention to make silke in France.

Gggggz

Orleans,



1603. Orleans, Tours, and Lions, who were bound to make their diuisions by the first day of Aprill this yeare, with instructions how to sowe and plant trees and Kernels, to gouerne the wormes, to draw and spinne the silke, to Prepare it, and make it ready to bee sold. There could not bee found in this age a more profitable husbandry. The people of Languedoc, Prouence, and Dauphiné haue found this labour so succesfull within these few yeares, as the onely reuenue of silke doth now bring more money to these Prouinces, then the Corne, Oyle, and Woade, although they haue great abundance. It doth also begin very happily at Lions, and if it continues, this Citty will bee as famous for silke, as Tire and Bulis were for Scarlet.

The profit of  
the art of silke.

As the profit is great and pleasing, so the practise is not painefull, for one man is sufficient to employ the leaues of three great Mulbery-Trees, to nourish and entertaine halfe an ounce of Wormes; women and children are as capable as men. It is done without any diuersion from their labour, and almost without any losse of time, at such a season of the yeare when as the fruites of the Earth require rather the fauour of Heauen, then the industry of men. It is not done without a perpetual admiration of the wonders of that Soueraigne hand of the almighty, by whose order wee see these little beasts without flesh, blood, bones, veines, sinewes, nor arteries, without scales, or bowells within, without teeth, nayles, or pricks, and without silke, haire, eyes, or eares, to make that in forty daies which all the industry of man could not doe in forty yeares. They are the workers of a stufte which serues for an ornament in the house of God, and in those of Kings, and furnish the cheefe ingredience for a most wholesome confection, for the cure of mellancholly, which is that of Aikermes, which is made by the infusion and decoction of silke in the iuice of Kermes.

The voyage  
to Metz.

The King went to Metz and tooke the Queene with him. The cause of his voyage was the badde intelligence betwixt *Sobole* commanding in the Cittadell, and the inhabitants of the towne. The Duke of Espernon shewed in this trouble, as in many other more dangerous, that of the two best things of our life, happinesse is the first, and wisdom the second. *Sobole* was one of them to whome hee had yeelded a part of that great and incomparable fauour which he had during the raigne of the deceased King. Having the gouernement of Metz from the King he made *Sobole* his Lieutenant of the towne and Cittadell, in whome hee had as much confidence, as hee had vowed his affection vnto him. As the great troubles in the yeare 1589. had made France like vnto a troubled riuer fit for Ambitious men to fish in, so those which held places of importance began to raise their authorities as high as the liberty of the time, and the forgetfulness of the French would suffer them. Two or three yeares after the Duke of Espernon was troubled in Prouence, and his credit crackt with the King. They say that *Sobole* began then to carry him-selfe more proudly then he was wont, vsing no moderation, which is the perfect ornament of prosperity. He suffered himselfe to be called Gouernor. A title which did adde nothing to his profit and commodity, and did breede him Iealousie with his equals, badde opinion in the Iudgement of his superiors, and hatred and feare in the hearts of his inferiors.

There was an other occasion which made his carriage more odious, which was the Pursute he made against the principall of the towne, for treason and conspiracy. They were freed from prison beeing innocent, but they tooke this resolution to free themselves from the command of *Sobole*. It is the humor of the people to write any good they haue receiued vpon the water, and to ingraue the wrongs are done them in brasse. The Duke of Espernon passing by Metz to goe to the Spaw, heard great complaints against *Sobole*, the which hee did but heare, finding that there was some Iealousie of his aboad at Metz, for as often as hee sent for him to eate or plaie with him, and to bring his Brother with him, the one or the other remayned still in the Cittadell. Yet the Duke of Espernon entred into the Cittadell, and was receiued with all the honours hee could desire, *Sobole* presented him the keyes at the gate, protesting of his affection, and complayning of those which sayd hee would refuse him

A him the entry: the souldiars stood with their pikes vp, and their Harguebuses and Muskets vpon their shoulders, and the Halbards behinde them.

1603

The Duke of Espernon returned to Court, to vnderstand the Kings pleasure touching these troubles. He made a second voyage to Metz. Their murmuring against *Sobole* was turned into publike complaints, and their complaints into Barricadoes betwixt the Cittadell and the Towne: the Inhabitants were transported with so strange a passion, as they submitted themselves to any thing, so as they might not be commanded by the two Bretheren. This commotion had not lasted long, if it had not beene supported. The presence of the Duke of Espernon gaue them courage, who else would haue beene much amazed. The King first sent *Boisfize*, and then *Varenne*, both which serued his Maiesty according to his intentions, and disposed *Sobole* to do what-  
B soeuer he should commande him, declaring notwithstanding that he would not deliuer the place but to himselfe. This was the occasion of the Kings voyage, who went thether in a very vnseasonable time. Vpon the brute of his going many Princes of Germany sent to take vp their lodgings at Metz, who notwithstanding (hearing that the King would make but small aboade, and the time being troubl some) came not out of their Stoues, so as there came not any but the Duke of Deux Ponts, the Landgrau of Hesse, and the Prince of Brandebourg. The King finding the hatred betwixt *Sobole* and the Inhabitants to be irreconciliable, was aduised to giue the charge of the Cittadell to *Arquien*: Lieutenant of the Coronells company, of the Regiment of his Maiesties gards, and the Lieutenantancy of the gouernement of the Towne and of the  
C Country of Messin to *Montigny* his brother, to hold them as Lieutenants of his Maiesty in the absence of the Duke of Espernon.

The Duke of  
Espernon goes  
againe to  
Metz.

The King would not enter into Metz before that *Sobole* was out of the Cittadell. Some thought hee would not haue beene so obedient, but hee shewed he had no designe beyond his dutie. This was a disgrace vnto him. Hee blamed his fortune, and Fortune accused his bad carriage. The way hee tooke to maintaine himselfe, overthrew him. Men must hold great Commands like simple Commissions, and not as Inheritances. They must desire them without Passion, and receive them without Insolency. The King past the feast of Easter at Metz. Where he herd the Iesuits requests  
D for their reestablishment. They could not finde a better opportunity to speake vnto the King, then that which *Varenne* (controller generall of the Posts of France) gaue them giuing them Intelligence that the King would come to Metz and their spend the Easter. Herevpon foure Iesuits of Pont a Mouzon, were deputed to go and do their duties vnto his Maiesty, & to renew the request for their returne vnto those places from  
E the which they had bin expelled. They came to Metz on the Wednesday before Easter day, and the next day in the after-noon they had audience in the Kings Cabinet, whereas the Duke of Espernon, *Villeroy*, *Geure*, and *Varennes* were present. The King receiued them graciously and would not suffer them to kneele, but commanded them to stand vp: and although he takes no delight in long speeches, knowing that they come prepared with goodly words. Yet he herd father *Ignace Armand* with patience and attention, who made a long and eloquent Oration:

*Sobole* declares  
vp the Cittadell.

Foure Iesuits  
come to Metz  
for their  
reestablishment.

Sir, since it hath pleased God to make you victorious and a peaceable possessor of the Scepter and Crown which is due vnto you, and that we had the happinesse to read, and know in your Maiestie those great perfections, which since the memorie of man haue not bin found in any great Prince or Monarke, and especially that great clemencie, and assured marke of a Noble and generous minde, the which after so many victories and triumphes you haue vsed towards them which had most offended you, wee then conceiued a great hope that you would shew the like clemencie and mildnesse to vs.

F But as all things in this world are mutable, when as wee thought to doe you humble seruice, and to yeeld you the obedience which subiects owe vnto their King and naturall Prince, there fell out an vnfortunate accident which troubled all our desseignes, and sequestering vs from you, tooke from vs the meanes to doe you

1603. „you the seruice which wee pretended. Yet wee can assure you with truth, that not- A  
 „withstanding all the crosses and contradictions, or the false reports which haue bene  
 „raised vp against vs, both within and without the realme, wee haue neither lost the af-  
 „fection wee owe to our deere cuntry, nor our desire to your seruice, nor the hope wee  
 „had in your clemencie and naturall bonntie: Assuring our selues that time in the end  
 „will discouer the truth, and mollifie all offences which the misery of ciuill warres  
 „haue bred.

„This hope hath much increased since your comming into these parts, which makes  
 „vs now to prostrate our selues at your feete, and to beseech your Maiestie not to deferre  
 „the grace any longer which wee haue so often demanded, and to giue vs occasion to  
 „preach throughout all the world, that our hopes were not vaine, being supported by B  
 „the bounty of so great a King, receiuing vs in the end as his most humble subiects, and  
 „most desirous to employ our selues, for his Maiesties seruice, there being nothing that  
 „can be more grievous vnto vs, then to see our selues in disgrace with the King, and not  
 „able to assist our cuntry with those poore means which God hath giuen vs, and ac-  
 „cording to the vocation wherevnto wee are called.

„Wee doubt not but they haue laboured to make vs appeare before you, otherwise  
 „then we are, by the imposition of the foulest and most odious crimes, which a subiect  
 „might commit against his Prince and country, the which wee detest as execrable, and if  
 „wee had once thought to do them, we should thinke our selues unworthy, I will not say C  
 „to be receiued into our country, but to liue vpon the earth.

„They haue in like manner sought to blame our institution allowed in a generall  
 „councell, and by so many Popes, and receiued by the most Christian Kings your prede-  
 „cessours, as if it tied vs to obey our generall in all things, yea in that which should bee  
 „contrary to God and reason. Yet I cannot beleue Sir, that euer any such opinion could  
 „lodge in the hearts of those that haue the least knowledge of our institution, being  
 „contrary to our constitutions, which doe alwayes except in the obedience due to our  
 „Superiours, all that which may not bee done without offence to God. But how were  
 „it possible, that of so many which enter into our company, and all desirous of saluati-  
 „on, any one should remaine, if they should see that such an impietie, (not obedience) D  
 „should haue place? was it euer heard of any one that left vs (how great an enemy so-  
 „euer) that there was any such thing, and that this obedience did derogate from that  
 „which wee owe vnto Kings and Magistrates, or that it doth command vs to giue coun-  
 „cell to any one that may bee preiudiciall to your Maiestie and State? Many haue also  
 „sought to perswade you, that wee did sollicite children of good houses to bee of our  
 „company and religion, to haue their goods and ioyne them vnto ours: It is con-  
 „trary to the course wee hold in the reception of those which desire to serue GOD in  
 „our company, receiuing not any one before wee haue made a long tryall of their vo-  
 „cation, whether it bee by the inspiration of God, or perswasion of men, and that many  
 „times for thres or foure yeares. If they finde this vocation not to be of God, they are  
 „refused, being an essentiall lette to their reception, and there is not any thing which E  
 „Superiours recommend more to them of this company, then to bee very carefull  
 „not to perswade any one to enter into a Religious estate, but only to excite them to  
 „vertue and learning, leauing that to the holy spirit, which is of the perfection of the  
 „Gospell, and of the councell of our Sauours, and for proofe, the number of them  
 „which are in France, is so small as it makes not the twentieth part of them which are of  
 „other religions.

„As for that which is sayde, wee pretend to enrich our selues by their means, which  
 „are receiued into this company, it needs not many words to discouer this falshood.  
 „Euery man knowes the reuenues of our Colledges, I thinke that few men can vaunt  
 „that they are much enriched. One thing I can say, that hardly shall you finde one of F  
 „our Colledges in France, whose foundation is sufficient for that which is necessary  
 „to support the charges, and you shall finde many, which for the most part liue of  
 „almes. That of Paris the chiefe Cittie of your realme, comprehending the legacies of

A of the Presidents Saint Andrew, and Hannequin with all others, hath neuer had 1603  
 „about a thousand crownes rent, which will hardly serue to entertaine twenty persons.  
 „Such a Colledge requires at the least three score, for all the sciences and faculties  
 „whereof wee make profession. Many of this great Cittie haue entred into our com-  
 „pany, and some of good houses, the which haue not left vs a foote of land. If they  
 „haue giuen vs any almes in money, to supply the want of our foundation, the grea-  
 „test summe doth neuer come to the eight part of their goods, the which hath bene  
 „alwayes sought with the good liking and consent of their Parents. If our Colledges  
 „haue sufficient foundations, wee desire no more. And if any one of our body dispo-  
 „seth of his goods, the application is left free vnto him, and commonly if his kins-  
 „folkes bee poore, hee leaues them all, if they bee rich hee employes some part to godly  
 „B vses, and to Hospitalls, with the liking of his kinsfolkes. Wee were in truth very mis-  
 „erable and voyde of sence, if hauing quit all the commodities which wee had by suc-  
 „cession, or might get by our industry, wee would seeke them in Religion. And how  
 „were it possible we should be so greedy to affect them, hauing nothing in perticuler, and  
 „if we had a hundred times more in common, wee should reape no greater commoditie  
 „for our owne perticulars, the ouer-plusse being employed according to our constitu-  
 „tion to entertaine poore Schollers, and in other workes of charitie. They also impor-  
 „tune your Maiesties eares continually, and say that wee meddle with matters of State.  
 „The cause of this opinion and presumption is, for that some-times Noblemen and  
 „C Prelates, vouchsafe to vse vs for matter of conscience, and to direct them in their de-  
 „uotions and spirituall exercises, wharsoeuer they doe or appoint afterwards, is at-  
 „tributed vnto vs, although wee haue had no communicacion, nor haue medled in the  
 „businesses. For in truth Sir, there is nothing so contrary to our estate and intencion,  
 „nor more forbidden in our company, vpon greuous paines, then to meddle in like  
 „affaires.

These be Sir, the cheefe points which are objected against vs; and if there be any other,  
 „whereof it shall please your Maiesty to be better informed, we promise so to answer,  
 „by writing or by mouth, as you shall rest satisfied, and see plainly that they are but in-  
 „ventions, forged either by them which affect vs not, or by such as haue no knowledge  
 „D of our institution and manner of life. But we will answer more plainly to the view and  
 „contentment of all the world, by our workes, when it shall please your Maiestie to vn-  
 „binde our hands. Therin shall euery man see plainly, what wee say and promise: and  
 „your Maiestie shall witness, yea they which are most contrary vnto vs, that wee haue  
 „bene true.

That if our prayers and humble petitions can finde no place in your Royall heart,  
 „yet wee will not leaue to haue yours alwayes grauen in the bottome of ours, to loue  
 „you, to wish all greatnesse, and happinesse, and to offer our continuall prayers vnto  
 „God, for the preservation of your Maiestie, of the Queene your most beloued spouse,  
 „of our Lords your children, and of your Realme our most deere cuntry, remaining  
 „E in perpetuall sorrow: that wee could not shew by effects, that affection which wee  
 „haue desired. But wee hope otherwise, and with this hope wee beseech you to cast  
 „the beames of your clemencie, vpon this little company of your most humble sub-  
 „iects, who with grieve of heart, vpon their knees, and teares in their eyes, implore  
 „your mercie: Yours I say, being so naturall vnto you, and imparted vnto so many.  
 „Regarde not that which hath bene done and sayd, with more zeale and lesse discre-  
 „tion then was needfull. It was some priuate member, and not the whole body, the  
 „which as it hath neuer allowed of the errors of priuate men, so should it not receiue  
 „the preiudice. Wee doe not implore your mercy, but to serue God and your Maie-  
 „stie, there vnto tend all our designs and intentions, and therein wee will employe  
 „F our blouds and liues: Such as desire not your greatnesse, nor of your Realme, reioyce,  
 „at our disgrace; thinking (it may bee) that wee might helpe to make it more flori-  
 „thing, if wee were restored.

Wee

1603. „ Wee beseech your Maiestie, in all humility, that yee will bee pleased to adde this A  
 „ Bond to many others, which tye vs to your seruice, let not the mercy and clemencie  
 „ which you shall vse to vs, depend vpon any but of your selfe: let it be wholly yours, and  
 „ let vs not be beholding to any but to you. The gift shal be more pretious, and our bond  
 „ much greater. This will increase our courage to loue and serue you, and excite euery  
 „ one to the like duty. Wee will not bee vanquished therein by strangers, but will rather  
 „ surmount them. If they of our company in Spaine, Italy, and Germanie, do it, wee will  
 „ rather dye being naturall Frenchmen, but wee will yeeld the like duty to our King and  
 „ country. The lawes of God and nature (common to all) bindes vs there-vnto, and wee  
 „ shall haue many priuate bonds to doe it, when it shall please your Maiestie to vse so  
 „ great clemencie.

„ Sir, the holy and sacred time of the death and passion of our Sauour speaks for vs,  
 „ That blood which he hath powred forth abundantly vpon the Altar of the crosse, for  
 „ sinners, his enemies, doth inuite you to vse clemencie to those whose heart and affec-  
 „ tion are wholly yours. Wee haue not deserued so great a grace of your Maiesty, but hee in  
 „ whose name wee demand it, and who without doubt demands it for vs, after so many  
 „ prayers, which wee haue offered vnto him, shall haue such power with your Maiestie,  
 „ who by his Christian pietie will neuer depart from that which he shall know to be plea-  
 „ sing, to that soveraigne bountie of our God, whom wee pray that after hee hath made  
 „ you to raigne long and many yeares in this world, hee will giue you an eternall and af-  
 „ fured kingdome in the other.

„ The King answered them very gratiouly, *I wish no harme to the Iesuites, and all the ill*  
*that I wish to any liuing creature, let it happen vnto my selfe. My Court of Parliament hath*  
*done some thing against you, but not without good consideration.* Hee receiued that in wri-  
 „ ting which they had deliuered by mouth, deliuered it to *Villeroy*, and hauing considered  
 „ thereof, he declared vnto them expressly how desirous he was, and what care hee would  
 „ take for their returne. *If your businesse* (said he) *were not in the Popes hands, I would dis-*  
*patch you presently, but you know it is not expedient to do anything without him. I will haue*  
*you: you are profitable for the publike and for my estate.* Hee added moreover, that beeing  
 „ at Paris he would thinke feruently of their affaires. They demanded if his Maiesty would  
 „ not be pleased that the three Prouincials of their company in France, accompanied by D  
 „ three others, should attend there at his returne, and receiue his commandements.  
 „ There needs not so many said the King, it shall bee sufficient that you and father *Cot-*  
*ton* come. The King made this voyage partly to pacifie some trouble growne betwixt

A Controuer-  
sie betwixt the  
Cardinall of  
Loerraine and  
the Prince of  
Brandebourg  
for the Bi-  
shoprike of  
Strausbourg.

the Cardinall of Lorraine and the Prince of Brandebourg, for the Bishoprike of Strauf-  
 „ bourg, and this was the cause of their quarrell. The Bishoprike of Strausbourg being  
 „ voided by the decesse of their Bishop (who was a Catholike) the Cardinall of Lorraine  
 „ obtained the grant thereof from his Holinesse. But for that they of Strasbourg since  
 „ the stirres in Germany, had held the confession of Ausbourg, the decesed Bishop had  
 „ retired himselfe out of the City, and liued at a house of his in the country in his religio-  
 „ n, and yet notwithstanding he receiued his temporall reuenues from them of Strauf-  
 „ bourg. On the other side the Marquis of Brandebourg Elector of the Empire, had ob-  
 „ tained an Election from them of Strausbourg for one of his Sonnes, who beeing na-  
 „ med to the Bishoprike, and receiued by them of Strausbourg, he will inioy the Bishops  
 „ rights without any other ceremonie. The Cardinall on the other side hauing obserued  
 „ the accustomed order therein, demanded the Bishops rights of them of Strausbourg,  
 „ such as his Predecessor inioyed, who died a Catholike, & according to the Article of the  
 „ *Interim* set downe by the confession of Ausbourg. Herevpon they of Strausbourg  
 „ made some difficulty, and the rather for that being neighbours vnto the Duke of Lor-  
 „ raines territories, they haue often many controuersies to decide, as it doth commonly  
 „ fall out betwixt neighbours. They had also giuen their consent to the nomination of F  
 „ the Prince of Brandebourg for Super-intendent or Administrator, that is to say, Bi-  
 „ shop after their manner, for these and other priuate reasons, they refused the Cardi-  
 „ nalls demand.

The

A The Prince of Brandebourg gets possession, and prepares to withstand the Cardinal, all things tending vnto Armes. Many and great Leuiues of men were made on ey-  
 „ ther side, Those of Strausbourg were also in Alarme, seeking to preuent all disorders  
 „ if it were possible, yet fauouring the Prince of Brandebourg more then the Cardinall  
 „ of Lorraine. The Emperour had written vnto them both, declaring that his intenti-  
 „ on was, that neither of them should haue wrong. The King was intreated to interpose  
 „ his authority as a Friend to both parties, for the auoiding of all scandall. The Prince  
 „ of Brandebourg, named Bishop of Strausbourg, was come into France some moneths  
 „ before: And they say he remained some daies at Troyes, vntill his Maiesty had assign-  
 „ ed him a time and place to haue the Honor to come and kisse his hands, the which  
 „ was done at Loges neere to Saint Germaine in Lay, where the King gaue him audi-  
 „ ence, and so the sayd Prince was dispatched, with promise of all fauour, to compound  
 „ the Controuersie betwixt him, and the Cardinall.

During the Kings abode at Metz, the said Prince of Brandebourg came accom-  
 „ panied with the *Lamgrau* of Hesse, the Duke of Deux Ponts, and a Deputy from the  
 „ Arch-bishop of Treues Elector of the Empire: and by their aduice it was determi-  
 „ ned, that the Cardinall should haue a portion out of the sayd Bishopricke, and the  
 „ rest should remaine vnto the Prince, and by that meanes they should continue  
 „ friends as before. Thus a Peace was made betwixt them, the which might else haue  
 „ bene preiudiciall to the whole Empire and to all Christendome. The King went  
 „ C from Metz to Nancy to see the Dutchesse of Bar his sister, and the Duke of Lorraine.  
 „ At that time a marriage was concluded betwixt the Duke of Deux Ponts and the  
 „ Ladie Katherine of Rohan, remayning then with the Kings Sister, and so hauing pro-  
 „ uided for all things necessary for the frontier, he tooke his way to Paris the 7. of April.  
 „ It is assigne of a happy Raigne when the subject reioyced to see his King: Prouence  
 „ had bin possesst with this desire fiftene yeares, being the onely Prouince of all France  
 „ that had not yet seene the King. He was expected there with great impatiency, ha-  
 „ uing promised after his returne from Metz to go thither. As it was reasonable to  
 „ giue comfort to that Prouince, so was it necessary to fortifie that Coast, and to haue  
 „ an eye to the desseignes of the Sea Army of Spaine, which vnder colour of attemp-  
 „ D ting some thing vpon Algier, might fall vpon that Coast, by which the Emperour  
 „ Charles the sixt held it the easiest to inuade France.

At the same time (report which carries all things abroad without distinction or  
 „ iudgement) did publish throughout Europe, a newes happily false; which was that  
 „ the King had beene extremely sicke. Hee was indeede sicke, but not so extremely  
 „ as they should so iudge of him. Hee was soone restored to his naturall health,  
 „ and returned to his ordinary manner of Liuing. The actions of Princes must be al-  
 „ waies great: not busying themselves in making of Lanthornes like to that King of  
 „ Macedonia. They must alwaies hold their Subjects in this opinion, that in doing no-  
 „ thing, they doe some great worke. It was a great precept, which the Emperour Charles  
 „ E the sixt, gaue to King Philip his Sonne, alwaies to exercise himselfe in some vertue, a-  
 „ greeing with the dutie of a King, to hold the Subjects as it were in admiration of his  
 „ effects; and not to giue their thoughts at any time to fill them with other affections.  
 „ When occasions of Warre cease, hee must applie himselfe to those of Peace, as  
 „ to the administring of Iustice and ording of his Realme. To conclude, all the acti-  
 „ ons of a Prince must tend to the good and helth of his people, for whom hee liues  
 „ more then for himselfe, as the Sunne doth not shine and giue heate but for men and  
 „ the elements. During the Warre no man enquired what the King did, his great af-  
 „ faires provided store of worke, the ende of one enterprise was the beginning of an  
 „ other. Now that these seditious stormes are appeased, that the waues are smooth and  
 „ F the Sea calme; that Peace giues him a rest worthie of his labours, that so many pains  
 „ past, make his pleasures more sweet, & that the reward of vertue makes his triumphs  
 „ seeme more glorious, their passeth no day but some one asketh, what doth the King?  
 „ They neede not studie for an answer, hee is alwaies in action farre from Idleness.

The

The Iesuites  
second au-  
dience.

The King re-  
turnes to La-  
is.

The King re-  
solued to go  
into Prouence.

Brute of the  
Kings sickness.

The exercises  
of a Prince.

1603. The cheefe action is neuer to bee without action, hee hath beene so bred vp from his Cradle, he cannot be otherwise: Bees neuer become Droanes, great spirits doe neuer degenerate, we shall see him on horse-back at the age of *Masaniissa*, hee will be fearefull to his enemies at that of *Agefilaus*, hee will shew himselfe in the head of his armies at the age of foure score yeares, like vnto *Phocion*, his valour will neuer grow old no more then his memory.

Building is a  
worke wor-  
thy of a  
Prince which  
is at peace.

Hee contents him-selfe notwithstanding to inioy the fruites of Peace, and not to thinke any more of Warre vnlesse he be wronged. One of the greatest contentments the peace doth yeeld him, is that of his buildings, and there is no exercise more worthy of a King then to repaire the ruines of time, if they bee buildings which regarde the glory of the Prince, and the common profit of the people, when as the Morter is not made with the bloud and sweat of his poore subiects. At one time the King had Mansions in diuers places, in the great Church of Orleans, at Fontainebleau, at Saint Germain, at Monceaux, and at the new bridge at Paris. All great workes, whether that wee consider the building by the desseigne, or the desseigne by the building. Among many meruailes of his life, that was admirable, that hee did build and make warre both together. The first day he entred into the Loure hee did desseigne and set downe what hee hath since continued. He hath made Saint Germaine and Fontainebleau (two houses of the Kings his Predecessors) royall and stately Pallaces. Hee finished in the hottest of the warres and forraine tempests, that which they had vnderaken in a calme and Peacefull season.

They were buildings whereof wee may truly say, that the workmanship exceeds the matter, wherein he was serued with as great affection and promptitude, as wee may obserue good order and iudgment, and will be the more durable, for that the workmen receiued commoditie, and the labourers did not sweat for nothing. Many gallant spirits found out ingenious inuentions, which our age admires, and the forepassed haue not knowne. Waters had not yet beene raised higher then their springs. This present age and those which are to come, owe this industry to *Montonis* President of the Minte in the generality of Lyon. This actiue affection in the King to royall buildings, made subiects (by an honest and commendable imitation) to raise the ruines which did generally shew a hideous face, and mournfull markes of horrible and furious effects, both in townes and countrie. The paued caufies which are continued in diuerse Prouinces, the bridges which by the motion and care of the Marquise of Rosny are built vpon Riuer, where neuer were any, witnesses with what curiosity, the King sought the ease and commoditie of his people.

Exercise of  
Noblemen in  
Court.

Wee haue seene what the King does, wee must also know where vnto the Court is inclined. How can they liue without warre, that thinke it a dishonor to dye in their beddes, who are accustomed to triumph ouer idlenesse, and rest not but to take new breath? What doe so many Noblemen, which cannot endure rest but with impatiency? Some goe a hunting, others dwell and dye among Ladies: many giue themselves to the knowledge of tongues and the Mathematickes: the most quarrellous stripp themselves into their shirtes, notwithstanding any prohibition of Duells or Combats: the most temperate retire themselves from great expences. Some there are who loth that ease should triumph ouer their reputations goe out of the Realme with the Kings permission. It is a signe of a great and noble courage to goe and make warre vpon a forraine Theater, and to see the diuersity of people and nations, that hee may settle his iudgement and arme himselfe with experience. When wee speake of them that haue well employed the ease and liberty of peace, we must remember the Duke of Neuers. He went into England, Flanders, and Hungary, and through a great part of the North. He past to the King of Denmarke, who (for the respect of those two great and famous houses, of Gonzaga allied to the greatest houses of Europe and of Neuers, which carries the title of Dukes of Brabant and Limbourg, but much more for the loue of this crowne) receiued him with great and famous honours.

The King was aduertised that the Seignury of Venice would renew a negotiation which

A which they had attempted and left vnperfect twenty yeares since, which they now sought to conclude. *De Vic* Ambassador for the King in Suifferland hauing discouered that both parties had begun without the King, gaue them to vnderstand that they could not finish nor conclude that without his Maieesty. The Count *Fuentes* did also crosse it, for that this newe League should make him to loose the hope of that which the Spaniards had pursued so many yeares. As soone as the King had giuen them to vnderstand that he was well pleased therewith, it was concluded: neither partie respecting the threatres of the Count *Fuentes*, who sware that he would take from the Grisons the traffike which they had in the Duchie of Milan, and the reliefe of Corne which they receiued from thence. The Articles of this Alliance are set downe at large in *Peter Mathew*. The Count *Fuentes* discontented with this League, made the Grisons repent it, hauing cut of their commerce and all commodities which they drew out of the territories of Milan, without the which they could not well liue. The two Countries ioyned together, & the barrenesse of the one is supplied by the fertility and abundance of the other. To bring them vnder the yoke of Spaine, and to force them to break with the Venetians, he built a fort at the entry of their Country, whereof shall bespoken hereafter.

An Ambassador sent from Venice into France about the same time past by Lions, a graue and wise man, and well practised in affaires of State. The gouernor of Lions did visit him, & among other discourses vnderstood from him that the Seigneurs of that Common-weale did hold themselves more bound vnto the Count *Fuentes* then to any man liuing, for that they had made vse of his threats to sharpen their courages which time had made blunt and dull. His braueries had made them to take resolutions for the good of the State, which they had neuer drempt of, drowning their Counsels in the delights of Peace, and presuming that they should not feare any storme in so great a Calme, but hauing seene the Counts humor to stirre vp Warre in Italie, and that he bragged he had Instruments to drawe them in, that had no will to dance, they had so well provided for their affaires, as they feared his hand no more then his tongue. The last yeare the Lord of Pont had been in new France (called *Canada*) from whence he had brought two Sauages, which he presented vnto the King: they learned of them that the great Riuer which they thought to haue been but a Gulfe (for that it is eigheteene leagues broad where it enters into the Sea) was about foure hundred leagues long, and past through many goodly Countries and Lakes, into the which many other goodly Riuer did runne, and that he might goe vp into it in Canowes, which the Sauages do vse to sayle in that Riuer. Hee resolved with some other Sea-Captaines (with the Kings good liking) to returne, and to search into the hart of the Country by meanes of the Sauages, as well as hee had discovered along the Sea-Coast, where is nothing but Rockes and high Mountaynes, and sands full of Pyne-trees, Sapins, Cipres and Holly. He parted from Honfleur the 15. of March, carrying the 2. Sauages back with him, & the 18. of Aprill he came into the great Riuer of *Canada*, where hauing entred a 100. leagues, in the end hee came to Tadoussac the 24. where he found made Sauages in Cabines. Going on land, he went with some of his companie to the Cabin of the great Sagamo, called *Anadishion*, where they found him, with some 4. score or a 100. of his companions, which made Tabagie (that is to say, a Feast) who receiued them very well, according to their custome, and made them to sit neere him, the Sauages being placed one by another on either side of the Cabin. One of the Sauages which he had carried with him, began to make his oration, of the good reception which the King had made them, and of the good vltage which they had receiued in France, and that his Maieesty wished them well, and desired to people their land, & to make peace with their enemies (which be the Irocois) or to send them forces to vanquish them. He told them of the goodly castles, palaces, houses and people that he had seene, and the manner of liuing of the French. The Sauages gaue him audience with great silence. When he had done speaking, the great Sagamo began to take Tabacco, and gaue some vnto the Seigneur of Pont Graue of S. Malo, and to his company

1603  
A League  
concluded  
between  
the Venetians  
and  
the Grisons.

An Ambassa-  
dor sent from  
Venice.

The nauiga-  
tion of the  
French to  
new France  
o Canada.



1603. company, and to some other Samagos that were neere him; hauing taken it well, hee **A** began to make his Oration to them all, speaking deliberately, staying some-times a little, and then beginning againe, he said. *That in truth they had reason to bee greatly contented to haue such a King for their great friend:* Where-vnto all the other Sauages answered with one voyce, *ho, ho, ho;* that is to say, I. I. Then the Sagamo sayd againe, *That he was very glad the King of France should people their Land, and make warre against their enemies:* *That there was no nation in the world to whome they desired more good, then vnto the French:* Then hee gaue the Sauages to vnderstand, what profit they might receiue from his Maiestie.

After that hee had ended his speech, *Du Pont* and his company went out of the Cabin, and then they began to make their Tabagie or feast, the which is done with the **B** flesh of Orignac, which is like vnto beefe of Beares, sea-Volues, and Beauers, which is the ordinary meate that they haue, with great store of wilde-fowle. When they eate, they sit of either side of the Cabin, euery one hauing a Dish made of the Barke of Trees: the meate being sodden, there is one that giues to euery one his portion in his Dish, where they eate very grosely, for when their hands are greasie, they either rubbe them vpon their hayre, or vpon their Dogges, (whereof they haue great store to hunt withall.) Before they eate they dance about their Pannes, and after they haue eaten, they returne to their dancing, euery one taking the head of his enemy which hee hath slaine in battaile, the which hangs behind him. They made this feast together, for the victory which they had obtained of the Irocois, of whome they had slaine some **C** hundred. Three nations of Sauages were there assembled, that is to say, the Estechemins, Algonmequins, and Montagnez, to the number of a thousand, all enemies to the Irocois, against whom they make cruell warre by surprise, for that they are more in number then they.

The eighteenth day of the moneth, the said Sauages which were then at the point of Saint *Mathew*, came to campe at the Port of Todousac, where the Frenchmen were. At the breake of day, their great Sagamo going out of his Cabin, went about all the other Cabins, crying with aloud voyce, that they must dislodge to goe to Todousac where their good friends were. Sodenly euery one pulled downe his Cabin, and the great Sagamo began first of all to take his Canow, and to carry it to the Riuer, in the **D** which he embarked his wife and children, with great store of Fures, so as they were neere two hundred Canowes, which goe exceeding swiftly, for although *Du Ponts* ship-boate were very well manned, yet they went faster then it. There are but two persons that doe rowe, the man and the woman. Their Canowes are eight or nine paces long, and one broad, they are very subiect to ouer-turne, if they bee not well guided: They are made of barks of trees, strengthened within with little hoopes artificially made, and they are so light, as a man may carry one easily: and euery Canow will carry the waight of a Pipe. Their Cabins are lowe made like Tents, couered with **E** barks of trees, leauing a hole open in the toppo, to let in the light: they make many fires in the midst of the Cabine, whereas some-times they are ten families together. They lye vpon skinnes one among an other, and their Dogges with them: All these people are of a pleasant humour, they laugh most commonly, yet they are some-what Saturnists: they speake deliberately, as if they would bee well vnderstood, and stay soddenly, studying a good space, and then they speake againe. They vse these customes in their Orations in Councell, whether none come but the principall, which are ancient: the women and children assist not. All these nations endure so much some-times, as they are in a manner forced to eate one an other, through the great cold and snowe, for the beasts and fowle which they vse, retyre themselves into the hotter countries. They are apt inough to learne to till the ground or any other worke, if they may be taught. Many of them are of good iudgment, and will answer directly to any question. They are full of reuenge and great liars, in whome there is no trust, they promise much and performe little, for the most part they haue no lawe, and beleeue that after that God had made all things, hee tooke a number of Arrowes and **F** stick

The Sauages  
Canowes.

The manner  
of their Cabins.

**A** stick them in the earth, from the which sprong men and women which haue multiplied in the world vnto this day, and are growne in this sort. That there is one God, one sonne, the mother and the sunne which shines which are foure, yet that God is about all, and that the sonne and the shyning sunne are good, by reason of the benefit which they receiue, but the mother is nothing worth, for that she eates them. In like sort they hold that the father is not very good. They haue an infinite number of other foolish opinions, and they haue certaine Sauages among them, whom they call *Pilotous*, which speake visibly vnto the deuill, and tells them what they should doe, as well for matters of warre as other things: to whom they obey at their first command. **B** They also beleeue that all their dreames are true, and many say that they haue scene and dreymt what should happen, but to speake truly they are illusions of the deuill which abuseth them.

They talke  
vnto the deuill.

They are all well proportioned, without any deformity of their bodies, and nimble. Their women are well fashioned, repleat and somewhat full: they are yealow by reason of the painting wherewith they annoint themselves, which makes them of an Oliue collour. They apparell themselves with skins, one part of their bodies is couered and the rest bare. In winter they couer themselves with good fures, whereof they haue great store, where there is great store of snow, they vse a kind of racket, the which is twife or thrice as bigge as that of France, which they tie into their feete, and so goe in the **C** snow without sinking, for else they could not hunt, nor goe in many places.

Their com-  
plexions ap-  
parell, marri-  
ages and in-  
terments.

They haue a kinde of marriage, when a maide is foureteene or fiftene yeeres old she may haue as many seruants and friends, and accompany with as many as she please; then after siue or six yeeres, she will take whom shee likes best for her husband, and liue together till death, vnlesse after sometime they haue no children, then the man may bee vnmarrried and take an other wife. After they bee once married they are chaste, and the husbands are for the most part iaculous, giuing presents to the father or kinsfolkes of the woman whom they haue married. As for their Interments or Funeralls, when a man or a woman dieth, they make a pit, into the which they put all the goods hee hath, as kettles, fures, hatchets, bowes, arrows, aparell and other things, and then they **D** put the body into the pit and couer it with earth, on the which they lay great peeces of wood, and one peece they set right vp, the which they paint red on the toppo. They beleeue the immortality of the soule, and say that they goe to reioyce in other countries with their kinsfolkes and friends when they are dead. The Seignieur of Pont hauing spent sometime to discover the great riuer of Canada, & some other particularities of the country, returned the 24. of August, & arriued at New-hauen the 26. of September. The great Turke (seeing the great exploits which the French had done in the wars of Hungary and Transilvania) had often intreated the King not to suffer any French to goe to the warres of Hungary, and to tie him to make a strict prohibition, hee granted all and more then his Maiesty could desire for the reparation of publicke and **E** priuate iniuries, against the liberty of the commerce, and the safety of the navigation in the Leuant Seas, the which were greatly molested by Pirates. Hee sent a Chaours (which is a Generall or a Conductor of a Carauane) vnto the King in September, with very kinde letters, and a stile not vsuall for the Princes of the house of *Ottomans*, who speake as Turkes, and glory to speake proudly and Imperiously to the Potentates of Christendome, giuing him this title. *To the most Glorious, magnanimous and great Lord of the beleeve of Iesus: Elected amongst the Princes of the Nation of Messias, the Com-*

*Du Pont* re-  
turnes into  
France.

*pounder of controuersies which happen among Christians, Lord of greatnesse, Maiesty and riches, and cleere guide of the greatest;* Henry the fourth Emperour of France, that hee may end his daies with Peace and Happinesse. The letter I omit for breuities sake, beeing not greatly pertinent to this subiect. And for that the great Turke was informed, that the Pirates of Algier and of Thunis, made markets of the French, which they tooke, and sold them vnto the Moores (who were alwaies cruell and mercilesse vnto the Christians, being forced to endure all without complaining, and to murmure against the rigour which Fortune allowes the Master ouer his slaue) hee writ to *Ameft* King of Fez.

The Turkes  
title to the  
French King.

H h h h

and

1603.

and intreats him to prevent this sale, as against the Iustice that was left them by their Prophet, and to set all the Frenchmen that were in his dominions at liberty. The King labored to conuert the warre of Hungary into a long truce or an honourable peace for the Christians. He disposed *Mahomes* therevnto by the dexterity of his Ambassador, and if the house of Austria had trusted that of France, they had reaped the fruites of this Negotiation. *Mahomes* to shew that hee had a desire to lay a side armes, presented the Emperor with armes and horses, and to *Mathias*, the Archduke he sent a rich robe for a present.

A quarrell be-  
twixt the  
Count  
Soissons and  
the Marquis  
of Rhosny.

There was no talke in Court but of the quarrell betwixt the Count Soissons and the Marquis of Rhosny, the which was very hard to reconcile. It grew vpon words re-  
ported and disauowed. The Count Soissons was much offended, many framed diuers  
Meteors in their heads, vpon the consequence of this question, some there were that  
made damnable vowes, the which were as odious and as punishable, as those sel-  
lers of funeral stufes that were punished by the Senate of Athens vpon the accusation  
of *Demades*. The King foreseeing that his seruice did suffer in this diuision, gaue him to  
vnderstand by the Chancellor and *Sillery*, and afterwards by the Count of Saint Paul,  
and the Duke of Montbason, that he desired this trouble were ended and he satisfied, he  
answered them al after one sort, *That he should hold himselfe unworthy of the honor to bee  
as he was a nere kinsman to so great and couragious a King, if hee had no feeling of so blow-  
dy an injury.* The King considering that this quarrell did nothing aduance his seruice, he  
made himselfe the instrument of this reconciliation. Hee sent for the Count Soissons  
and the Marquis of Rhosny to the Louvre. They came both well accompanied. The  
prefence, authority and intreaty of his Maiesty, was of force to smother the remem-  
brance of all injuries, and to reconcile their willes. Let vs now see what they haue done  
in the Nationall Synode held at Gap, held by them of the reformed Religion, whereas  
many beleueed that in giuing audience to Ambassadors, and receiuing Letters from  
forraine Princes and common-weales, they had done more then their condition would  
allow, and had taken the way to make an Estate in the Estate. I will say no more. The  
passion of Religion might diminish the beleefe of the truth. The Synode began the  
first of October. It Treated of things touching Doctrine, Discipline, and the Gouern-  
ment of Churches, giuing a good Testimony that there are among them men full of  
zeale to the aduancement of their Religion, and who in their resolutions can ioyne  
wisdomie with Doctrine, causing them to blush that haue so much suffered the ancient  
constitutions of the Church to degenerate, and haue so much neglected the Gouern-  
ment and Discipline, as the Synodall assemblies of Diocesses, so necessary and profita-  
ble, are nothing but vaine and fond ceremonies, where they doe onely exhort them  
to doe well hereafter, not caring to correct or amend the ill that is gone and past.

They are re-  
conciled by  
the King.

A Synod held  
at Gap.

The profit of  
Synodes.

Of many meanes which the Church (in her infancy) did vse to preferue this spirit  
of Peace and Charity, which gaue life vnto all the members, and intertained the Cy-  
ment and bond of the whole building, that of these assemblies hath beene held the  
most fruitfull, and should bee made twise a yeere, if they will follow the Canons of  
the Apostles and the Decrees of *Nice* and *Sardinia*. There they conferred of the or-  
der and direction of all affaires.

There the Pastors taking knowledge one of an other entertained their friendships,  
renuing the bonds of their affections. It serued for a bloud-letting, and a good pur-  
gation for bad humours in a corrupted body, to preferue and keepe it in health, purity  
and chastety of the faith. There they shewed the power of the spirituall sword vpon  
the incorrigible, who in the end found the pappes of the Church dry for them, when  
through error, malice, or obstinacy, they made themselues unworthy of the sweet-  
nesse of her milke. There in the end they did straine the strings of the policy and dis-  
cipline of the Church, the which being through negligence growne slacke made no  
sound nor harmony. In this assembly of Gap (after that all the Deputies of the Pro-  
uinces of the Realme had shewed their commissions) they beganne by the Inuocation  
of the name of God, the which was followed by the reading of the confession of the  
faith,

1603.

A faith, wherein they did expound those things that were not plaine enough. The com-  
mon desire of the Ministers to see the schisme pacified that was betwixt them and the  
other congregations of Germany, England and the Low countries, made them re-  
solue that the assembly should write vnto the Vniuersities both Lutherans and Calui-  
nists, to deuise some meanes to reconcile these contrarieties in some points of their  
confession.

This assembly began by a declaration that the Bishop of Rome was Antichrist, fore-  
told by the word of God. The Ministers haue for a long time written and preached it,  
and the Catholike Doctors the contrary. They now made this opinion an Article of  
faith, and added it to their confession for the thirty one. And for that many sayd they  
were molested because they termed the Pope Antichrist in their publike or priuate dis-  
courses, they were exhorted to perseuer in this confession as one of the principal causes  
of their departure from the Church of Rome, and charged their Deputies in Court to  
beseech his Maiesty not to suffer them to be hindered in making a free confession of that  
which they beleueed. The Pope complained vnto the King by his Noncio; who no  
lesse affected to the holy Sea then his predecessors, who had receiued the glorious  
title of Christian, was much offended, forbidding the Ministers to proceed any farther,  
and not to vomite forth those bad words, from whence might spring a new kinde of  
poyson.

Addition of  
an Article in  
the confession  
of faith.

The Popes  
complaint.

The confession of faith beeing read and examined, it was sworne by all the Deputies  
in the name of their Prouinces, with promise to continue, and a protestation that it  
was the same Doctrine that was taught in their Churches. Which done they entred  
into the examination of their discipline. It is the order which should bee held for the  
administration of the word of God, praiers and the decencie of ceremonies, whereof  
their assemblies are very bare, and yet notwithstanding beeing purged from superstiti-  
ons are very necessary, and maintaine Religion, as the barke preferues the tree, without  
the which it withers and dries away. In this reading of the discipline, it was obserued  
that some Prouinces had petticular formes and ceremonies, in the election and recep-  
tion of Ministers. The assembly Iudging by the aduise of the Apostle, that wee must  
haue but one rule and one forme in matters of Religion, they ordained that all  
Churches, should follow the same forme, in the imposition of hands vpon Pastors, by  
the which he that should be presented to be receiued should kneele, and this imposition  
should be vpon the Sunday or some other day of solempne assembly in the presence of  
the people, and not in consistories, or colloquies.

And for that it was shewed that many Ministers in their preaching, vsed more the  
authority of the fathers then that of the Scripture, the assembly threatned them  
with suspention which straying from expositions, conformable to the word of  
God, were carried away to those of the Fathers or scholasticall Doctors, or deliuering  
allegories, or discourses of Philosophy, produced the words of the Fathers in the Pul-  
pite, namely in the time of Lent, or the like season, or tooke the text of Catholike  
Preachers.

Expositions of  
the Scriptures.

They did also disallow like disputations in Synodes and Colloquies, vpon contrauer-  
sies of Diuinity, sending them to the Schooles at Saumur, there to bee argued accor-  
ding to forme of Syllogisme, which is the instrument of disputation. They also thought  
these contentions amongst Pastors to bee dangerous, and necessarie to restrain them  
that would bring them in vse.

The Discipline hauing beene read and sworne by all the Deputies, in the name of  
the Prouinces, with a solempne protestation to obserue it strictly, and to cause it to bee  
obserued in all pointes, and in all their Churches, they produced the acts of the last  
Synodes to see what remained to bee executed. Then they past Apellations made by  
priuate men, greewing at the decrees of Prouinciall Synodes. After which they iudg-  
ed of censures, suspentions, and other corrections, whereunto they added that which  
concerned the prouision and establishment of Ministers, in those places where they  
were demanded, and whereas the assembly thought them necessary.

H h h h h 2

After-

1603.

Afterwards they treated of the generall affaires of the cause. The petition of the brethren of the Marquise of Saluce banished from their houses for the profession of this religion, hauing bene read, the assembly answered: that they should bee maintained and confirmed in the vnion of the Doctors and discipline of other Churches, and to that effect petition should be made vnto the King, to recommend them to the Duke of Sauoy, that they might enioy the liberties graunted by the Edicts.

Vpon this question, if in suites depending before the Iudges of another Religion, they should vie these words, *Presended, reformed Religion*, The Synode sayd that petition must bee made vnto the King, not to force them to say or doe any thing contrary to their consciences, exhorting all them of this Religion to forbear this word of reformed, as contrary to the freedome and liberty of their confession.

They of Xaintonge propounded another if it were lawfull for a priuate man to appropriate a place for his buriall, and to set it vpon pillars or otherwise, and if it bee lawfull for Noblemen or other, to set vp their armes in Temples which are built. The Synode answered that for Sepulchers all should bee obserued according to antient simplicity without appropriating any thing in particular, witnessing their communion with the Saints that were dead, as well as they desired in the happy resurrection. As for Temples, they should also obserue the same modesty and simplicity. The assembly casting their eyes vpon spirituall and polittike matters, they did carefully consider of that which concernes Schooles and Vniuersities, as the nurseries of ministers and pastors of their Doctrines, hauing nothing in Religion more important then the institution of youth, the which is made apt to any thing wee please, wherefore they ordained, that all the Prouinces should entertaine a certaine number of schollers, in the Vniuersities of this Realme, the which should not be admitted to the Ministry in their Prouinces, without good and sufficient testimony of their manners and doctrine, from the pastors, and professors, of the Vniuersities where they had studied. The Vniuersities are also exhorted to haue common libraries, and especially the great Bible of Antwerpe in many languages.

A memorable  
example of a  
crime and of  
iustice.

This yeere the King did graue in the register of his vertues, a memorable example of Iustice. The cause is considerable and the subiect of consequence. A young gentlewoman of Normandy visited and courted by her brother, disdained her husband, by whom she had two children, for that hee was somewhat aged and made no profession of armes. This inequality of age, together with his condition, made the coniugall affection like vnto a small brooke, whereof when the spring is stoppt the bed remains drie, and there is nothing left but filthe for toades and frogges. The greene grasse that was vpon the bankes withereth, yea the trees that were planted along, die. This marriage, hauing lost the radicall humour of loue, it made all pleasure and content to wither, produced nothing but noyse, disdaine, contempt and quarrell. This miserable woman cared no more for her husband, but to draw meanes from him to make her selfe more pleasing in the eyes of an other, delighting in Luxuriousnesse and excessse of apparell, vnder the which the deuill is accustomed to make open warre to Chastity, and to rauish the honour of a woman, without the which her life is a life without a body, a body without a soule, a soule without a spirit, a spirit without breath, and a breath without ayre.

It seemed that the first acquaintance of this woman with her brother, was nothing but a perfect loue, such as honour and that which they were one vnto another might well allow. Who so had seene the familiarities of this sister with her brother, would not haue beleued that they had made loue, the Law of Nature beeing of greater force then reason, or truth it selfe. In the meane time this fury prooued Adultery and Incest, making the wife to abandon the company of her husband to cleaue vnto her brother, who forgetting nothing that might be sayd or done to couer his crime and to auoyde punishment, wandred vp and downe the country with her vnder disguised names, but carrying still in his conscience the sting and Vicer of so execrable a pleasure. Shee grew bigge with child, and beleeuing that in hiding her

1603.

A her great bellie, her offence should bee also hidden, she caused her selfe to be conducted into that great forest of Paris, where she continued with her brother the exercises of *Cupid and Psyche*. The figge leaues could not couer their shame. The al-seeing eye of the diuine Iustice discouers them, and will not suffer that so infamous a lust should continue. These violent streames beeing runne out, the mudde and filth that was in the bottome appeared presently. The husband oppressed, with so iust a grieffe (as the Law doth not hold him punishable, whom it forceth to kill, the wife beeing surprised in Adultery) came to Paris, and discouered those which had deprived him both of rest and honour, hee caused them to be apprehended and committed prisoners, the one in the great Chastelet, the other in Four l' Euesque. The sister confesseth herselfe guilty of Adultery to free her brother from incest, laying the child to one that was altogether innocent. Vpon the difficulty of proofes the Lieutenant Cryminall condemned them both to the racke. He might well haue proceeded to sentence.

A sentence  
giuen by the  
Lieutenant  
Criminel.

But considering that they must deliberate well, before they iudge of the life of a man which is not made without care, he desired rather to proceed coldly therein then overboldly. The husband whose heart could not be moued to pity, by the consideration of his two children, appeales from this sentence of the racke. The court considering that mildnesse doth norrieth and giues more scope to vice, declares the appellation and sentence from the which he had appealed to be voide, and amending it, they iudge the accused sufficiently conuicted of the crimes of Adultery and Incest, for satisfaction whereof they condemne them to loose their heads.

A sentence of  
the Court.

The King during the processe was often sued vnto for their pardon. But considering that in such crimes it were impiety to shew pity: that mildnesse was severity, and clemency cruel, and that the most holy and the most iust of his predecessors, reuoked a pardon which hee had giuen to a malefactor, falling vpon that verse of the Prophet *David* in his praier-booke. *Doe Iustice at all times*, sayd, that hee referred it to the Iustice of his Court of Parliament. The father desired to change the infamy of the punishment into a death lesse shamefull, but longer and more cruell, the which the Emperour *Opilius Macrinus* vsed, causing such as were condemned for crimes to bee D shut vp betwixt foure walles. He offered all his lands to procure his children that manner of punishment. This could not bee, for that by the doome of the Iudgement, the execution was to bee done at the Greue, where it moued pity and compassion in many, lamenting the youth of the brother, the beauty of the sister and the misery and blindness of them both. The yeere ended in peace as it had begunne in pleasures and sports, there was no new occasion offered, but the passage of the Constable of Castille to goe into England for the conclusion of the Treaty of peace betwixt the Kings of England and Spaine. The King aduertised of his passage by Bourdeaux, sent to the Marshall *D'Ornano* to receiue him, the which hee did, going to meet him with a great number of Noblemen and Gentlemen of the country. The Emperour *Charles* the fifth passing through France, admired the great and goodly traines of Gouvernors of Prouinces which came to receiue him, commending them very much.

The execution  
of the parties  
condemned.

The Constable  
of Castille  
passage.

The Constable of Castille (full of his Spanish fumes) made no great account thereof, and receiued these honours after a Spanish manner. The Marshall *D'Ornano* entertayning him with the singularities of this Realme, told him. *That hee should see a country, yea a world in seeing Paris*. He answered him. *That he had left behind his backe the goodliest Cities of Christendome. But they are not so Great nor so well peopled*, sayd the Marshall *D'Ornano*. The people answered the Constable, *And nothing to the excellency of Cities, although it helps something for the strength of the State*. The Marshall shall asked him, *if hee would not see the King*. Hee shewed by his answer, *That hee was not greatly curious, yet must see him, with the respect that was due to that Majesty*. Hee came to Paris with a great traine. The King of Spaine spares no cost in such occasions, and thinkes no expences more royall, then those which makes his gold to glister in the eyes of strangers. In like sort, his Ministers and Ambassadors seeing themselves so

H h h h h 3

well

1603.

At Mendoza  
speech.The Constable  
comes to  
visit the King.Hee lets him  
vnderstand his  
masters affect  
ion to the  
Peace.He salutes the  
Queene and  
the Daulphin.The Kings  
age.

well followed and serued, take delight in shewing the greatnesse of their maister, A and are not silent when they must publish his power. *Mendoza* who neuer went out of his lodging but on horse-backe, in Litter, or in Carosse, with all his traine, although it were but to goe to the Church, the which was very neere his lodging, he neuer spake three words, but two were for the greatnesse of his maister, saying often; *That God was mighty in heauen, and the King of Spaine on earth*. An other going out of Rome to accompany the Pope, went with fixe Litters, six Carosses, euery one hauing six horses, two hundred Groomes, and threescore Carts for baggage, and all for a small iourney. The Prince of Parmas traine, was admirable and Royall, shewing by his equipage the greatnesse of his maister whom hee serued. The Constable of Castille did not hide it, B neither in his words, nor in his traine, hee had alwaies some words of ostentation to shew it.

He went to the Louvre and did see the King in his Cabinet, hee entred with a good grace, but stately & proud, the which was sodenly conuerted into great humility, for approaching nere vnto his Maiesty (who was sitting in a chaire) he kneeled vpon one knee, and continued so a litle longer then hee thought. The King tooke him vp, imbraced him, and shewed him a very good countenance. Hee spake much to assure him, that the King of Spaine held nothing more deere, then the preseruacion of the peace; and vnlesse that time should greatly force his will, hee had no other power, but to continue it in this resolution, and to bring forth fruites of great loue and friendship, the which is C firme and constant betwixt equall powers. Hee heard from the King words of the same affection: then he tooke his leaue to goe see the Queene. Going downe to crosse the Court, where he was attended by his people with forty torches of white wax, hee said to some of his company, *That the King had receiued him with the Maiesty of a King, and had imbraced him as his kinsman*.

Hauing done his duty vnto the Queene, he demanded leaue to go and see the Daulphin. The King caused him to bee conducted the next day to Saint Germaine. Beeing arriued there, they gaue notice to his Gouvernesse, that the Constable was there with a great Traine of Spaniards. At that word of Spaniards, the little Prince opened his eyes and makes them speake it againe. They be Spaniards that come to see you, Spaniards D said the Prince *ça ça* giue me my sword. Who so had not knowne that this word came from his owne motion, would haue thought that they had printed in his fantasie the same opinion which King *Charles* the seuenth, *Lewis* the eleuenth, and *Charles* the eight had had in their infancy of the English and Bourguignons. And if the Spaniards had heard him, the strangenesse of such a word would haue caused them to apprehend new worke, and to feare and beleue that which the French soldiars saith, that they must present Milan for the first attempt of this young Eagler. The Constable admired his constant eye, and his Physiognomy, and was amazed at so great a boldnesse in that age, and so much Iudgement in that Infancy. Monsieur the Daulphin told him tales in his language, and according to his vnderstanding, as *Alexander* did to the Ambassadors of Persia. Al the Spaniards did meruaile, and the more for that the dore was open for the least of the trayne. They see about him a goodly company of yong Noblemen, *Alexander* Monsieur, the Prince of Longueuille, and the three sonnes of the Duke of Espernon. The Constable of Castille past on to goe into Flanders, hee came to Bruxelles and descended at the Archdukes palace, where hee was well receiued, and from thence hee past into England. Although the subiect ought not to reckon the yeeres of his Prince, but to wish him a long & prosperous life, yet we must say that with the end of the last yeere the King beganne the foure and fiftith yeere of his age, a rearme which *Cato* held to bee ripe and well aduanced, wherevnto few Kings of France attayned, and yet it hath nothing abated the vigour and strength of this Prince, who is active and disposed, and as liuely as hee was at the age of thirty yeeres. Cares and yeeres hauing onely made his beard white, it is true that now he begins to feeble some flux of the gout. A disease which breeds with ease, and which comes to Princes rather by excesse, then by trauell in their E

1603.

A their youth, and which is sooner gotten by the chase of *Venus*, then by that of *Diana*, where beeing no pleasure in the world which doth not carrie some displeasure behind it. The best course is to repent the euill before they commit it, that is to say, to haue only intended it, and the means to grow old, is neither to do nor to eate any thing through voluptuousnesse. A great condition or qualitie to whom all things are lawfull that please, will find this rule of gouernement very hard. Great men commit great excesse, and in the end they tast the fruites which they haue sowne. It is reason that after a time infirmities should cease, and cleare the troubles of their soules, as thunder and lightning doth purge the ayre, that diseases (as fore-runners of death, and porters of the prison, wherein they are inclosed) should teach them that they are men, and subiect to humane miseries, that they are not raysed vpon the cloudes, to be free from a world of miseries, that are disperfed vpon the earth, and that they should remember that the more their delights abound, the more their strength decays, and that hee that doth least, doth least harme, and passeth the last yeeres of his life with more content and lesse griefe. B

The King would not complaine much of that little touch of the Goute, for that it had beene but gentle, and when that after his recouerie, the Courtiers did see him to weare furred bootes, they sayd, it was more to hold the grieft in some reputation, then for any need he had. Hee did a publike act which hath particularities worthy to bee C knowne. I do not forget these occasions, for that they supply the discourse of this Historie, without the which it should be constrained to seeke for matter farre without the Realme: for of secret things, and which are treated of in the Councel of the Cabinet, we must attend the knowledge thereof by the euents, which time shall discover, and not trouble our selues to seeke out the springs of Nilus. A father how great and powerfull soeuer, cannot thinke too soone nor too often, to breed vp the youth of his child in vertue, nor to assure his fortune: I say a child without distinction: for although the Law doth distinguish bastards from them that are lawfully begotten, yet Nature makes no difference. The King hauing determined to make *Alexander Monsieur* (his base sonne) of the Order of the Knights of Malta, resolved to do it in time, that hee D might receiue the name and the effect. The great Master reputing it an honour to haue a Prince of their Company, issued from so valiant and couragious a race, sent all necessarie expeditions. The King hauing receiued them, would haue the execution to be accompanied with a sumptuous and stately ceremonie. He caused the great Commaunder of France and that of Champagne to come to Paris, and commanded them to call the greatest number of Commanders and Knights they could thither. The King had chosen the *Augustines* church for this effect, but the Commander of Ville-Dieu, (beeing Ambassador of their Order) beseeched him that it might be in that of their Temple, as one of the chiefe Houses of the Order. On the Sunday morning the King and the Queene went in one Carosse, hauing *Alexander Monsieur* betwixt them, who was E deliuered by the King vnto the Grand-Prior, who attended him at the first gate with all the Commanders and Knights: As the church was hung with the richest Tapestry that could bee found, so was it filled with that which was of greatest worth in Paris. The Princes, the Princesses, the Cardinall of Gondy, the Popes Nuncio, many Bishops, the Ambassadors of Spaine and Venice, the Constable, the Chancellor, the seuen Presidents of the Parliament, and the Knights of the Order of the Holy Ghost. The ceremonie began by the blessing of the sword, and by the change of his habits, to let the Knight vnderstand, that he did bind himselfe to change his life, and to take vpon him the true ornaments of vertue, without the which all the pompe and felicity of the F world is but wind and vanity: for beeing attired in white sattin, layed thicke with gold lace, the sleues whereof were garnished with rich Medailles, a Carcanet of stones crosse vnder his arme, a blacke velvet cappe with a little white feather, and a band covered with great pearles, he put on a robe of blacke Taffata, and was conducted neere vnto the great Altar, beeing accompanied with the Duke and Duchesse of Vendosme, and followed by the Commander for the conduct of this ceremonie. *Saincte Foie* Bishop of Neuers

King troubled  
with the gout.An assembly  
of the knights  
at Malta.There were at  
this ceremony  
2. Grand Pri-  
ors, twelue  
Commanders  
and sixteene  
Knights.



1603. Neuers made him a litle admonition, of the greatnesse and excellency of the Order A whereinto he entred. It is the first of Christendome, as that of the Germaines is the second. Of Calatraua the third, of Saint *Iaques* in Spaine the fourth: of Saint *Mary de la Mercede* in Arragon the fift: of Christ in Portugall the sixth: of Saint *Lazare* and S. *Maurice* in Sauoy the seuenth: of Saint *Stephen* in Tuscane the eight. This exhortation ended, the Masse began, and after the Gospell, *Alexander Monsieur* presented him selfe vpon his knees before the Grand-Prior of France, with a burning torch of white waxe in his hand, to demand the Order. Hereat the King (who was set vnder a rich cloth of Estate, of purple Veluet embroydered, in the midst of the Quire) left his place, and comming neere to helpe him to answer, he sayd aloud, that he left the ranke of a King B to do the office of a Father. The Grand-Prior gaue him the Order after the accustomed manner, and after Masse was done, as a new Knight he presented himselfe the second time to make profession. The King aduanced againe, and promised for him, that comming neere to the age of fixteene yeares, he should make the vowes and profession perfect. They be the same vowes which religious men do make, Obedience, Pouertie, and Chastitie. He did his obedience in the same place, and then being dis-robed, the Grand-Prior set vpon his brest, a plastron of blacke Sattin, with a great white Crosse, and so the Ceremonie ended with great ioy and founding of trumpets. The new Knight feasted the Grand-Priors of France and Champagne, with the Commanders and Knights at the Temple, and the King went to dine with *Zamet*. C

The K. doth  
the office of a  
Father.

The Order of  
Malta hath of  
e're chiefe houses  
of Christi-  
tendome.

Death of the  
Duchesse of  
Bar.

Prinleidge of  
phifitions.

This Order hath alwaies affected two kinds of Knights, some for seruice, and others for honor, and both for the greatnesse, defence, and support of the Order. There haue bene children of the greatest and mightiest houses of Christendome, who although they do no seruice in effect, (beeing dispensed withall) yet they profit their profession much, by the entertaynement and communication of friendships and respects of their houses, to the common good of the Order. Others that are issued from the noblest families of all the Nations of the world, are bound vnto actual seruice in the Iland, they haue all the Mediterranean Sea for the bounds of their exercise, and all the world for witnesses of their glorie. After that they haue done the seruice which they owe vnto the Order, they cannot grow old in pouertie, and in this assurance they go more willingly to all occasions that demand a prooue of their valor, being reasonable to hazard themselves in great enterprises, to merit great recompences.

Let vs passe to the Duke of Lorraines Court, which wee shall find all in teares and mourning, for the death of the Lady *Catherine* of Bourbon, Duchesse of Bar, and the Kings onely sister, she had bene tormented with a continuall Feauer, and there were some signes of beeing with child. All the Phisitions sayd, she was not with child, one onely maintained the contrarie, and she beleued his opinion, for that hee was of the Religion, neither would she take any thing but from his hands, for that we beleue that easily which we desire. She grew in choller against them which impured her disease to any other cause, saying: *That they neither desired her contentment nor her husbands*. She thought she could not endure too much to become a Mother. This belief that she had a child in her body made her to bring forth death, rejecting all kinds of remedies to preferue her fruite. If the Phisition which had ministred to her as to a woman with child, had not fled to Metz, and from thence to Sedan, all his Phisicke could not haue kept him from death. The profession of Phisitions hath this prinleidge, that the Sunne sees their practise, and the Earth hides their faults.

The Duke of Lorraine did her no lesse honour after her death, then he had witnessed in her life. He sent vnto the King an Inuentorie of her Jewels. He caused the body to be conducted vnto the frontier of France, in a Carosse wel appointed, couered with black Veluet, and drawne with foure horses. The foure Bayliffes of Lorraine carried the four corners of the cloth which couered the Coffin: threescore Gentlemen marched before with the Guards. The Earle of Chaligny and some Noblemen of the country went after it. There were twelue Suiffes which marched on either side. It was receiued vpon the frontier by those whom the King had appointed. The Inhabitants of Troyes would haue

A haue receiued it with a Canopy, but *Tintcuille* thought it not fit, neither would the King haue taken it well. She was much lamented by the Duke of Bar, who could not haue bene husband to a better wife, nor she wife to a better husband. The fift yeare of their marriage was with as great respect and loue as the first. The affections of this Prince and this Princess, were in such harmony, that besides the diuersitie of Religion, you would haue sayd they were but one Soule, not in two bodies, but in one called by two names: for they spake with one mouth, and thought with one heart. And if there be any content in eying, amidst the contents of this world, this Princess protested that she had neuer content in this world more perfect then in Lorraine. The Duke of Lorraine and the Duke of Bar, desired as well to see her satisfied for doubts of Religion.

A marriage of  
great content.

B They coniuired her in the extremity of her sicknesse to thinke of her soules health, but she sayd vnto them, that she would die as she had liued. She was no more forced in the exercise of her Religion at Nancy then at Nerac. True it is, that she went to receiue the Communion without the Towne, and had preaching and prayers in her house but for her selfe onely and her followers, without the which she had bene much honoured by the Lorraines, and at that time more then before, the Pope hauing granted a dispensation of the marriage: When the newes of her death was brought vnto the King, the chiefe of his Councell came presently to apply some remedy to this wound. He found that they came to that end, and therefore he commanded them to leaue him alone, C and that he would resolue with God. He caused the doores and windowes of his cabinet to be shut, casting himselfe vpon his bedde, to weepe more freely, and to ease his grieve in the liberty of his sighs. All the Court did mourne, and the Ambassadors presented themselves in that habit vnto the King, to condole this death in the behalfe of their Masters. The Popes Nuncio was some-what troubled in this complement, and would not mourn at an accident for the which those of his profession could not weep.

After 5. yeeres  
instance made  
by the King,  
the Pope  
granted a dis-  
pensation of  
the marriage.

The King sayd, that he would not tye him to it against his liking, but he would be glad not to see him, vntill his time of mourning were past. Some other would haue spoken so mildly: and we know that Princes haue showne strange effects of their choller against Ambassadors, that haue failed in the honor and respect of these complements.

The Kings  
sorrow for  
the death of  
his sister.

D The Nuncio beeing better aduised, resolved to apply himselfe to the time, and to do as the rest, thinking it would not be taken ill at Rome, knowing that hee did it onely to please the King and to haue audience. But he had some difficulty to decipher himselfe when he was to speake vnto the King: for he could not vnder one habit play two contrarie personages, neither had he words in his mouth, nor teares in his eyes for this sorrow. He that will ease anothers grieve, must shew that he hath a part and feeling thereof. He went after another manner, and his spirit did fit him with another kind of complement, the which although it were free, yet was it not vnpleasing. He sayd vnto the King, that such as knew what he was, and in whose name hee spake, would wonder at the office which he did, but he had more occasion then any other, for that all lamented E the losse of the body, but his Master, the losse of the soule. The King sayd vnto him, that he beleued his sister was faued, for that in the last gaspe an extreme grieve might carry her right into heauen: the Nuncio replied: My Lord, that discourse is more Metaphysicall then Physicall, and so they both entred into other talke.

The Duke of  
Mulcoby cau-  
sed an Am-  
bassadors hat  
to be nayled  
to his head.

The King of Spaine and the Arch-dukes had the yeare before set an Imposition of 30. for the 100. vpon all marchandize, that should come in or go out of their dominions. This was secretly to forbid the French to trafficke into their countries, and openly to breake the Treatie of Veruins. This Imposition did very much trouble, and in a manner put all our Townes, which trafficke commonly into Spaine and Flanders into a mutinie. The King could not in the beginning perswade himselfe, that they would tye his subiects to the obseruation of this charge, commanding his Ambassadors which resided with those Princes, to expostulate the matter, and to aduertise him thereof. Their answers, and the rigor they vsed afterwards to his Maiesties subiects to make them pay the Imposition, did witness sufficiently that they would not exempt them. To obserue some equalitie in the intercoure of publicke trafficke betwixt the subiects of the three Princes,

Imposition of  
30. in the 100  
in Spaine.

1603.

The French King mooued did the like.

7 trafficked into Spaine and Flanders for braden.

Philip of Spaine complained.

Princes, the King imposed the like custome vpon all merchandize, that should come A out of the Dominions of the King of Spaine, and of the Arch-dukes into France, and vpon those which should be transported out of France into their countries. These burdensome impositions, the rigours where-with they were exacted, the abuse and deceites which were committed in receiuing thereof, could not induce the two brother-in-lawes to make the trafficke free as it ought to be betwixt good neighbours, which desire to enioy the fruites of peace which God hath giuen them, as the King protested he would do by his declaration, and had alwaies shewed it by the effects.

So to redeeme his subiects from the losses and vexations which they receiued by this Imposition, the King by the aduice of his Councell, did forbid all his subiects in generall, to transport any kind of Marchandize, without exception, vnto any place vnder the obedience of the King of Spaine, and the Arch-dukes in Flanders, and the entry into his Realme of all those that might come out of their countries and estates. And to the end that the effect of his intentions might not be made frustrate, to the contempt of his ordinances, by such as might lade marchandize in France, and afterwards cause them to be transported into the sayd Princes countries, he ordaind that all strangers, subiects to other Princes and Common-weales, to whom he allowed free trafficke into his Realme, before they should depart from those places where they had laden the marchandize which they meant to transport, should giue in good and sufficient caution before the Officers of the Port to bring backe within a certaine time prefixt, C a certificate from the Officers and Magistrates of those places, whether they pretended to carrie the sayd marchandize, by the which it might truly appeare, that they had been discharged there: and if it should be afterwards verified, that they had beene laden againe, and carried to any forbidden places, the Sureties should be answerable. And it should bee lawfull for the Kings Iudges and Officers to commence sute against them and their posteritie.

The Marchants of the coast Townes produced many great reasons to mooue him to take away this Impost: but his Maiestie did oppose others that were more important the which made him obstinate in this defence. He himselfe receiued the greatest preiudice, for his farmes were much diminished. But he desired in this point as in all other, D to do the office of a good father to his people, and rather suffer this losse for himselfe, then to see an infinit number of families to fall into ineuitable ruine, by Bankrupts which these insupportable Impositions would make.

Desire and hope of gaine, would make Marchants to flie through fire, if there were no other passage, rather then to loose any occasion of profit: yet notwithstanding many did by the meanes of Strangers trafficke into forbidden places. Neither is there any Decree which Couetousnesse, and the Trecherie of Officers wil not violate: wherefore the King did by a second defence adde corporall punishment, with confiscation of marchandize against them that should infringe it, their fauourers, counsellors, or abettors, and giuing the moitie thereof vnto the informers: enioyning the Marchants E which should haue any marchandize in the Sea-ports, and frontier-Townes, to cause them to be marked and inrolled by his Officers, to auoide the abuse and fraude which might be committed against his intention: whereunto the corporall punishment of some forced the others to obey.

Some thought that these bitter proceedings should soone alter the peace of Veruins: yet it continued and remained firme and irremouable: neither was there any breach, but some complaints which the two Kings made one of another. King Philip beganne, being offended, that the French going voluntarily to serue the Estates, prolonged their Rebellion, and delayed the reduction of Ostend: That the King did succour them with money and men, with other necessities belonging to warre, and that hee had forbidden his Subiects to trafficke into Spaine and Flanders. But it is impossible for Princes to impose such strong barres vnto their subiects, but they will passe them to get and conuey themselues into forraigne Countries, and it is sufficient satisfaction, that they disaduow such as dispence with themselues to goe and serue

1603.

A serue another without leaue, as the King did them which went to serue the Estates. That if he did assist them with money, hee did but restore that which they had lent him, and did pay by reayle the grosse which he had receiued in his necessitie. As for the defence of Trafficke, it tended to no other end, but to force the King of Spaine and the Archduke, to discharge that intollerable Imposition, & to make him know that France can better liue without the commodities of Spaine, then Spaine without those of France.

The King for his part complayned, but with Iustice and Reason: For (sayd he) I impart my desseignes to very few men, and yet they are presently discovered to my enemies. B The King of Spaine will he neuer leaue to corrupt the fidelitie of my subiects: will he alwaies intertaine some traitor within my Realme? my Ambassador complaines vnto me by his letters, that he is so ill informed of affaires, and so late, that the King of Spaines Ministers know of them before him! As his Maiestie was much troubled to know from what Spring did rise this pestilent liquor of trecherie, behold, God doth lay open the iniquitie of *Judas*, by meanes which humane wisdom could not foresee. *Villeroy* (that great French Oracle, who deliueis the answers of the affaires of the Realme, who knowes the most secret, and doth mannage the greatest) was serued by one *Nicholas Lofse* borne at Orleans, and with the more confidence, for that his father had spent most of his yeares in his seruice. *La Rochepot* going to reside Ambassador in C Spaine, *Lofse* desired to be entertained by him, and to serue him as a Secretarie, and to fashion himselfe to affaires. The recommendation of *Villeroy* gaue him an easie access, by the which in few moneths he made himselfe so capable both for the language and fashion of the countrey, as he might well be taken for a naturall Spaniard. The Ambassador hauing sworne the Treatie of Veruins in the name of the most Christian King, the King of Spaine presented him with a rich chayne of Stones, and with sixe others of gold of an hundred and fiftie crownes apiece, to honor so many of his chiefe Followers. The pride and presumption of this young man made him thinke he should be of this number, seeing that a companion of his had beene found worthy, and his master did not thinke that his youth and small experience, did so soone merit to bee placed D in the first rankes of his seruice.

As the Humors of Bodies that are altered, do insensibly peruert the health: So the diuell insinuates into the hearts of men, if they giue him any little entrance. Enuy and Icalousie were the windowes by the which he slipped into the soule of *Lofse*. Vanity, Lying, Pride, Luxurie, and excess of youth gaue him full entrie. He had spent all his money to purchase the loue of a Curtizan, and saw no great meanes how he should bee able to furnish this great expence of luxurie, the which notwithstanding he would not giue ouer. His Masters disdayne had made him mad, but he knew the secrets of his cabiner, and discovering them to the King of Spaines Ministers, he giues 2. strokes with one stone: he is reuenged of this contempt, and preuented the shame which followed E him, not to be able to continue his amorous bountie. With this desseigne he makes himself knowne to *Don Francisco*, one of the Secretaries of the State, & shewes him the consideration for the which he is resolu'd to giue certaine proofes of the seruice which he had long vowed vnto the Catholike King, the which hee could easily performe, hauing the charge of the dispatches which the French Ambassador receiued and sent vnto the King his master. *Don Francisco* heares this proposition, as coming from a yong man whose braine was not so well settled, as it did merit much credit; or it may bee abhorring the trecherie of this bad seruant, who held him like vnto himselfe. The Catholike King sayd he (but coldly) hath so good correspondencie with the French King, as he desireth not to know of his affaires, but so far as his Ambassador shall informe him. F *Lofse* yeelds not at this repulse. He knowes that mens spirits beeing diuers may produce diuers aduises, and beleues that some other will lend him his care with more attention, and his heart with more affection. *Talague* another Secretarie of Estate, considering how much it did import a Prince, to know his neighbors secrets: That by reason of State they must buy them with Gold that can reueale them, and must try a meanes

Treason of Lofse.

1603. means to effect it: That the contempt of so rare an encounter wilbe against his masters seruice, and the duty of his charge: he gaue care to the reasons of this Traiour, and tasted them: He exhorted him to persist in this good affection, which he shewed to procure the contentment and seruice of the Catholike King: hee promiseth to make the report vnto the King his master, and giues him his word that this affection of his should be rewarded with a bountifull recompence.

The Councell thinks it fit that *Loſte* should be heard. *T. diagues* makes him to speake with the Duke of Lerma, whome lately they called Marquisse of Denia. Hee shewes him the Alphabet of Cipher, by the which the Ambassadour his Master did write vnto the King. And for a prooffe hee deciphered vnto the Secretarie his Maiesties last dispatch. The Duke invites him to continue to produce the effects, whereof he had giuen his word: He causeth twelue hundred Crownes to be deliuered him as an earnest-pennie of the bargain, by the which this Traiour sold both his Master and the King, and assures him of the like yearly Pension: and of so large a remuneration as hee should haue cause to extoll the bountie of Spaine. From hencefoorth the French Ambassadour receiueh not any dispatch, but the Councell of Spaine is duly informed thereof. But *Rocheport* beeing called home, as wee haue sayd, it depriued this Traiour of all means to continue his Trafficke, and by consequence to merit the payment of the Conventions which hee had made and ratified. He must therefore discouer the secrets of the Councell in France, and find means to returne into his first masters seruice: C But he was kept back by a controuersie which *Villeroy* had with his mother, vpon some remainder of Accompts. Notwithstanding, he was farre engaged in the affections of Spaine, and had rather beare this losse out of the portion which fell vnto him by his father, then to see himselfe by his mothers disgrace excluded from all entrie into his fauour which he affected. The Ambassadour also hauing at his instant suite giuen testimonie of his fidelitie and diligence, made his returne ealie into his masters cabinet. Beeing thus restored, he becomes more subiect, more actiue, and more diligent, then all the rest: yea he offers to helpe his companions: but with a desseigne, that hauing also knowledge of the dispatches which passed through their hands, he might giue the better aduise to the Ministers of Spaine, and assure them of his deuotion to their seruice. D He did often visit and conferre with *Taxis* Ambassadour for Spaine; and after his Ambassage ended, with Doctor *Balthazar* of Suniga his successour, yea so fitly as the dispatches came sooner to the Councell of Spaine, then to *Des Barreaux* Ambassadour for France, who aduertised the King, that when he propounded his Maiesties commandements to the Councell, he found them as well and sooner instructed then himselfe, neither could he discouer by what practise it came. It must be of necessitie (sayd the King) that one of my Councel hath great intelligences with him of Spain, and yet I know not whom to suspect. The eternall Providence doth often draw very good effects from exceeding bad causes; as one nayle drives out another: so hee suffers that the wicked shall discouer the trecheries one of another. *Loſte* had had secret conference with one E *Raffis*, who had beene sometimes Secretarie to *Lansac*, and a fugitiue into Spaine, for many disloyalties which had made him become a Pensioner to Spaine. But they had begunne to shorten his pension since the treason of *Fontenelles* Gouvernor of Dornueneſt in Brittanie, whereof he had beene one of the chiefe instruments: and as by the discouerie of this treason, *Raffis* had no more means to serue the Councell of Spaine, so they held him for an vnprofitable mouth, and cutte off his pension. From that time hee receiued no other commodities but a free acceſſe and vncontroulable admittance vnto some of the chiefe of the Councell, who notwithstanding did not looke on him with so chearefull an eye, as when they drew from him instructions conformable to their intentions.

*Raffis* finds himselfe now reduced to that extremitie, as he is ready to fall into great pouertrie and miserie, on the other side he sees a goodly occasion offered to prevent it. and a great gate opened, not onely to returne into his countrey, but also to merit an abolition of his faults, with a notable recompence for so great a seruice which hee might

*Loſte* discouered by another traytor.

A might do vnto his naturall Prince. He therefore directeth himselfe to one in whome the Ambassadour did much relye, and tels him how much he is grieued to haue beene a dea- 1604. ler in the troubles and Rebellions of France, whereof he did confesse, that God had alwayes shewed himselfe Protector against all assaylants: That he desired to deface the memorie thereof, and to repayre them by a notable seruice, which did very much import the King, France, and all Christendome. That although he did little esteeme the hazard of his life, for so iust and holy a worke, yet would he not aduenture it, but with a generall abolition of that which made him guilty towards his Maiettie. This report made vnto the Ambassadour, hee heares *Raffis*, who tels him in generall termes, that the King is betrayed, that his desseignes and most secret affaires are discouered, but hee would not name the Traytour, but vnto his Maiettie himselfe. That his Pardon beeing come, hee will free himselfe both heart and bodie from those which hee hath sufficiently knowne to bee sworne Enemies to the Realme. The Ambassadour doth aduertise the King hereof by a confident man. The King giues him authoritie to treat with *Raffis*. He could not verifie his accusation, but by two Letters written by *Loſte*, to a great friend of his named *Blas*, a man of the same mettall, the which hee knew were in a boxe which *Blas* had, who lodged with him, for the getting of them they find means to send *Blas* vnto the Escuriell. In his absence *Raffis* and *Descartes* the Ambassadors Secretarie, breake the Boxe, and take out the Letters, by the which *Loſte* did C greatly extoll the bountie of the Spanish Ambassadour, as exceeding the merit of his seruices.

With this iustification, and the French Ambassadors dispatch, *Raffis* made shew to go vnto a Monasterie neere vnto Madrill, there to passe the Feast of Palme-Sunday, as he had beene accustomed to do at sollemne Feasts, beeing opposite to the way of France, to take away all suspicion: but hee came to Bayonne with *Descartes* at a certayne day. *Blas* returned, the Feast-day beeing passed, his Boxe beeing opened, and his Companion absent, made him thinke what it was. The King of Spaines Ministers are presently aduertised; who instantly dispatched two Curriers to the Ambassadour, to let him know that there was one gone, who without doubt would discouer the In- D telligences and practises of *Loſte*: That hee should haue a care of his safetie, that being not able to be auerred but by his mouth, he should be instructed (if he were taken) religiously to obserue the lawes of Silence.

*Descartes* and *Raffis* beeing come to Paris vpon Easter Twesday, they shewed a great fidelitie, but not so much discretion as a businesse of that importance did require. *Villeroy* went the same day to lye at his house, to bee the next day at Fontainebleau, where the Court was. And hauing met them at Iuvisi, they did accompany him vnto *Villeroy*, but did not aduertise him on the way of the cause of their coming, nor speak of the Trechery of his man, but in deliuering their dispatch at his arriual. Without doubt he would haue neglected all other affaires, to assure himselfe of his traitor, who E then finished his deuotion at the Charter-house Convent.

The next day he doth earely acquaint the King with the comming of *Raffis*, and the detestable and vnexpected Treason of an vngratefull wretch, whose father and himself had neuer had better fortune but in his house. As he returnes to his lodging, he vnderstands that two Spanish Curriers are come to the Post-house. He commands one of the Deputies of the Post to carrie them into a chamber, and that no man might speake with them: and to *Descartes* to watch for the comming of *Loſte*, and not abandon him but presently to aduertise him thereof. But both the Deputie and *Descartes* do commit a great error: for *Loſte* being come in Post about Noone, this vnadvised Deputie tells him, that there were two Posts come out of Spaine, who inquired of him, and had letters for him: and to adde more to his indiscretion, hee suffers him to go vp to their chamber, and to see them. Hauing saluted them, one of them told him in his care, that hee was vndone vnlesse he fled, and that *Raffis* had discouered him. Terror, amazement, his conscience (whereof he could not suffer the testimonie) and the horror of the iust punishment of his wickednes, do easily perswade this wretch to fly, whom the F

1604.

Losse escapes  
and is puriued

Losse drowned

Furies of hell do violently pursue. Yet he assures his countenance as well as he could. **A** He goes out with an intent to take horse, & to recover some place of safetie. *Descartes* & *Raffis* find it. *Descartes* salutes him; who (it may be, thinking himself sufficient to give an account of his person, was not curious to aduertise *Villeroy*, who was then in his Cabinet with the Bishop of Chartres. The presence of *Descartes* was troublesome to *Losse*: to be ridde of him, he sayd, he would go to his master who attended him. *Descartes* offers to accompany him: he then pretended that he had not dined, and thinking they had done at the lodging, he would seeke it in a Tauerne. Neither haue I (sayd the other) we will dine together. Finding *Descartes* to follow him in this manner, hee seekes another euasion. I am wearie (sayd he) my Bootes trouble me: *Descartes* addes, **B** that he desired to drinke with him, and that he would be better after dinner. Thus discourting together, they entred into *Villeroys* lodging. *Descartes* leaues him in the chamber, being ignorant that the Curriers had spoken with him, and drawes neere vnto the Cabinet, thinking that hee had brought him into the snare. But when as hee found himselfe free, he goes downe into the Stable, where finding his horse saddled, hee flies directly to Paris. *Villeroy* is in the meane time aduertised that his man is come, he commands that he should enter: but they find him not, nor his horse in the Stable; neither can they coniecture which way hee is gone. *Villeroy* aduertiseth his Maiestie of his escape: and they send out of all sides to follow him. *Losse* comming to Paris about nine of the clocke at night, he went to take counsell of the Spanish Ambassadour, and before the break of day he departed disguised like a Spaniard, with the Ambassadors Steward to conduct him, taking the way to Meaux to recover Luxembourg in poste.

To encourage all men to seeke after this Traytor, it was giuen out, that one of *Villeroys* Secretaries had attempted against his Maiesties person. They described his stature, his age, his apparell, and his horse. The Prouosts of Marshals went to field. They had forbidden all Poste-masters to giue any horses. But hee of Meaux had giuen notice too late; hee was alreadie on horse-backe. But when hee beganne to galloppe, his horse falling, gaue his rider a heauie presage of some occurrent ill. Being re-mounted, hee seemed so amazed, as the Guide thought hee had committed some wicked act, for the which he fledde. Hee aduertised his master thereof at his returne, **D** who remembring the defence which had bene made, presumed that this was he which was in question. He presently went to the Prouost Marshall, who prepared to pursue him. Passing the Riuer of Marne, the Prouost learns that he could not be farre from the first Poste: and comming to the second Boate neare vnto La Ferte vnder Iouarre, he findes that he was then passing the riuer: but the force and feare which those Run-aways offered vnto the Ferri-men, preuayled more then the Prouosts commandements and threatens. Being past, they thought their Poste-horses would bee presently ouer-taken by the great horses which they imagined to be at their backs, who leauing their Guide, commit their safetie to the swiftnesse of their feet, during the darkenesse of the night, through the thicke bushes which did grow vpon the banks of Marne. **E** The Prouost disperfeth his Archers, makes fires in the field, and sets the countri-men to search. The Spaniard got away: *Losse* went creeping from bush to bush, so terrified with the apprehension of Iustice which hee could not auoyde, as hearing the Prouost & his men beating the bushes with their swords, he desired rather to free his body from the feeling of the punishment which his treason had deserued, and to abandon his soule to the iudgement of God. At the breake of day his hat being scene betwixt two postes whereas the current of the water had staid it, made them presume that the carcase was not far off. He was found there by the *Abbesse* of *Iouarres* men, who (as Lady of the Iustice of that place) required that the processe might be instructed and made by her Officers. The Prouost of Paris & he of the Kings house did also contend to haue knowledge thereof. In the end it was reuoked and retayned in the Parliament by a decree made the 10. of May: the body was drawne from the Chastelet (where they had exposed it to ignominie; according to the Custome in such actions) and carried to the prison of the Conciergiere, and the fiftenth day following, was dragged and layd vpon a hurdle

1604.

**A** hurdle into the Greue, and drawne in sunder with foure horses, and his quarters set vpon foure wheeles at the chiefe approches of Paris. A worthie reward of an vnworthy Trecherie, which he deserued, if the eternall Prouidence had not otherwise disposed, that he should haue bene sensible of those torments, whose desperate death was happy for those which could not hope for any health, if any other more pittifull end had giuen him meanes to discover their practises.

This was very displeasing vnto the King, for that this wretch had smothered with his life, that which might haue giuen him light in many things importing his seruice; but exceeding grieuous vnto *Villeroy*, for that the full knowledge of the Traytors **B** seignes, and of the wickednesse of his Confederates was forbidden: moreover, that hauing bred him vp, and bound him by the effects of his fauour and loue, he was so sensible of the ingratitude and trecherie of this monster; as hee could neither eate nor sleepe. Besides, as the greatest dignities are most subiect to enuie and slander, hee did foresee that his enemies would take occasion to taxe his loyaltie, to blemish his reputation, and if they could, to ruine his fortune. Yet he had this great consolation, that although he held the estate of this Realme as it were in his hand, the King knowes that he doth not breath any thing, but what is of his seruice. His Maiestie visiting him to confirme him in this consolation, would haue the world know, that he hath alwayes carryed the marke of a good seruant; and the integritie of his conscience did serue him as **C** an inexpugnable rampar against all his ill-willers.

Soone after the King discovered a new practise against his seruice and the Daulphins. The winds are inuisible, but they that blow them to gather these cloudes together were well knowne, and from what coast they came. They were but sparkes of fire, as soone quenched as kindled. The King did write vnto some of his chiefe and principal seruants in these termes: You must take it for a good signe, that you heare so seldome **cc** from me by letter, for it is a signe that all is well, God be thanked, as wel for my person, **cc** as for my affaires. The Spaniards would willingly haue more matter and oftener, for **cc** they cannot desist from their ordinary practises to corrupt my seruants. I haue of late **cc** discovered some new desseign, in the which my Nephew the Count of Auvergne and **cc** **D** the Seigneur of Entragues are named, the which they haue willingly adoued and **cc** confessed. But I haue taken so good an order as no inconuenience shall happen. **cc**

The ninth of Iune, the Pope created eightene Cardinals, not according to the passion of great Princes that had intreated him, nor to the liking of his kins-men, knowing that his Predecessours had conferred those dignities vpon vnworthy persons, set **E** Scarlet hats vpon heads without vnderstanding, and giuen Pasquin occasion to complaine, that some approached neere vnto Saint *Peters* chaire that were more stones, and had lesse braynes then he had: The King had recommended many great Prelates of France to bee remembered at the first promotion, to supply their places that were dead. Among them that were newly created, there were two French & two Spaniards.

The Spanish Ambassadour made great instance to haue more, and not to haue his Master equalled by the French King. The first in the list was *Seraphin Olinari* Patriarke of Alexandria, by race an Italian, but born at Lions, one of the most iudicious Prelats of his age: onely vertue advanced him to this dignity, and the K. made great instance for him by *Bethunes* his Ambassadour. *James Dawy* Bishop of Eureux receiued the like Honor by the Kings recommendations. His seruices in reconciling the King with the Pope, his learned Writings and his knowledge in Diuinitie, did worthily purchase him this honour. The rest were all Italians except *Bernard Mauziatouschi* bishop of Cracouia a Polonian. Cardinal *Alobrandin* did also aduance *Herminio* his Secretary to this honour, of whome there is so much spoken in the discourse of the Warres of Sauoy. **F** *Anselme Marzat* a Capuchin of Monopoli was forcibly drawne into the number by the Popes expresse commandement, hauing once refused this dignitie, and protesting with teares of the iniurie that was done vnto Saint *Francis* and the strict rules of his Order. Of all the eightene that were made Cardinals, there was not any but this Capuchin but did affect it, and many others that did expect it were disappointed. There

Creation of  
new Cardi-  
nals.



1604.  
Troubles be-  
twixt the Gri-  
sons and the  
Count of  
Fuentes.

*De Vic* dis-  
cours vnto the  
Grisons.

Religion one  
of the pillars  
of a State.

The estate of  
ancient Rome

was some feare least the controuersie betwixt the Count of Fuentes and the Grisons A should draw a ciuill Warre into Italy, vnder the pretext of Religion. The reason of this trouble grew, for that he would force the Grisons to breake the allyance they had made the last yeare with the Venetians, and to make that which they had with France fruitlesse. The King aduertised of these practises, commanded *De Vic* his Ambassador to go vnto Coire, and to represent vnto that people the wrong they should do vnto their reputations in forsaking their faith and obseruation of their Treaties. Out of the discourse which *De Vic* did vnto them, to perswade them to the keeping of their word, these poynts were collected of the inuioable firmenesse of their word and oath. There must be many acts of vertue to purchase and maintaine a great and good repu- B tation, one onely action to the contrarie doth ouerthrow it, and smoothers the remembrance thereof. It is gotten by many commendable and vertuous actions, but that which proceedes from constancie and generositie in the obseruation of promises, is so much the more commendable, for that it is grounded vpon Faith and Religion which bee the two pillars that do assure and maintaine Estates.

The Ancients haue sayd that Faith was the foundation of Iustice, the honour of hea- uen and earth, without the which the world could not continue in peace, and they e- rected her Altar neere vnto that of thundring *Iupiter*, to shew that God is the reu- enger of the breach of Faith. And Religion is so proper to Man, and to the society of Men, that as Man cannot be Man without it, so there is no Nation how barbarous foe- C ner, that liues without some shadow of Religion. As they haue the best part of essence and the sollemnitie of Allyances and confederations, in the which God is called on as a witnesse and Iudge of their intentions that do promise and bind themselves; so is hee greatly wronged in the breach of promises. And therefore the commendations that are giuen to many Nations are held vaine and ridiculous beeing separated from this constant and immutable affection of keeping their faith. As the Greekes haue beene commended for many actions of Valour and Vertue, the which notwithstanding van- ish away shamefully, in the reproch which hath beene made vnto them, to deny their words easily, and neuer to bind themselves, but with an intent to hold. And contrariwise, the memorie of the Faith and constancie of the Romaines is immortall, D who abhorred the breach of promises, and held it an inexpressible crime to violate Tre- ties. It is not armes alone, but the constancy of Religion and their faith giuen, that had raised them to so great a power, as they held in their hands the Reynes of all the Pro- uinces of the habitable Earth. In the beginning, the neighbor-people did not esteeme them as a city, but rather a campe of Theeues, a nest of Tyrannie, and a cittadell in the midst of them, to trouble and practise all the furies of their ambition. But when as they understood that Faith onely and a simple oath (all feare of punishment layde aside) did gouerne the cittie, they grew to such Reuerence and Respect, as they held it a greater happinesse, to obey a people so generous in their actions, so constant in their words, and so religious in their oathes, then to command ouer others. The formes of E the Common-weale of the Grisons haue great conformities with the politicke and militarie Lawes of the Romaines: and as it yeelds nothing vnto them in Valour and Generositie, so hath it alwayes preferred (like vnto them) the Religion of their word and promise, holding publicke Faith the Foundation and Ground-worke of Estates, as Trecherie is the Plague and Ruine thereof. This sufficeth to shew how odious the perswasions or rather practises and Inchantments of those should bee, that coun- sell them to reuoke the Allyance, made and sborne with the Common-weale of Venice.

Wee must cherish and respect the counsels and remedies of such as loue the sicke Patient, but wee must suspect all things that come from the hand of a Neighbour that F is an enemy, they minister nothing, how sweete soeuer, which causeth not great mo- tions and alterations in the bodie. His Hony is worse then that of *Cholchos*, which did not infect the heart, nor trouble the vnderstanding but for a day. In the distinction and choice of aduice, wee must preferre those that preferre Honour and augment

ritie,

1604.

Archie, before those that dissolue the concord and quiet of an Estate. Those (sayd a great Orator to the Athenians) are to be credited that counsell to entertaine Allyances with friends: for there is nothing more besitting a free City, then the care and loue of Equi- tie and Iustice. Those that by their policies and roughnesse, would separate the Grisons from the allyance of their friends, haue happely some desseignes vpon their libertie, the which they cannot execute better then by cutting off the number of their friends, the which can neuer be too great, how great and mighty soeuer they be: And if they haue not this desseigne, yet their counsell is alwaies vniust; seeing the effect concernes the shame and ignominie of this Nation, which cannot go from the truth of their pro- mises, vnlesse they wilbe generally taxed for trecherie and basenesse. A reproch so much the more to be feared; beeing certaine that as soone as a Common-weale hath B giuen any subiect to doubt of her Faith, she must inuent new formes of Religion to purchase credit with other Estates; and vnknowne people, to trust vnto their promi- ses: for such as know the deceiuers will auoyd the deceit. And although among the corruptions of our age sayning and dissembling be esteemed vertues, and haue in the opinion of the vulgar, notable qualities and operations, yet among those that haue contayned themselves within the bounds of ancient Integritye; and know not the pol- licies and deceits of the new-come, the people that are defamed for trecherie and dis- loyalty loose all their friends.

C And in the end this allyance hath bene sborne by the most sollemne acts of Religi- on. The name of the liuing God (who should not be taken in vaine, and is polluted by the lightnesse of an oath) hath bene called vpon. It is an extreame impietie, to make that Soueraigne spirit, that Infinit, Immutable; and Incomprehensible Essence, who is all Iustice and all Truth; a witnesse of our basenesse and lying, that the Holinesse of his name should couer our dissembling; his Iustice, our wrong; his Truth, our deceit, and approoue that which naturall Reason cannot allow of. And this bond of faith gi- uen, is of such necessitie, as it must be kept euen with enemies, whereof that great cap- taine *Iesus* hath left a memorable example, refusing to breake the Treatie which he had made with the Gabionites, Pagan Infidels: although he had discovered their Deceite, D and was intreated by the chiefe of the army to loose their allyance. The answer he gaue them, was grounded vpon Reason, saying: *That they had giuen them their faith, and that they must feare least the furie of God (by whose name they had sborne) should come vpon them.*

There was great difficultie to retayne these people inclining to change, vpon the huge and copious promises made them by the Count of Fuentes. They could not re- solue in their Councels. The weight and burthen of will and hope carried them away. He would reduce them to extreame necessitie, taking from them the Commerce of Milan, without the which they could not liue. The Grisons estate is meere popular, consisting of fixe and twenty Communalities, the which are diuided into three E Cantons. It is a difficultie to find any thing equall, constant, or well-aduised among so many Heads bredde vp in the Maximies of a Democratic. The Count of Fuentes had debauched foure; who had like to haue corrupted and polluted the rest, as a little Leuaine marres a great lump of Dowe. For they stucke onely vpon money, which the one demanded and the other offered. Hee gaue so good intertainment to the Am- bassadors that came to him to Milan, as they passed as many Articles as he pleased, ap- plying themselves to his humour of Peace, which beeing dishonorable, is of worse condition for Free-men then Warre it self. But when at their returne they would haue drawne the people to allow thereof, the Ambassadour of France arrived so happily, as hee let them vnderstand the preiudice and wrong that they did vnto themselves. So F as the best-aduised beeing informed of this surprize, resolved not to stray from the obseruation of the Allyances of France and Venice, nor to depend for their passages, vpon the aduice and command of the Count of Fuentes nor of his successors, as hee had bound them by his Articles, presuming that he could defend with the sword, that which he had gotten with Gold. True it is, that they made offer to enter into a new

The great pro-  
mises of the  
Count of Fu-  
entes to the  
Grisons.

Resolution of  
the Grisons.

1604

Capitulation of all that might bee without prejudice to their Alliances, to assure a good Neighbor-hood with the State of Milan, so as the Count of Fuentes would demolish the Fort within fixe moneths vpon their Frontier. The great Cantons of the Suisses were actors in this businesse, perswading the Grisons to trust rather to courage then to the safetie of their mountaines. Matters continued in great suspense. They sent often to Milan, and what was concluded there was dissolued in the Assembly of the people, by the friends of this Crowne, and by the wisdom of the Kings Ambassador, who sayd plainly that his Maiestie would leaue their Alliance, if they made not a Declaration that might content him. Those iudgements that were found and not preiudicate, found it reasonable, and in this reason the honor of their faith and the reputation of their estate, as contrariwise they thought it could not be an act of glorie to sell their alliance, as it was not commendable for the Spaniards to buy it, if they were of the Romaines humor, who neuer sought that by gold, which they might do by the sword. But against these apparent reasons, the Count of Fuentes had so many trickes and deuises, as the Ambassador of France had much ado to retaine this people, who promised in words not to forsake the allyance of France and Venice, doing the contrarie in effect. In former times it was incredible that the Suisse, so great an enemy to the House of Austria, from whose subiection they had reuolted, and the Grison so contrarie to the Spanish fashions, would incline that way, and contradi& the very feeling of Reason and Nature. The Truth hath freed the doubt, and let vs see that it is of this people as of vineger, the which neuer freezeth for that it is extreemly cold. The Suisses and Grisons (for that they are enemies to the Spaniards) will not haue the power of Spaine to be their enemy.

An allyance  
purchased dishonestly.

The bad successe of this businesse did not concerne France and the Venetians alone, the best-aduised did fore-see that it might draw a ciuill Warre into Italy, vnder the pretext of Religion. Many Commanders and Captaines Grisons, not able to endure the rigour and threatens of the Count Fuentes, were solicited by them of their Beleeve and Religion (lurking in Italy) to hold good, and to attend vntill the Lord came from Edom to disperse their enemies, and to beleeue that as there is no warre more glorious then that which is vnderaken to free their Countrey from seruitude, so there is none more iust then that which is made to deliuer Consciencs from Tyranny, and that both in the one and the other occasion, it is a great happinesse and delectation to sacrifice their liues. The King sent aduice thereof to Rome for the consequence and danger of Religion. He did also pacifie the diuision of the people of Valais, who were in Armes, and ready to come to a generall combat for the same quarrell. In the meane time the Grisons remayned betwixt the doubtfulnesse of Warre, and the discomforts of Peace, and as in the breeding of such Diuisions, free and curious spirits cannot retayne their passions, they made Pasquins in Italy vpon this subiect, and the Spanish braueries were not mute, the which the Grisons answered with the like humour. If the Venetians who were the cause of all the mischiefe, would haue spoken and set their hand to the worke as they ought, the Count of Fuentes (who did more by example then by any authoritie) would haue intreated the Grisons more mildly. But besides, that Common-weales are not good for an offensive Warre, these Seigneuries who would not hazard any thing, but preferre present and assured things before that which was past and perillous, would haue bene content to haue enioyed that which they desired without any trouble.

There was a generall assembly held at Illant, at one of the corners of the Grisons, where after great diuersitie of opinions, it was concluded by the greater part, that (seeing the Ambassadors had through their auarice defamed their Legation, and suffered the Count of Fuentes to bind the libertie of their aduice with chaynes of Gold, and had exceeded the instructions that were giuen them) the last Treatie made at Milan, should bee declared voyd, and of none effect, if the alliance of France and that of Venice were not expressely referued. The Nobles of Spaine had wrought wonders, giuing motion to the most heauy, and speech vnto the dembe, to fauor the Count of Fuentes intentions,

1604.

A intentions, with a Nation that loues money beyond all measure. But in the end the consideration of their owne health, and the ruines of their liberty were of more force, making them to chooe the hazard of armes, and of all discomforts, rather then to suffer the fort which the Count of Fuentes had caused to bee built, to stand vnruiued. And for that (incensed with this resolution) hee had made shew to seize vpon Valteline. they made a leauy of eghteene hundred men in six companies to oppole against him. The Kings intention was, that the Treaty of Milan should not alter the alliances of the crowne of France, and Venice. But if the Grisons should breake with the French, and dishonor their reputation with so foule a defection, the French had no great reason to regard it, seeing it were a losse but of inconstant friends, whose faith was ruined by the same meanes it was preserued. True it is they should loose a goodly passage into Italy, but when they had any desire to goe thither, it should not bee by the Grisons. The French armies were neuer led that way to passe the Alpes. It is true that when the Kings of France held Milan, this passage was necessary for them to draw in Suisses and Germaines, for their seruice. But enioying this no more, they need not to care much to loose that which cost them so deere to maintaine. This was the beginning of the thirteenth yeere of Pope Clement the eight sitting in the pontificall chaire. In his youth a Mathematician told him, that hee should bee a Cardinall then Pope, and should sit in the seat twelue yeeres. A friar had told Leo the tenth as much (hauing saued himselfe in Mantoua after the battaile of Rauenna) assuring him that hee should be Pope, before he came to the age of forty yeeres. A terme which made this prediction seeme ridiculous and impossible, and yet it was true, for after the death of Iulio the second the yong Cardinalls being banded against the old, choose him Pope. The Astrologian, hath spoken very truly in the two first aduentures of this Pope, but hee hath misteckned himselfe in the third, yet some feare it is but one yeere, for this which wee shall shortly beginne is full of bad constellations vpon that sea, as they hold that haue studied the booke of the Abbot Isachim. About that time there was a Iesuite that maintained an opinion that was held very bold throughout all the Catholike Church, but most dangerous at Rome. That it was no point of the essence of faith to beleeue D that Clement the eight was the true and lawfull successor of Saint Peter. Hee was committed to prison, and if the Ambassador of Spaine had not delt in it, he had spied worse, and tried that the body hath often reason to complaine of the paine which the spirit causeth. An other Iesuite propounded a proposition which was held very strang for the nouelty and the consequence thereof. Which was. That confession might bee done by Letters and by Postes. These with some other questions were decided before the Pope and the Cardinalls in the following yeere.

Predictions of  
friar Seraphin  
of Mantoua.

Curious  
questions.

There fell out halfe a sedition in Rome by the meanes of Cardinall Farnese. One beeing pursued by the Officers to bee carried to prison, fled into the Cardinals Pallace as into a Sanctuary, where he found a backe doore to escape. This flight was fauored by the incounter of some of the Cardinalls Gentlemen, who walking in the court and seeing the Sargents make a noise at his escape whom they thought to apprehend, they gaue them bad words with some threatens, for the small respect they had borne vnto their Maisters house. The Pope was aduertised thereof, and the Gouvernour of Rome went thether with his Officers. The Cardinall Farnese beleeued that all the consistory was offended at this affront, the which troubled all Rome. They had giuen the Pope to vnderstand that this did concerne the authority of his Iustice, without the which the city could not continue happy. They had laied open this boldnesse vnto him by many considerations of his owne priuate interest. They sayd that this did but increase the discomforts which many had conceiued against the house of Aldobrandin. The tumult grew so great, as one sword drawne had put all the city in armes. The Ambassadour of Spaine came to the Cardinalls Pallace with all his friends, and there spent the whole night, looking on the Romaine Gentlemen that plaid in the Hall: and asking who had wonne or lost, they told him that the Duke Gaetan had lost six hundred crownes: Seigneur Duke (sayd hee in Spanish) assure your selfe that you loose nothing this

Halfe a sedition  
at Rome.

1604

this night for the notable seruice you do vnto the King. He was often heard to say these words, the which were fuller of vanitie, then of necessitie or reason, *aqui quiero morir*, as if the Pope, who had no forces, would come to besiege him.

The next day the Cardinal *Farnese* retired himselfe to a house of his called *Caprarola* five and twentie miles from Rome, whither he was accompanied with the principall men in Rome. The Pope sent the Governor vnto him to receiue his gouernment from him, as if he had lost it for that he had entred into his Palace with his Sargents. He quenched the heat of those sferie Spirits with his teares, and complained that they did not loue him as he did loue, and that therein the intention of true friendship was deceived. But he commanded his Montio in Spaine to complaine of the King of Spains Ambassador, who had openly discovered his passion against him. In the end, the Duke of Parma brought backe the Cardinall to Rome, and all was pacified. As he came from Monte-cauallo where the Pope was, he was well accompanied and followed into the court of his Palace, with cries of ioy. *Viva la Casa Farnese*. These were the peoples violent passions, not so much for any loue of him, as in hatred of the Cardinall *Aldobrandin*. But none of them trusted to this reconciliation. The Cardinall, the Duke *Gaston*, and many others of the greatest of the citie went out of Rome. The Pope caused six hundred Corles to come, and two hundred Harguebuziers on Horse-backe for the guard of Saint *Peters* Bourg, and if he had had the Spirit of *Sixtus* the fift, or of Popes that were Predecessors to *Paul* the third, this small beginning had bene the cause of great accidents.

The Iesuits  
restored.

The King having promised to restore the Iesuits, Father *Cotton* came to Paris by his Maiesties command, with father *Armand* the Prouinciall, and father *Alexander*. They not onely found all things easie, but beyond their conceiued hopes: for the King grew presently into such a liking with Father *Cotton*, as he did nothing but he was called, and in the end his Maiestie granted their returne vpon certaine conditions, and the Edict made for their establishment, (notwithstanding any oppositions made vnto the Court to hinder the confirmation thereof) was confirmed in the beginning of this yeare, and their colledges restored at Lions, Rouan, Bourges, and Dijon. The Seigneur of Varenne (controllor generall of the Posts, and now Gouvernour of the Towne and castle of Angers, who loued them of this company) besought the King to build a new colledge at La Fleche in Aniou, with priuiledges like to the other Vniuersities of this Realme, the which the King made of a royall foundation, and gaue them his owne house, with pensions, for the instruction of a good number of young gentlemen, whom his Maiestie would haue bred vp, and instructed there in all Professions, Tongues, and Exercises.

Iesuits at La  
Fleche,

The Edict was: That they might lawfully reside in the places where now they are established within the Realme; that is, in the Townes of Tholosse, Auch, Agen, Rhodes, Bourdeaux, Perigord, Limoge, Tournon, Puy, Aubenas, and Beziers. And moreover, to settle themselves in the Townes of Lyon, Dijon, and especially in his Towne of La Fleche in Aniou, there to keep their residences vpon the conditions which follow.

That they shall not erect any colledges nor residences in any Towne or places of this Realme, countries, Territories, and Seigniories of his Maiesties obedience, without his expresse permission, vpon paine to loose all that is contained in this present grace.

That all they of the said Societie, beeing in this Realme, together with their Rectors and Prouincials, shall be naturall Frenchmen, and that no stranger shall be admitted into their colledges and residences, without his Maiesties permission: and if there be any at this present, they shall be bound to retire themselves into their countries within three moneths after the publication of these presents. The inhabitants of the Towne and countie of Auignon beeing not comprehended vnder this word of Strangers.

That they of the said Societie, shall haue neere vnto his Maiestie one of their company, which shall bee a Frenchman, with sufficient authoritie to serue him for a preacher, and to answer for the actions of their companies vpon all necessarie occasions.

That

1604

A That all Iesuites within the Realme and others which shall be receiued into the sayd society, shall take an oth before the Officers of those places, not to doe nor attempt any thing, against his Maiesties seruice, the publike peace and quiet of the Realme, without any exception or reservation whereof the sayd Officers should be bound to send the sayd acts vnto the Chancellor. And if any of them present or to come should refuse to take the sayd oth, they should be forced to depart the Realme.

That hereafter all they of the sayd society aswell such as haue made the simple vow, as others, may not get any immouable goods, either by purchase, donation, or otherwise without his Maiesties permission. They may not also receiue any succession bee it direct or colaterall, no more then other Religious men. And in case hereafter any shall be dismissed from the sayd companie, they may returne into their rights as before.

They shall not take nor receiue any immouable goods from them which shall enter into their society, but it shall bee referred for their heires, or for such to whom they haue disposed them before they entred.

They shall also bee subiect in all things to the lawes of the Realme, and shall be tried before his Maiesties officers, like vnto other Clergie and Religious men.

C The sayd company shall not attempt nor doe any thing, neither in spirituall, nor in Temporall things, to the preiudice of Bishops, Chapters, Curates, and Vniuersities of the Realme, nor of other Religious men: but shall conforme themselves to the common Lawes.

In like manner they shall not preach, administer the Sacraments, neither confesse any but those of their owne society, if it bee not by the permission of the Bishops within the iurisdiction of the Parliament where they are established; That is of Tholose, Bourdeaux and Dijon.

D The which permission shall not extend to the Parliament of Paris, except the townes of Lyon, and La Fleche. Where they are suffered to reside, and exercise their ordinary function as in other places which haue bene granted them. And to the end that they of the sayd society, which are now restored, may haue meanes to liue in their Colledges and Residences; his Maiestie suffereth them to enioy their rents and foundations present and past, with a full discharge of all seizures which haue bene made.

E The Iesuites beeing thus restored, many others demanded leaue of the King to receiue them and to giue them Colledges; as Rouen, Bourges and Amiens. The Vniuersities of Orleans and Poictiers could not like of them, notwithstanding they sought much to bee receiued their, they returned in the end by the Kings fauour and clemency, into their couent of Saint *Louis* neere vnto Saint *Paul* at Paris, and had restitution of all their goods, and of their Colledge of Clermont in Saint *Laques* streete, to enioy their reuenues without instruction. Then the goodlie spirits of their order begonne to steepe into the pulpit, and were heard with great applause in diuers Churches.

F During these great Royall fauours, father *Cotton* tasted of some priuate disgrace, for returning one night somewhat late (about the end of February) and passing by the street of the new bridge, to goe vnto the Louvre, there were certaine Pages and Laquais, which calling for him at the dore of the Carosse, wounded him with their rapiers, hauing one great wound in the shoulder going towards the necke and the throat, whereof notwithstanding hee was soone after cured: There was great search made for this attempt; but the King himselfe discovered presently whence it might proceed. The Pages and Laquais of court had bene whipt by commandement for their insolency, in crying with diuision, *Old well, old Cotton* (vpon the complaint of certaine Princes and Noblemen.) Those that say this blow was premediated by the enemies of the Iesuites, were deceived, and his Maiesties onely opinion (who iudged that it came from the Pages and Laquais) was true. Some were taken and examined, the King himselfe heard the examination; first they excused themselves of the fact, then they sayd that they meant onely to strike the coach man, to whom they had cried to goe farther off, and

Father Cotton  
wounded.

1604.

and that hee would hurt them, comming so neere the wall, the which hee would not A  
doe, and that thinking to strike the Coachman, they had hurt father *Cotton*. If fa-  
ther *Cotton* had not bene an earnest suter vnto the King to pardon them, it had gone  
ill with them, but notwithstanding they were banished the Court, and forbidden euer  
to come there vpon paine of death.

A chanel  
from the riuier  
of Seine to  
Loyre.

This yeere the King besides in his goodly buildings, which shall make his memory  
commendable to posterity, would also shew vnto future ages, that he had a care of the  
good of his subiects, who for the commodity of their comerce and trafficke, caused a  
chanell to be made, by the which all merchandise should bee carried from the riuier of  
Loyre into the riuier of Seine. At the same time when as hee began his channell from B  
Seine to Loyre, which will cost a hundred and fourescore thousand crownes in three  
yeeres. They propounded vnto his Maiesty, an enterprize of greater difficulty, to ioyn  
the two Seas together, and to make the navigation from the one to the other through  
France, and not to passe by the straight of Gibraltar. By the meanes of a channell more  
easie to be made betwixt the two riuers, which passe the one from Tolouse into the O-  
cean, & the other from Narbone into the Mediterranean sea, then that which is made  
to ioyn the riuers of Seine and Loyre together. The vndertaker offered Caution to  
ioyne the navigation of the sayd two seas by this chanel, within one yeere for 40000.  
crownes only, the which should carry a vessell of foure fadome breadth from one sea  
vnto the other, for a certaine prooffe of his desaigne. VVhich was to make ships to passe C  
afterwards, within a small time, and for little more charge.

New inuenti-  
ons of workes  
brought into  
France.  
Making of  
Cipers.

There were many new inuentions for workes deuised and brought into France this  
yeere by strangers, as weauing of gold after the manner of Milan, and the making of  
cloth and lines of the barke of white Mulbery trees, more easly then of nettles or any  
other trees, and more strong and of longer continuance then any other, the which  
was inuented by Monsieur *Serres* in Prouence. The making of all sorts of Cipres both  
curld and smoth, and of all other sorts, which were not made before but in Italy, is  
now established in the castle of Mantes. Hangings of guilt leather, of all sorts and  
collours that may be wished, fairer then Imbroidery, better cheape, & of greater con-  
tinuance, for the easinesse and inuention to make them cleane, and to amend, they D  
are in great shops in Saint Honores, and Saint Iames suburbs, to set poore people on  
worke. There were cutting-milles inuented, and set vpon the riuier of Estampes, where  
they cut iron into many peeces, and into what forme they will, the which was not  
done before but by the smithes. The turning of iron (whereof France abound) into  
fine Steele, the which they were forced to seeke in Piedmont, in Germany, and in other  
strange countries, for fise or sixe soulz the pound, hauing neuer found any thing in  
France but iron, the which for the excellency they call course Steele of Brieor or  
Saint *Desfer*, the which is sold for two or three soulz the pound, at the most. The  
fournaises are to bee seene in Saint Victors suburbs: vpon the mouth of the riuier of  
Bieure, the which deserves to bee admired for the excellency thereof, the making E  
of white Leade, the which is a kind of drogue or quintessence, drawne out of Leade,  
very necessary and common for Painters, Farriers, and many other vses, the which they  
were forced to seeke and buy deerly out of France, is new made there, better and bet-  
ter cheape.

Pipes of Lead  
without folder

The like inuention there is of pipes of Leade, as long and as bigge as you will, bea-  
ten, & as light as iron for Cuirasses, stronger and more lasting then the ordinary pipes  
of Leade, and better cheape, and which make the waters that passe through them more  
holsome for the bodie of man, by reason of the ingredients of the folding which cor-  
rupts the water that passeth by them. Besides the folder doth still leaue some little  
tongues or drops perced, the which staies the slime of the water, and makes the pipe to  
bend, with many other secrets and commodities that depend thereon, inuented by F  
*Ferrier*, dwelling in the suburbs of Saint Germane. Some parts of France as well as  
of Sicillia were this yeere much afflicted for want of come. The Dukes of Guise and  
Vantadour besought the King that hee would bee pleased to suffer Prouence and  
Languedoc

Scarcity of  
come.

1604.

A Languedoc to bee supplied by the other Prouinces of his Realme, where there was a-  
bundance. The King hauing giuen liberty, there passed great store by the city of Li-  
ons, who fearing to fall into the like want, besought the King to reuoake his grant of  
the passage. The Kings answere seemed to proceed from the heart, not of a Prince  
onely, but of a father, who desires to prouide equally for all the necessities of his fa-  
mily, and hath a care that nothing be wanting. The principall reasons were, that there  
is nothing more necessary for the well ordering of an estate, then to entertaine com-  
munication betwixt Prouinces to succour one another, and to haue the trafficke as  
free and as easie as may bee: Nature hauing so framed them, as they haue need one of  
B another, for if the one restraines of the one side, the other may doe the like on the o-  
ther side, so as if one Prouince anioies another, it may also receiue the like anoyance  
from the n: as if they stop the passage of corne at Lions, they of Languedoc and Pro-  
uince, may keepe from them; oyles and spice, and many other necessary commodities.  
That the city of Lions hath no interest in this passage, being lawfull for them, to make  
what prouisions of corne they please, in Bourgongne, and other places. That he must  
also haue care of other Prouinces which haue need of releefe, whom they might easi-  
ly perswade that this liberty of passage, depended vpon the fauour and good will of  
them of Lions, and not vpon his commandement.

Communica-  
tion necessary  
among Pro-  
uinces.

No Regina  
Prouince or  
City can paile  
without their  
neighbors.

There wanted nothing in France, but permission to trafficke in the King of Spaines  
C and the Archdukes dominions. The sea townes endured great discommodities, and  
in the end, if this prohibition had continued, they would haue sayd of the greatest, as  
was sayd of Megalopolis a great city in circuit of walls, and little in number of Inha-  
bitants. *Magna Ciuitas, magna solitudo*. A great city, a great wilderness. The Spa-  
niards found this Inhibition much more greuous and insupportable: there was no-  
thing to bee heard amongst them but publike complaints, for that all things grew ex-  
treame deare, and the Artisans desperate. This greuance depending vpon the execu-  
tion of the Treaty of Veruins, the Pope commanded his Nuncio to deale in it. The  
King would not yeeld to any thing, before that the Spaniards who had troubled the  
water, did make it cleere againe in reuoking the Imposition of thirty on the hundred.  
D Therein hee forced his nature, for beeing so good, as hee desired onely the good of his  
people, and feeles in his soule that content wherewith God himselfe cannot be satisfi-  
ed, he could not heare speake of this commerce, if the King of Spaine did not discharge  
that Impost of thirty for the hundred, which made the liberty of trafficke an extreame  
feruitude, and the profit an assured losse. This was most fetere and rigorous. There  
is not any but is bitter to the Marchants, couetousnesse hauing changed the first cause  
as well as the quantity of Impositions and Customes. In former times they were not  
payed, but for the safety and liberty of the passage from one place to another, and for  
that Princes haue publike waies in their protection, which for that reason are called  
The Kings high-waies, they haue acknowledged this right of protection with some  
E consideration.

Discommodi-  
ties by the  
cellation of  
the commerce

God neuer ry-  
red with de-  
ing good.

In like sort when the Nauigation was vndertaken to the Indies, into Arabia and  
Ethiopia, the Emperour for the purging of the sea Pirats and Routers, imposed the  
Gabell or Custome of the red sea, for the entertayning of ships of warre against the  
attempts of Pirats, with the money that should bee raysted thereby. Such Imposi-  
tions for so necessary occasions cannot bee but iust. Others are not so, and yet they  
must beare them, beeing no more lawfull for the subiect to murmure against the cus-  
tomes, and Imposts, wherewith his Prince doth charge him, then against the hayle,  
raine, stormes and tempests of Heauen. Obedient children kisse the rod wherewith  
they haue bene whipt. Reuenge is referred vnto God, who forbids the Soueraigne  
F Magistrates to oppresse the people with such charges. Hee let *Pharao* know so much,  
when as *Moyse* turned his rod into a Serpent, to let him vnderstand that his Scep-  
ter and his reigne was changed into tiranic and extreame crueltie. Some sayd that  
Spaine (which deliberates long, and resolues constantly) would neuer reuoake  
this Imposition, for that they would not loose the reputation of the constancie  
and

Nauigation  
to the Indies



1604.

The trafficke  
open with  
Spaine.The Consta-  
ble of Castille  
comes to the  
King.The King re-  
ceiues him  
with al honor  
He sups with  
the ConstableThe house  
of Velasques.The Marquis  
of Rhosny  
goes into Poi-  
cou.The Daul-  
phins' second  
voiage into  
Fontainbleau.

and firmenes of their Lawes, and not to be taxed of lightnesse, applying themselves to A the time and occasion. But they must endure it, and the Deputies of the two Kings, and of the Archduke beeing resolu'd vpon that point, there was no difficulty but that the commerce was restored to the first liberty. The Constable of Castille returning into Spaine, came to the King at Fontainbleau. The King sent to receiue him at the entrie of Paris by the Duke of Montbasson, who was well accompanied, and the next day at the entrie of the forest of Fontainbleau, hee found fifteene Carosses full of Gentlemen of the Court, who left them to offer them to him and to his traine, and so mounted vpon their horses which did attend them. It cannot bee spoken how Royally the King receiued him.

Amongst many testimonies of honour and affection, this was not ordinary. *Zamet* B inuited him to supper, beeing ready to wash, the King accompanied onely with *Belle-garde* and *Roguelare* enters, saying that hee would sup with them. The Constable offered him his napkin, and would haue kneeled, the which the King would not suffer, saying vnto him that it was not for him to yeeld honours but to receiue them, for hee was of that house, beeing allied to the house of Velasques, to whom the dignity of the Constable of Castille and Leon is hereditary, and is an honor in a manner equall with a Soueraigne; the Emperor *Valentinean* finding no other place wherewith to honour and aduance his brother *Valeme*.

The commerce which had beene forbidden for some monethes, beeing restored, C there was nothing contain'd in the Treaty of Veruins but was duely executed, but that which concerned the priuate interest of the Earle of Saint *Paul*. As for the General, all went so well, as it might bee sayd the two Kings had neuer had better correspondence, and that their wills (although contrary) had beene like vnto wine and water which cannot bee seperated. As for the affaires of the Realme, the King found so great respect and obedience in all places, as if there remains any passion in the hearts of his Predecessors, they must be greued that they were neuer so well obeyed. The Marquis of Rhosny, going to take possession of his gouernment of Poitou, was at Rochelle, where hee was receiued with all sorts of Honours, causing his Maiesties intentions to be entertayned and executed with so great affection as as it did amaze them that knew D that since King *Francis* the first this towne had not beene so obedient as the rest. There are secret murmurings, discontents and distrusts; but they are cloudes without water. These are corrupt vlcers which draw vnto them bad humors, but the disposition of the body is no whit altered nor changed: In shew all goes well, and we haue nothing else to care for, for men are commonly satisfied with that which seemes, as well as with that which is. It sufficeth that a Prince be well obeyed, be it either for feare or for loue. France beeing neuer so miserable as when shee had Kings that cared not to bee well obeyed.

And what wants a Prince, that is at peace within his Realme, admired of Strangers and redoubted of his enemies, who hath so great designs in hand, for the increase and beautifying of this Estate, as his Predecessors durst neuer thinke of them? E One Arcenall alone can furnish him a hundred canons, with poulder and munition for a hundred thousand shot, armes for ten thousand horse-men, and fifty thousand foote, and Treasor ready to pay a greater number. This Prince who knew what it was to make warre without money, will neuer vndertake it without a iust cause, not beeing in want. Warre which is attempted without cause is seldome happy and successefull, and although they be iustificable yet is there alwaies some scruple. Hee spent the best part of the yeere at Fontainbleau, and found his abode there so pleasing and the season so faire, as hee sent for the Daulphin. It was the first voyage to the place of his birth, and the second by Paris. Hee made shew that hee did participate of the Fathers good disposition, for he neither feared nor felt sonne nor Serein, although it bee much felt in that place. Thus the yeere past, when as France could not furnish where- withall to make a perfect Narration. Wee may now say as it was heretofore sayd of the Gauls that they were more giuen to tillage and to the Gouernment of their families,

1604.

A of their families, then vnto Warre and Armes. The most factious thinke of nothing now but of planting of their Orchards. The Grisons doe still pursue the demolition of the fort. They talke of a truce in Hungarie, and of a Treaty of Peace in the Lowe Countries. This will be matter to write on the next yeare following.

But we may not forget the enteruewe of the Duke of Sauoy with the Duke of Mantoua. It ministred matter of discou'se, and made the Princes of Italie some-what lea- Enteruewe of  
lous: to see two Princes send Ambassadors which had continued so long in badde the Dukes of  
termes, and two Princes that were Neighbours, which had this aduantage to haue Sauoy and  
made war in person, was not without scruple. And although in shew they talked only Mantoua,  
of Peace, yet are they not the first, that haue had Peace in their mouthes and War in  
their hearts. *Machiauel* sayth that a Prince of his time, neuer talked but of Peace and  
Faith, and if he had kept either of them he had lost his estate and his reputation.

These two Princes haue Lands lying of either side of the Riuer of Po. The Duke of Sauoy was discontented that the Duke of Mantouas people had vsurped something vpon his subiects. This was a great dispute of their confines, the which notwithstanding was soone reconciled, the Accord is neuer difficult betwixt persons neere allied. The Duke of Mantoua came to Montferrat, which gaue the occasion of this enteruewe, whereof the cause is vnknowne, if it be not for the marriage of his Sonne to the Dukes second Daughter. They met in the open field on Sunday the 12. of December. The Duke of Sauoy was in Carosse, and the Duke of Mantoua and his Son on horse-backe. They lighted to entertaine and salute one an other. The Noblemen and Gentlemen which followed them made a great ring, in the which these two Princes did walke and talked together two or three houres. The Duke of Sauoy feasted him at dinner the Tewf-day following, in a little house vpon the fronter of the Marquisate of Salusses. They continued together vntill night, when parting the Duke of Sauoy gaue vnto the Duke of Mantoua foure goodly Horses with very rich furniture. To conclude this yeares worke there was new matter presently, but it is alwaies bad, when as the princes Clemency is forced to yeeld vnto his Iustice, when as France doth bring forth Spirits so easie to corrupt, as intelligences with the Enemies of this Crown are not held for crimes, & their honor as vaine smoak, the which notwithstanding should be so carefully preferred, that rather then to see it blemished or charged with any reproch, they should desire & offer themselves to death. The King offered with the practises of the Count of Auvergne, commanded him to come vnto him, & to trust vnto his Clemency, the which was not vnknowne vnto him. *Descares* made some iorneyes vnto him, from whom he brought nothing but delaies and excuses.

C The Kings Iustice was once contented to make him change the ayre for a time. It was the best Councel his friends could giue him: it was the surest resolution he could take: for it was better to be absent with the Kings good liking, then to be retired and in disgrace. The King was wonderfully grieued at this relapse, and did impute it to an error which great courages detest more and pardon lesse then all other faults: E for compare Vice with Vice and Euill with Euill, Ingratitude is the most odious and the worst. This Prince notwithstanding (who cannot leaue pardoning) sent *Descares* backe vnto him to cause him to come. He promised to goe if they would bring him a pardon formally made. The King disliked of this kinde of Capitulation, whereas his owne Authority was wronged and his worde held deceitfull. A great King so much feared and obeyed, and of so great Authority, should haue his words as much credited as an others oath. It is not with this Prince as with some of his Predecessors, who vnder the most smyling and calme countenance smothered most dangerous and troublesome tempests. Hee sent him his Abolition in the same forme and manner as he desired, conteyning all the euill that he had done, and all that hee would haue done. It toucheth the Honour of a Prince to iustifie himselfe, when as F his Innocencie is any thing mistrusted or suspected of his King. In these Incounters he must leaue the charges which he holds, as *Caius Menenius* did: he must returne in the midst of his voiage like vnto *Mark Anthonie*, he must quit all Legations to pre-

The King  
sends for the  
Count of Au-  
vergne.A Pardon  
granted with  
a conlition.

K k k k k

uent

1604. uent all accusations, and he must oppose his innocency boldly and courageously, vn-  
to slander. But he that hath once offended his Prince hee hath no other remedy or re-  
fuge but to his Clemency, or to flight.

This pardon had a condition that hee should come vnto the King, without the which the effect thereof should bee suspended and without assurance. Hee got nothing in growing obstinate not to goe out of Clermont, representing vnto him selfe that hee could finde no better Councell then in the remembrance of his last Emprisonment, as *Cresus* did in his miseries. He did build much vpon the Loue of the inhabitants of *Clermont* and of the Country. But he did not consider that although he had many hearts at his deuotion, yet should he hardly draw them all together to oppose them against the Kings commandements, when it should please him to seize vpon him in that City, and that it were more safe for him to be free without the Vyniard, then to remaine there, not being absolute Maister thereof.

The King therefore seeing that hee would not come but with conditions that did not agree with a perfect obedience, resolved to haue him, by one meanes or other. The first Ouertures were made to the two Brothers of *Muras*, the one Lieutenant Generall in the Presidiall Court at Ryon, the other Treasorer extraordinary of the Warres, both vehemently affected to the Kings seruice, and for this reason greatly suspected by the Count of Auvergne, who to let them vnderstand the actions that hee would haue knowne, did often confer with them of his affaires, but in like manner as Princes doe communicate with Ambassadors and Spies, and the more freely for that hee thought they were not men to lead him to Paris. But there were others, to execute his commandements, and more then of one condition, all resolute to take him, yea though hee were shut vp in a tower of brass. So there must bee some to take him and others to conduct him when hee was taken. It was necessary that such as had the Kings authority in the Prouince, and the disposition of his forces and of Iustice should deale in it. The Kings intention was imparted to the Vicont of Pont du Chasteau, to *D'Entre* Lieutenant of the Duke of Vendosmes company, to the Baron of Camillac, to *La Boulaye* Lieutenant to the company of the Marquis of Verneuil, to *Nerestan* Colonell of a Regiment of foote, and to so many others as it is a wonder it was not diuulged being in so many heads. In this action all shewed the duties and affections of good men which respected their Honours. Many meanes were attempted, but they were incountred with great difficulties and crosses. True it is that if *Nerestan* had not come with reuocation of the Kings first commandements, his taking had bene certaine when as hee went a hunting to *la Tour* of Buissiere, where as a Gentleman should haue bidden him to diner. The Order was changed for that he had given the King to vnderstand that hee had meanes to do him a great peece of seruice in the discouery of great secrets. Some daies past in the expectation of this miracle, but in the end it proved nothing. The Kings patience being wronged would beleeue no more, but commanded that they should force him to come, and if his bounty had not restrained him, wee should haue seene him as extreame in reuenge, as hee hath alwaies bene in bounty and clemency. He earnestly recommended vnto his subiects the execution of this prize, as a thing of great importance for his seruice, for the preseruacion of the State and the assurance or safety of my Lord the Daulphin. The surest meanes (and that wherein there was least trouble and scandall) was the mustring of the Duke of Vendosmes Company, who by the aduice of the Count of Auvergne him-selfe, and to please a Lady who desired to be reuenged of some County-men, dilloged from Saint *Porcin* to come to *Balsac* and to *Vormie*, where shee intreated her guests in such sort as they left not prouision for three daies to some one that had bene furnished for three yeares.

D' *Esurre* who prest *Muras* ( Treafour extraordinary of the Warres ) to pay his company a muster, intreated the Count of Auvergne to see it, to the ende hee might assure the King that hee had Gallant men and good Horses, and that all his Companions should bee wonderfully honoured with the presense of their Coronell. I will part to morrowe sayde the Count of Auvergne to hunt at Alezou, and will returne againe

A againe on Monday at night, I pray you bee here at supper and lodge your company at Normaine, to the end that the next day after that we haue dronke, runne at the ring and dined, we may see it.

This was done as he had appointed, and it seemes hee was an Actor in his owne misfortune, & an instrument of his misery, not being able to discouer the bitterness of those Golden-pills which they presented vnto him. *D'Enrre* came to *Clere-mont* on Monday at night, and goes vnto him where he supped in one of their houles that managed this businesse. When as he espied *D'Enrre* a farre off, he said vnto him; *Woe'st thou, am I not a Man of my word?* *D'Enrre* thanked him for the paine it had pleased him to take to see his Companions, beseeching him to thinke that he desired it with great affection, to the end the King might know they were not in so bad estate as at the voyage of Metz. The next day the ninth of Nouember the morning was spent in running at the Ring, of foure courses he tooke three. He had intelligence that they ment to take him, and distrusting all, he had resolved to com so early to the place of musters, as not finding the company there ready, he should be excused if he did not attend them, meaning to passe on a league farther, where a Lady that loued him did expect him. *D'Enrre* hauing fore-seene all, leauing nothing to hazard that might be gouerned by iudgement, vsed such preuentions, as the subtilties of this spirit preuayled nothing. Hee commanded *Lady* Marthall of the company to see his Companions in order. He aduertised *Nereftan* and the Captaines that did assit him, of the place whether they should come, and wrought so, that diligence and courage, which are the wings of great executions, were so supported by the secret of discretion, as none of the Troupe once drempt of that was to be done.

They went to dinner, and it was we'll obserued that the Count of Auvergne had some distrust. He hath since confest that he was ready to call the two Brothers of *Murais* into his Cabinet, and to cause them to be searcht, for that hee was well aduertised that they alwaies carried the Kings Letters and his commandements. But a great resolution thinking that there is no more harme in fearing, then in the thing that causeth feare, feares extremely to make shew that he hath any feare. After Dinner *D'Eurre* asked, *If it pleased him to goe to horse to see the Musters.* He answered him; *That it should be presently, and that he should vse speed.* He retyred him-selfe sonne after into his Cabinet, and went downe being followed by *Maisonville* onely, and *Liernec*, mounted vp on a Scottish Horse (which *Perry* had giuen him) the which would haue outrun all the Horses of France. Hee would not attend the other Noblemen for that hee distrusted them, hauing an intent to passe on, if he found them not ready. But being come to the place, hee found the company in battell. This great diligence made him some-what iealous, and they might perceiue him, that pulling vp his Cloake, hee drew his Sword foure fingers out, yet without any amazement.

E D' Eurre seeing him make euen the reynes of his Horfe, came to him trotting, with his Hat in his hand, and hearing him sweare with a great oath that he had beene very diligent. *You see my Lord (answered he) I haue caused my Companions to aduance, for that I would not trouble you with attendance. Monsieur D' Eurre (replied the Earle) you are one of my Friends, I cannot make any long stay here. To whome D' Eurre said. All my Companions are not yet here, but if it please you, you shall see this troupe, and iudge of the whole by a part.* Herevpon he sees some Horfe-men come and demands what they were. *D' Eurre told him; That it was Nerestan who had beene at Ryon about a fute of his daughters.* He beleeued it, for he knew that *Nerestan* had staid some daies at Ryon, and yet his heart began to suspect more. But it was too late, he was enuironned on euery side, and hardly can one resist many. *Nerestan* lighted to salute him, and hauing enterrayned him with some discourse vpon the occasion of his stay at Ryon, or of his returne to Court, he went presently to Horfe-backe, and thrust on one of the Lack-quaies with his foote, for a signe

F and token of the beginning of the execution.

One of *Nereftans* three Lackquaies takes hold of his Horfe by the Bridle. *D'Eure* seeing that *Nereftan* had taken the right fide to salute the Count of Auvergne  
Kkkkk2 went

1604. went vnto the left, and laying hold with his Hand vpon the Hilt of his Sword he sayd A vnto him that he had commandement from the king to take him, the other two Laquais pulled him so roughly from his horse, as he had like to haue fallen to the ground, he was moued to see him selfe so intreated by Laquais, intreating D'Enrre to cause two of his companions to light, and that he might not see those rascalls any more: *Nereftan* said vnto him that they were soldiers so attyred, to serue the King in this action. A peece shot into the ayre by chance, made him to doubt worse measure, so as hee intreated D'Enrre that he would not vse his Pistolet, D'Enrre freed him from these apprehensions, intreating him to resolute vpon the Kings will, and not to force them to intreat him otherwise then they desired. Well said hee, I yeeld, what will you haue me to doe? that you mount vpon the trompets horse, said D'Enrre. It was feared that he would not haue suffered him selfe to bee taken so easily nor so quietly, as wee haue seene many great courrages choose rather to be cut in peeces, then to see them selues reserved for some shamefull end, and others that haue willingly died, for that they would not die by force.

They set him  
vpon the  
trompets  
horse.

They condu  
him to Aig  
ueperre.

The extreame  
greefe of a  
Lady that lo-  
ued him.

When as he sees him selfe in the Toyle inuironed on all sides, *Linerne* his confident follower in flight, and his friends the ministers of his Captiuitie, he sayd, *Ah in the Duels name, I doubted all this.* Being mounted vpon the trompets Nag, the conduct him presently to Aigueperre. Before hee had gone a hundred paces, he intreated D'Enrre to lend him one of his troupe, to carry some message of his remembrance, and of his misery, to a Lady that attended him. *De Pleche* had the charge. Shee who had not prepared her heart to withstand the assaults of a most extreame and sensible greefe, tooke D'Enrre for the obiekt, against whome she poured forth the fury of her passions. If I knew (sayd shee vnto this Gentleman,) that I might saue him in forcing through your troupe, I would willingly doe it, and if I had but tenne Men of my courage and resolution, you should not carry him where you thinke.

But I will neuer die vntill I haue giuen D'Enrre a hundred shot with a pistoll, and to *Murat* a hundred blowes with a sword. These were the passions of her loue, transported with a resolution beyond her sexe, and which did participate of a Man, of a troubled minde, and of Loue. This last makes miracles of maruells, and maruells of miracles, in wills that are equally toucht with his inspirations, so it is neuer perfect, if it bee not full and neerely toucht with the accidents of both fortunes, as the Moone is not pleasing, but when it is at the full. Shee loued him well, and was well beloued, for the Count of Auvergne had bene heard say, that if the King did let him at liberty, and send him backe to his house, vpon condition that he should not see this Lady, hee would rather desire to dye. She presently ordered the affaires of her house, the disposition of her furniture, and the retreat of her seruants. This passion going from the memory to the thought, from the thought to the heart, from the heart to the eyes, made her to powre forth so many teares, as shee lost the sight of one eye for a time.

The Count of  
Auvergne  
writes vnto the  
King.

Being at Aigueperres hee writt vnto the King. At the same place he told the Baron of Camillac, that hee was acquainted with the desseigne of his taking. It is true sayd hee, I knew it well, and I beleue you thinke I am a very honest man. Hee said that hee submitted himselfe to all the rigours of the Kings iustice, if hee had sayd, done, thought, or attempted any thing since his Abolition. All the way hee seemed no more afflicted, then when hee was at liberty. Hee told youthfull and idle tales of his loue, and the deceiuing of Ladyes. Hee shott in a Harguebuse at birds, wherein hee was so perfect and excellent, as hee did kill Larkes as they were flying. Sometimes hee would cast forth words of apprehension to enter into that great heape of stones of the Bastille, where hee had already tried his patience for the space of foure or fve moneths. *Desceures* mette him at Briarre, and there hee entred into a Carosse, and was guarded and ledde vnto Montargis, and from thence hee was imbarcked vpon the riuier, and presently conducted vnto the Bastille, without passing by the Arcenall: And entering into the Duke of Biron's Chamber, hee knew his bedde with some

A some feeling of greefe, and taking leaue of them that had conducted him, hee assured them that he would goe out of that place as he had entred, and if thy found him more guilty then he had said, hee desired them not to pittie him. Entering in hee said vnto *Ramirre*, that hee had rather lodge in a Tap-house in Paris, then in the Bastille. Those that beleue that he is not lodged there to get out, so soone as hee did the other time, thinke also it is the worst that can happen vnto him. But it shall bee an incomparable misery to be alwaies depriued of the Kings grace and fauour, without the which the best conditions are most lamentable, and a life of this manner how short soeuer, is a tedious and a languishing life, it is no life, it is to languish and to abuse life.

B The happy discouery and so fitly, of all that was done, and in a manner thought against the Kings seruice, is no small signe of the prosperity of his Raigne, and of his Fortune; and an assurance that those heads which shall strike against this rocke of Diamant will proue Glasse. The desseignes of his enemies haue sometimes shewed themselves like vnto fixed Starrs in the Firmament of their ambition, and in the end they haue proued but Comets and Exhallations, which drawne out off the earth, haue bene lost in the Ayre of their Vanity and Imagination. All these practises in the end were like vnto those poore wretched Cottages, built vp of Durt and couered with Stubble. And if all the Conspirators bee not yet taken yet they doe nothing, being discouered and knowne to the eyes of the Kings iustice. Conspiracies are like vnto Coales, which in the shadow do flame, but when as the Sunne shines on them they fall into ashes. The Conspira-  
tors amazed

C It is not the seuerity nor the rigour of his Iustice, neither the terrour of examples and punishments, that hath discouered these Conspiracies. He hath not caused the Bell of *Ramirre* King of Spaine, to bee rung to terrifie all the Conspirators with the sound thereof. This King being offended with the Conspiracies of his Subiects, sayd, that he would show them a Bell, the which he had caused to be cast, the sound whereof might be heard throughout al the whole world. Curiosity made them goe, and they found in a great place the Heads of the principall men of the Realme, set one vpon another in forme of a Bell. It is the great obedience that is yeilded vnto the King, euen by them that are least inured to obey, that hath discouered these practises: It is the great wisdom of his carriage, and the Order hee hath taken to be aduertised of all and to know all. It is the Authority and respect which neuer was so absolute and perfect in his Predecessors as in him. This apprehension was a famous president. For the time was when he must haue had more men to take the Count of Auvergne and to conduct him vnto Paris without let.

Wee may obserue in this apprehension many things that may breed Admiration and amazement, and which shew that Men do in vaine furnish themselves with wisdom against heauen, and with intelligences against the King. The Count of Auvergne had aduertisements from all places that they should take him, and that the Kings Pen-sioners were in the field to that effect. His most inward and neere friends, and among others *Floras* knew it, and said nothing vnto him, preferring his duty to his Prince before all affection. He must bee deceyued, and the King well serued. As mint-maisters say that it is impossible to refine gold of twenty foure Carats, without a little of some other Metall, so it is impossible to make an execution perfect, if there be not dissembling mixt with friendship, deceit with wisdom, neither must the tong alwaies speake according to the heart.

The Constable was also as well informed thereof as any other, and yet hee made no shew thereof. A shew of great Wisdom. His duty prescribed him a Law to all the bounds of Nature; so there is not any one but is more bound to the seruice of the King and his country, then to his owne health, or to that of his children. A Gentleman being at his Table speaking of this taking, sayd, *Sir if the King should command me to take you I would doe it, although I be your most humble seruant, that you march in the first rankes of Greatnesse in the Realme, and that all things touching armes, depend vpon your commands. I beleue it* (answered the Constable) *else you should do ill for the King is both*  
Kkkkk 3 your

Considerati-  
ons vpon his  
taking.

Wisdom of  
the Constable

1604- your King and mine. I am your friend. There is no loue nor affection to dispence any A one from the Kings Commandements.

The Count of Auvergne long before and since his taking, hath not said nor done any thing whereof the Kings seruants haue not kept register. He complayned of those that were daily about him, that they sayd nothing vnto him, and they all answered, that they were too honest to tell him any thing. He is a Prince of great vnderstanding, capable of all sorts of desseins, of a quicke disposition, warlike, vigilant, and full of inuentions and subtilties. But all this auayled him nothing against the King, of whom we may say that he hath wicked wretches inough in his Kingdome that would deceiue him, but they are not cunning enough to doe it.

*D'Antraques* committed to prison, and his daughter, the Marquis of Vernueil retained.

Soone after that the Count of Auvergne was lodged in the Bastille, *D'Entraques* B Gouverneur of Orleans was committed to the Concergerie of the Pallace, and the Marquis of Vernueil his daughter garded in her house, by the Knight of the watch. She tried, that he that is capable to loue earnestly, may also hate extremely. We can say nothing of the causes of this change, but what may bee learned by the issue of the Processe. They be affaires which concerne the King, his Person and his State, and if it be tollerable to heare what is said, yet is it not lawfull to speake or publish it. His Maiestie himselfe hath not yet declared the cause of the Count of Auvergues restraint, and in the letter which he did write vnto the Gouverneur of Lions vpon that subiect, he did onely send him these wordes, *Tom haue vnderstood how that I haue againe caused the Count of Auvergne to be apprehended, being aduertised that he continued still in his bad C* *practises, and that hauing sent often for him, he would not come. At the least, I will keepe him from doing ill if I can.*

The Kings letter to la Guiche from Fontainebleau, the 15. of Novemb. 1604.

They doe basely abandon their honors, which flye to the practise of strangers who embrace all occasions with vehemencie to trouble the tranquillitie of the Realme. In cases of this quallitie suspicion makes the Crime: yea the children suffer for the iniquitie of their Fathers, and wiues of their husbands, as we haue said. Notwithstanding the King suffers the beames of his naturall bountie and clemencie to shine. He proceeds not rigorously in a notorious Crime. He obserues as he alwaies hath done D the order of his Iustice. He giues time and place to the guilty to know themselves, and to flye to his mercy. He seekes himselfe all meanes to iustifie them, for knowing that the Earle of Auvergne and Entraques, were found guilty of Crimes, which deserued the seperation of their bodies from their soules, and that by a sentence giuen by the Conrt of Parliament the first of Februarie, they were condemned to die, and the Marquise to be led with a good garde to the Abbey of Religious woemen at Beaumont neere Tours, there to be strickly kept vntill the Kings Proctor general should informe more amply against her: his Maiestie addes now to all his victories that of clemency, he causeth the Execution of the sentence to surcease, and changeth the Punishment into perpetuall Imprisonment for the Earle and Entraques, the which he did also moderate for the last, suffering him to remaine in his house of Bois Malefherbes in Beaulie, hee did also suffer the Marquise to remayne in her house at Verneuille. E

Decree of the Court of Parliament.

Changed by the King.

At the same time, when as the Count of Auvergne was taken, the brute was that the Duke of Bouillon had like to haue beene surprised. When as he could find no other refuge for his affaires, but to retire himselfe out of the Realme, he hath vsed the liberty of his retreat wisely, and hath alwaies sought the Kings fauour, for the assurance of his returne. Some forraigne Prince of his friends aduised him not to returne to Court, to hold al reconciliation suspect, and to beleue, that when a Prince is once offended, he is neuer quiet vntill the offence be reuenged. That he must not trust to that which he promiset, nor to that which he sweares houlding both the one and the other lawfull for reuenge. That the word of a Prince that is offended, is like vnto *Zenxis* cluster F of grapes, which takes Birds, but his oth is like vnto *Parrasius* vayle. Men. Those which haue lost the fauour of their master (for that they had intelligence with them, whom they could not serue without Crime) are alwayes in continuall distrust

A distrust, the which follows the offence, as the boate doth the ship, vntill they haue quenched and smothered the cause, and made it knowne that they are diuided, and enemies to all their wills, that would distract them from their duties, for men that are double and dissemblers, are neuer tamed, no more then a Barte, which is halfe a Ratt, and halfe a Bird, or the Chastor which is flesh, and fish. The Duke of Bouillons patience hauing giuen the King time enough to consider of his intentions, is readie through the Kings clemencie, to obtaine all that he could desire, to returne to a greater fortune, in the which lesse is allowed then to a meaner estate.

The Duke of Bouillon.

He hath beene taxed with many capitall crimes, whereof the cheefe accusations, B were to haue beene a partaker of the Marshall of Biron's conspiracie: And although they had seuerall desseignes, and were of very different humors, yet they were both of one minde to ruine the King, and haue their shares in his spoile, by the meanes of the King of Spaine. It is true, there are no letters found written from him to the King of Spaine nor his Ministers, nor from them to him, but those that were mediators for the other dealt also for him: and he was more cunning to couer his intent. It is no sufficient iustification to say, that he did neither write nor receiue any letters, the treatie was made without writing: wherevnto he made his answer.

*Ans.* Touching the conspiracie of the Marshall of Biron, and intelligences with the King of Spaine, there needs no other answer, but a plaine and true deniall, grounded vpon the Duke of Bouillons religion; vpon his conscience; his honor, his alliances, C vpon the quallities and dignities which he holds, vpon the incompatibilitie of humors of the complices which they giue him, and the small likelihood, neither shall it euer be found that he hath spoken or written of these things.

*Accu.* To take away all suspicion of intelligence with the King of Spaine, which had beene odious to them of the religion, the Duke of Bouillon should seeme to borrow the money which he should receiue, and to make thereby a double gaine, taking money from the King of Spaine, and causing the Churches to pay it him againe.

*Ans.* To giue some collour to the borrowing of money, all they that had dealt either in the loane or in the caution, must haue beene of the intelligence. In which case the negotiation had beene much lesse secrete, then if the King of Spaine had caused double D pistolets, or Lingots of gold to haue beene brought from Luxenbourg directly to Sedan, hauing no other Princes countrie to passe, and there it might haue beene coyned. Moreouer the summes being great, they must haue agreed vpon a place to receiue the money, and to make the vsuall contracts, which could not be done without giuing occasion to suspect some extraordinary desseigne.

*Accu.* To this end there were certaine men leuied, when the King was in Sauoy, and he fought by all meanes, to withdraw them of the religion that were with his Maiesty, yea he did write to mounsier *Des Diquieres*, that for certaine there was a bloody desseigne against them of the religion, and that the forces which were in Sauoy (whilst he was busie there) would fall vpon Daulphiné and the townes of their party.

E *Ans.* This Article being a matter of fact is easie to auerre, for a leuy of men cannot be made without the knowledge of any: If there can be any one witness of credit found, he will yeeld himselfe guilty, submitting him selfe wholly to the testimony of Mounsier *Des Diquieres*, as a Knight of honour, and a man of great quality and merit, who he assures him selfe, will not speake any thing to preiudice his honor and reputation.

*Accu.* Hee should haue caused them of the religion to take armes, to the end that he on the one side with them, & the Marshall of Biron on the other, sayning to make war for religion, should seize vpon the townes, & dispossesse his Maiesty: To make them of the religion to enter into warre, the Marshall of Biron should like a most zelous Catholicke, ruine some Churches in Bourgondy, and moue the Huguenors to reueng being in feare of worfe, making them beleue that it was done by his Maiesties commandement, or at the least by his consent.

*Ans.* Hee is so well acquainted with the sincerity of them of the religion, to thinke that they will fly to armes without apparent iniustice and extreame necessitie, the



the which is well knowne vnto the King: That for the effecting of such a desseigne, there A must be negotiators with the Townes, Maiors, Gouvernors, Captaines, Consistories, and Ministers, and by consequence an infinite number of witnesses.

*Acc.* These things were treated vnder pretext of a marriage of the Duke of Bouillons daughter with the Earle of Auvergnies sonne, to disguise the matter: and it was the said Duke who inuented this deuise, and sent it to the Earle of Auvergne, the which is manifest, for that hauing written vnto the King of this motion, the Earle of Auvergne told his Maiestie that the Constable prest it much, saying, that hee desired it, & the sayd Constable said, that he had neuer heard speake of it, and found it strange.

*Ans.* As for the marriage, it was a true subiect and no pretext: The proposition had beene made openly, as the said Duke had aduertised the King; yea *Comblat* offered him B at Turenne, to bring him the Earle of Auvergnies sonne to bee bred vp with him. If it had pleased the King to haue caused *Comblat* to bee rackt, as hee was be-sought by the Duke of Bouillon, torments would haue wrested out the truth, better then the pardon which was giuen him.

*Acc.* To proue his ill meaning, it is said, that during his aboad in France, hee did what he could to incense the Princes against his Maiestie, and to breed iea-lousies among them: for prooffe, talking one day with the Earle of Saint Paul, after many bitter speeches, hee told him that hee and the other Princes were ill-aduised, to spend their meanes and their trauell in his seruice that gaue them no thanks: but if they would retire them-selues, and let him know that they could liue without him, he would C then seeke them.

*Ans.* The Duke answered that he had vsed no such speech to the Earle of Saint Paul, or to any other, tending to alter their affections and duties to the King: If the Earle hath said any thing of him vpon this subiect, it cannot bee but some light complaint by way of greouance, for that hee did not see him intreated according to his merites: which speech cannot be taken for treason, neither had it beene well directed to the said Earle in that quality, considering the testimonies of his fidelity to the Kings seruice.

*Acc.* He hath promised and vnder-taken to pacifie the Estates of Holland and the vnitied Prouinces, for the which he hath done and doth all he can. D

*Ans.* He hath neuer vnder-taken to treat for the Estates: the which if hee had done, hee doth not thinke he should haue incurd the Kings indignation, for that hee would haue done it with assurances fitte for the Estates, as well for their Religion and Liberty, as for the honour and dignity of the house of Nassau, where-with the King could not iustly be offended: But he protests that he hath not done it.

*Acc.* He hath laboured in Germany to aduance the authority and credit of the house of Austria, with the Protestant Princes, and sought to ruine all his Maiesties intelligences, in speaking the worst he could.

*Ans.* He hath found so great a respect and affection in the Protestant Princes to the Emperour, as it was not needfull to dispose them by his mediation. As for the breach of his Maiesties intelligences there, he doth not aduow any, calling the said Princes to E witnesse, who will maintaine that they haue neuer heard him speake, but as was befitting a good Frenchman and a faithfull subiect to his Prince.

*Acc.* He hath hindered the Princes, namely the Count Pallatine from comming to visit his Maiestie at Metz, notwithstanding that they had giuen him some hope.

*Ans.* As for the letting or comming of the Princes, namely of the Elector whome the King attended at Metz, he assures that this expectation came not from Heidelberg, knowing this Prince to be so iust in his promises, and so constant in his resolutions, as if he had giuen the least assurance of his comming, hee would not haue failed for any thing: wherefore the said Duke is not to be charged to haue diuerted him from a thing F whereof he neuer thought.

*Acc.* They blame his proceedings, for his iustification to haue sought forraine Prin-ces, not onely for intercessours, but in a manner for Iudges: and the King is offended that the Cont Palatine hath written, or caused to be spoken, that he was wel acquainted with

A with his iustification and innocency: and in case there were any other accusation then those which hee had heard, hee did offer in a maner to iudge them. That hee would choose Iudges at his owne pleasure and incapable, considering that beeing Marshall of France and Duke, his true and naturall Iudges bee they of the Court of Parliament of Paris, as also the Court of Peeres.

*Ans.* As for the maner of Iustification, hee thinks he hath not erred, presenting himselfe before Iudges not chosen by him, but established by the King, by vertue of his Edict, which comprehends all them of the religion without exception of person or causes: his retreat vnto the Elector was, not to oppose a Rampar against the King, being well acquainted with the affection of this Prince to his maiesty, and the B crovne, but onely to shew herein his humility and obedience to the King, hauing heard that hee thought it fit hee should depart the realme to auoyde all suspect of Ielousie, hee could not choose a more fitting retreat, then to a Prince to whom he had the honor to bee allied, who hath so much respected his maiesty as hee hath al-ways suspended his iudgement in the Duke of Bouillons cause, and to this end hath sent his Ambassadors to Court, to learne the truth, hauing alwayes offered to fauour iustice more then alliance.

*Acc.* That hee doth not answere to the accusations which were made against him, but by reproaching the accusers and witnesses, the which is not receiucable in crimes of high Treason.

C *Ans.* That hee could not answere to his accusations but in generall tearmes, by reproching of his accusers, hauing neuer knowne the cheefe poyntes in perticular whereof hee was accused, to answere directly vnto them.

*Acc.* If hee were Innocent, why went hee away after that he had solemnely promised the King by his letters to come and iustifie himselfe, but at the same time hee did write to others letters of a contrary stile.

*Ans.* As for the causes of his departure and of his sayling to come vnto the King: Hee will one day make them appeare most iust, vnto them that do now blame him, hauing done it for good respects.

*Acc.* As also hauing confest something vnto his Maiesty, and demanded leaue to D write to his friends at Paris, to aduertise them that his Maiesty was satisfied, hee wrote to Monsieur De La Tremouille quite contrary.

*Ans.* Hee knowes not what it is that hee should haue confest vnto his Maiesty, and therefore cannot answere distinctly thereunto.

After these crimes had beene disperst and publicly spoken of to his dishonour, beeing also priuately aduertised thereof, hee wrote a letter of protestation to the King, to iustifie his Innocency in these tearmes.

Sir hauing more carefully examined the consequence of these horrible conspira-cies, whereof faulse imputation doth cause me so many true miseries, among the E which I may iustly hold for the greatest, and most insupportable, my debarring from your presence, and the interruption of the faithfull seruice which I owe vn-to your Maiesty: God in the end hath sent me this consolation by Mounseigneur De Montluc who hath informed me perticularly of that which the common brute of the world could not teach me but in generall termes and confusedly. I giue God thanks who hath by this speciall knowledge made me an easie way to satisfie your Maiesty more perticularly, hoping that hee will dispose the cares and heart of my King and maister to giue a fauorable beleefe vnto the true Iustification of his most humble seruant.

I vnderstand then from him, that I am accused to haue had intelligence with the Marshall of Biron. That I haue treated with him, or others, to receaue money from F the King of Spaine. That I was resolu'd to quite my religion. That I had attempt-ed to treat a peace betwixt the King of Spaine, and the Estates. That I was ac-quainted with a conspiracy against your Maiesty, the Queene, and my Lord the Daulphin, and that I made secret Leuiies of men without authority. To all these crimes

1604. "crimes and others which approach neere them: I say and protest that if enter, my A  
"thought, tongue, or hand, my heart or the least part of my body or affection, haue  
"beene infect. d or once toucht therewith, I will bee held for the most disloyall man  
"liuing, not onely vnworthy to tast of your Maiesties clemency, but also to see your  
"face, yea to tread vpon the ground which owes you obedience, as polluted by mee  
"in so many sortes, as all the blood in my body could not wash away nor cleanse the  
"spots of so foule an ingratitude vnto my King, my Maister, and sole benefactor next  
"vnder God. All the fauours which your Maiesty might impart vnto mee, would not  
"serue mee but as a freeing from punishment, which the most cauterized conscience  
"in the world would continually giue vnto such a monster of men.

"Againe I sweare and take the searcher of all hearts to witnesse that I am wholly B  
"innocent of the aboue mentioned crimes how small soeuer, beseeching your Ma-  
"iesty, in the name of God, the Protector of the Innocent, and the Father of truth,  
"rather to giue credi. to this iust and true oath made by your most faithfull subiect  
"and seruant, then to the slanders of those whose actions shew that they haue neither  
"God to feare, King to serue, nor lawes to keepe.

"In the meane time Sir, as I am as free from all these crimes as any one within your  
"realme, and haue no more need of the vse of your clemency then I do feare your  
"Iustice: yet I am neither so presumptuous, nor so ignorant of the infirmity of man  
"in generall, or of mine owne in particular, but that I do freely confesse that I may  
"haue offended your person in diuers sorts, as erring in the iudgement which your C  
"Maiesty might haue made of some action of mine: as to haue feared your presence,  
"and not to present my selfe vnto your iustice, before that I had a speciall approbati-  
"on from your owne mouth, thinking that I was sufficiently warranted so to do by  
"that which is comprehended in your Maiesties Edict.

"To haue vsed some speeches to the Earle of Saint Paul, which called your loue  
"in question in regard of the vse of some. To haue said that I would neuer see  
"your face but in a picture, words which were represented vnto your Maiesty in a  
"sence contrary to my intencion, hauing spoken them rather by way of complaint,  
"and prediction of the continuance of my miseries, by meanes of your displeasure, D  
"then for any desire or dessein of my wil, which cannot be so inconstant as to fly her  
"owne felicity. I vnderstand also that your Maiesty is offended for a letter which I  
"had writtten vnto the Churches touching *Renant*, your bounty hath so shined in the  
"obseruation of these Edicts as you cannot imagine that I should perswade your  
"subiects to retire themselves: my feare of the interruption of your Edict could not  
"make me to incense them: for the maintaining thereof your Maiesty hath beene  
"offended, I am very sorry, hauing had no intention to draw your Subiects to any o-  
"ther motions then the obedience which they owe you. I know and acknowledg  
"freely that these things haue displeased your Maiesty the more, for that I haue had  
"the honour to serue you priuately. I sorrow in my soule and am much grieved, most E  
"humbly beseeching you to pardon me, and to restore vnto me the honour and one-  
"ly happinesse of your fauour: resting satisfied with this long and serious repentance  
"which you haue imposed vpon mee, and attributing these faults to indiscretion or  
"rashnesse, or else to ouermuch confidence of your bounty, whereof I haue had so  
"great a tryall. Vouchsafe to receaue of me the seruice which my God, my birth,  
"my conscience, and especially your benefits binde me to yeld you, and to continue,  
"not with more fidelity (beeing able to adde nothing to this quality) but with more  
"Circumspection and care not to incense hereafter him of whom I desire to liue  
"and dye

The most humble, most obedient, and most faithfull  
Subiect and seruant,  
HENRY DE LA TOUR.

The Duke of Tremouille ended his fortune by death. Hee might haue dyed when as  
the King would haue lamented the losse of him more, for hee was not now well plea-  
sed

A sed with certaine words which had beene reported vnto him, and if hee had liued, hee 1604.  
would haue beene in paine to excuse himselfe of the commandement hee had made Death of the  
him to come vnto him to answer it: From hence springs two fruitfull considerations, Duke of Tre-  
the one, that there is nothing so fearefull and terrible as the threatens and disgrace of mouille.  
his King, the other, that it is alwayes dangerous to speake ill of his Prince. For the  
first, *Cassander* greatly feared *Alexander*, euen when hee was dead, for that hee had  
seene him once transpored with choller against him. And although that after the  
death of *Alexander* hee was aduanced to the throne of Macedon, yet walking in the  
city of Delphos, and hauing seene an Image of *Alexanders*, who was now rotten in  
his graue, he did so tremble as his haire stood right vp, his knees failed him, and the pale-  
nesse of his countenance shewed his amazement, by the terrible assault which his B  
memory gaue him: for the second, when a free speech hath once escaped against the re-  
spect of the Prince, he must haue a great and a strong city as *Lisander* said to defend his  
liberty of speech. They haue neither friends nor counsell against the King, and if their  
misery finds any shadow or protection, it is but like vnto *Jonas* gourd of one night. Let  
them not flatter themselves in the greatnesse of their houses nor their alliances, this  
quality doth but increase their offence. Princes are not so much moued with that which  
the common people do, as with the licentious words of great men. *Caius* disguised him-  
selfe into as many fashions as he imagined there were Gods. A Cobler seeing him set  
in his Pallace like *Iupiter*, with a scepter in one hand, a thunder-bolt in the other, and an  
Eagle by his side, burst out in a great laughter. *Caius* causing him to come neere, asked C  
him why he laught. I laugh at this foolery, answered the Cobler. The Emperour laught  
also, suffering it to passe freely without choller, yet punishing other speeches severely  
which came from persons better qualified.

To end this yeare, the King made a Declaration, containing a dispensation of the for-  
ty daies, granted by his Maiesty in fauour of all the officers of this realme, that desire to Ten deniers  
inioy the benefit thereof, paying euery yeare foure deniers vpon the Liuer, or two shil- make a penny.  
lings vpon the value of their offices, as shalbe set downe by his Maiesties counsell.

Vpon the demonstrations made vnto the King in his Council, by some of the chiefe Edict for pay-  
and most ancient officers of his seuerall courts of Parliament, and other companies of ing of the  
D this realme, that it would please him to set downe some order, for the demissions and Pauler,  
resignations of their offices: and also auoiding the losse of so notable a summe, as the  
value of their said offices, they may be no more constrained when they grow old, and  
by consequence are more capable to execute them worthily, to put them into the  
hands of yonger men & of lesse experience. His Maiesty hauing caused this to be pro-  
pounded in his counsell, and desiring to testifie his loue and fatherly affection to all his  
subiects and seruants, hath ordained in his said counsell, that here-after all the offices  
of this realme, aswell of Iustice, finances, as others of what quality soeuer, falling voide  
to his benefit, and being subiect to the rule of forty dayes, except those which shall be  
found comprehended in the contracts of ingagement, and concessions made in conse-  
E quence of those lands which haue bin heretofore alienated, aswell by his said Maiesty as  
by the Kings his predecessors, shal hereafter be dispensed with from the rigor of the said  
forty daies, which euery of the said officers should suruiue after the resignation made of  
his said office, accompting from the day & date of the quittance, for the mony paid in:  
to his casuall parties, euery one paying yearly (that desire to inioy the sayd grace and  
dispensation) foure deniers vpon the Liuer, of the value and estimation made of  
their sayd offices, according to the order which shall bee set downe by his Maiesties  
Counsell: That is for the next yeare, within the moneths of Ianuarie, and Fe-  
bruary, and for the following yeares in Ianuarie, and vntill the fifteenth of Febru-  
F ary, comprehending the sayd day, which beeing past they shall not be receiued,  
vpon payment of which money if they shall chance to dye during the said yeare,  
their offices shall not bee declared voide to his Maiesties profit, but shall bee kept  
for their behoofe to whome they haue resigned them, in regarde of the offices sub-  
iect to suppression: and for those which are not subiect, to their widowes and heires, who

1604

who may make their best profit thereof as they shall thinke good, as a thing belonging vnto them, paying only into his Maiesties casuall parties the eight denier by the said officers or their widowes and heires, for the resignation thereof, to be taken of the valuation which shall be made. All which officers which have thus purchased the said right, shall inioy the dispensation of the said forty dayes, during that yeare, shewing onely an acquittance for the payment made by them for the said right of dispensation, duly signed by Maister *Charles Paulet*, Secretary of the Kings Chamber, and Farmer vnto his Maiestie, aswell of the reuenues of the said right, as of his casuall parties, together with an acquittance of the eight denier paid by them. Vpon which acquittances, his Maiesties pleasure is, that all necessary letters of provision shall be granted, vnto the said officers, their widowes and heires, or others to whom they haue resigned, to inioy, the said offices fully and peaceably, with the same honours, authorities, prerogatiues, preheminences, freedomes, liberties, fees, rights, taxations, profits, and emoluments, which those officers which were last in possession did inioy, so as they bee found sufficient, capable, and pleasing to his Maiestie. And if any of the said officers shall negle& in any one yeare to pay the said right of foure deniers vpon the Liuer, they shall bee deprived for that yeare of the said grace and dispensation of forty dayes, to the which notwithstanding they may be restored the following yeares, paying the said rights yearly by the fifteenth day of February. And the more to gratifie and fauour the officers, which shall pay the said rights, his Maiesties pleasure is, that when as they shall come to resigne their offices, they shall not be bound to pay aboue the eight deniere of the iust value, instead of the fourth deniere, wherevnto resignations were accustomed to be taxed. And as for those which haue not paid the sayd right of foure deniers vpon the Liuer, they shall be bound at their resignations, to pay the fourth deniere of the iust valew of their said offices, as hath beene alwayes obserued. But for that there may be many fraudes committed by some, who abusing his Maiesties bountie and fauour, will not resolute to pay the said right of foure deniers, but when as they haue an intent to resigne their offices, that by this meanes they might be discharged in paying the eight deniere instead of a fourth: his Maiestie desiring to set some order therein, intends that this next yeare, all they that shall pay the said right of foure deniers vpon the Liuer, shall inioy, if they resigne within that yeare, the grace of the eight denier, but if in the following yeares they shall discontinue the payment of the said right of foure deniers vpon the Liuer, they shall be deprived of the said grace of the eight deniere, vntill they haue payd the right two yeares together, after the payment whereof, although they haue discontinued some yeares, yet may they inioy the sayd grace of the eight deniere, that yeare wherein they haue begun to pay the right of foure deniers vpon the Liuer, within the time prefixed.

And as for those that without paying the said right shall chance to dye, before the accomplishment of the forty dayes, the sayd offices shall remaine void to his Maiesties behoofe and profit, as it is now obserued: But to the end the sayd officers may be eased of their paine and charges, being forced to take the said right of dispensation from the sayd *Paulet*, his Maiestie doth allow him to establish one or more deputies, in euery generality of this realme, who by vertue of their quittances, may within the said time, receiue the mony due for the right of dispensation, from such officers as desire to haue the benefit thereof. And to preuent the abuses which are committed by concealments in many of the Prouinces of this realme, many offices which fall void by death to his Maiesties profit, whereof notwithstanding he is frustrate. His said Maiesty doth command all his Bayliffes, Seneshals, Lieutenants Generall, and all his other royall and ordinary Iudges, as also his Proctors, and their substitutes, to transport themselves, with the deputies of the said *Paulet*, at the first instance they shall make, into the houses of the said officers, thus dead and concealed, whereof they shall bee bound to make a certificate, the which they shall deliuer vnto the sayd Deputies, who shall send them vnto the sayd *Paulet*, to haue them put to the taxe, and for an exemplary punishment of the sayd concealment, his Maiesties pleasure is, that the rigour of the ordinances shall

1605.

shall be exactly obserued, against the widowes and heires which haue committed such faults, by all due courses, as for his owne proper money and affaires, notwithstanding all oppositions, or appellations whatsoeuer. And vnto the end that all officers may be informed of the grace and fauour granted them by this present Decree, his Maiesty doth expressly enioyne all the sayd Bayliffes, Seneshals, and their Lieutenants generally, Prouoosts and other his Royal and ordinary Iudges, euery one in his iurisdiction, to cause it to bee read and published in open court, whereof they shall be bound to deliuer certificates vnto the bearer hereof, enioyning them expressly, to haue a care to the enraynement of the sayd Decree, the which his Maiesty will haue inuolably obserued in euery point, according to the forme and tenure thereof, notwithstanding all oppositions, or appellations, whatsoeuer, whereof if any shall happen his Maiesty hath reserved the knowledge vnto himselfe: forbidding all his courts of Parliament, and other his Iudges whatsoeuer: made in the Kings councill of State held for the Finances. At Paris the seuenth of December 1604.

The King hauing receiued sundry complaints from his officers, and household seruants, of the breach of their liberties and priuiledges granted vnto them aswell by himselfe, as by his Predecessors, hee therevpon made a declaration of his intent and pleasure, after this manner.

Notwithstanding any letters patents, heretofore granted by vs, aswell in forme of an Edict as otherwise, for confirmation of the antient priuiledges, granted by Kings our predecessors of happy memory, to our household officers, and seruants, yet wee receiue daily complaints, of the infinite troubles and vexations, which they suffer in the enioying thereof, by the officers of Iustice, Maiors and Maistrats of our townes, where our sayd officers are abiding, who haue instantly required vs, to prouide some conuenient and necessary remedy. VVherefore desiring rather to augment, then to deminish, the fauours and priuiledges granted in former times, to those which haue had the honour to approach neere vnto the persons of our sayd predecessors, and to take away all difficulties, which doe arise to stay the execution of our will, to the end they may not bee of worse condition then those which haue gone before them, who were no more carefull of their charges then they are; For these causes and other good considerations vs mouing; of our speciall grace, full power and Royall Authority, and with the aduise of our councill, wee haue to our sayd household seruants, to them of the Queene our most deere spouse, our deere and wel beloued sonne the Dauphin, of our most deere and wel-beloued daughter, and those which haue heretofore serued the Kings our predecessors, the Queenes our most honoured Ladies mother-in-law, and sisters-in-lawes, our most deere brother-in-law the deceased Duke of Aniou and our most deere and onely sister the deceased Duchesse of Barre, which haue beene or shall bee hereafter inrowled in our court of Aides, and to their widowes during their widowhood, continued, confirmed and approoued, and by these presents (signed with our hand) continue, confirme and approoue the sayd priuiledges, freedomes, liberties, Immunities and exemptions, graunted vnto them by our sayd predecessors.

Wee will and our pleasure is that hereafter, without any other recourse then these presents, that all our sayd officers, and others aboue named, with their widowes during their widowhood, shall fully and peaceably enioy these sayd priuiledges, and shall bee free and exempt from all manner of contributions, both in generall and particular, borrowings made to bee made aswell for vs as the sayd townes: and in like manner for the prouision for victuals, and munition for warre, conduct money, and from all Taxes, Aydes and Impositions, Watches and Wardes of Townes, Ports, Bridges, Passages and Straites, furnishing and Contribution for Staples, and for lodging of Souldiers both of horse and foote: And generallie from all other subsidies, contributions, and subuentions, made or to bee made, for what cause soeuer, although they bee not here peticularly exprest; whereof wee doe free, acquit and exempt them, notwithstanding there be mention made in the commiffions

Priuiledges  
granted to the  
Kings household  
seruants.

1605.

ssions sent and to be sent, of exempt, and not exempt, priuiledged and not priuiledged, A and that they haue omitted to make expresse mention of the exemption, exception, and reseruatiō of our sayd officers and household seruants, with their widowes during their widowhood, meaning not that they should bee comprehended, but that they should peaceably and quietly enioy the sayd freedoms and liberties. Enioyning our faithfull Councillors, the Treasurers of France, Generals of our Finances, and our welbeloued Prouosts of Marchants, Sheriffes and Captaines of our city of Paris, and all Bayliffes, Scheneshals, Prouosts, Esleuz and Controulers for matters of subsidies, Mayors, Iurats, Capitous, Consuls, Sheriffes and Captaines of other townes of our Realme, Farmers of our Aydes, and other subsidies whatsoeuer: That in the enioying hereof they shall not trouble nor molest them, vpon paine of confiscation, with the charges, damage and interest. We do also expressly forbid, al Maiors, Sheriffes, Consuls and Comunalties of townes, Churchwardens, and Collectors of Parrishes, not to tax any of the sayd officers, hauing a good and sufficient certificate, which if they doe they themselues shal pay the sayd taxes. Wee also command our faithful counsellors holding our courts of Aides, Bayliffes, Scheneshals, Captaines, Esleuz & Controllers, of our Aides and taxes, and others to whom it shal belong, to keepe and obserue our present graces, gratifications, continuations, confirmations, approbations, freedoms and exemptions, and to publish and inrole it wheresoeuer it shalbe needfull, causing the sayd officers, and their widowes during their widowhood, to enioy them fully, peaceably, and perpetually, and to discharge them of the sayd impositions, aides and subsidies, causing all lets and troubles to the contrary to cease; for such is our pleasure. Notwithstanding al Edicts, Ordinances, Decrees, Orders, Commandments, Defences and Lettes to the contrary, to the which for this regard only, and without preiudice to other things, wee derogate by these present, and to the end it may bee firme and stable for euer, wee haue caused our seale to bee set vnto it.

Giuen at Fontainebleau in May 1605. The like exemptions and freedoms, were granted vnto the officers and household seruants of the Prince of Condé, and of the Duchesse of Angoulême, which did serue them actually and had their names inroled.

### A speech made by the Ambassadors of Germany to the King on the behalfe of the Duke of Bouillon.

Sir, the Electors, Princes, Common-weales and Earls most desirous of your prosperity, and of my Lord the Daulphins, whereon they thinke the whole state of your Realme depends, haue deputed vs vnto you to renew the vowes of this sincere and hereditary affection, which they protest alwaies to maintaine most carefully. The reason which now moues them to make this protestation, is, that some finding themselues bound by alliance, and others tide by the bond of cordiall friendship, to participate in the long and painfull suffering of the Duke of Bouillon, Marshall of France, who they know is much grieued, to see himselfe depriued of the fauour and honour which your Maiesty hath heretofore so bountifully bestowed on him: and breathing no other thing in his languishing, then the recovery of this felicity by your fauour. To obtaine the which hee doth continually call vpon God, and humble himselfe vnto your greatnesse. Our Masters ioyn their prayers with his, to the one and the other, that it will please him who holds the hearts of Kings in his hand, to mollifie yours, towards one of your most faithfull subiects and seruants, and to restore him to that which his misfortune and no crime committed hath made him loose. We beseech your Maiesty to beleue that they which haue sent vs cannot receiue a more worthy Testimony of the esteeme you make of their loue and affections, then by the fauourable reception of their request in this behalfe: and moreover it will bee an assured prooffe vnto them that the enemies of Religion haue laboured in vaine to bandy your desires, and designs against them that make profession thereof.

Behold

1605.

A Behold the third yeere which good men see him banished from your presence, fauor and Realme! This exile is not felt by him alone, wee know that the griefe extends to your most faithfull subiects of either Religion, who participate of his affliction: His house makes him allied to the greatest of your Realme, who will take the like part in the happinesse of his reconciliation as they doe now in his disgrace, and wee doubt not, but they would haue beene ready to second our Petition if they thought it would haue beene pleasing to your Maiesty, the which hath made our masters the more bould to vndertake it. It is an exact search which they haue made of the behaviour of the sayd Duke since he left your Realme, the which hath giuen them such knowledge of his integrity as they assure themselues that there will neuer bee sufficient prooffe to touch him in any fort.

We also assure our selues that the Testimonies of so many great Princes and common-weales, whose faithfull affection vnto your person and crowne hath beene so well knowne, being put in ballance against the doubts and ielousies of those who louing neither the person nor the Religion of the sayd Duke seeke to incense you, will easily ouerway them and preuaile, considering that any man of widome and discretion which shall take the paines to examine the crimes imposed vpon the sayd Duke, will finde them incredible, as well for their enormities, as for the contradictions: And it is no matter of light consideration in the mindes of our masters the oth made vnto your Maiesty by the sayd Dukes letters, deliuered into the hands of the Lord of Sillery by the Seignior of Montleer whereof they haue a copy, and which they thinke should be of greater weight then all the suggestions made to the contrary, if they bee not verified by proofes as cleere as the day. These reasons with the precedent declarations made by your Maiesty that you would pacifie your displeasure if some formalities were obserued by the sayd Duke: makes vs hope that you will yeeld to the intercession of our sayd masters, ordaining what shall bee necessary for the sayd Duke to doe, to attaine to his former dignity, whereby they shall receiue so great a contentment by the fruite of this Legation, as they would make no difficulty to interpose their Cautions betwixt your Maiesty and the sayd Duke if need were, to giue you full assurance of the fidelity which may proceed from the hand, tongue and heart of him whom God hath made your subiect, and is an officer of your crowne by your fauour, to imploy himselfe wholly to your Maiesties seruice, for your Royall prosperity and for the whole Realme: for which bounty and fauour our Masters will hold themselves for euer bound to ioyn their vowes and hands, to witness their deuotion as truly by effects as they haue now begunne to represent it by mouth vnto your Maiesty. To whose speech the King being somewhat discontented, made answer.

E That it was the third time the Elector had prest him vpon this subiect, but hee could giue him no other answer then the former. That it rested in the Duke of Bouillon to come, and confesse his faults and to demaund pardon, the which if hee had done hee would willingly haue receiued him with open armes as a father doth his children. That Bouillon had done him bad seruices, and did continue them still. That hee was accused, but hee desired that the accusations might not bee verified as they are; That their informations were not good, as Monsieur the Elector knew well, neither was it needfull to tell it vnto them. That hee was not bound to giue any account to them, their Masters, or to any others. That they should remember where they were, and in what estate he was.

F That Monsieur de Bouillon was his subiect, and that hee desired not that they should offer their Cautions for him, or that they should deale with his affaires, no more then hee would with any others.

To conclude if Monsieur de Bouillon desired restitution hee should come and submissiue craue pardon. That hee had giuen his promise by word vnto the

L1111 2

Elector



1605. *Electoꝛ Palatine*. That hee made no doubt of the continuance of their Masters affeſſion towards him, who hee confeſſed had aſſiſted him at his neede, and that they ſhould not repent them to haue done it, that hee for his part would alwaies remained their friend.

Pyramide of  
the Ieſuites  
ruined.

The Ieſuites doe cunningly make their profit of this goodly humour wherein they now ſaw the King vpon the termes of clemency. They had obtained their repeale as we haue ſayd at the voiage of Metz: but the Pyramide ſet vp for an eternall marke, of a moſt deteſtable Parricide, and a perpetuall memory of a iuſt publike reuenge, was a very troubleſome moate in their eyes, wherefore they would not returne into Paris vntill they had obtained a demolition. In the end it was granted them in the moneth B of May at the inſtant purſuite of father *Cotton*. Juſtice had cauſed to be built, and mercy to be ruined, a blow with a knife giuen vpon the face of our great King, had cauſed it to bee ſet in the moſt eminent place of the world. All men thought it ſhould haue ſtood after a thouſand Ages, but it ſcarce continued one age. Such is the certaintie of humane things: Thus the ſtrongeſt reſolutions are ſubiect to change: Thus coun- cells alter according to occurrents.

But wee muſt ſubiect our ſelues to the pleaſure of the Prince to whom his eſtate is generally bound to will what hee wills, and not to accuſe any one for this demolition, leaſt we ſhould accuſe his commandement, who hath onely right to ſay amongſt his ſubiects, *Such is our pleaſure*. But from ſecond cauſes let vs aſcend to the firſt and So- C ueraigne, who gouernes the hearts of Kings by himſelfe, and diſpoſeth them to receiue ſuch counſells as hee thinkes good. The eternall prouidence provides for accidents ac- cording to the neceſſity of the ſtate, and the continuall vigilancy of our *Henry* knows the motiues which preſſe him to the reſolutions which hee takes. It is not therefore lawfull for any to iudge of that with impaciency which they vnderſtand not. The King perſwades himſelfe that if the Ieſuites haue heretofore bene blemiſhed in their honours, the remembrance of his bounty and fauour will binde them the more hereafter.

Marquis of  
Vernueil ſet  
at liberty.

The like fauour hee alſo ſhewed vnto the Marquis of Vernueil, for ſhee hauing the ſpace of ſeuene whole monethes effected the intention of the decree giuen againſt her, D his Maieſty thought that his Proctor generall, had not only had time enough to bring new informations againſt her if there were any; but alſo that her actions and cari- age had giuen an ample Teſtimony of her innocency. Shee therefore beſought the King to giue her leaue to take her courſe in his Court of Parliament, and required that a breefe delay might bee giuen to the Proctor generall to furniſh her accusation, and to make his proofes: And that for want thereof he ſhould bee no more receiued, and the declared innocent of the crimes wherewith ſhe had bene charged.

Thus his Maieſty holding it not reaſonable that his clemency and accuſtomed boun- ty, ſhould ſuffer the Marquis to paſſe the remainder of her daies in the doubt- fulneſſe of ſuch an accusation, and that ſhee ſhould be expoſed to the perill of the ha- tred and ſlander of any one that ſhould haue will to any her: hee declared by his letters, giuen in September at Fontainebleau; that as ſhee had not forgotten her ſelfe in the particular affection wherewith he had honoured her: So had ſhee made prooſe of the obedience and fidelitty which ſhe did owe him, deſiring nothing more then to bee iuſtified of the fact for the which ſhee had bene called in queſtion: In like man- ner hee would not forget the affection hee had borne her, and the naturall children hee had by her. Wherefore he ordained that all purſuits and ſearches againſt her ſhould wholly ceaſe, and that from that time ſhee ſhould bee reſtored and liue in full libertie of her perſon, and goods, in the ſame manner as ſhee had bene before the beginning of the Proces. Hee did abſolliſh and ſuppreſſe for euer the memory of the crimes wherewith ſhee had bene charged, ſo as ſhee hath no feare hereafter to be called in queſtion by the iuſtice: And hee diſpenſed with her for not preſenting her ſelfe in perſon to cauſe theſe letters of Abolition to bee regiſtred in the Court of Par- liament, the which were verified there the ſixth day of September.

The

A The taking of the Count of Auvergne had ouerthrowne one of the ſtrongeſt pillars of this towre of confuſion, which threatned to aduance it ſelfe againſt France: but the whole building was not like to fall at this blow. For many wrought ſilently vpon the foundations which the Marſhall of Biron had laied in diuers Prouinces of Guienne, namely in Perigord, Quercy and Limoſin, and they ſprong vp alſo in Auvergne, where as the coales did yet ſmoake which the chiefe fire-brand of this combuſtion had lately kindled. Languedoc was not free. The Luquiſſes and others their Adhe- rents had diuers enterpriſes vpon the townes of Narbone, Agde, and Beziers; the which were diſcouered by a ſingular fauour wherewith the Soueraigne Protector of this Monarchie hath alwaies bleſt it, and the confederates rewarded according to their merits.

B There were already a thouſand or twelue hundred Gentlemen which had giuen their faith to declare themſelues vpon the firſt occaſion. The faction fortified daily; This Gangrene did hourly ſeize vpon ſome new member, and might in the end cor- rupt the whole body. The Seigneurs of *La force*, *Themines*, and others who comman- ded in thoſe quarters vnder the Kings Authority, had charge to croſſe the attempts of theſe mutines. *La force* hauing intelligence of an aſſembly which was made in Gaſco- ny whereas ſome of his owne allies did aſſiſt, preferring the publike intereſt and his Maieſties commandement, before all other reſpects, hee came ſodainly vpon them, C tooke foure or fiue, and diſperſed the reſt, ſome heere ſome there. *Themines* was as troubleſome vnto them in other places. *Belin* a captaine of Gaſcony, of the fac- tion of Guienne, a bold and reſolute man, promiſeth to kill him. But God would make him an inſtrument to diſcouer ſome part of this cabal, which was not yet well knowne. His courage failed him, beeing ready to doe the execution: And finding his deſeigne diuerted by ſome heavenly motion, hee came ſecretly to the court, where caſting himſelfe at his Maieſties feet, he demanded pardon, the which he obtained, and declared that the praſtice was great and common to many Prouinces, but as yet they had no other deſeigne, but to ſend ſome of their company vnto his Maieſty to make complaint of the peoples charge, and of the bad Juſtice which was adminiſtered by D his officers, and other things wherof they would demand reformation. Theſe were ordinary and goodly pretexts for ſuch as ſought to fiſh in a troubled water, and vnder the ſhew of publike good make themſelues far with the wretched pouerty of the people, alwaies more ſuſceptible of bad then of good impreſſions.

The Diſcoue-  
ry of praſtices  
within the  
Realme.

The King cauſed one thouſand and two hundred Frankes to bee giuen to *Belin*, hee commanded him to returne amongſt them, and to diſcouer particularly the Au- thors and their motiues. Hee returnes ſoone after, beeing gratified with a ſecond liberallitie for the ſecond voyage: He reported, amongſt other particuliarities, that aboute twentie of the conſpiratours were at Chappelle Biron with the Lord of the place; That ſending them a pardon they will giue ouer the enterpriſe, who might in- E forme his Maieſtie of more then hee, who could not perce into the depth of it. *The- mines* carries it them in forme, and doth ſummon them to returne to their obedience, from the which they had fallen to their owne ruines. They anſwere that the pardon muſt bee generall for them of Auvergne and for the reſt of Guienne: that moreouer hauing not attempted any thing againſt the Kings ſeruice, they did not thinke they had need of any pardon.

Sixteen  
thouſand ſtar-  
ling.

Notwithſtanding ſome companies of horſe and foote, ſent by his Maieſtie to quench theſe firſt flames of rebellion, and to aſſiſt a Chamber of enquiry appointed by the King at Limoges, conſiſting of the Parliaments of Paris and Bourdeaux, cauſed moſt of this troupe that was readie to reuolt, to come before the puniſh- ment, and not to grow obſtinate againſt force and ductie. Some offered to come and demand their pardons in perſon. And his Maieſtie knowing that great offences haue not alwaies great puniſhments, but in the moſt culpable he was contented that few ſhould ſuffer the puniſhments due to the raſhneſſe of many.

The Barons of Caluerac, of Quercy: the Seigneurs of Griſpel, Lymoſins, *Fenigoudon* and

Maine en-  
trepreneur, Gui-  
enne.

1605.

and *Chassain*, Perigourins, and capitaine *Mathelin* base brother to *Calucirac* lost their heads. *Chappelle Biron*, *Tayac*, *Gymerac*, *Bassignac*, *Lugagnac*, and *Reynac*, were executed in Picture, and some others imprisoned, did coole the courage of many hot braynes that were ready to reuolt, and restrained such as finding no worse houses then their owne, sought and tooke an occasion for a cause to better their priuate affaires by a publike reuolt.

The Prince of Orange reitorred to his principallty.

The Churches which carry the title of Reformed in France, were for their affaires assembled at Chasteleraud. *Maurice* Earle of Nassau, takes occasion to write vnto them in fauor of *Philip* Prince of Oranges his brother, and to complaine that many as well of the Nobility of the country as of the Inhabitants of Oranges, did seeke to hinder the restoring of his authoritie, which the liberty of the last troubles had expelled, although that he had often promised, and did now passe his word, neuer to alter any thing touching their safety, but to suffer them to enioy the like liberty that the other Churches of France did, and to deliuer the gouernment of the castle into the hands of a Gentleman, whose piety, zeale, valour, and integrity might not be called in question. *Blacons* a Gentleman of Daulphiné, held it by succession since the death of his father. Neither *Philip* nor *Maurice* had any occasion to leue him: for he had alwaies neglected their requests and reiected their commandements. The Prince had often complayned that hee couered his pollicy with the cloake of Religion, to vsurpe his goods and authority, and that hee had lately thought to preoccupate the Deputies of the sayd assembly, to giue them an impression of a sinister intent of their lawfull and naturall Lord against the Church of Oranges, contrary to the declarations and promises which he hath often giuen them.

Count *Maurice* doth now make himselfe caution for the assurance thereof: and in treats the Synode to assist his brother with all fauour for his restitution to the Inheritance of his Grandfathers, & to take for assurance the faith which hee gaue them by his letters; and which he promised to giue more expressly (if need were) to any one amongst them that they should choose to receiue it from his mouth. That by the dismission of *Blacons*, and the change of the Gouernment which he called tiranous, into one that should bee lawfull and well ordered, there should bee nothing altered nor diminished concerning the safety of the Church of Oranges, nor any prejudice done to the Kings seruice, who had long desired that the Prince of Orange should be put in full possession of his principallty. Thus the Prince countenanced by his Maiesties expresse commandement, together with the Testimony which the Earle gaue them, touching the intention of his elder brother, recovered that which hee had long sused for, and afterwards hee married *Elenor* of Bourbon, sister to *Henry* of Bourbon, Prince of Condé first Prince of the bloud, and first Peere of France, a faire and vertuous Ladie.

The death of Theodore Beza.

They of Geneua doe now weepe for the death of the first and most ancient pastor of their Church. They loued *Theodore Beza* liuing, and they lament him dead: for God had adorned him with graces which may make a man amiable, profitable and recommendable amongst men. He was borne the foure and twentieth day of Iune in the yeere of our Lord 1519. at Vezelay in Bourgundy, his father and mother being Noble, hee was bred vp by *Nicholas de Beza* his vnclé, a counsellor of the court of Parliament at Paris vnder the discipline of *Melchior Polmar* a Germaine, professor of the Greeke tongue in the Vniuersity of Orleans, and afterwards at Bourges. Vnder whom hee profited so well in seuen yeeres, as at fiftene hee not onely gaue a good and sufficient reason of the Doctrine contained in the most famous authors of Greeke and Latine, but also did answere pertinently in all humane and liberall Sciences. Hee had a naturall inclination to Poetrie, and being very young, did publish some licentious Epigrams, whereof hee sought to deface the memory, as of the first flowers of his Spring.

At the age of twenty yeeres, hee was made Licentiate of the ciuill Lawe, and was furnished with good reuenues in benefices, but hee left all, to retire himselfe where

1605.

A where that he might liue according to the Religion, which did then multiply in Christendome vnder the name of the Reformed. He serued the Seignurie of Bearne for the space of ten yeeres, as professor of the Greeke tongue in their Vniuersity of Lauzanne; and that of Geneua, in quality of Minister and Professor in Diuinity, from the yeare 1560, vnto the 13. of Ianuary 1600. On which day he expounded for his last Sermon, the third Petition of the Lords prayer, *Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heauen*, in the eightieth yeare of his age. For he would not suffer his decrepit age to liue in idlenesse, as long as he should haue any strength to labour in his vocation. Hee concluded the rest of his course with a firme iudgement, a sound vnderstanding, and a memorie not altogether decayed, in prayers, meditations, and serious discourses: giuing alwayes graue and solide reasons of that which was propounded vnto him, either in matters of Diuinitie, or in Politicke affaires: saying howerly with Saint *Augustine*, *I haue liued long, and sinned long: Blessed be the name of the Lord. And, Lord finish that which thou hast begunne, that I suffer not shipwracke in the port.* And thus repeating many other Oracles, drawne out of the Authoritie of the holy Scripture, vntill that the Eclipse of the Sun, which was in October, had some-what increased his infirmities, yet without paine. His Colleagues thought it fit, that at least two of their company should alwayes bee about him, to assist him with their faithfull exhortations, and recommend him to the grace of God. Thus attending the last will and pleasure of God, the 23. of October, hauing caused himselfe to be taken vp about seuen of the clocke in the morning, hee made his accustomed prayers in his family, and walked a little vp and downe his chamber, then as it were feeling the time come wherein he must end the trauels of this life, he demanded if all were well in the towne, being answered, yea, he caused himselfe to be layd in his bed, whereas his senses did suddenly fayle him in the midst of a prayer made by *Perrot* a Parisien, one of his Colleagues and neighbours, hee yeelded his soule happily vnto God, without pangs, without convulsion, and without sighes, hauing liued four-score and sixe yeeres, three moneths, and nineteene dayes. A man of a reuerent aspect, of a sound iudgement, and happie memorie, learned amongst the most learned, alwayes readie to resolute suddenly vpon all questions propounded, practised in any thing that did concerne the Church and Gouernment; capable of all abstruse matters, wonderfull eloquent, high in conceptions, quicke in his deliuerie, and graue in his carriage and discourse, but of an affable, sweet, and most pleasing conuersation.

*Comets for the most part are prodigious*, sayd an ancient Poet. Their Decrees are Martiall and Mercuriall, that is to say, violent, cruell, fatall, mortall, vncertaine, diuers, mutable and warlike. All that followes, threatens nothing but stormes and tempests. The beginning of this yeare hath giuen vs one, the which shewed it selfe, the third of October the yeare before, in the seuenteenth degree of *Sagittarius*, *Iupiter* holding the nineteenth, *Saturne* the cleuenth, and *Mars* the two and twentieth degree of the same Signe. At which time there was scene in Hungary, a Rain-bow as red as bloud, which staid at diuers times vpon Cocker, vpon Strigonia, and vpon Mount Saint *Thomas*, and then vanished away. This bearded Starre was neere in greatnesse and likenesse to that which was obserued in the yeare 1572. whereof France, England, the Netherlands, Spaine, Portugall, Hongary, and in a manner all Europe in generall, haue felt but two mournfull effects. Many vnfortunate constellations which meet together, make the Astrologians foresee that it shall produce in that yeare and the following, great and diuers euents, which are so many Trumpets to summon vs to reforme the peruerse actions of our liues, so many warnings of the wrath of God, vpon those Nations which cannot vse those graces well which he giues them in his peace: yet his diuine Prouidence hath alwayes a watchfull eye, to guard those Princes whose Raignes he blesteth.

That seditious mutinie in Guienne, that fearefull and prodigious powder-Treason in England, the violence whereof he hath so miraculously diuerted, are sufficient Lessons for them whom he lately threatened. Behold now another, which teacheth vs, as at many other times, that the blowes of a secret enemy are hard to auoyd, and that they must

1605.

must equally esteeme the conscience and friendship of those that shall breake it, at the first advantage which treason or infidelitie shall open vnto them, without consulting with their consciences, whether it bee lawfull to put the syckle into anothers mans corne, to reape the fruites which they haue not sowne; and whether with their honors they might treat with the subiects of another Prince to the preiudice of the publicke peace, and the faith sworne in the name of God. Doubtles such practises are more dangerous then the force of an open enemy.

Ambassadors are sacred persons, and must be so held and intreated: but it followes not that their priuiledges are not restrayned within certayne bounds and limits, the which they may not infringe without forcing the law of Nations, they are not to bee blamed if they be carefull to aduertise their Masters of all occurrents. The very duty of their charge, the loue and seruice of their master, and charity to their country doth excuse them, when they bind those vnto them which may fit them with intelligences. But cursed bee those subiects whom couetousnesse and ambition transport to practises of Rebellion and Trecherie.

Conspiracy of Mairargues.

Don Balthazar of Suniga, Ambassador of Spaine, will not haue the King his master think him lesse industrious then his predecessor, to win those vnto him that would open their eares and hearts to the inticement of Strangers. John Taxis hath conferrd all he could with the D. of Sauoy, and the Erle of Fuentes, in corrupting many of the best qualified within the Realme, and others of meaner sort, as the course of the Historie hath obserued. Suniga hath imitated them but too much since his comming into the Realm: as the Treaty of Entragues, and the last of the Erle of Auvergne do witness. They haue reaped nothing but shame and confusion, as bad counsell is alwaies worst to him that giues it. He is now suspected to haue raised a Leuaine of the same Dow, whereof he shall eate the cake with bitternesse.

Mairargues a Gentleman of Prouence, was deputed vnto the King by the States of the countie. But he was not long at Court before he made it appeare that they had giuen the purso to the veryest theefe. Some yeares before hee had propounded vnto his Maiesty to haue two gallies armed, for the defence of the port of Marseilles, and the coasts thereabouts: one of the slaues in these gallies; a man of spirit and cunning, giues him inuentions to play the Pirate, with great profit and small shew, and hee puts them in practise with happy successe. Thus Mairargues finds him to be an aduise vnder taker, and thinks him fit for some greater enterprise. He therefore vnfolde vnto him the web which he was weauing with the ministers of Spaine; to deliuer the towne of Marseilles to K. Philip: a matter (sayd he) which would not be hard to effect, seeing that by meanes of his gallies, hee was master of the port: besides to make his desseigne the more easy, he had by his practises gotten a promise to be chosen Viguier of the towne for the next yeare, by which office hauing all power at Marseilles, with the keyes of the ports and forts in his hand, he shall hold the towne at his deuotion. The Galerien makes himselfe capable to vnderstand all the Quintessence of this Caballe, and of the meanes which the author pretended to follow for the execution. Being well instructed in euery point, he lets the D. of Guise vnderstand, that if it please him to mediate his pardon and liberty, he will discouer a matter vnto the King which imports his Estate, and addes withall, that he will desire no liberty if it be not found true. The Duke giueth aduise vnto the K. and the King commands him not to neglect any thing; that he should learne all that might be knowne: for in matters of that consequence, he must seeke all meanes, and set all stones to worke. So the King is aduertised that Mairargues drawes from the King of Spaine the pay for the whole entertainment of his Maiesties gallies, and that euery yeare he puts the Kings pay into his coffers, besides the pension which hee hath from the Spaniard, of whom he is (as it were) Admirall in the King his masters vessels. That he hath so aduanced his traffick, as he was within a short time to make the K. of Spaine master of Marseilles. At the same time Mairargues came to Court: the King causeth him to be secretly knowne to La Varenne Gouvernor of Angers, who vnder color of this familiarity, obserues him, and sets such watches ouer him, as the ordinary going and

comming

Discouered by a Galerien

1605.

A comming of a Flemming named Bruneau Secretarie to the Ambassador of Spaine into Mairargues lodging, made them iudge that they hatched an egge, which would bring forth a bad Rauens. In surprizing them they might by the same meanes surprise the papers and instructions of their negotiations. La Varenne and de Fontis Lieutenant to the great Prouost, had the charge from the King. They do it so discreetly, as the fifth of December, being aduertised that the Secretarie was entred into Mairargues lodging, at the Signe of the Pantofle in the cloyster of S. Germaine of Auxerois, they go and enquire to speake with him about nine of the clocke at night: but vpon his seruants answer, that they could not speake with him, being busie with one in his cabinet touching some affaires, they caused one of the Archers to intertayne his man with a tale, and in the meane time go vp to his chamber, whereas they heare at his Study dore a part of their discourse. Comming out of the Study, de Fontis layd hold vpon Mairargues, who euen then pronounced his owne condemnation. I am a dead man (sayd he,) but if the King will giue me my life, I will discouer great matters vnto him. The Secretarie would haue drawne his sword, but they put him presently into safe keeping. The President Iuin being appointed, which Sillery Keeper of the great Seale, to examine them, in the presence of Lomenie Secretarie of State, they discovered that they should soone put in execution, that which they had long before projected. The Secretary was caried prisoner to the Chasteler, and Mairargues to the Bastile. The papers which were found aswell in Mairargues chamber and study, as about the Secretarie being hidden vnder his garters betwixt two stockings, did sufficiently prooue the fact.

Mairargues taken with this Span. Ambassador's Secretary.

Notwithstanding his Maiesty according to his custome tempering the seueritie of his iustice, with the mildnesse of his clemencie, knowing, that Mairargues was allyed to the Duke of Montpensier, and to the Cardinall of Loysse, by reason of his wife, he sent them word, that in respect of them, and for their sakes, he gaue Mairargues his life, but he should remaine in perpetuall prison. Their answer merits to be registred in our Historie, being generous and like true French-men: to serue for a lesson to posteritie, that the Princes seruice, and the loue of our countie, is to be preferred before all respect of friendship, allyance, or kindred. They most humbly thanke the King, and beseech his Maiesty not to breake the course of Iustice in fauour of them; That they should be alwaies glad, that France should be freed from such troubles: That trecherie is so hatefull vnto them, as they themselues would be the executioners, if there were not any other to be found. So the Procresse being already instructed in the Councell, and by the great Prouost, it was sent to the Court of Parliament to be finished according to the accustomed forme. The Ambassador hearing of the detention of his Secretary and of the cause thereof, he demands audience: where he complains, that by his Maiesties committment, his Secretary was committed to prison: he cries out with great vehemency, that it was to violate the priuiledges of Ambassadors, & to do him great wrong by imprisoning him, a greater in detayning him, but most of all in examining him. That he had not practised Mairargues; but contrariwise Mairargues had very importunately sought him. That neither the Ambassador nor the Secretarie of a forraigne Prince, are bound to refuse the Kings subiects to haue access vnto their house; nor to forbear to heare such as would make propositions and offers vnto them, for their masters seruice. That they are bound to aduertise him of such offers, and are not tyed to reuale to the King of France the bad seruices of his subiects. That there is not any good seruant nor minister of the King of Spaine, which doth not wish and procure by all his inducements, the increase of his greatnesse, yea of the absolute Monarchy of the whole world if it might be. That the King of Spaine their master, hath not made so great brui of an enterprise made by the French in Granado, vpon some places of importance. He doth not storme at their ordinary practises in Nauarre, Biscay, in Flanders, and other places of the Arch-dukes country, nor the succors of men, mony, artillery and munition, which the King doth visibly giue, vnto his masters rebellious subiects. That the King of Spaine was little moued, to heare that the K. reioyced too openly, at the good successe of Cont Maurice and the Estates, and was grieved at their losses. That the world will

The complaint of the Ambassador.

witness

1605.

witnesse with the Catholike King, that he doth patiently beare the bad offices which A are done him daily by the Kings subiects, to the preiudice of the peace sworne betwixt France and Spaine. That *La Boderie* beeing with the Arch-dukes for the Kings seruice, had sought to practise the Earles of Vanden-bergh, and a Secretarie of the Arch-dukes, yea by the inductions of his Maiesties chiefe Councillors and Secretaries. And yet neither the King of Spayne nor the Arch-dukes, did euer make any complaint or demanda iustice. To conclude, that hee neuer made any motion to *Mairargues*, but to haue him to go into Flanders. That his Maiestie should be better pleased to haue them fauour that partie, rather then that of the Enemies of the Catholike Religion. And that if his Secretarie were not deliuered, he protested of violence done to the li- bertie and safetie of his charge, which is the greatest offence that may bee done to the King his master in his person.

But he that will haue credit giuen to his words, must beware, that his writings do not contradict them. The instructions lately surprized sing another note of a contrary tenor. And who knowes not that the King of Spaine, since the peace of Veruins hath openly supported the Duke of Savoy his brother-in-law, against the King, to maintaine him in the possession of those places which he had vsurped of this Crowne? how much doth the Fort built by the Earle of Fuentes import his Maiestie, not onely for that it doth annoy his Allies, but also for that it doth hinder the passage and intercourse of the French into Italy? What be the ordinarie practises both open and secret of the Ministers of Spaine, to distract the Swisses and Grisons from the Kings friendship? The onely trecherie of *Loſte*, who discovered all the secrets of the Councell, hath hee not done more wrong to his Maiesties seruice, then all that which the Spaniard can pretend against vs? The defection of the Marshall of Biron corrupted by the presents and hopes of strangers, is it not a sufficient prooffe of the small esteeme, which King *Philip* makes of the oath which hee had sworne to obserue the peace? A stranger to be found treating at an vndue hower, with a trecherous subiect, against the publike Faith, against the dutie of an Ambassadour and Minister to a King, who makes profession of friendship with ours, to cause him to loose one of the most important Townes of his Realme: and shall there be no lawe to assure himselfe of his person, nor to cause him to be examined, to discover the truth, and vncloude the face of Dissimulation in a matter of such consequence? The priuiledges of an Ambassadour are not so general, but they are restrayned, not to seeke by sinister meanes to suborne the Subjects of a Prince, neare vnto whom hee doth reside: and vnder colour of Peace and Friendship, to practise against his Estate. Notwithstanding, the King assures him by the vertue of his royall word and promise, there shall bee no wrong done vnto his Secretary: hee is too great a friend and fauourite to iustice and Equitie, to violate the Rights of an Ambassadors charge.

Finally, as the ministers of Spaine haue giuen the King great occasion, to hope for little friendship from them, since the peace of Veruins, hauing either begonne E or nourished so many fatall Desseignes to the prejudice of this Estate, and the publike tranquillitie, as the truth of the Historie doth teach vs: so future ages will not find it strange, if hee hath desired that they should not subdue them, whom they tearme their Rebels. In this consideration, his Maiestie hath beene more ready and willing to restore them the money, wherewith they had supplied his wants during the warres. Hee hath not in truth made shew to desire their ruine and destruction: yet hath hee not assisted them with artillerie nor munition, as the Ambassadour pretends. Many of his subiects bredde vp in martiall Discipline, go to seeke their fortunes in Hungarie with the Arch-dukes, and with the Estates, neither is it in his Maiesties power to make them change their inclinations, to serue the one rather then the other. The warre of the Low-countries hath not Religion for the object. It is a meere warre of State, couered with a goodly and plausible pretext to giue the greater lustre to the cause of the assaiant. This maske cannot serue him any longer, to disguise the truth of his conceptions. And if there were any question made to fight for the Catholike Religion,

1605.

A Religion, France would neuer attend to haue a summons from Spaine: she would al- wayes display her Ensignes first in field, as she hath euer done in former ages. As for the Conspiracies pretended by *Suniga*, against the Estates of King *Philip* and the Arch-dukes: it is well knowne, that some broken by the Racke, and excesse of torments, others terrified with the horror of threats, and some wonne by the promises of recompence, haue babbled something. But what likelihood is there, that a people which knowes not how to pardon, would haue sent backe so many prisoners, if they could haue conuicted them of any crime? The King denies not but he hath sometimes suffered his seruants to make such propositions of themselves, to haue wherewithall A need to crosse the ambushes and bad offices of the King of Spaines ministers. Yet it can neuer be verified, that his Maiesty hath commanded them to proceed, nor that he hath caused his Ambassadors to make Treaties to the preiudice of the Princes, where his Maiestie doth enterraine them, as the Ambassadors of Spaine haue often done, and now lately with *Mairargues* the prisoner. The question is not now of going to serue in B Flanders; and if there were no other crime, is it not capitall in a subiect which goes to serue a forraine Prince without the liberty of his Soueraigne? The Arch-dukes Agent had likewise engaged *Terrail* and many others, without any respect that he was a household seruant to the King, and particularly bound to the company of my Lord the Dauphin. The Gouvernor of Perpignan hath done the like with the Luquisses and their C companions, to deliuer many places in Languedoc, to the Spaniard. As for *Boderies* treating with the Earles of Vandenberg his Maiestie is ignorant thereof: vnlesse he did happily let them vnderstand how much he did esteeme their valour and generositie: Neither are they held to be borne subiects to the Arch-dukes, but Germanes. *La Boderie* did feele the Secretaries pulse, that it was with his priuie; but with no other des- seigne, but to learne newes by his meanes, the which is not reprochfull in Ambassa- dors, who seeke to serue their masters well in like cases. His Maiestie doth excuse the Castilians for the corruption of *Loſte*, to whom he knowes they adrest themselves to the like end. But when these Treaties passe vnto practises, such as they haue pursued with *Mairargues*, the Luquisses, and others named in the Historie, at diuers times, who D had no other end, but to ouerthrow the Realme vpon his Maiesties head, and to ruine it quite. An open warre would be more honorable for Princes, and more profitable for their Estates, then to nourish vnder the ashes of a fained friendship, fuming fire- brands to kindle a horrible combustion vpon the first occasion in their Estates, who thinke themselves assured vnder the shadow of publike tranquillitie.

The Ambassadors words had mooued the King beyond his owne nature. But be- hold he is now stung to the quicke by the Castilians reply. The King of England (sayd he) in that which concerns the estate of the Netherlands, doth better obserue the peace and friendship which hee hath promised vs, although hee be of a contrary Religion. Some man thinks to reuenge a shame, which doth increase it. All comparisons are E odious: and this doth not serue his turne that did alledge it. His Maiestie did ruer this nayle with such quicknesse and vivacitie, as he would gladly haue recalled his words: For (sayd the King) the King of England hath begun betimes to know what trust may be expected from the Ministers of Spaine. I thinke all o that hereafter I shall haue the like occasion to commend them. Notwithstanding, as I am content to entertain peace and good correspondencie with your master if he giue me occasion: So I shall alwaies be readie to encounter him that shall inuite me. I will cause my selfe to be informed of the grounds and truth of those things wherewith your Secretary is charged, and will afterwards cause you to be aduertised thereof, to know if you will aduow them or not, and according to your answer, aduise what I haue to do. Thus the Ambassador retired, discontent on the one side, that he could not returne home with his Secretary, but on the other, beeing forced to admire his Maiesties courage and wisdom, who doth not any thing in matters of consequence, but with wise counsell and mature delibera- tion. Great men do easily preferre the aduantage of an apparent profite before the breach of Faith.



1605.

Mairargues  
beheaded.12000. Livres  
is 1200.  
pounds star-  
ling.

Our *Henry* doth gouerne himselfe after another manner. He knowes that Faith must A be inuolably kept euen with enemies, seeing it is the ground and foundation of humane societie. This *Bruneau* convicted of crime, he could not bee honestly aduowed by his Master, and to disauow him were to deliuer him into the hands of the Kings Iustice. But he is so moderate and temperate a Prince, as he can quit part of his Right to them, that he could bring into a tragicke Theater, to play a part there fit for so audacious an enterprise. *Mairargues* alone suffered the punishment of his offence, being condemned the nineteenth of December. The same day he lost his head at the Greue, and his body was quartered, the which were hung vpon the entry of the chiefe portes of the Citty. His head was carried to *Marfeilles*, and set vpon a Lance ouer the chiefe Port of the Towne. His goods were confiscate to the King, reseruing 12000. Livres to the poore, 12000. to the reparation of the pallace, and 12000. for the Ports and Ha- B uens of *Marfeilles*. Yet his Maiestie disposed a great part of this confiscation in fauour of the widow. Great summes, which shew that the trecherie of this Gentleman, is so much the more detestable, for that hee had good reuenues, and was well allyed: and that the holy Scripture doth name Couetousnesse the roote of all euill, ioyned with Ambition and Trecherie, pernicious Councillors of State, verifying the Oracle: *That man hath no miseries but what he procureth by his owne vice.*

He might haue ended his dayes as gloriously vpon the theater of vertue, as he died shamefully vpon an ignominious scaffold. Active spirits which cannot containe them- C selues in the calme of peace, find wherewith to make their courage famous, if any generositie animates them to actions which the spurre of Honor excites in the noblest resolutions. The example of *Guy Earle of Lauall* inuited him to this tryall. Age and Force had scarce brought this Nobleman to this commendable ambition, to learn the art of those whom Nature had bredder of that qualitie to runne this Fortune. But behold, he goes to seeke some schoole of *Mars*, to be as well instructed in the schoole of Honor, as he had bene in the differences of Religion, against the precepts of his birth and first institution. He obtained leaue of the King, and parted from Paris the nine and twentieth of August, being followed by fifteene or sixteene Gentlemen, with a trayne fit for his quality; vnder the conduct of *Marrolles*, a Gentleman of *Sologne*, being fa- D mous for that he had slaine in single combat with a Lance *Lisle Marivaault*, displaying to follow the deceased King his good master: the King had lately made choice of him, to temper the violent heate of this young apprentice, and to keepe him from running into danger vnadvisedly. He was honoured by the Duke of Lorraine at Nancy: from thence he tooke his way by *Strausbourg*, *Stuckart*, *Vlme*, *Newbourg*, *Ingolstadt*, *Ratisbone*, and *Vienne*. He saluted the Arch-duke *Mathias* in a country-house, (whether as the bruite was the Plague had drawne him) who seemed to adde something extraor- dinary in the honors he did him, it may be by reason of the house of Arragon, where- vnto that of *Lavall* is allyed. The thirteenth of October he came vnto the Imperiall armie, which camped about Comorth, to weake to rayse the siege of *Strigonia*, E which the Turke did presse: to the Noblemen of the armie, and especially *George Bass* Lieutenant generall of the Emperour, receiued him with all the honour and demon- strations of loue they could.

*Strigonia* being yeilded by the trechery of the *Germanes*; the Turkes disbanding, by troups gaue him occasion, to make prooffe of the affection which he bare vnto this holy warre, in many encounters, skirmishes, alarmes, taking of places, and other *Stratagemes*, whereas men of honour shew their resolutions. The five and twentieth of Nouember gaue him a fauourable oportunitie, wherein he did shew himselfe the true sonne of his father, who with the greatnesse of his courage surmounted the smalnesse of his bodie: and Grand-child to a Grand-father, who in the flower of his age, had purchased the title of *Knight without feare*. Fourteene or fifteene thousand horse charged F a Regiment of *Reistres*, which made the retraite; when as the French & *Wallons* with the whole army following stayd their fury, & made them to recouer the top of a moun- taine: yet often turning head, and witnessing that Feare had not put wings to their feet. In

1605

A In this retreat the Earle of Lauall was noted to haue done as much as any noble spi- rit encouraged by the sight of an enemy might doe, alwayes the last with his fol- lowers in the reetre-ward, and the first to make head, if the enemy did offer to charge.

But hee had scarce made the first flames of his heate to shine, when as behold the third of December quencht him in an instant, when as they began to promise more glittering beames. The Turke came to charge the fore-warde in the morning: at this alarm hee armes, but so hastily as hee gaue his people no leasure to make fast the garter which should tye his tassets at the knee. Hee leapes into the saddle, and runnes with his traine into the hottest of the fight. The ioy hee had to bee in so good an in- counter, making him to loofe all apprehension of danger. His Armes beeing guile, B made the enemy to note him for a man of quality. They discharge a shewer of arrowes, and shotte vpon him: one pierceth the neather plate of his tassets hanging loose, and so past through his thigh into his body. *Le Frainsay* Lieutenant Collonell to Cont *Rhingraff*, who ledde the French and *Wallons*, and Captaine *Bourg-le-Roye*, who commanded a company in this regiment, are commended for that they desired to succour him beeing thus charged, if the marshall of the campe had not forbidden them to breake their ranks, vpon paine of death.

The enemy some-time chasing, some-time chased, desired nothing more then to retire, seeing all the Christian armie to aduance: when as the Earle of Lauall breaching more courage then life, returned to the charge, and pursued them a good league, vnto a riuers side, whereas there were one thousand and five hundred slaine and drowned, and nine Cornets, with many good horses taken. The riuer, and the great- nesse of his wound stayed him sodainely: hee began to stagger. They layde him vpon the bare ground, and finding him selfe to growe faint, hee called for a little Wine, the which hee had no sooner taken, but lifting his eyes, and hands to heaven, hee ended the trauels of this miserable life, to exchange it with the rest of the most blessed. Happy to haue dyed in the bedde of honour, in a iust and holy quarrell, which many of his ancestors haue sealed with the same seale; and most happy to haue left that commendable memory to posterity, neuer to haue giuen any man subiect D to complaine of him. His body was honourably conducted to *Vienne*: his follow- ers did not forget any thing, to let those nations know, in what ranke they held their Maister. His bowells were solemnly interred in the most honourable place of the quire in the *Franciscans Church*, iust by the *Queene of Frances tombe*. The body was conuayed with honour and respect into France, and doth now rest at *Lauall* attending the coming of the *Soueraigne Iudge*.

If there bee an arme to roote out the wicked, there is another to maintaine the good. Three yeares of imprisonment in the *Bastille* (as wee haue shewed) haue giuen his Maiestie leasure to know, that there was nothing in the actions of *Mom- barot*, contrary to the fidelity which hee hath heere-to-fore sealed by many worthy actes, in occasions which had bene offered for the establishment of his royall author- E ity. His onely sonne had many times cast him selfe at the Kings feete; beseeching him, that seeing his fathers enemies could not conuict him of any crime, it will please his Maiesty to giue him that liberty, which slander, the cruellest torment which a generous minde could feare, had taken from him: Or to suffer him that by by his com- pany hee might comfort him in his misery, by the seruice which nature bindes the sonne to doe vnto the father.

The King moued with the pittie of the sonne, and the innocencie of the father, verified by so long a tryall: Hee presently dischargeth *Mombarot* in the moneth of December, from all subiect of his detention, disanulling all pursuities, all decrees and iudgements giuen vpon this subiect, so as hee might neuer bee molested, nor F it prejudice his reputation, no more then that which had bene done by him heere- tofore within his gouernment, during the troubles past, for his Maiesties affaires,

M m m m.

the

Death of the  
Earle of LauallMombart set  
at liberty, and  
declared in-  
nocent.

1605. the which ate heretofore allowed by other Letters pattents. And more-ouer hee did A  
 restore him to his full liberty, and to the possession of all his goods with-out further  
 trouble. But not to his gouernment, wherevnto (to auoide ieaiousie, and to entertaine  
 concord among his officers) hee had aduanced the Siegneur of Bethunes lately his  
 Ambassador at Rome.

Thus the King hauing disperst the clowds which threatned France with a  
*Chaos* of diuerse confusions in generall, and taken away the subiect of great parci-  
 alities for the gouernment of the towne of Rennes, there is nothing now that doth af-  
 flict his spirit but the affaires of Sedan; beeing resolute to bring him to that estate as  
 his Maiestie should not need to haue any feare hereafter on that side, no more then on  
 the other, whereas he hath lately quencht the first flames which might haue caused a B  
 dangerous fire within the realme.

The King prepares with all the speed hee may, for the siege of Sedan; whilest the  
 people of Paris view the rich beautifyings and new decorations of their capitall city.  
 It hath the last obligation to maister *Francis Myron* councillor of state to the King,  
 Lieutenant ciuill in the Preuostie of Paris, and heretofore Prouost of Marchants. Digi-  
 nities where-with the noblest families of the Citty thinke themselues honored, as with  
 the first publike Magistracie of the first city of the world; Paris doth now glory to see  
 her towne-house beautified with a pleasing fore-front, and other goodly buildings. To  
 see her publike commodities increased, with a stately Port at the Tournelle, and that of  
 the temple repaired, which the miseries of former ages had kept shut aboue forty years. C  
 To see before the gate of the sacred temple of roial iustice, a goodly Fountain spring-  
 vp, which doth wath that foule and detestable fury lately marked by a Piramide, for a  
 monument which they presumed should haue bene eternall. To see the corners of  
 the streetes watered with many other Fountaines, which will for euer refresh the me-  
 mory of their restorer. Many streetes opened, and paved to voyde the filth and  
 corrupt waters. Many bridges of Stone made. Many Portes built a new, and paved  
 for the common ease: and many waterings restored. Finally, Paris commends him to  
 haue done more for her ornament in two yeares, then his predecessors had scarce done  
 in two ages: and doth honour so many actes done by *Myron*, of pietie towards the  
 poore, and strangers, to the sicke and diseased, and to the Church; of wisdom and fi- D  
 delitie to the common good, to the adiministration of the publike Treasure, in his good  
 husbandry, and employing it for the beautifying of the city, in discharge of her debts,  
 in the charges and rents of her demeans, for his loue to his country, and his care and  
 diligence to produce so many goodly effects, which recommended his Magistracie, for  
 his painfull indeuours, for the which hee hath made this abridgement of the world to  
 florish. For his great affection, by the which knowing that his own health was ioy-  
 ned with that of the common-weale, hee hath not respected enuie, nor hatred,  
 which doth commonly follow vertue (as the shaddowe doth the body) in regarde of  
 that pleasing contentment which a good conscience brings to man, whose actions  
 feare neither censure, nor Ostracisme, to that sweete consolation to leaue his charge E  
 with lesse gaine, but more honour, and to haue by his commendable actions, giuen  
 the King himselfe subiect to propound vnto the successeur, the example of his pre-  
 decessor when as hee went to deliuer into his Maiesties hands the keyes and scales of  
 the towne. A graue and sufficient testimonie of honour, whereon slander can take  
 no hold.

Supplications  
 of the Clergie  
 to the King.

The Kings  
 answer.

His Maiestie at the same time gaue audience to the petitions and declarations of  
 the Clergie beeing assembled at the *Augustines* in Paris. They insisted vpon the  
 afflictions of the Church which was troubled. They required with great vehemen-  
 cie to haue the councell of Trent receiued. They shew the abuses of symonies, and  
 confidencies: And doe recommend the choise of capable men in elections. The F  
 King acknowledged that all which they had sayd was true. The Church is afflic-  
 ted: so hee desires to doe any thing that depends of him for the restoring thereof.  
 If

A If the publication of the Councell be sufficient to restore it, he hath desired it, and doth  
 desire to see the effect: but humane considerations doe many times crosse them of hea-  
 uen, notwithstanding he will alwaies employ both blood and life, for that which shalbe  
 to the good of the Church and Seruice of God. As for Symonies, and confidencies,  
 his Maiesty did exhort them to begin the cure by themselues, and to prouoke others by  
 their examples to doe well. They are witnesse how hee proceeds in elections. Those  
 which he hath established differ much in sufficiency and merites, from others of former  
 times; and the report which the Clergy it selfe hath made vnto his maiesty, will double  
 his courage to doe better hereafter.

B To conclude the King assured them as a good Prince, of his affection and sincerity  
 to anything that did concerne the peace of the Church, and the protection of them  
 which serue at the Altar. But withall hee spake some words vnto them like a good fa-  
 ther: that he was offended at the length of their assembly, at the great number of depu-  
 ties and the factions that were among them. Remember (said his Maiesty) that you  
 are now redy to enter into Lent, what your charges be, and that your presences are ne-  
 cessary in your Churches. By your tediousnesse you driue the poore Curats to hun-  
 ger and dispaire. I will ioyne with them, and with the honestest of your company, to  
 take order for the long time which you haue spent in your assembly, finally make ac-  
 compt of my firme affection, to the seruice of God and to your protection. The Mar-  
 shall of Bouillon had in the meane time by his submissions disposed the King to impart

Duke of B. ul-  
 lion cannot be  
 moved to  
 come to court

C vnto him an equall or greater fauour, then before his disgrace: but his Maiesty did not  
 yet finde them so free, as he might conceiue a full assurance, for the intercessions of the  
 Queene of England, in the beginning of his retreat, of the Cont Pallatine, of the Mar-  
 quies of Brandenburg, of Anspach, of Bade, and of many cantons of the leagues, by  
 expresse Ambassadors, together with the Marshalls long stay without the Realme, as  
 wee haue seene made them presume that hee had fortified him-selfe with diuers foraine  
 friendshipes, so as the King would haue him come in person to iustify him-selfe, and  
 to free him of this imagination, His Maiesty doth Sommon him like a good maister  
 and his best friend, and being alwaies more inclined to clemency then severity, he desi-  
 red rather to induce him by amiable callings, then by Soueraigne Authority, or lawfull  
 D comandements.

Heretofore hee had sent *Montlouet* vnto him; and of late daies *La Noue* to that end,  
 yet their perswasions were not of sufficient force to disperse all the subiects of distrust  
 which he had conceiued: neither could he resolute to come but with speciall warrentise.  
 his friends do what they can to entertaine this good will which the King doth now wit-  
 nesse vnto him: but withall they know what his Maiesties resolution is if he obeies not,  
 and exhorting him speedily to content his bounty, by a full and not limited satisfaction,  
 they incite him to follow his duty, and to fly his daunger. The King was well pleased  
 with the mediation of the Princeesse dowager of Orange, by whome his Maiesty grants  
 him freely all that hee demands, so as (saith he) he doth witnesse by his actions that hee E  
 desires my fauour. But it is reason (addes the King) that granting vnto the Duke of  
 Bouillon all the assurance he requires, he should giue me such a pawne of his fidelity,  
 as I may not hereafter doubt of his duty. This pawne which the King demands, is the  
 gard of the Castle of Sedan; giuing his word not to place any gouernor, nor garrison  
 but of the religion receiued in the estate of Sedan: and not to preiudice the quiet of  
 that Church, nor the rights and reuenues of the Lord; but onely to be assured that this  
 place hereafter shall not be in case to hurt him.

The King  
 grants him sh  
 assurances he  
 demands.

The Duke of Bouillon is amazed at this newes, he thinks that to deprive him of this  
 possession, is to exclude him from all tollerable conditions. He makes many offers. He  
 beseecheth his maiesty to take both his person and the Soueraignty of Sedan into his  
 F protection. Hee offers to receiue his Maiesty with all the honor that is due vnto him,  
 with what company he pleased, without limitation, without restriction, and to beate  
 downe the Castle Gates for his entry, the conditions of the protection beeing by the  
 Kings good pleasure concluded, signed, and verified as they ought. He consents that the  
 M m m m m 2 gouernor

He demands a  
 pawne of his  
 fidelity.

1606. Gouernor of the Castle should take an oath of fidelity to the King conformable to the Articles of protection. And in case the Duke should infringe it, the gouernor should be freed of the oath which he owes him, to keepe the faith which hee hath sworne to the King. That the like oath should be taken by the garrison, and inhabitants of Sedan. That he will absent him selfe if it did not please the King he should remayne there, and would lodge his wife and children, in some one of his houses within the realme, to serue for an assurance to his Maiesty with all his goods, and remaine so much the more bound to the full obseruation of faith which he owes vnto his said maiesty.

But for all this the King will not receiue him into grace, nor trust him vnlesse hee may haue this caution in his hands. The Duke on the other side will by no meanes dispossesse himselfe of the gard of his Castle, and will rather indure all fortunes, all extremities: for it is noe lesse troublesome vnto him, to be spoyled of this place, then to be seperated from his owne moiety, from his flesh and bones: his Maiesty then resolues to constrain him to quit that by force which hee will not doe by free-will. The inhabitants of Sedan are much troubled, now they hold the wolffe by the eare they know not how to keepe him, nor how to let him goe. The Duke of Bouillon is their Lord: his affliction is theirs. Can they or may they abandon him whome God hath giuen them for their Lord? but on the other side shall they growe obstinate against a mighty King, who is alwaies victorious, a King against whose force they confesse themselves to be but dust? they therefore humbly beseech his Maiesty to spare a people, which heares nothing in their assemblies but vows for his prosperity, who see nothing but the Flower Deluce vpon the Castle gates, who breath nothing but seruice, and desire nothing more then to spend their bloods for the increase of his estate, and who abhor to be reduced to that extremity, as to defend themselves for their owne preservation. His Maiesty giues them his word, yea with an oath, that if hee should take the place by assault, he would leaue the inhabitants of Sedan in the same Estate they were, and would maintayne them in the same priuiledges, where-with hee did gratifie them of his Realme.

That he had iust occasion to be incenced against a subiect, who runnes voluntarily to his owne ruine, for a thing without the which he might well subsist. That he will take this place from him to take from him, the meanes to doe ill; and will not touch the priuiledges of the towne, nor meaning to appropriate another mans inheritance vnto him-selfe, for hee knoweth that *the Lord giueth portions to nations, and seperates the children of men one from another; hee will not that any man shall remoue his Neighbours bounds.*

The place imports his Maiesty aswell for the situation, as for the strength. It is seated vpon the frontire of France, much stronger then any of that quarter: and by consequence fit to trouble the estate of the realme, and to breed ambitious counsellors in them which seeke for all occasions of innouation. Out of doubt these were strong reasons: but both the inhabitants of Sedan, and the Marshall of Bouillons friends, together with those that desired to haue these matters managed after some milder course, produced other reasons, considerable both for waight and number, to diuert this desseigne. Sedan (said they) is fortified vpon a rocke, inuironed with goodly great Bastions, and deepe ditches cut out of the rocke, the which cannot bee taken, but by filling of them vp: you must come vnto it by degrees to take the outward part, the which cannot bee kept by reason of the good countercarries, flanked of them selues, and flanked more-over by the Castle, and by the Bastions, so as it cannot be taken but by length of time, with great expence of mony, munition, and losse of men. The importance of this conduct will force the King to be there in person: for he knoweth that he is neuer so well serued as in his owne presence: and can no more assure him-selfe of the fidelity of many, then of their sufficiencies.

And the furniture for 50. canon which his Maiesty prepares, with an army answerable led so neere to the Low-countries, almost into Bourgondy, shall they make so little bruit as the

A the King of Spaine will not startle thereat? will he not bee carefull to man his frontier with an other armie? for Princes conclude their safeties more by that which they see, then by that which they heare. And hee which gapes after all occasions of greatnesse, who thinkes he hath more iustice to succour a Soueraigne assailed within his estate, then they haue to assist his rebellious subiects against him: will he let passe this opportunity if hee can, to make the Duke of Bouillon stand obstinately vpon his defence? will hee faile to suggest all necessary meanes, to crosse him whote prosperitie hee doth not behold, but with a malignant and enuious eye? Is it not credible, that both he and the Archdukes had rather haue the present possessor for their neighbour, then so mighty and redoubted a Prince. And is Sedan at this day lesse able to kindle dangerous combustions, then it did betwixt Francis the first, and Charles the fifth. So much needy

B Nobility which bow their necks vnder the burthen of the last warres: so many malecontents which thinke they haue merited more then the King thinkes hee owes them, would they not go to field to foster their old desseignes, and to breed new. A royall army planted in one of the corners of the realme, can she extend her wings far enough to couer the remote Prouinces? His Maiesties Lieutenants are they all of one temper? a change of affaires, may it not change their affections? doe they all loue, are they equally beloued, to hope for equall seruice, equall fidelity? will nor the season make them vary their reason? The ashes of former combustion, doe they not couer some little fire, which some may take delight to kindle, when as the armie shall haue least C meanes to bring water to quench it? But what a displeasure were it to be forced to raise a siege from before another mans towne, to goe and plant it before one of his owne assailed by the stranger. There is danger to loose the principall for the accessorie?

As for strangers, England is so wonderfully scandalized at the monstrous attempts, lately discovered against their Princes; as they will neuer like of a warre begun against them of their beleefe, what lustre soeuer it carry. Italy promisseth it selfe great assistance of the French against the desseignes of the Earle of Fuentes: but it hath not so great prouision of courage, but it will bee much danted, seeing their forces turned another way. The Suisses will blame this desseigne, some for that it is against a Noble man, and an estate of their confession. Others, for that they will say they are abandoned to the Sauoyard and Millanoys. The Grissons are in the same predicament, and saile in the same sea. The Estates of the vnited Prouinces will feele a great preiudice in their affaires, by the cutting off the commodities of France, being appointed for other places: The Empire will grow iealous of this approach, and the Germanies by the peace of Hongary which they hope for, shall want neither care to thinke of it, nor meanes to preuent it. The French armie shall haue Liege behinde them. The people are already iealous. The conquest of Sedan doth also purchase a title to the Duchie of Bouillon. They desire neither the one nor the other: and will crosse the first all they can to bee assured of the second.

All these inconueniences may bee auoyded. Sedan hath serued the Kings of France no lesse profitable vnder the title of protection, then can bee hoped for vnder that of possession. And the Duke of Bouillon recouering the Kings fauour, brings vnto his seruice both his place and that which is more precious, his great sufficiencie, well knowne to his Maiesty, and to all men, well knowne to the counsell of Estate, and to the affaires of warre; so as a perfect Amnestie may assure his returne. But the King cannot rest assured of the Marshall of Bouillon, nor of Sedan, but by the yeelding of a Castle; and the placing of a Gouernour, and a choise garrison. His troopes marche, with an intent to haue fixe and twenty thousand men, and more if need were, with artillery and munition necessary to do a great exploite. There were many commissions granted to leuie horse and foote: yong men came from all parts; he was not held the sonne of an honest woman, that did not desire to make his apprenticeship of armes vnder so famous a Captaine, and to shew his valour in this warre of Sedan: yet this warre was not like to be very violent. The King knowes better the state of Sedan, then those which haue distasted him, and the Duke of Bouillon who knowes that the shortest

1606. follies are the best, will not loose his Maiesties fauour by his contumacie, the which he A will willingly redeeme, at a higher price then the towne of Sedan: rebellion fittes not, but with such as are borne for the ruine of their country. The King before his departure from Paris declared openly and freely, that hee marched towards Sedan, with an intent to receiue the Duke of Bouillon with open armes. Doubtlesse the best way to vanquish an enemy, is to doe him good when we may.

These gracious words gaue them occasion (who were greeued, to see his Maiestie marche against a place where the trauell and danger seemed more certaine, then the purchase might be profitable, considering the discommodities of the country, and the difficulty of the place) to sollicite with great vehemencie this businesse which they saw in so good termes. *Netancourt* a Gentleman of Champagne, noted for his piety, B moderation, and integrity, shewed so great zeale and affection in this negotiation, as then the King thought him capable to serue him, according to his hart in this action.

The Duke of Bouillon makes his accorde,

The which beeing well advanced, his Maiestie deputed the Lords of Inteuille (Gouernor of Champagne) and Villeroy, both wholly adicted to procure the good and tranquillity of his estate, and his Maiesties seruice. The Duke of Bouillon went to meete with them at Torcy, the last village of the realme, and there all conditions being examined, debated, and imparted vnto the King, without any act of hostility, effusion of bloud or sweate, his Maiestie knowing that mildnesse is the best remedy to cure the wounds of an estate, and tempering his lustice by his clemency, and practicing that goodly oracle: that hatred must bee mortall, and friendship immortal: He gaue two great blowes with one stone: for he assured himselfe of a place which would haue troubled him, being at the deuotion of men enuius of the prosperity of this realme, or iealous of his greatnesse: and restored vnto his fauour so much desired, one of the cheefe Noblemen amongst his subiects, the second officer of his crowne, a great man of state, active in counsell, and well practised in warre, and whom the triall of a long aduersity, will make him more fit to doe his maiester good seruice. In worldly affaires if some crosse of affliction should not temper the spirit of man, in the end prosperity will make him drunke. Hee came vnto the King being at Douchery the eleuenth of Aprill, and presented himselfe vnto him in the morning before his rising: Hee deliuered vnto him by mouth, the humble submissions D which his Maiestie required, and demanded an abolition in forme according to the treaty. His Maiestie receiued him as graciously as if the Sunne of his fauours had neuer bene eclipsed, before his fortune. The Queene shewed him as good a countenance, as shee was affected to this reconciliation.

The Duke of Bouillon comes to the King.

Their Maiesties being accompanied with the Princes of the blood, the officers of the crowne, and others, entred into Sedan. The Syndics and Sherifes receiued him vpon their knees, protesting generally, that they had neuer attended or desired any more assured protection then that of his Maiestie: to which end they wished all prosperity to *Henry* the fourth, King of France and of Nauarre, most christian, most mercifull, and most victorious. To the Queene, the happinesse of his long and fortunate company. E To my Lord the Daulphin, encrease of vertues, and the fathers felicities. And they receiued from this sacred mouth, the answer which a people might hope for, beeing transported with the ioy and cordiall loue of a Prince, louing his subiects, as a good father doth his children: I haue nothing diminished (sayd hee) nor altered, the loue and affections which I haue alwayes borne you: I will neuer diminish it, whereof I will alwayes giue you good proofes.

The King and Queene entering into Sedan.

Then were the canons heard (which seemed to bee planted for the defence of the towne) to applaud by their thundring this vnusuall action. The aire did ring againe with cries of ioy, & with acclamations of *God saue the King, God saue the Queene, God saue my Lord the Daulphin*, sent vp to heauen with vowes of eternall prosperity: and the inhabitants & Burgeses did not breath any thing, but a generall fidelity. Their Maiesties were much moued with the affections of this people, the which did merite this testimony from the King: *See how this people loues mee,* (speaking to the Princes, which did assist him) F

A him) *I know they loue me.* The Bonfiers which were made at night in the streets, and publike places of the towne did witnesse that they were pure and free from dissimulation and fraude. The thanks which they gaue sollemly vnto God, did shew that they tooke this warning for a threatening of his diuine punishment, or an exhortation to a more holinesse of life, and a continewance of the fidelity, which both the Soueraigne Prince and the people of the towne, and lands depending, owe vnto his Maiesty. The preaching and ordinary prayers made in the accustomed places with all liberty (whereas many of the Court assisted) are the certaine effects of the inviolable promise giuen by his Maiesty, that the Church of Sedan should suffer no alterations nor change in the liberty of conscience.

1606

The small traine where-with the Duke of Bouillon presented him-selfe before his B Maiesty and the company which the King had when hee gaue him this fauorable reception, did witnesse the assurance they had one of another, a good Maister receiues a good seruant with an open heart. A good seruant prepares him-selfe to yeeld vnto his good Maister the good seruice which hee hath promised and doth owe him, finally the gratifications, and shewes of loue which the King had made vnto this people lately trembling, and now assured, made them know by experience, and confesse by effect, that they had no lesse subiect to praise God for the Fatherly care which his diuine providence had now as here-to-fore, of their good and preservation. They commend the kings wisdom and graue iudgement, being able wisely to discern C the capacity of his Subiects, fit to serue him in great affayres. Hee left *Netancourt* for gouernour of the place, whose meritts were noe lesse pleasing to the Soueraigne then to the subiects of this Petty Estate, and on the third day hee tooke his way toward Paris.

The Duke of Bouillon did accompany his Maiesty vnto Mouzon with a small train: and the next day he returned to giue order for his affaires, within few daies after he came to hold his ancient place in Court, as he returned into the Kings hart, who to witnesse the effects of his loue, did abolish and suppress the memory of all things done, knowne, or spoken by him against his Maiesties seruice vnto that day, so as neuer any further search might bee made. And by his especiall grace, full power, and royall authority D hee defended with him for his appearing in person, in his Courts of Parliament, to haue his letters of abolition registred. By the which also hee was confirmed in the same estates, honours, and dignities which hee had held and did yet hold within the Realme.

There is nothing more lawfull nor commendable, in a well gouerned estate, then to provide for the necessities of such as for a marke of their vertue remaine lame, and haue no meanes to liue, after they haue serued the Prince in his wars wel and faithfully. Our Kings haue alwayes desired to acknowledge their meritts: but by the iniurie of time, or the negligence and fraud of officers, their ordonances haue bene without effect, to the shame of martiall discipline, which greeues to see many poore gentlemen and other souldiers made vnprofitable to carry armes, and for all other functions, by wounds, losse E of limbes and decreipt age; or that haue consumed their meanes in paying their ransomes, in charges to be cured of their wounds receiued in their seruices, or of other infirmities and defeases which the toyles of warres doe breed, were reduced in their declining age to a miserable and vnworthy kind of begging.

The King desiring to make them feele the effects of his bounty, to giue them meanes to passe the remaynder of their daies in rest, and to incourage his other subiects of all qualities, to serue him the more willingly in all future occasions, vpon hope of the like remuneration. He giues them by an irreuocable edict.

The Royall house of Christian charity, and the mony growing vpon the remainder of F accompts of hospitalls, almes-houses, leprous-houses, and other such companies, and of the usurpations, and alienations of the reuenues thereof; reuisions of the said accompts, and abuses and disorders committed in the gouernment and administration of the said places, together

Pensions appointed for men lame in the Kings seruice.



1606. *Together with the money which shall rise of the places and pensions of religious lay-men, in every Abbey and Priory of this Realme, being in his Maiesties nomination: As is contained at large in the Edi&t verified in the great Councell, the tenth of July. So as all Gentlemen, Captaines, and Souldiers maimed, in doing his Maiesties seruice, in his companies of men at armes, light-horsemen, archers, or harguebuziers on horseback, taking certificates from the Captaines and Collonels vnder whome they haue serued, containing the time of their seruices, their valour, with the combats, perils and dangers wherein they haue beene, and in what action of warre they haue beene maimed for his seruice; the which they shall bring vnto the Duke of Montmorency, Peere and Constable of France, to be verified exactly by him, to make a liste signed with his hand, and to note in the margent what annual pension euery one may merit in his opinion, according to their qualitie, valour and wounds. And those which haue serued in the regiments, garrisons, and companies on foote, shall bring the like attestations to the Duke of Espernon, Collonell generall of the French foote, or (in the absence of the said Constable and Collonell) to the two eldest Marshals of France which shall be then in Court, to make the like liste, and in the same forme, verified by the great Almoner of France, one of the Secretaries of State, and the Lords of Souuray, Chasteauvieux, and Rochepot, Knights of the order, and councellers of State; which listes being brought vnto the King, and deliuered into the hands of one of the Secretaries of Estate whom he shall appoint, there shall euery yeare a rolle be made of maymed men, and others, whome his Maiestie will entertaine, and of the Pensions which shall be assigned to euery one, payable by him that shall haue that charge, vpon the paines contained in the order of his Maiesties Exchequer, who to iudge of differences according to the accustomed formes of Iustice, hath erected a Soueraigne chamber, consisting of the sayd Noble men, and other worthy personages, as you may read in the originall.*

Wisdom of the King to maintaine his people in concord.

From this godly and charitable Act, we passe vnto another, which doth witnesse that the King, as a common father to all his subiects, will not only maintaine them in peace in this age, but will also continue the quiet of their soules, seeing that our ayre cannot be purged from trouble, without the cleanness of consciences in diuine seruice. His Maiestie hath lent one eare vnto the Clergie; and now on the nineteenth of August, he opens the other to the humble petitions of them which professe the religion granted by the Edi&t of Nantes: and desiring to make them enioy the contents of his Edi&t, and the priuate articles granted in consequence thereof, hee ordaines that the modifications, and restrictions which haue beene made by his courts of Parliament, chambers of account, and other officers, contrary to the tenure thereof, shall be taken away, and to that end all letters, and necessary commandements should be made. Moreover he did enioyne his said courts, to inrolle the said Edi&ts and articles (if it were not done) in their Bayliwikes, and Seneschallies. And commanding all Bayliffes and Seneschalls to send them into their iurisdiccions, to the end that no man should pretend cause of ignorance. Inioyning all Iudges, Proctors generall, and their substitutes, to cause them to be exactly obserued, and for default thereof, to answer it in their proper and priuate names. And granting to them of the said religion, many demands and speciall orders which rise from the Edi&t: His Maiesty enioynes them on the one side, to carry themselves according to the Edi&t, auoyding all occasion of scandall: and on the other side to Catholikes, to carry the like moderation and wisdom for feare of stumbling. Thus hee makes knowne how desirous hee is, that all his subiects should enioy with concord, the peace which hee hath heeretofore purchased for them with so much toyle and sweat.

Ceremonies of the Dauphins christning, and of the Ladies and Givers.

As the King seekes by his bounty to entertaine his people with concord, and so to raise them to the top of prosperity and happinesse: So we now see that God doth giue him euident signes of the fauour and loue, which he powreth forth vpon Princes which raigne according to his heart. He doth now seale to vs in particular the wonders of his loue to this realme, by a gage which makes our hearts to leape with consolation and ioy,

1606. A ioy, to remember the feare wherein wee lately liued, seeing our selues in danger to fall into the miseries which threaten estates wanting an assured successor. And retiring vs from the valleys and gulphes of this misery, hee hath giuen vs an ample subiect to acknowledge his free bounty. For one of the greatest blessings which heauen can poure vpon man, is to haue many children, which carry the Image of the father, and make him as it were to reuiue in their birth. So as from a liuely roote grow new plants, which produce the like fruites vnto their stock. The Soueraigne protector of this monarchie, hath now supported the peace and quiet of France, with three pretious pillars of his bounty, and we behold them as firme supports of his grace.

Their birth hath made them children to mortall Princes, whom the holy Scripture honors with the title of Gods; and hath opened vnto them the gates of realmes, and transitory principallities: but it was expedient, that by a spirituall regeneration they should become the children of the great immortall God; and that baptisme giuing them entry into the church of Christ, it should open them the way also to the immortall and celestiaall heauen, printing in their faces the characters of the children of God, as vpon their fore-heads, the Image of God himselfe. The Sacrament of Baptisme had beene giuen them within few dayes after they were borne; but the ceremonies were deferred vntill an opportunity. The King had long desired it, if many encounters had not crost the complement. The death of Pope Clement the eight had staied it. Leo the 11 (before Cardinall of Florence) did in a manner see the last of his dayes with the first of his Papacie; Paul the fifth his successor, being aduertised that the celebration of the ceremonies and solemnities was appointed the fourteenth of September, hee wrote vnto Francis Cardinall of Loyeuse; *That he would haue them done by his Ministry in the blessing of the Lord: and that seeing he could not assist in person, he had made choise of him to performe this complement, according to the dignity of the Apostolike See, and of the children of the eldest sonne of the Church; seeing that by the honour of his ranke, by the nobility of his blood, by his wisdom, fidelity and experience in affaires, he was pleasing vnto the King, and acceptable vnto the Realme.*

The Princes and Noblemen in court did contend who should exceed each other in brauery and expence. A small patterne will make vs to iudge of the whole peece, omitting to relate it all in particular. In the hilt of a stately sword which the Duke of Espernon caused to be made, there were set eightene hundred Diamonds, whereof the richest was at twenty crownes price, and the least at foure or fife, which hilt (as the gold-smith said that made it) came to thirty thousand crownes. Our Ladies Church in Paris was appointed for this royall spectacle, but by reason of the infection, it was translated to Fontainebleau, which the good King Saint Lewis called his desert and solitary place.

Thus the fourteenth of September, being a cleare and bright day, was notwithstanding lighted with many torches and tapers: and the ceremony was performed about fife of the clock at night in the court of the dungeon, (for neither the chapell, nor the greatest hall in the castle, was capable to containe so many thousands which came to this rare sight) vpon a great and high Theater, hung about with rich and sumptuous tapestry; in the middelt whereof was a square with fife sadome in compasse, inclosed with barres couered with tapestrie, and carpets vnder foote. In the front thereof was an Altar richly adorned with the ornaments of the order of the Holy Ghost, and couered with a cannopie of the ornaments of the sayd order. Behinde the table there was a degree of three steps couered with tapestrie; and in the middelt thereof a kinde of great stoole, adorned with cloth of siluer, vpon the which were placed the Fontes couered with an exquisite towell, and ouer them a cannopie. On eyther side of the Altar was a scaffold prepared for the musicke. Beneath it, and one the right hand, was a forme couered with tapestry for many Prelates. Among others there were three Archbishops, nine Bishops, and three Abbots. On the left hand were the Noblemen of the councell: And before the Altar the Cardinall of Gondie, enuironed with

1606. with many Almoners and Chaplaines, and a great number of beholders, seated as they are in Theaters. About the Theater were all the Suisses of his gard, every one holding a burning Torche in his hand.

My Lord the Daulphin, and the Ladyes his Sisters were in their chambers, vpon great beddes made like a Tribunall, after a royall manner, vnder a cloath of Estate, with coverings of powdred Ermines, and they were carried to the square table, their gentlemen seruants going before, every one with a waxe candle in his hand, being followed by the Gentlemen of the Chamber, with Drummes, Fifes, Trumpets, Howboyes, Herald, and the Knights of the Holy-ghost, with the three honours following.

First, for the yongest Lady, the cup, the bason, the pillow, the candle, the creame, and the salt-seller, were carried by the Baron of La Chastre, by the Lords of Montig. B ny, Rochepot, Chemerauld, Lien-Court, and the Marshall of Feruaques; the Marshall of Boisdaulphin, carried the Lady, being followed by Charles Duke of Lorraine the God-father, and by D. John de Medicis, brother to Ferdinand great Duke of Tofcane, representing Christierne, daughter to the Duke of Lorraine, and wife to the great Duke, after whome marched the Duchesse of Guise, the Countesses of Guiche, and Saulx; the Marquise of Montlaur, with other Ladies.

The Marshalls of Lauerdin and La Chastre; the Duke of Suilly ( before Marquis of Rosny ) the Dukes of Montbason, Espernon, and Esquillon, did the like office for the eldest Lady. The Lord of Ragny carried her in the place of Diana Duchesse of Angoulesme, who represented the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia, Archduchesse of Austria, being followed by the daughters of Rohan, Montmorentie, and Mayenne, who were Virgins, and the Duchesses of Rohan, Suilly, and others.

The third honour for the Daulphin, was serued by the Earle of Vaudemont, the Knight of Vendosme, the Duke of Vendosme his elder brother, ( both base children to the King. ) The Duke of Montpensier, the Earle of Soissons, the Prince of Conty, all three Princes of the blood. The Daulphin was carried by the Lord of Souray his Gouvernour, in the place of the Prince of Conde, the first Prince of the blood, who by reason of sicknesse, could not doe him any other seruice but to holde him by the hand. The Duke of Guise carried his traine; and the Cardinall of Ioyeuse, followed him, representing Paul the fifth being Pope: They were attended on by Elenor, wife to Vincent Duke of Mantoua, and the Princesses of the blood, richly attired.

The Daulphin being brought to the square Table, the Cardinall of Gondy being appointed to performe this ceremonie, hee came neere vnto him, and hauing heard him answere pertinently to questions hee asked him, according to the ordinary forme, and to rehearse the Lords Prayer and Creede in Latine, hee was blest, and annoynted, and called Lewis by the Cardinall of Ioyeuse the Popes Legate; at the naming of whome they might see ioye appeare in the Kings countenance, shewing by the exterior, the inward contentment hee receiued, remembring that Saint Lewis the ninth of that name, King of France, is the author of that family of Clermont, E from whence is issued that of Bourbon, sitting at this day in the Throne of his holy predecessor: and the ioy of the assembly did witness, that his name is very pleasing and of a good presage to France. The Ladyes were afterwards carried to the Table one after another; and the eldest was named by the Duchesse of Angoulesme, representing the Archduchesse her God-mother without a God-father, Elizabeth: ( which the Spaniards call Isabella ) the yongest was named Christierne by Don John of Medicis, for the great Duchesse.

At the banker, the King was serued by the Princes of his blood. The Prince of Condy held the place of Butler. The Prince of Conty of Cup-bearer. The Earle of Soissons had the place of Lord Steward, And the Duke of Montpensier of Caruer. The Duke of Guise, and the Earle of Vaudemont, serued the Queene: and the Duke of Suilly, the Legate. The God-fathers and God-mothers were ten, and then the Princes, Ladyes, and Noblemen. At the dancing, the Duke of Lorraine did preced by

A proceeded by the Kings order, in consideration onely that he was a good and gracious Father.

1606

The next day was spent in running at ring, and the Duke of Suilly caused an assault to be giuen by night to an artificiall Castle, with an infinite number of Squibs, cannon shot, and other fireworkes. But there was neuer any thing more admirable to the eye, nor more incredible vnto the eare, then the beauty, brauery and luster of the Princes and Ladies of the Court. Mans eye could not indure the shining of the gold, the brightness of the siluer, nor the glittering of the pearles, and pretious stones, which couered their robes, and the Princes and Noblemen were attired in the most rare and precious stuffes that could be found out. The Queenes robe hauing two and thirty thousand Pearles, and thirty thousand diamonds, made it to bee without peare and without price.

This yeare about Easter, there were such violent winds and stormes throughout all France, as the tops of houses being cast downe, many were slaine and sore hurt in Paris, so as they could not goe safely through the streets: In the country old growne trees were torne vp by the rootes, but although there were a great spoile of men, houses, and trees at land, yet was it not so fearefull as at sea, whereas many suffered shipwracke and perished in these tempests.

In May the riuer of Seine being much risen by the abundance of raine which had fallen, the King and Queene comming from Saint Germaines, the Carroch being in the passage boate and comming to land, the horses going forth thrust backe the boate with the force of their feete, and ouerturned the Charroch into the riuer, so as the Queene was in great danger of drowning the Courtiers leapt into the riuer to rescue her, but Casteneyre, ( a Gentleman of a Noble family ) advanced the rest, freed her from danger and brought her to land, to the Kings great content: she rewarded her deliuey with a rich chaine of stones.

In Iuly the Prince of Conty tooke to his second wife Chatherine of Lorraine, daughter to the Duke of Guise, that was slaine at Blois, and of Catherine of Cleues, who was one of the daughters and Coheires of the Duke of Neuers, uniting the houses of Bourbon and Lorraine in mutuall loue by this allyance, whereby it seemed all future ielousies being taken away, both houses would hereafter continue good friends, for there is no greater bond to tye Noble families together, then marriages, and the frutefull issue which descends of them.

The infectious plague hauing begone to disperse it selfe, by reason of their stolne burialls, and the little care they had to preuent the danger, in Autumne it grew very violent, and to be generally dispersed ouer the whole City: Such as had meanes were forced to retyre them-selues to their farmes, and country houses, to auoide the danger.

The straightnesse of their Pest-house did increase the mischefe, being easely gotten when as they did liue and conuerse together, for such as were infected did infect others being not lodged a part: the which was not foreseene in time by the Magistrates: besides the Pesthouse being in the furthest end of Saint Iagues suburbes, such as were infected on the other side of the City, not able to endure so long a carriage, died by the way, and some yet breathing, were buried for dead by them that carried them. To preuent the like inconuenience hereafter they began to thinke of an other Pesthouse of an admirable struature, in an other part of the city, as you shall hereafter heare: winter comming on the Plague ceased in Paris, and was dispersed into the country, whereas many were toucht that had fled from it in the City.

I wil be bold to relate a memorable accident, though out of France, yet neere vnto the frontier. A gentleman of Sauoy called Charmet, going in September after his accustomed manner, into the next woods to hunt some wild beasts, hauing noe other armes but a peece and a dagger,

Great winds at Paris.

The Queene in danger of drowning.

Prince of Conties marriage.

A Plague in Paris.

The loue of a dogge to his Master.

and

1606. and for his compaion a fierce dogge, of a mastie kind, which would hunt vpon the sent, A and find out their dens: hauing wandred long in this wood: and lost his way, being very penfue hee comes at last againe into his way the day being neere spent; hee not gone farre but hee was incountried by foure theues, who with their swords drawne came to assaile him, who finding him selfe vnable to make resistance against soe many hee incourageth his dogge, and with his peece kills one of the theues; the other three presse him in such sort, as hee studied how hee might flie from them, his dogge takes another of the theues by the throat and staies him; beeing thus intangled by the dogge; the Gentleman gets a way his sword, and then resumng courage hee chaseth away the rest, whome the dogge pourfued with all eagerneffe, but his Maister beate him backe, who beeing thus freed from theues, hee went to the next village called Saint *A. B* *bain*, where hee tells his misfortunes, and shewes both his and his dogges wounds, perswading both the Iustice and the inhabitants to pursue these theues, whoe presently went into the woode, and followed them by their footing, hauing bene often molested by their theeuing; They could not bee long hidden; In the end they found three young men in an hoftry standing out of the way, beeing a receptacle for such people: one of them beeing hurt in the arme argued their guilt, so all beeing carried to Chambery, they were broken and laid halfe dead vpon wheeles, suffering a condigne punishment for their murders and thefts.

Birth of the Duke of Orleans.

The King had an other Sonne, a great increse for France, the Flower de Luce is neuer in danger when there be Males, they bee the ruine of home-bred seditions, and a perpetual support of the Salique Lawe: this last borne son had the title of Duke of Orleans giuen him. It is one of the goodliest Dukedomes in the whole Kingdome, and is next vnto the Daulphin; the City of Orleans stands vpon the riuier of Loyre; It is very ancient, as appeares by nationall Councells, and decrees of Popes, and in the first race of our Kings it had the title of a Kingdome, when as *Clouis* diuided his Realme to his three Sonnes. There were bonfires and shooting of ordinance for the birth of this Sonne, and all France did reioyce, to see the old decayed tree, reuiue againe and grow yong, by these new plants, vnder whose shadow they should finde refuge, in heat raine and tempestuous wether.

*Henry* the fourth, when hee was but King of Nauarre, enjoyed goodly hereditarie possessions, as well in Gasconie, Guienne, Vendosme, and generally through-out the realme, as in the Lowe-countries, and other forraigne parts, beeing come to the crowne of France, and to a greater fortune, hee made an Edi&t in Aprill, one thousand, five hundred, ninety and two: by the which hee would haue all those his reuenues of Nauarre, with the rest managed distinctly and a part, hauing a charitable care of his onely sister, whome hee loued deere, and of his creditors, to whome hee had engaged his lands before his comming to the crowne: wherefore vntill this money were payed, hee held it no Iustice to vnite those lands vnto the Crowne. The Kings Pro&tor opposed him selfe against the Kings will, saying; That by the lawes of France, all that was the Kings, did accrewe vnto the Crowne, as small streames E which fall into great riuers, and those into the Sea, loose their names. But when as the King had lost his sister (who dyed with-out children) and had payed those priuate debts, this yeare in Iune, by his Edi&t, hee vnited his realme of Nauarre, with those other dignities and possessions which hee held from his ancestors, vnto the Crowne, as they might not afterwards bee diuided. So as his officers of Nauarre lost both their places and fees.

Death of Bellieure Chancellor of France.

*Pomponius Bellieure* Chancellor of France, and the Nestor of our Age, left the corruption of this world, to get an incorruptible life in Heauen; Hee dedicated the first fruits of glory vnto the Senate of Lyon his natie country, but beeing called to Paris that great light, hee was well knowne vnto Kings, and finding himselfe more fit for the secret councells of Court and difficult affaires of the Kingdome, then to plead causes notwithstanding that it was his profession and had supplied the place of president, yet following

A following his owne humor he gaue his mind wholly to forraigne employments, beeing sent in many Ambassages, the which he did happily performe. He was buried with as much honor as could be desired for a man of his fashion, being followed at his funerall by many Bishops, Knights of the Order, and the whole Court of Parliament, *Fenoillius* appointed Bishop of Montpellier, made his funerall Sermon: hee had a Monument of Marble erected, on the which was grauen this Epitaph in golden letters. 1607.

## D. O. MA.

B POMPONIO. BELLEVRIO. FRANCIE. CANCELLARIO. VIRO. PIETATE. DOCTRINA. MAGNITVDINE. ANIMI. SUMMA. IN. PRINCIPLEM. FIDE. CLARISSIMO. QUI. SUB. V. REGIBUS. HONORIBUS. AMPLISSIMIS. AC. VARIIS. LABORIOSISSIMISQVE. LEGATIONIBUS. PRO. REPUB. GESTIS. PACE. DOMI. FORISQVE. CONFECTA. LEGIBVS. ET. SIGILLO. PRINCIPIS. INTEGERRIME. PREEVISSET. GLORIA. NON. OPIBVS. CVMVLATVS. OBIIT. ANNO. SALVTIS. 1607. ID. SEPT. ETATIS. 70. MARTIA. PRVNERIA. LIBERIQUE. MOEST. POS.

C

In France, to the end that future ages might know, there is a kinde of men whose Parents were neuer knowne by name, when as they come with their griping Tallents to manage the Publike or Princes Treasure, they sodainely become all gold, as if they had bathed themselves in the riuier Pactolus; in their diet, apparrell, traine and pallaces, they exceed the greatest Dukes, how rightly many doubt, how freely all men know, yet they are terrified by an Edi&t made euery third yeere, but as it were with a still lightning, paying a small reuenue out of a great prey, beeing freed from all their villanies, they giue themselves more bloodily to theeuing.

Edi&t against them that rob the publike.

D This yeere Iudges were chosen to presse this sponge, or rather appointed to reuenge these publike thefts, abundance of wealth was now fatal vnto the owners, neither wanted they any other witnesses, then to enquire of their birth, patrimonie, and what they had gotten together, capitall questions were not troublefome, the matter was apparent.

The Marquis of Allegre had during the ciuill warres traytorously murdered *Hallot* at Vernon vpon Seine beeing vnarmed, comming vnto him vnder a collour of saluting him, beeing armed and with a traine of souldiers: Hee presently left the Kings partie (the which hee had maintained constantly) and fled to the League: And to the end hee might free both himselfe and the rest that were guiltie of this foule murder, hee E procured that a young man who had serued him as a Page should publicly carry Saint Romans Chase, not without the emulation of other malefactors. As many as had bene consorts in this murder were by the court of Parliament condemned and executed in Picture; and as many as could bee taken, died for the fact: for the suruiuing wife with an incredible charge did offer vnto him the bloud of the guilty, or of those which with a drie hand and ignorant of the Treason were present at the fact; after the restless rage of a couragious wife, at length this young man *La Mot* fell into her hands, beeing in bonds hee pleads his cause before the Parliament at Rouen, hee seeks to prooue his innocency by his tender age, by his dutie to his Lord; by his hands that were not imbrued with bloud, hauing not at that time euer drawne sword, it is not F any guilt for him to looke on, that could not auoide it; the Law doth not condemne any but such as when they might haue forbidden it, would not: The dishonour lies vpon them that behold and wincke at violence offered, and not vpon them which are vnable to repell force, but must of necessitie bee silent and still, *Piso* cried out to his companions which beheld his ruine, *By your stilnesse you make the guilt common.*

*Hallot* traytorously murdered.

N n n n n

La Mot

1607.

*La Moss* Aduocate did adde, that his case was far otherwise, then that which *Iohannes Papa* describes vnto *Lewis* the Emperour: *He offends as well as the actor, who when hee can correct, neglects to amend:* notwithstanding *La Moss* being doubtfull of his life, and loth to rely too much vpon the conceiued hope of his innocency, he hath his refuge vnto the Altars and Churches, as if they were safegards for wickednesse. Whilst his cause is in question, he appeales vnto *S. Romane* the reuenger of a pardoned crime, he calls the Arch-bishop *Ioyeuse*, and the Chanoins of Rouen to assist him in this controuersie, and to defend the priuiledges of their Saint. If it be a guilt to sin with the eyes for him whose hands were free from murder, notwithstanding although hee were the most detestable murderer liuing, by the only carrying of this chafe, the offence being pardoned, there was no more question to bee made vnto him; the ancient priuiledges of Neustria were broken, force and reproch was offered vnto their household-god, the custome had bene obserued for many ages, not newly inuented, when as by the Hebrew law, euery yeare before Easter their custome was, to set a malefactor free: neither were some citties in Palestina vnlike to *Romulus* Sanctuary, being built as a refuge for offenders. *Gregorie* of Tours doth generally in his Annals witnes, in what reuerence the Altars and Churches of the gods were, and how many offenders haue by that meanes escaped present and capital punishments. Crimes are not wiped away with blood only: there is nothing of greater efficacie to pacifie Gods wrath, then repentance, and how acceptable it is, our Saviour teacheth, when as he set the Adulteresse free, who was ready to be stoned by the seuerity of *Moses* law: whilst he liued vpon earth, hee did not condemne any malefactor, but did blesse, even the most wicked with his companie and table: as *Paul* (who was afterwards the light of the Gentils) Publicans, as *Mathew* Adulteresses as *Magdeline*. He did so often wipe away the reproches of insulting circumcised men, as he did publicly confesse, that he came into the world to cure the diseased, and that the whole had not any need of a Phisition. It is no fable that is reported of *S. Romain*, who slue that monstrous dragon, which annoyed Normandie, as of *Hercules* and his Lernean snake with seuen heads. *Saint Romain* drew this raging monster out of his den, and as it were made tame and bound, brought it to a publike fire in the midst of the cittie, with the helpe of a malefactor. It hath bene a custome obserued for many ages, that euery yeare an offender should be set at libertie, and haue his life giuen him.

Antiquitie is a great testimonie, and of more force then any Records: it came vnto posteritie by tradition: in the affirmation of miracles the faith of Antiquitie is more ancient then all monuments. *Saint Augustine* to the end hee might confirme the faith of miracles, did thus write to them that doubted. *I haue not seene Christ, who was seene and did appeare, neither haue I seene them that saw him, but I haue beleued the confirmed opinion of Nations, and the report which is very authentike, this was commanded from heauen, this was deliuered vs by our Auncestors, and hath bene obserued vnto our time, so seeke to alter and peruert this, is nothing else but to seeke a sacrilegious way to Religion.*

It hath bene obserued in all ages, that malefactors were freed from punishment vpon the sight of their gods. *Ninus* did first erect Statues, whither offenders might flie: he did set vp an Image like vnto his father *Belus*, whither if any one came, hee was pronounced free from the crime and punishment. The Athenians had an Altar of Mercie. The Ephesians gaue refuge to malefactors in *Diana's* Temple: *Osiris* to the Egyptians, *Apollo* to the Assyrians, *Insiper* to the Itacenses, *Mynerua* to the Lacedemonians, who were their Tutelarie gods. Finally, they falsly attribute to Diuels, that which Christians do now giue vnto the true God. At Rome the day before the Assumption of our Ladie, there are two offenders brought forth to execution, and giuen to the Virgin, who left examples of mercie to bee imitated, and presidents of Christian clemencie to be embraced and followed. On Palme-sunday Eue there is one deliuered out of the Chastelet at Paris.

At Vendosme in the Abbey of *Saint Triade*, a Malefactor, after that hee hath gone naked with a great Torch on his shoulder through the towne, being followed by the whole

1607.

A whole Clergie, and admonished by the Cryer to leade a better life, he is not only freed from his bonds, but being refreshed with good victuals, is set at libertie. The new Bishop of Orleans, at his first entrance into the Cittie, sets all criminal persons at libertie. This was giuen to God, not that through hope of impunitie offenders should grow more bold; but that their liues not being taken away, they should acknowledge to haue receiued them againe from God. Who will thinke that our wise fathers (as some malicious people say) being abused, would so long haue endured this Imposture? as if this age (which is but a step-dame to the Ancient, and hath fallen into heresie) had discovered this fraude. But we (a more wicked generation then our fore-fathers) are not wise in heart and beleeve, but with our eyes only: We giue not credit to that we see, but what we seele with our hands, when as Faith comes by hearing: neither do we approach so neere vnto God by any vertue, as by Mercie, which consists chiefly in sparing of the guiltie: For as *Seneca* sayd: *The whole world should perish, if mercie did not temper anger.* There was much more pleaded by the Aduocates for *La Motte*, and in defence of the ancient priuiledge of the Cathedral Church at Rouen, the which for breuitie sake I omit.

On the other side *Ha's* incensed wife, an implacable reuenger of a wicked murder, powred forth many bitter words: That the Altars of the gods were much defiled with this rabble of wicked men: that they were better pleased with chastity and cleanness then with sacrifices, and therefore it was vsuall among the Ancients, before they begun the sacrifice, one cryed out with a loud voyce: *Go farre from hence ye men that are prophane.* And the Heathen thought that the gods dwelt in their Temples: neither was it vnworthily spoken of one, *The true power of dedication is that which brings in God, and sets him in his appointed place: It is not lawfull for euery man to do this, but for such as haue chaste hands, and holy hearts.* And who would endure the Temples of the gods to be polluted by wicked murderers and theeues, who defile all they touch and breath on? They wrongfully produce many examples out of the Heathen, Hebrewes, and Christians, when as all Sanctuaries were instituted to protect them onely that were guiltie of murder committed by chance, or an vn-premeditated crime: for so God the Reuenger commanded: *If any one bating his neighbour, hath layd waite for his life, and hath slayne him flying, and then shall fly vnto one of the aboue named Citties, the Elders shall take him, and deliuer him vnto his neere kinemen, whose blood he hath spilt, and he shall dye.* Neither was the seueritie of the Churches in old time to be remooued, when as *Meroue* mooued with the hatred of *Fredegond* his step-mother, had fled vnto *Saint Martins* Church, (which was then very religiously worshipped by all men) King *Chilperic* his father (yeelding too much to a bloudie woman whom he loued) wrote a threatening letter to *Gregorie* of Tours: *Cast that Apostata (sayd he) out of the Church, or else I will fire the whole countrey.* The Emperours would not haue their Statues to protect any other, but such as were oppressed by the enemy, and power of their enemies. *Lucius* the 3. commands that publike theeues and way-layers should be excluded from the immunities of the Church. *Vidas* *Papa*, the light of the French lawes in his age, makes mention, that being Councelor in Daulphiné, there were two murderers drawn from the Altar to execution. The Ancients did rightly call that the Altar of mercie, to the which they were delected by the stormes of angry Fortune, & vnable to farishe: or that had vnwittingly stricken, or fallen into any other casuall crime, had fled. Neither were pardons granted but to them that were guilty of vnpremeditated murders. When as *Constantine* the Great at the birth of his children granted the kind of graces, he excluded murderers, way-layers, witches, and adulterers: They that maintaine this wonder of *S. Romain*, to absolve offenders, haue it not confirmed by any Annals and Records, but only by Antiquity. What ancient Writer (being then in a maner all Monks) would haue past ouer in silence so great a miracle of a diuall power? hauing set downe most frivolous things, yet no man writes of this serpent, which was brought downe to a publike fire, whereby we may rightly beleue there was not any such wonder. Neither is it credible, that vnder religious Kings, one malefactor or carying the chaine, a multitude



1607.

of wicked men should be freed from bonds and punishment, which is the synew of ciuill A  
gouernement, especially vnder *Lewis* the ninth, who was most sparing of pardons, and  
if he did with a trembling hand grant any, yet he still made his Almoner, who was his  
Confessor acquainted therewith. But let vs allow that which is written of the most hid-  
den secrets of the Hebrewes, that it is neither recorded in parchment, nor grauen in  
the barks of trees or stones, least Time should weare it out, but left vnto vs by our  
Fathers by long Tradition: yet in maintayning the priuiledge, the abuse is to bee cor-  
rected, euen by *S. Romaines* will, who when as in that worthy act, hee had but one ma-  
lefactor for his companion, would haue but one afterwards to be pardoned. But in our  
age what a scumme of wicked men, being protected by this brazen wall, do freely laugh  
at publike Lawes? For by this the company of offenders is freed, any one that is past B  
shame, that respects not his reputation, and blusheth not at the faces of men, submit-  
ting his shoulders to this holy burthen, which he had so often subiected to the Stake,  
by his onely act he frees all the rest from ignominie, and absolues the absent, the which  
were insolent with all other Nations. Wherefore the widowes aduocate demanded *La*  
*Motte* head, with a longer speech, as a sacrifice to the ashes of her deare husband: the  
cause had many hearings, and much was written by the Clergy of Rouan for the de-  
fence of their priuiledge.

A wicked act.

In the towne of Metz there was an Ensign of the garrison called also *La Motte*, an in-  
solent man, and dissolute in his life and conuersation, who being extremely in loue with C  
a yong virgin within the towne, resolved to win her by all allurements: if not, to get her  
by force. In this wicked desseigne he employed a drunken gossip, whose profession was  
to be a bawd, she abusing this virgin with an honest shew, brings her into the souldiers  
house, like a sheepe to the wolfe and slaughter, being shut vp into a prison, he rauisheth  
her: her miserable parents are continually tormented for the want of her: they run vp  
and downe weeping and crying that their daughter is stolne away: they moue the Iud-  
ges to seeke her out and to reuenge: they hauing sent for the Captaines of the Gari-  
son, who were suspected of this rape, aduised them speedily to deliuer the virgin vnto-  
ched vnto her complaining parents. *La Motte* the rauisher stood by, who being struck D  
with the Prætors voyce, and the horror of his offence, trembles and apprehends the pu-  
nishment of his fact: he goes home, & resolves to adde one wickednes to another, and  
performes it; if he should restore the virgin deflowred, there were no meanes to escape  
punishment: wherefore the first villany must be hidden by another. This cruel man, who  
had learned in warlike slaughters not to feare blood, doth not keep his cruel hands from  
the murder of this virgin: he bereaues her both of life and honor: and left there shold  
be some markes of this murder to discover him, he cuts the body in peeces, and put-  
ting it into a sacke, casts it into the next riuer. This foule fact lay hidden vntill that this  
libidinous Ensigne-bearer had taken away another mayd from a garrison souldier with  
the like lust, who not bearing this indignity, complained to the Gouverneur. *La Motte* E  
with the bawd (who was accustomed to corrupt yong mayds) and the bawdes seruant,  
were committed to prison, they refuse to be tryed by the Iudge of that place, but soon  
after the first fact, which hee thought Time had worne out of memorie, beganne to  
breake forth: for the bawde and his seruant being examined apart, the truth be-  
ganne to shew it selfe, but there wanted a competent Iudge to proceede in the  
cause.

At length the matter was referred to the great Councell, there to be tryed: and they  
were all carryed bound to Paris, where being put to the Racke, the Bawde and her  
seruant not being able to indure the extremitie of the torments, did willingly con-  
fesse all the fact, whereupon they were condemned to the Gallows, and *La Motte*  
to loose his head, who hearing of this farall sentence, beganne to storme, and refused  
to bee bound and ledde to the place of execution, hee striues with the Hang-man F  
and Sergeants: in the end being cast vpon the Ground raging like a madde man,  
they bind him and carrie him out vpon their shoulders, and put him into a Cart,  
being come vnto the Scaffold, hee shewed no more mildnesse, but much lesse  
modestie

Page and vio-  
lence of a con-  
fused man.

1608.

A modestie and resolution then was befitting an Officer that professed Armes. He renues  
his rage and violence, and presseth his friends that were about him to go to the King  
to sue for his pardon: He that was now dying did still liue in hope. The Duke of Esper-  
non, remembring his valour, had sued for his pardon: and *Queene Marguerite* go-  
ing late to the King at night, had bene very importunat for him, but the King, ouer-  
come with no prayers, commanded he should dye. *La Motte* being told that the King  
would not be moued for his pardon, and being aduised to take his death resolutely,  
and to forbear these intemperate humors which did not become a gallant Souldier,  
the which in publike were taken for signes of basenesse: That he which had so often  
B sought death in the thickest troupes, should not now feare a Hang-man. Being at last  
made more calme, he kneeled downe, suffered his eyes to be couered, submitted his  
necke to the blocke, and lost his head.

In the beginning of this yere the cold was so violent as it killed Corne, Vines and  
Trees, especially those that had any pith. There had not bene so hard a Winter scene  
in many ages. The swiftest riuers were so frozen, as Carts laden with great Burthens,  
went as freely ouer them, as vpon the firme land, the stockes of Vines euen to the  
very Roote withered away, with the force of the cold, neither did they spring againe,  
vnlesse they were cut off, all Nurres although they were old, and had very hard shelles  
withered away, and which is wonderfull, Medlar trees and other which are most firme  
C dried away. The breath going hotte from the mouth, grew presently white with  
cold, water taken hotte from the fire grew presently hard, and the Wine which was in  
the Caves would not runne out of the Vessels: so as in many places they were fayne  
to cutte it with Hatchets: as *Bellay* reports happened in his time, when as the Kings  
Armie wintred in the Duchie of Luxembourg. The riuer of *Seine* was so frozen as the  
King and Courtiers attending vpon him, passed it daily ouer without feare or suspi-  
tion of danger. The people who liued vpon their daily prouision, were much opprest  
for want of wood.

*Henry* of Bourbon, Prince of the bloud, Duke of Montpensier, and Prince of  
Dombes, hauing languished two yeares of sicknesse, and wasted to the very bones,  
D being not able to receiue any sustenance, was nourished (as they say) with womans  
milke. A little before his end the Duke of Orleans, the Kings second sonne, was made  
sure to his onely daughter, his house hauing this support, by the perswasion of father  
*Angelo* his father-in-law, hee left all worldly cares, and applied himselfe to heavenly  
meditations. The sharpenesse of the Winter did hasten his lingring end: for the force  
of it was so piercing, as it not onely dried vp his bowels being weake, but many (the  
cold growing milder) went away suddenly, as the Phisitions sayd. Being then of the  
age, which makes a man of a goodly representation, rich in wealth, fauoured by his  
King, followed like a Prince, and abounding in the gifts of fortune, and the vertues of  
the mind, remayning still constant in the Catholike Faith: He dyed in the armes of his  
E Father-in-law and wife, without any motion, like vnto a Lampe whose oyle is spent.  
His funerall pompe was prepared: an Image of Waxe was made like vnto himselfe  
liuing, and layed in a stately bedde with golden furniture, and the Armes of the  
House of Bourbon about it, where as his Table was serued eight dayes together in  
the same State and magnificencie as if hee had bene liuing. His funerall Rights were  
performed in our Ladies Church.

*Petrus Fenossius* the Kings Preacher, and appointed Bishop of Montpellier, did af-  
ter the accustomed manner commend the Prince, with a learned Oration, where as  
all the Courtiers mourned. But his death happening about Shroue-tide, all their v-  
suall sports were layd aside, many grieuing at the cost they had bestowed for this  
F pompe. The Dauphins maske with the young Noblemen about him (for that it had  
bene importuned in this time of mourning) was deferred, till that *Montpensiers* ob-  
sequies were ended according to his dignitie: which done, his body was carried to his  
house at Champigny in Poistou, and there layd in the Graue with his Ancestors, with  
the like princely pompe.

Death of the  
D. of Mont-  
pensier.Marriage of  
the Duke of  
Orleans to  
the Duke of  
Montpensiers  
daughter.Order of  
Princes obse-  
quies.

1608.  
Iesuites ad-  
mitted to go  
into Nauarre.

The Iesuites could not be containd in one kingdome: as they had beene receiued A into France, so they did desire to haue free access into Nauarre, and Bearne, for the propagation of Religion: That there was no cause of difference why they should not be admitted into the one Realme as well as into the other, seeing they were subiect to one Lord. They of Bearne opposed themselues with all violence, who hated the Iesuites, no lesse then *Philip* did *Demoithenes*, and the other chiefe Cittizens of Athens, who were the defenders of the Atticke Libertie.

The King beeing at Blois in the yeare 1599. granted by the Edi& to them of the Religion of Nauarre and Bearne: That no Iesuite should come within their Confinnes, least they should breed some innouation that might trouble the publike quiet: yet the B Bishoppes in the Countrey requiring the contrarie, the King changing his resolution, decreed, That they should be admitted into all places as well as the other Orders, abrogating the contrarie Edi&: and protesting that his meaning was to send the Iesuites thither, to assist the Bishoppes to re-plant the Catholike Faith. All the Iudges and Officers in the Countrey were wonderfully discontented; for they hated the Iesuites about all Creatures living, keeping them farre from their limits, and in former times they put them to death like Spies, if they found any: but the Maiestie of Henry the fourth, is growne so great, as his power is feared as well at the foote of the Pyrennee Mountaines, which distinguish France from Spaine, as in Paris, and is as willingly obeyed. A rare felicitie of a Prince, which happens not to many, whose presences are respected but when they are retired, they are like vnto the Sunne, which beeing set cloudes arise, so do Fa&ions by their absence.

Francis Fauna  
a cunning  
Impostor.

We will relate a memorable fact, and the fatall end of a most wicked man and cunning Impostor, of whom all Europe hath spoken. He was another *Proteus*, and transformed himselfe into sundrie shapes. Sometimes he called himselfe *Cesar Florio*, another time *Francis Fauna*; sometimes a Geneuois, another time a Neapolitane: sometimes he counterfeited himselfe a Phisition, and sometimes a Marchant, but at his triall he termed himselfe *Francis Fauna*, which we will keepe. He was borne in a little towne called Capriola, in the territories of Genoua; he spent his youth in many voyages, professing Phisicke: beeing foure and thirtie yeares old, he came to Nouara, and there making gaine of his phisicall profession, he becomes a Suter to a Marchants daughter called *Catherina Oliua*; the father fearing that this stranger had another wife, desired to haue some certificate of his countrey and parents. He who was exceeding cunning in counterfeiting of any hand, draws an instrument himselfe, annexing a seale vnto it, whereby the Iudge of Saint *Seuerin*, a little towne neere vnto Naples, doth certifie all men, that *Fauna* was borne there, a frugall man, of the Tribe and family of *Fiori*, the which was an ancient, and not obscure house. The Marchant of Nouara knowing no deceit, giues him his daughter in marriage, beeing at length wearie of the place and name, hee gettes him into a Towne of the Iurisdiction of Placentia, called Castelarca, with his wife and three children remayning, and small store of stufte: and beeing impatient of his fortune, finding himselfe vnable to maintaine a family with so little means, he gaue his mind to incredible villanies, and hauing gathered together fifty Crownes in Gold, he comes to Naples, whereas when he had fought out among the Bankers, that *Alexander Bossa* was the chiefe, he gets him a long gowne, and counterfeits himselfe an Abbot. He insinuates with this Banker, and perswades him that he hath a Nephew at Venice, which dealt in his businesse, desiring him to make him ouer fiftie Crownes to be payed at Venice by exchange by his Correspondent. *Bossa* who suspected no deceit, writes his letters, and hauing receiued the mony, deliuers them to this Impostor, who doth imitate it daily, vntill in the end he could counterfeit *Bossa's* hand. After fiftene dayes he restored the letters againe vnto *Bossa*, and receiued his own, pretending that his Nephew, hauing ended his businesse, was gone fr& Venice. Conuersing thus with the Banker, he gathered vp some straggling letters, which lay disperfed being of no moment. And he being from home, he goes vnto his booke-keeper, and desires him to lend him paper and a seale, hauing good oportunitie to write vnto his friends,

1608.

A friends, the messenger beeing in halt; hauing good leisure in the absence of *Bossa*, being a speedy writer, hee writes six letters soderly, and seales them with *Bossa's* seale; he deuised this fraud that he might obserue the forme of his paper, and the manner of his seale. Finding no such paper at Naples, hee buies the like at Ancona, and counterfeits the seale, the which hee keepe for to effect his villany.

During his aboad at Naples, he was encouraged by a pardon granted for the like offence; there was one that had counterfeited a Bankers letters condemned to be hanged, going to execution, and meeting with the Viceroy of Naples, and the Cardinall of Agnanina, hee was deliuered, so as hee expected the like grace if he were taken in the like offence. Soone after hee came to Padoua with a shauen crowne, counterfeiting himselfe to be a Priest. In this habit he goes in the euening to visit the Bishop of Concordia, and faines himselfe to be the Bishop of Venafrey in the Kingdome of Naples, who was forced to flic his country, vpon suspicion of adultery with the Duke of Caietans Neece, whereof hee was falsly accused by his ill willers: that being banished from his country and house, hee had beene at Rome to purge himselfe vnto the Pope of so foule a fact, but the hatred of his great enemies had made him to yeeld to their enuy, who hauing often sought his life by poyson and force, hee had secretly escaped out of Rome in a poore Priests habit, and had fled vnto him as vnto a Sanctuary and safe refuge. Hee intreates him to fauour a miserable man and a vagabond, and that hee would finde him some trusty man, vnder whose name hee might safely receiue at Venice tenne thousand ducates of gold which hee had left in trust at Naples with *Ian Baptista Carraciola* Marquis of Saint Elmi: That in his aduersity the sayd Marquis and the Archbishop of Bari his brother, had beene his great fauourers: and that he might requite this kindnesse with some good turne, hee had betrothed his Neece vnto the Marquis with a doury of a hundred and fiftie thousand crownes, and the money which hee had left in deposito was to buy chaines, iewels and other ornaments for women, whereby hee might purchase his returne into his country. The Bishop of Concordia greewing at his misfortune, promifeth him all helpe, and to giue him a faithfull man to negotiate his businesse, namely *Anthony Bartholonius* a Banker, by whom hee might D safely receiue the money at Venice which hee had left at Naples. This counterfeit Priest answered that he thought it very conuenient, and hauing giuen him thanks he retired himselfe secretly.

This practise was confirmed by one of the Bishop of Concordias seruants, who sayd hee had seene him at Rome, in a Bishops weed, so as if there had beene any suspicion of fraude, the Bishop by the Testimony of his old seruant had easily freed it. *Fauna* faines that hee had written to Naples to *Caracciola*, and letting passe so many daies as a post might goe from Padoua to Naples, and returne from thence to Venice, hee giues a packet to *Ossauio Oliua* his wiues brother, being acquainted with his cossenage: the which like a flying post hee brought to *Angelo Bossa* at Venice, beeing vnle to E *Alexander* at Naples: hauing opened the packet, hee read the letter that was written vnto himselfe, and other three written from the Marquis *Caracciola*, whereof one was to the Bishop of Concordia, an other to him of Venafrey, and the third to *Anthony Bartholonius*.

These three letters are sent from Venice to Padoua, to the Bishop of Concordia: hauing read that which was written to himselfe, hee sends for the counterfit Bishop, and deliuers him his, the third vnto *Bertholonius* beeing then at Venice, with charge that he should receiue the money for his fellow and friend the Bishop. All these letters were counterfit, and written by *Fauna*, that written by *Alexander Bossa*, was of that paper which hee had bought at Ancona, and sealed with his seale, the other of the F Marquis of Caracciola was as cunningly counterfit. *Alexander Bossa's* letter to *Angelo* contained these words. You shal understand that the Marquis of Saint Elmi, within three daies after that the Archbishop his brother shalbe come to Naples, is to deliuer unto mee tenne thousand ducates, to the end that you deliuer so much to *Anthony Bertholonio* a Marchant at Venice, to buy pearles, precious stones & other iewels of that kind. This

1608. The letter to the counterfeit Bishop of Venafrey was written in this sence,, I haue A  
 understood by your letters, that you are safe in the Bishop of Concordia house, who  
 hath promised you the helpe and assistance of *Anthony Bertholonius* a Marchant at Ve-  
 nice, by his meanes you shall receiue ten thousand ducats, which you left with mee,  
 within three daies after that my brother the Archbishop shalbe returned to Naples,  
 I will send a letter vnder *Bertholonius* certifying, that you may receiue that money for  
 the buying of Jewels. That which was written to *Bertholonius* contained these words.  
 \* I understand by the Bishop of Concordia that I am to pay ten thousand ducats to buy Jew-  
 els; within three daies hee wilbe here that should deliuer the money, hauing receiued it, I  
 will presently deliuer it to Alexander Bosfa, from whom I will take a bill for the payment B  
 of so much to you at Venice.

Within three daies after *Faua* suggests that hee had receiued five other letters by a  
 Post one was written to *Francis Bordenali* factor to *Alexander Bosfa*, an other from the  
 sayd *Alexander* to *Angelo*, the three others to himselfe falsely called Bishop of Vena-  
 frey, to the Bishop of Concordia, and to *Bertholonius*, all counterfeit. The bill of ex-  
 change went in these words,, Hauing read this letter, within three daies after or  
 sooner, without expecting any other aduice, pay vnto *Anthony Bertholonius* a Mar-  
 chant and Banker of Venice, ten thousand ducates, the which we haue receiued from  
 the Marquis of Saint Elmi, to buy pearles and Jewels, and if *Bertholonius* will exceed C  
 this summe, doubt not to giue it him, for the Marquis hath left a thousand ducats  
 more in deposito with vs. The letter which was written to *Bertholonius* spake thus,,  
 I send you billes of exchange for ten thousand ducates, whereof I made mention in  
 my former writing three daies since, you shall deliuer it to the Banker, and hauing re-  
 ceiued the money, you shall buy precious stones, pearles, gold chaines and such like,  
 according to the direction of my Lord Bishop of Concordia. Hee aduiseeth *Faua* to  
 to goe himselfe to Venice, and to make choise of that rich ware, wherein there was  
 much deceite: hee yeelds to his aduice, and hauing letters of commendation to *Be-  
 rtholonius*, taking for his companion *Ianus Peter Oirua* another of his wiues brethren,  
 he goes to Venice, salutes *Bertholonius*, and deliuereth him the Bishop of Concordias  
 letters. He not knowing what a Scorpion he did nourish in his bosome, entertained D  
*Faua* for his guest, and did reuerence him as a Prelate: hauing receiued the bill of ex-  
 change from him hee presents it to *Angelo Bosfa*, who accepts it, and promiseth paie-  
 ment accordingly, whereupon *Bertholonius* goes about to make choise of his pearles,  
 he giues a scantling vnto the Gold-smith, hauing seene the ware, hee paies the price  
 that was agreed vpon; During this businesse this counterfeit Bishop staid some  
 daies in *Bertholonius* house, where hee carried a very religious shew, hauing alwaies a  
 Breuiary in his hand, still mumbling his praies like an Ape, so as he was held to be very  
 deuout; And when as he went abroad, he put on such a countenance, as hee was taken  
 of al men for a reuerend Bishop, and was much esteemed by the General of the Vene-  
 cian Gallies, hauing carefully inquired of *Bertholonius* of the fame and life of this Pre-  
 lat. And to the end he might more safely abuse *Bertholonius*, he told him of his misfor-  
 tunes, of his proscription, of the mallice of his enemies, and repeats vnto him what hee  
 had sayd vnto the Bishop of Concordia, adding that he had an intent to goe to Turin  
 to speake with the Marquis of Este, who was going into Spaine about the marriage of  
 the Duke of Mantouas son, with the Duke of Sauoies daughter, to intreat him to pro-  
 cure him letters to the Viceroy of Naples that he might be restored to his country &  
 Bishoprike. Whilst hee remained with *Bertholonius* hee discoursed of matters of State,  
 especially about the controuersie betwixt the Venetians and the Bishop of Rome, see-  
 ming often to take their parts, yet with such moderation as hee dissented from the Ve-  
 necians only for religions cause. He often and very fitly talked of accidents which hap-  
 pened vnto him, that he had bin sent Nuntio from Pope *Clement* the 8. vnto the Empe-  
 ror *Rodolphus*, that besides his intertainmēt, he had spent of his own in this Ambassage  
 15000. crowns, for the which charge he had receiued no grace, when as by the Iudge-  
 ment of the Archbishop of Barry & other states men he had deserued a Cardinals hat;  
*Bertholonius*

A *Bertholonius* looking wishly on him at the Table, sayd vnto him; *Unlesse I be much ac-  
 ceused I haue seene you else-where*, the which *Faua* did affirme, and *unlesse my memory and  
 mine eyes wander*, I thinke it was in the Marquis of Palauicines Palace, vpon the riuier of  
 Sallo, where wee did recreate our selues with fishing.

True it is that *Faua* was neuer there, yet whether that hee had learned of some other  
 that *Bertholonius* had bene in the Marquisses house, and there taken delight in fish-  
 ing, or that hee had some diuining spirit, hee did so intermixt truth with his lies, as *Be-  
 rtholonius* was forced to confesse that which had neuer happened. The businesse being  
 thus effected by this counterfeit Prelate, he writes vnto the Bishop of Concordia, that  
 the Jewels being bought according to his desire, he ment to depart the next day early,  
 that they might bee at Padoua before noone, desiring *Bertholonius* that going into Pi-  
 edmont he would let him haue *Martin* his oldest seruant for a companion. *Bertholo-  
 nius* hauing taken a discharge from the Bishop of Concordia, deliueres all the Jewells  
 to *Faua* who gaue him a note for the receite thereof. *Faua* hauing packt vp all, hee  
 offered *Bertholonius* a large reward for his paines, besides his brokedge, the which in  
 regard of the Bishop of Concordia hee would by no means receiue. But heare the  
 villany of a most wicked guest, who fearing if for want of money he should make sale  
 of any Jewells, hee should discouer his fraude by his want: Whilst hee lay in the Ve-  
 netians house, hee had obserued that there was money in a chest in the Chamber where  
 hee was lodged, hee pickes open the locke, and steales fiue hundred crownes from his  
 hoste, and lockes the chest againe, so as his theft could not be discouered. Hee goes  
 to Padoua with *Bertholonius*, who was ignorant of this villany, and hauing giuen ma-  
 ny thanks to the Bishop of Concordia, and commended his care who had giuen him  
 so carefull an hoste and factor, being impatient of all delay, making hast as hee sayd to  
 Turin, hee retired himselfe. *Bertholonius* returning home, and opening his chest, hee  
 found it empty, but to suspect the Prelate of this, his dignity and profession did for-  
 bid him.

The next day *Bertholonius* receiued nine thousand ducates from *Angelo Bosfa*: but  
 behold there comes a Post with all speed from Naples, to aduertise *Angelo* that his  
 D Nephew *Alexander* had giuen no billes of exchange to the Marquis of Saint Elmi.  
 The fraude being discouered, inquiry is made for *Charles Pirritus* professing himselfe  
 Bishop of Venafrey, and a warrant granted to apprehend him. *Bertholonius* and *Bos-  
 fa* certified the Bishop of Concordia, how they haue bene all abused, so as they hunt  
 ouer all Italy for him but in vaine: And they giue notice vnto forraigne Nations of the  
 villany of this man, of his theft and flight, but they make perticular mention of the  
 Jewels, and of the weight of the pearle, with the collour and forme of the scales. The  
 description of this theft is sent to *Lumagne* a Banker at Paris, who giues notice  
 thereof to all the gold-smithes.

*Faua* went not to Turin, as hee made shew, but gets him home, and acquaints his  
 E wife and children with his intent to goe into France, that hee had store of gold and  
 pretious stuffe, whereupon hee instantly changed his aboad, and went backe againe to  
 Venice with his wife, three children, and *Ostauio* and *Peter Olinia* his wiues brethren,  
 and *Ostauio* misliking this voyage into France returned home. Passing from thence  
 with all his family through the Grisons and Suisses, hee came in Nouember to Paris,  
 and there hired him a chamber. *Faua* thinking himselfe in a safe country, studi-  
 ed where hee should settle himselfe, not at Paris, by reason of the concourse of I-  
 talians and other Nations, alwaies fearing the misfortunes which fell vpon him, but  
 at Poyctiers, or Angiers; He writes to *Francis Corfina*, who gouerned an Apotaries  
 shop at Brusselles, requiring him to come speedily to Paris, that hee had store of gold  
 wherewith they would buy drugs and set vp a shop for Phisicke, and that hee should  
 F haue an equall share in the gaine. Whilst he expects an answer from *Corfina*, hee of-  
 fers some Jewels to sell to a Gold-smith called *Bourgoing*, intreating him to helpe  
 him to a broker by whose meanes hee might make sale thereof; The Gold-smith pro-  
 miteth him his owne labour, and receiues foures cafes, for the which hee giues him a  
 note

1608.

note of his hand. He shewes one of them to *Maurice* and *Turket*, two Jewellers, who viewing by their notes the forme and red collour finde it to bee stollen: They make an agreement betwixt them to diuide the reward which was promised vpon the recovery of the goods, and then they acquainted the Lieutenant Criminall therewith, who leauing his habit did counterfeit himselfe a Marchant, and attended *Fauas* returne, who came soone after, inquiring of the Gold-smith, if he had found out any one to buy his Jewels, yes marry haue I sayd he, very sufficient and wealthy men, the which *Faua*, thinking to be true, he that had often circumuented others, fearing no deceit in this counterfeite Chap-man, he drew forth his cases of Jewels, the which by the marke that came from Venice were knowne to bee the same. *Faua* seeing the Marchants to obserue the seales very precisely beganne to feare, and to the end hee might withdraw himselfe, he pretended that hee had some present businesse with another Marchant at home, and that hee would returne presently whilest they were viewing of the Jewels. But the Iudge discovering who hee was, apprehends *Faua*, hee examines him of his other cases, who doth not deny but hee had tenne more, the which could not bee hidden, wherevpon the Iudge went with *Bourgoing* the Gold-smith to *Fauas* lodging, where they finde the number of the cases, and the waight of the gold and Jewels, and take an Inuentory thereof. This cunning wretch seeing himselfe brought into these straights, intreates that he may not be ouerthrowne with the losse of so rich Marchandise, when as his life, good name, and the helth of his wife and children were vnder the protection of the Law and Iustice.

*Faua* seeing  
his villany dis-  
covered thus  
dies how to  
flie.

Examination  
of *Faua*.

The day of his apprehension hee was examined of whence hee was; how old hee was, and of what profession? Hee answered that hee was called *Francis Faua*, borne at Capriola, a towne in the territories of Genoa, that hee profest physick and was five and fortie yeers old. That although his chiefe profession was physicke, yet he had bene accustomed to deale for Rings, Jewels and pearle: that hee had bought this Marchandise at Placentia, from one that was knowne, and two other vnknowne, to the end hee might sell them againe in France and the Low-countries. Beeing examined againe the thirteenth day of Ianuary, hee falls vpon his knees and craues mercie of the Iudges, saying that whatsoeuer hee had formerly confest was false, that hee was guiltie of the theft which was in question, and so relates the whole manner of it, as you haue heard.

*Faua* confes-  
seth the fact.

But hee determyning to doe that vnto himselfe, which hee expected from the Iudges, hee resolued to preuent the infamy by a voluntary death: Beeing wrapt vp in his cloathes and couerlets, to the end the warme blood might flowe more freely in the cold of Winter, hee cut the veines of either arme with a penknife: but the violence of the cold congealed the blood, and forced him to liue, that would gladly haue died, his strength sayling him, hee calles for his keeper, his armes were bound vp, and his life saued.

*Faua* seekes to  
kil himselfe.

In the meane time Postes flie to Venice with newes of his taking: They presse him daily with new questions, and bid him tell why hee demanded *Martin* of the Bishop of Concordia to accompany him in his way? Hee answered, hee did it that hee might more cunningly hide his fact. Beeing asked why hee returned to Venice after so memorable a fact; Hee answered that hee had made choise thereof as his safest waie, and that such as pursued him would thinke hee had bene gone farre from thence. The Iudge inquiring whether his wife were guiltie of all these villanies; Hee answered, that the secrets of such waighy businesse were not to bee committed to a womans wit; that shee was of an innocent life and conuersation, as all Italian wiues bee, to whom marriage is a willing seruitude: that shee had bene alwaies modest and obedient, and neuer questioning of his affaires, notwithstanding the vife (as if shee should bee a vvinnesse) vvas confronted vith her husband: shee hung about his necke, and could not speake for sobbing, but hee hauing more courage spake thus vnto her. *O wife either my life shall be saued or I shall haue a certaine death; if I liue, thou shalt enioy a louing husband, if I die, thou shalt loose all cause of sorrow.*

When

1608.

A When as he viewed the cases with the Jewels and pearle, he accused his want of Iudgment, hauing still left them with the same waxe and seales as hee had receiued them at Venice.

But beeing often vrged that it was not his owne worke and industrie, to counterfeit so many letters and hands, for that when he had written to a Bishop, he did vse pontifical phrases; to a Marquis he wrote like a souldiar and Courtiar, and to Marchants hee vsed their owne stile: Hee answered that hee himselfe was the inuenter of all those deceits; that hee was not ignorant of their manner of speaking, and could so well counterfeit any mans hand, as it should not be discerned from the right; he had no lesse skill in seales, as he contended with any grauer in his arte. Whilest his cause was in question, *Corfina* comes from Bruxelles, hee visits the prisoner, and promiset him al helpe and assistance. *Faua* craues onely this fauour that hee would aduertise him daylie what past in the Venetian Ambassadours house concerning him. Vpon the siue and twentieth day of February *Corfina* informes him that there was a Post come from Venice, assuring that *Bertholonius* would bee there the same day, and therefore he should speedily resolue of his escape. *Faua* hauing conferred with *Corfina*, hee bewraies his minde vnto him, how hee ment to escape; that hee would slippe into the keepers chamber in his absence, and to get downe into the court, if hee might bee assisted with a Ladder of roapes, hee would get vp to the top of the wall, and so into the streete, *Corfina*, or some other fits his turne, and makes fast such a Ladder vnto the wall about six of the clocke at night, and casts a roape into the court, with the which *Faua* should draw the Ladder vnto him.

Hee confesseth  
himselfe to be  
a notable  
counterfeiter.

This practise had like to haue taken effect on the seuen and twentieth day of February in a very darke night. *Faua* hauing sent a seruant of the house, forth to fetch him wine, in the meane time hee gets into the keepers chamber, strips himselfe, and with a roape slips downe into the court, beeing there hee was long searching for the roape which was tied to the Ladder, for that the night was darke and raynie, hauing found it, he goes vp, but beeing too short, hee could not get to the top. Whilest hee strues to come to the top of the wall, hee that went to fetch him wine returnes, and finding him not there, hee tells the keeper, hee with his seruants finding *Fauas* clothes, take him hauing one foote ouer the wall, and shut him vp close: they presently goe forth with lights to search where this Ladder was cast, and meete with a man flying with his sword drawne. The keeper examines *Faua* of his premeditated flight, and of the Ladder, and hee freely confest all, yet hee knew not whether *Corfina* or any other had provided him this meanes to escape.

*Bertholonius* comming to Paris with letters of commendation from the State of Venice, hee is brought vnto the King by the Ambassadour, who giues him a fauourable hearing, and promiset him to doe him Iustice, commanding the Chancellor that hee should not suffer this wickednesse to goe vnpunished. *Bertholonius* to proue him E guilty, produceth all things that might descouer the fact. Herevpon at the suite of *Angelo Bassa* his processe is made. *Faua* despayring of all helpe, beeing weary of his life, hee seekes all meanes to die; The fourth of March hee tends for a Barber to cut his hayre; hee intreates him to helpe him to halfe an ounce of Arsenicke, currans, roses and sugar, with the which (beeing mingled with the whites of egges) hee would make a medicine for the swelling of his eyes. The Barber did as hee willed him, but when as hee saw the poyson mixt with all, the keeper looking on, hee told him what it was, the which beeing taken from him, and asked to what end hee made it; hee answered for the paine in his eyes, and although that *Antimonie* vvas taken for a poyson, yet beeing beaten and tempered it lost his force; that hee vvas so farre from offering himselfe violence, as euer since the cutting off his veines hee had sought to preserve his helth. Hee did abhorre to bee condemned to the Gallies, rather wishing death then seruitude, finding himselfe vnable for that labour by reason of his vvwounds.

*Bertholonius*  
comes to exa-  
mine.

All proofes beeing made his processe vvas ended the twvo and twentith day of March.

1608. March. *Fana* hauing some notice that his sentence drew neere, hee resolved to pre- A  
uent his Ignominie by a voluntary death: The violence of the cold had stopt his  
bloud, poyson had bene taken from him; and he had cast it vp often hauing drunke  
it: hee must not now attempt death in vaine; hee intreats his wife to make him a  
certaine cake, the which hauing sent by his eldest sonne, hee brake it in peeces, and  
rowling it in Arsenicke hee swallowed it: soone after the poyson wrought on him with  
great torments; hee telles his wife that his last houre approached, but hee speakes no-  
thing of the poyson, and requires a Priest to haue pardon of his sinnes: the violence  
of the poyson increasing, hee desired to be layed out vpon the straw, and soone af-  
ter died on the foure and twentieth day of March.

*Fana* poysoned  
himselfe.

Sentence gi-  
uen agai-nt  
*Fana*.

His bodie was opened and the poyson found in his bowels, wherevpon they gaue  
sentence against his carcassee. *Fana* was found guiltie for that hee had changed his  
name, counterfeited other mens handes, stolne gold and Iewels, and poysoned him-  
selfe: his bodie was condemned to bee drawne groueling vnto the common Gibet,  
and there to bee hanged by the heeles: His goods were forfeited to the King, ha-  
uing first paid the price of the Marchandise: There was a warrant graunted to ap-  
prehend *Ossanio* and *Peter*, who had bene companions in all his villanies. It may be  
I haue bene tedious in relating of these Impostures, but I thought good to set downe  
this notable villanie particularly, that hereafter other men may take heed of such  
cousiners.

*Mussardus*  
commits a  
crueltie.

I will adde an other without any fraude or deccite, but more cruell. *Valerianus*  
*Mussardus* not vnknowne vpon the frontiers of Picardie for his valour, during the  
combustions of France, impatient of peace, and to liue quiet in his owne home, hee  
murthers a Gentleman his neighbour, his poore mournfull widowe casts her selfe at  
the Kings feete, and sues for reuenge for the murder of her husband. The Prouost  
of the Kings house had charge to apprehend the murtherer, whereof beeing aduer-  
tised hee presently flies into a stronge castle called Moyencourt, and there hides  
himselfe.

Hee was summoned by a Trumpet, to yeeld himselfe vnto the Kings mercy the  
which hee refuseth to doe, vnlesse hee might haue his pardon granted vnder the broad  
seale, or that Mounseigneur de *Crequi*, or the Earle of *Saulx* his brother would passe their  
word for his safety. The Prouost seeing he could not bee perswaded by good words,  
sends for all the garriison souldiers thereabouts, with an intent to force him, approach-  
ing neere, hee shot fise or sixe of them; Being thus obstinate, they sent for Artillerie  
to Noyon, but before they planted it, they summon him againe to yeeld vnto the  
Kings mercy, who had long hands which no priuate man could escape; but they talk-  
ed to a deafe man.

Beeing againe thought fit to mooue him by the parrish Priest, who discourfing vn-  
to him of the cares and contempt of this present life; of the future blessednesse, or  
of the eternall paine, hee lost all his labour: They then resolved to attempt that by E  
force, which they could not effect by faire meanes. Whilst they prepare to force  
him, they sent the murtheresse mother (who had bene a companion to him in his Im-  
pudencie and villanie) vnto them, beeing let into the castle, shee intreated her daugh-  
ters and her siter with teares to yeeld, assuring them of the Kings mercie, but the vn-  
fortunate old woman not able to mooue either of them, returned; telling the Prouost  
that they were both resolved to die willinglie, and to prevent an ignominious death.  
Hee first let downe a boy and a girle in a basket to the end they might be preserued,  
then shewing themselves, and intreating the lookers on to pray for them, they went  
into a pinacle, where seeing they had no longer time to protract their yeelding, the  
gates beeing forced, they shot one another through, and died. The castle beeing F  
forced, their carcases were found bloody and halfe burnt (for they had gathered much  
straw about them to the end they might bee consumed with fire) and were balmed to  
the end they might be refered for publike infamy.

The

A The fise and twentieth of Aprill the Kings third sonne was borne at Fontainebleau, on  
the same day that *Lewis* the ninth his Predecessor was borne, hee was titled Duke of  
Aniou: we looke for a fourth who shalbe called Duke of Alanson: I do not read that  
there hath bene more Sonnes of France. *Henry* the second had so many, but their  
liues were short, and their ends were not happie: but our Queene is fruitfuller and  
more blessed then the first *Medicis*, and promisseth more, which is the true meanes to  
settle the quiet of the Kingdome, to blesse their friends and confederates, and to curbe  
their enemies, enuironning it as it were with strong towers and defences.

1608.  
Birth of the  
duke of Aniou

On Saint *Iohn* Baptiste Eue, about three miles from Paris, and one from Meudon,  
certaine Sorcerers met, hauing long before chosen this place fit for their deuotions, B  
being out of the way in a Valley, compassed about with woods and pooles, commonly  
called Porcher Fontaine. A certaine Priest, to the end he might do his Ceremonies  
there, had gotten leaue from the Vicar to say his Lyturgie secretly, but it was discour-  
red: for it happened that one of the Parish (with whom I was well acquainted) came  
vnexpected, and lest the villany should be discovered, he goes with the Vicar to a house  
standing farre off in the fields. The gates beeing shut he sayes Masse, and feeds with  
holy bread a Stone-cutter, whose name was *Iustine*, a companion of his wickednesse;  
which done returning to the former place, this wicked Priest finds a Beetle with many  
legges, vpon the banke of the poole called Clagny, and being readie to tread vpon it,  
C he gathers it vp, and wraps it in a paper. The Vicar asking him to what end he kept so  
filthy a thing, he answered, it was to please his euill spirit with that morsell: A little  
before night this false Priest, *Iustine*, an Empericke, a certaine Gentleman, and many  
others, (whose names I willingly spare) two Shepheards, a Printer, and others, hauing  
got a white Pigeon without any spot, at night they get them into a thicke wood of the  
Celestines, they do their deuotions, call vppe Spirits, and as they say had many wicked  
conferences with them.

Sorcerers de-  
couered.

Baterers.

My friend seeing this multitude of vnknowne men going vp and downe day  
and night, hee conceiued there was some villany: Hee presterh the Vicar to con-  
fesse what it was, and what these men attempted, hauing no businesse in this strange  
D place, hee suspected the Vicar, who beeing before vnknowne vnto them, was so daime-  
lic growne familiar with them: He thought they had bene theecues and murtherers  
which two daies before had slaine a victualer, hee threatned the Vicar to haue him to  
prison if hee concealed this wickednesse. Hee brings him vnto mee, and admoni-  
shed him to discouer the matter and saue himselfe; It may bee this wicked assemblie,  
was against God and the King, which reuealing hee should not onely bee freed, but  
haue reward, otherwise he were in danger of punishment.

Beeing fearefull, hee presently reueales all, and addes, that asking that wicked Priest  
priuately what hee ment by those secret sacrifices and deuotions, hee answered that  
before the yeere were ended, there would bee great warre; that the common peo-  
E ple were miserable through peace, that in the former warres there was greater store  
of money in France; that the treasure was hidden in the ground, the which must bee  
brought forth if they should goe to armes. To descouer the whole matter the Priest  
must be apprehended.

In the meane time least the Vicar should denie that which hee had willingly con-  
fessed, wee carried him before a Iudge, where hee did verie constantlie maintaine  
what hee had sayd. But that diuillish Impostor was gone farre off to the like de-  
lusions, and was absent for the space of a whole moneth. Beeing aduertised of his  
returne, and seeking carefullie for his lodging, wee vnderstood that hee was gone  
into a parrish not farre from Saint Germaine, commonly called *I.uisiana*, and  
there hee was become a Curate, thether they sent certaine Officers, and take  
F him earlie in a morning, and bring him awaie bound. Beeing examined by the  
Iudge, hee doth not denie nor stand in contradiction concerning his practise in Ma-  
gicke, but that it was innocently attempted by him, to the end hee might discou-  
er money by the reuelation of spirits, and to the end hee might finde it out,  
Ooooo hee



1608. hee had on good Friday gone into a hollow caue neere vnto Saint Landries Church, A  
 digged deepe into the ground, and called out spirits, but for that hee had not obserued  
 all ceremonies, they would neither bee seene nor speake: Beeing often demaunded  
 where hee had hidden his bookes of Inchantment, with all his Magicall stuffe, in the  
 end, hee bewraies the place where he had laied his cheft, the which being brought into  
 the Iudges house and opened, there was presently found a mixture of the Negroman-  
 tike art, three bookes for the calling vp of spirits, the skinne of children borne before  
 their time. Deaths heads, parings of nayles, tables markt with many crosses, lines and  
 circles; rings tied together with strings of leather, and needle and keies, with many o-  
 ther things which are not to bee spoken, but to bee buried in eternall forgetfulnessse.  
 There was a contract with the diuill, written in small letters, by the which they were  
 both bound, and if the Priest were weary of the bargain, substituting an other, hee B  
 should be discharged. He confessed that he had sayd Masse nine times after a prepos-  
 terous order, and inuerterd the praiers, as well in the wood of Bolonia, as where male-  
 factors are commonly hanged. That hee had offred sacrifice to the diuell, not farre  
 from the Abbay of Malenoue the which the foulnessse of the fact forbids to relate. In-  
 fine was first condemned to bee strangled and then burned. The Priest after along im-  
 prisonment, was, the fifth of Iune the next yeere, brought before our Ladies Church in  
 his shirt with a torch in his hand, where hauing abiured his wickednessse and asked par-  
 don of God, he suffered the like punishment.

Punishment  
of Sorcerers.

Ambassage  
from Spaine.  
 In Iuly Don Pedro of Toledo was sent Ambassador from the King of Spaine to the  
 French King, hee was entertained at Fontainebleau, with all the delights and sports that  
 the Court could afford, being gluttoned therewith he went to Paris, where either the  
 beauty of the place, or the importance of his Ambassage stayed him long.

This yeere the countrymans prouerbe was found true, *That after a sharpe Winter  
 folloes a hot Sommer*; as passengers were frozen with cold, so did laborers in Sommer  
 fry with heate, and many were smothered, as if they had beene in the Deserts of Ara-  
 bia, so as the extreame cold of Winter and the violent heate of Sommer spoiled their  
 Vintage, hauing scarce had any raine in three monethes. This yeere the Duke of Ven-  
 dosme, the Kings base sonne, was made sure to the Duke of Mercuers only daughter. D  
 The marriage had beene concluded at Angers in Aprill 1598. and a great penalty im-  
 posed vpon him that should detract.

Sentence for  
a clandestine  
marriage.

I doe not hold it vsfit for the History, nor to bee left to posterity, to relate the me-  
 morable Decrees of courts, wherein you may obserue their great equity and severity,  
 whereby young people may bee terrified from whorish and vnequall marriages, and  
 contempt of Parents by the example of the parties condemned. James Drouet a Gen-  
 tleman borne, sonne to an Auditor of the accounts in Normandy, being seduced by  
 the perswasions of Ioan Andrew a base woman, hee marries her secretly, the Parents  
 complaine to the Court of Parliament against the woman for the rape of this young  
 man, pretending that such marriages were forbidden by the Law of God, and an E-  
 dict made at Orleans, without the consent of the father, and sufficient witnesses, and  
 all Priests were forbidden to consummate such stolne marriages: the Parents say that  
 a youth yet vnder the rod, had beene abused by the Inchantments of a base woman  
 and of a doubtfull fame, that their sonne was not to dispose of himselfe, and that hee  
 was forced. That these clandestine marriages had beene often punished, and that it  
 was a rape.

In the end at the great Instance of the Parents, and in severity of publike discipline,  
 the Parliament decreed that the stolne marriage betwixt James Drouet and Ioan An-  
 drew was voided and of no effect, being made without the consent of the Parents, and  
 against the Lawes of the Kingdome. Ioane was condemned to goe with a torch in her  
 hand, her face couered, and a halter about her necke, and to aske pardon of God, of F  
 the Parliament, and of the Parents of Drouet, then to be whipped three daies together  
 at the corner of euery street, and so to bee banished the Realme, or if shee did not o-  
 bey this Decree, to bee hanged. All her goods were confiscate to the King, hauing  
 first

first paid the charges of the sute. James was also deprivied of all the inheritance  
 which hee could pretend from father and mother, and condemned to a yeeres impris-  
 onment, vntill that his Parents should bee sutors for him. Drouet and Ioane were  
 forbidden euer to see one an other, or to speake together, by word, writing or messen-  
 ger, and not to renew this marriage. Those which had contaminated this clandestine  
 marriage contrarie to the Decrees of the councill of Trent, and the Edict of Blois,  
 were also condemned to come into the court, and vpon their knees with a torch in  
 their hands, to craue pardon of God, the Parliament, and the Parents, being also con-  
 demned in a great fine.

Punishment  
of Priests.

B It was also decreed that the Edicts of Henry the Second, and Henry the Third made  
 at Blois vpon that same subiect, should bee euery yeere published on a certaine daie  
 in all the inferiour Courts of Normandie, and commandement giuen to obserue  
 them strictly, nor to suffer the banes to bee asked by any hired Priests or Vicars, but to  
 pronounce them themselues in open pulpit, three Sondais in the presence of the  
 Parents. The Officials were also charged not to admit of these banes vnlesse they  
 were required by the Parents and Kinsfolkes. James, Ioane, the Priests that were  
 condemned, and the Clergy of Normandy, ioyning altogether, make great instance  
 to the Kings priuie councill to haue this Decree disannulled, and declared voided, but  
 it was irreligious to offer violence to so Religious a Decree, yet with this moderation,  
 C as the King was moued to pardon the pecuniary fine, and the banishment of this  
 wretched woman.

The Clergy of France had by their Deputies held a long assemblie at Paris the  
 yeere before: their conclusions (which were then kept verie secret) burst now forth  
 into a great complaint made vnto the King by the Archbishop of Bourges, in the  
 presence of the Cardinales of Ioyeuz, Gondy, Sourdis and Perron, and thus hee  
 spake in the name of the whole Clergy.

Complaint of  
the Clergy  
vnto the  
King.

Most inuincible amongst mortall men, if it bee lawfull for sorrow to speake;  
 if nothing afflicts miserable men more then imposed silence, the Church plunged  
 in so many calamities and miseries, so that it is overflowne and drowned in a sea of  
 D griefe hauing no passage but through thornes and bushes, whose cup is worme-wood  
 and bitter dregges, shall receiue no small comfort this daie, if it shall please your  
 most sacred Maiestie for to lend a fauourable and atentue care to their iust com-  
 plaintes. The Edict hath exceeded and farre extended it selfe beyond the tor-  
 ments and crueltie of Iulian the Apostata, who forbad Christians to sigh and  
 weepe, and did enuie this bitter comfort to wretches, more wicked then the heathen  
 which sung.

*Flere meos casus, est quedam flere voluptas,  
 Pacatur lachrymis egeriturque dolor.*

E

Bewaile my case; weeping brings some content;  
 Sorrow by teares findeth both ease and vent.

But now the Church hauing overcome tyranous Impiety, and being laden and  
 crowned with the spoyle of her enemies, adorned with the fauours of Empe-  
 rours and Kings, and supported by their power, is not afraid to shew her bloudie  
 woundes vnto the King. To the King I say whose Predecessors haue graced and  
 beautified the Churches wedding with a Ring and other Jewells; an eternall monu-  
 ment of the Kings, and of France her pietie. And for that thou hast more then once  
 F heard her sighes and groanes being vnworthely intreated, and receiued her (bee-  
 ing assailed) into thy armes, shee comes more confidentlie relying vpon your  
 helpfull fauour, being againe deformed with the impuritie and corruption  
 of the world, and with teares of griefe, doth prostrate her selfe at your most Royall  
 feete; she speaks vnto you not fearefully, but with a free voice, being worthily bound

O o o o o 2

vnto

1608. vnto her; hauing powred forth so many teares and praers vnto Almighty God, for A  
your preferuacion and aduancement vnto the crowne, hoping you will not bee vn-  
mindfull of so great a pietie.

But oh! *Henry* thinke there is nothing more worth of a King, then a care to plant,  
preferue and propagate Religion: It is the eye of an Empire, the life of Government,  
an arme of thy arme, and as I may say in a word, a Kingdome hath not a more firme  
support. The Kings of Persia held it most true, or else their hethenish superstition  
did not suffer the children to bee aduanced to the Kingdome, before they had lear-  
ned the Misteries of their fathers Religion. Religion and Government are the two  
supporters of humane society, happy is the coniunction, if one requiring an others B  
helpe, they concurre friendly. The Tribes of Israel how did they flourish when as  
*Moyse* praised vnto God and *Iosua* fought and vanquished? They are much deceived  
which impute the ruine of Kingdomes to climactericall and farall yeers: Farre bee it  
from the thoughts of Christians, who should rather beleuee that the fates of King-  
domes depends of Religion, the which beeing maintained, stand firme, but neglected  
they goe to ruine: It is a parcell of Gods fauour, and a coniunction of mortall and  
immortall spirits, and a seale, and bond of the eternall couenant, the which the fates  
conspiring cannot dissolue: And therefore the wise Romaines would haue the names  
of their Tutelarie Gods, kept from their enemies, least they should goe into foraine C  
Cities, they had an Imagination that *Sagunt* could not bee forced, vnlesse the God  
which did protect it were called away. Wherefore the heathen did thinke the coniunc-  
tion of Religion and Government to bee an inexpugnable fort.

Beleuee oh most Christian King! that thou art lincked vnto God by Religion, and  
that there is no greater signe of a declining estate, then when Religion is banished,  
beeing apparent by many ancient examples that God flies the companie of mortall  
men, when as Religion and his worship is neglected. Thinke oh King! that thy state  
is not settled by any polittike Government, or by wise counsellors; there is a secret  
power from aboue which rules it, euen God who giues and takes away Scepters, hee  
watcheth for thy safety, preferues thee from thy enemies, and makes thee a spectacle D  
to all Europe by thy victorious triumphs. The same God hath broken the yoke vn-  
der which France lay bound, wiped away the reares, pacified the ciuill warres, erected  
the ruined Altars of peace, cured the woundes, restored the Lawes, and (least I should  
bee tedious) reuiued France that was almost dead, and hath made it a terrour to other  
Nations. Thy glorie is so great as thou hast brought this ship beeing readie to bee  
cast away by the violence of the storme, into a safe port, thou hast broken the con-  
federate armies, and passing so many daungers dost shine with the spoiles of thine ene-  
mies, thou hast releued languishing France, which despairing of all helpe rannewil-  
linglie to ruine, if thy inuincible courage had not exceeded the greatnesse of her  
extremities.

These, oh *Henry*! bee the Monuments whereby thou hast bound future ages vnto E  
thee. But this is not all, to make thy glory immortall, there rests one thing the which  
the Church must finish and make euerlasting; Namely that thou wilt command the  
Decrees of the councill of Trent to bee obserued, whereby corruption, filthinesse, si-  
monie, bargaines made in trust, and such like wickednesse may bee punished. The Sy-  
node was celebrated by a generall assembly of the world, confirmed by the Pope and  
is obserued of all Christians; The which if you shall refuse to publish, that vndeuided  
garment shall not be cut with any other sheeres, nor the Vale of the Temple rent with  
any other whirlwind.

Antiquitie which is an incorrupt witnesse, hath worthily honoured France, for that  
it hath alwaies assisted the Church and saued it from tempest and shipwracke: A field F  
which the Heauenly husbandman hath manured with his owne hand, and purged  
it from Tares, and Darnell, that the Lillie may flourish, vnder whose shadowe it  
might rest secure from all heate and stormes; a garden set with most pleasant  
and sweete flowers, neither is there any Nation more obedient to their Pastors and  
Ministers

A Ministers. France should loose these goodly titles, if it should reiect the councill of Trent. 1608.

The Astronomers hold that the Planets are governed by the motion of the heauen: "  
onely the Moone they affirme hath a peculiar and contrary motion. It is most cer- "  
taine that sacred Oracles doe in like manner depend vpon Generall counsels, and "  
that the wheele of Gods chariot (which *Ezechiel* saw) is greater, the which forceth the "  
rest with his violent motion. The councill of Trent is like a Sphere, which doth gouern "  
the Planet of the French Church, to sequester the which from Synodall Decrees by "  
the pretence of priuiledges & priuat Immunities, what is it else, but to giue it a priuate "  
and opposite motion like vnto the Moone? They that looke into the secrets of Nature, "  
say that the eye, which is the window of mans body is iniured with seuen Arteries, "  
by whose violence it mooues, yet the eye is not vnwillingly mooued. It is not vn- "  
like the liberty of the French Church, the which depends of a greater motion, neither "  
should priuiledges make it proude, and moue against the eye whose beame it is, but by "  
the motion of Synodall constitutions. It is the Load-star of the vniuersall Church, "  
according to the which the French must direct her course. Your Maiesty is not pre- "  
judizid hereby, neither doe wee with any other expostulation sigh at the taking away "  
of elections: If wee complaine with more bitternesse, the thing it selfe giues vs leaue "  
to speake; for this sheeld taken away, sacred and profaine things are confounded; the C  
gouernment of the Church is troubled: the censor is taken out of the Priests hands, "  
the wall which diuides the Holy Vestry, is broken; and the mysticall oyle of the Taber- "  
nacle is spilt.

It rests in your singular Iudgement to make choise of Pastors, not according to "  
the ambition of the Court, giuing men to spirituall liuings, and not spiritual liuings "  
to men: By this choise the Church doth shine, thou hast made choise of corner stones "  
to support it: thou hast provided wise Mariners for this mysticall ship, and now the "  
Order of the Leuits beeing clenfed, defends the Altars and holy things: Although in "  
this age there are many things required to purge the Church, yet the glorie is to bee "  
attributed to the hauing aduanced worthie Prelats, so as vertue hath no contest at D  
all to complaine that shee is neglected, the which it may please you for to loue and "  
imbrace still, and to prosecute it with honours and rewardes, that it may glorie and "  
shine in all good artes and discipline. There remains how much wee are grieued, "  
and how iustly wee exclaime against Symonie, the poyson of spirituall liuings, the "  
reproach and pollution of the Church, *Gihez* trafficke, possession of spirituall reue- "  
nues giuen vnto Lay men; Alienation of Church-lands, contempt of the Ecclesiasti- "  
call iurisdiction, and eronious appeales, received with all impunitie, so as that which "  
was held a great offence, custome hath made it nothing. It is like vnto the *Leuia- "*  
*than*, or *Iobs* euill spirit, which doth no more lurke in darkenesse, but shewes it selfe "  
bouldy: these sinnes (like vnto *Abels* innocent blood) crie for reuenge. *Lewis* the E  
Godlie hauing polluted himselfe herewith, and straying from the steppes of *Charles* "  
the Great his Father, treading Lawes vnder foote, hee was not onely a reproach vnto "  
France, but also a contempt and scorne to his children, whose rashnesse God did "  
reuenge.

That all peering eye of heauen, which lookes into the secret sinnes of mortall "  
men, with what an angrie countenance doth hee behold the Holie pledges of the "  
Church, the price of sinners, the godlie deuotions, the bread of the hungry, and the "  
cloathes of the naked bestowed vpon Lay men, and employed to filthie vses, as in the "  
time of the Gentiles by a wicked King in despight of the Christians, *Adons* Idoll was "  
set in Christs place, the Holie Ornaments of the Sanctuarie so prophaned, in the "  
banquets of the Kings of Assiria, as the Almighty hand of Heauen did by the lear- F  
ned wall denounce reuenge.

Pardon mee oh King, if I say that *Adons* Idoll is now set in Christs place, that "  
the Holie Ornaments are polluted, the Sanctuarie defiled, and the corner stones "  
shaken and pulled away, if you shall any longer suffer the proposition bread and "

1608. the Holie eorne to bee stollne from the Altars by married men, knights and fouldiers, whose hands are fitter for armes and murders, then for incense and mysticall things.

In the Canticles the mysticall Spouse complains that falling amongst fouldiers in the night shee was spoiled of her Ornaments: The goods of the Church, proceeding from the bountie of Religious Kings, may well bee taken for the Ornaments of the Church: and if you shall suffer her Reuenues to bee wasted by Courtiers, what is it else, but to abandon the Spouse to bee spoiled by fouldiers: and although it were with the consent of the Clergy, too indulgent to this mischiefe, yet there are many reasons which should perswade you not to fauour it. Adam as soone as hee had tasted of the forbidden fruite did presently blush at his owne nakednesse: the Reuenues of the Church is like vnto a tree, which God hath forbidden to touch, whose fruits being once gathered, our nakednesse is presently discovered.

There are many things wherof wee might complaine vnto your Maiesty, but least I should bee tedious, I will end with this petition in the name of all the Prelates of the French Church here present, that you will confirme that which hath bene graunted to our order, the which hath bene often neglected. Vnto the end your affaires may prosper, that God may blesse you and your Kingdome, and that your Empire may bee permanent, and haue no setting but the whole world, stretch forth your assisting hand to releue the Church which faints, helpe her, greene at her misfortune, ease her afflictions, and cure her wounds. Looke vpon so many hundreds of Parishes with pitty, who whereas they feede their flockes with the food of Angells, they scarce eate the bread of mortall men, living most hardlie, so cold is pietie, and so sparingly they offer vnto God. Wherefore vow vnto God that you will hereafter be a sacrifice vnto him, and labour continually at his Altars, leauing a Testimonie to posterity that Kings should haue a continuall care of the Church and worship of Almighty God.

The Tribes of Israel were forbidden to contract marriage out of their kindred, only the Tribe of Iuda had a prerogative, for that it did gouerne the rest, to marry with the Tribe of *Leuie*, the which had the Gouernment of the Altar and Priest-hood: By this Simbole the Hebrewes did fitly obserue, that the Priest-hood and Gouernment were fittly ioyned. But oh most Christian King! shall it bee lawfull to speake vnto thee as the Israelites did vnto their King? *Flesh of my flesh, blond of my blond, and boanes of my boanes: Let vs hereafter bee one, and an vndiuided comple, thy weepings are teares to me, thy sobbes shall force mee to sigh, and being conuerted one into an other, I can comfort thee with these wordes. Daughter of Syon full of sorrow, leaue of thy teares, I am hee that will free thee of thy sack-cloth and mourning weed, and wipe away thy ashes and deformity, and will make thee shine with Balsamum and sweete smelling ointments.* And as the Hebrew daughter-in-law did thus flatter her King. *I will that posterity shall knowe that I haue clad thee with purple and scarlet, and enriched thee with the first frutes; thy Sabothes and Holy daies haue become worshipped by mee: I haue armed thee with the target of the stronge: I haue girt thy thigh with the sword of Ionathan against thine enemy, which cannot bee blunted, being accustomed to bee goared with his blond.* Giue then oh King! vnto the Church her rights and Tributes; reioyce with thy mother, who hath called thee her first begotten sonne, and hath giuen thee the first kisse, whom aboute all others shee would haue rest in her bosome. For so many worthy titles grant shee may bee free. That if *Thyaneus* the Phylosopher did sometimes say of *Titus Caesar*. *Titus did vanquish Iury, and Appolonius Titus; the Church may speake thus. Henry crowned with victories and happinesse, hath ouerthrowne and conquered all his enemies Armies, but the Church hath vanquished Henry with her teares and supplications.*

Entry of the  
Bishop into  
Orleans.

I may not forget the reception of the new Bishop of Orleans, being rare and singular aboute all the Prelates of France. *Aubespine* being chosen Bishop the first day of September, hee caused a Proclamation to bee made that on the fourteenth of the sayd

A layd moneth, after the ancient manner, he would make his entry into Orleans, promising impunitie to all malefactors, not onely to such as had slaine men accidentally but euen for premeditated murders, and for all other crimes whatsoever. Thither flockt the most wicked among men: On the thirteenth the Bishop lay in the Abbey of Saint *Hubert*, where the next day the Abbot hauing sayd Masse, he put on his Myter and other pontificall ornaments. Staying there, the Chanoin of Saint Croix came vnto him, with the Doctors and Officers of the Vniuersitie, and the Magistrates of the city. The Bishop goeth forth bare-footed, being come to Saint *Anians* Church, the Chanoin receiue him: who holding his hands close together, protest that they are free from his Iurisdiction: yet they bring him to the Altar, after which, his feete are washed and cleansed, and white shooes of silke put on: then hauing taken an oath not to attempt anything against their Rights & Priuiledges, hee is carryed by foure of the chiefe of them in a chayre without the walles of the towne, there they call forth foure Barons, who are subiect to the Bishop by their fees, and are euery yeare bound on the day of the Inuention of the holy Crosse, to bring foure great waxe-Lights in form of garters, euery one weighing an hundred pound waight. These Barons presented themselves to carry the Bishop, but he of his grace freed them of this seruice. Then the Clergie went before in order, being come to Bourgondie gate he, was met by the President, the Bayliffe of Orleans, the Lieutenant criminall, and all the Councillours of the prefdiall Court. There all malefactors were let out of prison, who with great acclamations cryed for mercie. The Bishop commaunded the Iaylour to say if the prisons were emptie, and whether there were not some malefactors detayned, who beeing assured that all were freed from bonds, two of them were commanded to go before all the rest: beeing come to Saint Croix, the Bishop rung a little bell, and then hee made himselfe readie to say Masse: which done, he dined apart with the Chanoin, the Iudges were feasted in another roome, and all the malefactors in the Bishops hall. After dinner the Cryer being a Diuine, makes them a sharpe admonition, and wils them to liue better hereafter: the Bishop confirms his speech: which done, they cryed often for mercie. In the end, the Bishop giuing them his blessing, dismissed them with this charge, That they should pay all Fines and the charges of Sutes. Thus by the coming of the new Bishop, there were aboute an hundred freed from the Gallows: the parents, children, and widowes grieuing that they were deprivied of all meanes of reuenge.

Father *Angelo* of Ioyeuse going out of France, had past the Alpes bare-footed, by the commandement of his Superior. At Turin a feuer tooke him, the which when hee felt, being no longer able to go on foot, he caused himselfe to be carried in a Litter to a religious house of that Order at *Riuoli*. The Duke of Sauoy hearing of his sicknesse, sent his chiefe Physicion, and an Apothecarie with all kinds of comfortable things fit for the recouerie of his health, and Cookes to dresse his meate, being so carefull of his health, as twise a day he sent men in poste to be aduertised thereof. There was nothing omitted that the art of man could inuent: but the violence of his feuer did make frustrate all their skill. The tenth day of his sicknes, being the five and twentieth of September, his soule leauing the prison of his bodie, went happily to heauen. He died as he liued, not in the Court of Turin, nor in a bed of Downe with rich furniture, but in his garment of haire, and coucht vpon straw, in the prison of his Conuent he left the burthen of his flesh. *Remold VValter*, one of the Presidents of the Kings great Councell, being there by chance to negotiate some busines for a Prince of the Bloud, as he had bin deare vnto him liuing, so he was still by him in his sicknesse, and receiued his last-dying words. His body was embalmed and layed at *Riuoli*, vntill that France his natue contry, should require it, as it did the yeare following. *VValter* aduertised the King on the feuen and twentieth of September of the whole manner of his sicknesse, of his happie end, of the Duke of Sauoy's singular care, and of his last words, by the which he would haue his farall hower made knowne vnto the Duchesse of Montpensier his daughter by father *Ioseph* of the same societie. So the good father did fore-see his daughter might receiue the easier wound: he knew well that *Ioseph* was an excellent artift to pacify minds thus

1608.

Inundation of  
the river of  
Loire.

thus plunged in sorrow, and without doubt he did much mollifie the bitterness of this A  
fatall message.

The river of Loire did this Autumne swell so suddenly, as breaking the bankes it  
ouer-flowed the whole countrie with strange whistle-pooles, rooting vp corne, woods,  
and old trees, drowning heards of cattle, and ouerflowing houses and farmes, or what  
soeuer withstood the rage of it. At Blois, Amboise and other townes the arched brid-  
ges beeing broken, and the river swelling suddenly, many were drowned. The Duke of  
Sully receiued great losse by this inundation, when as he feared nothing that the vio-  
lence of the river should any way hurt his castell standing vpon Loire, behold it swels  
suddenly with such whistle-pooles, as it ouerthrew some towers of the castell which  
were very strong. Some countrie-men were seene escaping vpon tables, some climbing B  
vp trees, and to the toppes of mountaines, and some by swimming laboured to sic  
dearth. And to speake in a word, all was sea. The ruine and spoile it made, mans wit could  
not estimate, the which was fatall to the husbandmen for many yeres, their fields being  
so spoiled with stones, sand, and bushes, as they could not cleanse them but with an in-  
credible charge: for the river arising out of the mountaines of Auvergne, fragments of  
rockes came rolling downe which made the land barraine: much vnlike to the river of  
Nile, whose mudde doth make their fields fat, whereupon the countrie-men say, Egypt  
is fertile without raine.

Duke of Ne-  
uers sent to  
the Pope.

The most Christian King sent an honorable ambassage to Pope Paul the fift, to ac- C  
knowledge his obedience, by Charles of Gonzaga Duke of Neuers. Having made great  
preparations at Paris for his iourney, and taken his leaue of the King, he came to Mar-  
seilles, where he was transported with his whole trayne in foure of the Kings galleys,  
and landed at Sauona, from whence he went to Genoua, where the Duke and com-  
mon-weale receiued him with great honor, sending forth troupes of souldiers to meet  
him: being come into the city, he was brought into the Senate by foure Senatours,  
set in the highest seate, and had leaue to giue his voice. Having giuen thanks to the  
Genouoi's, he went on his iourney, and came to Ciuita-vechia, (a towne belonging to  
the Church) where the Popes Officers receiued him with a princely entertainment: and  
that nothing might be wanting, Fabio Gonzaga the Duke of Mantoua's Lieutenant, D  
with many other Noblemen, came to congratulate his comming, at their departure, he  
presented them with a great chayne of Gold, the which they refused, not in disdayne of  
him that offered it, but that they desired no reward from the Kings Ambassadour, but  
his loue. The Duke proceeding on his iourney, he was met by Monsieur De Brenus, the  
Kings Ambassadour resident at Rome, the Marquis of Malatesta, the bishop of Abrin-  
cences, Marchimont, and all the French Nobilitie which was then in the citie. Comming  
neare to Rome, there went forth to meet him, the Duke of Carpineta, the Marquis of  
Pallauicino, and Marke Anthony Victorio the Popes Nephew, whom the Duke of Ne-  
uers did much respect, him he tooke into his Caroch, and entertayned him very famili- E  
arly. The Cardinals stood at the entry of the citie to receiue the Duke, with the Arch-  
bishops and other chiefe Prelates: the Pope had sent forth trumpets, and troupes of  
horse, with his Guards and an hundred Suisses (being in all two thousand armed men)  
to guard him. The Duke of Neuers was accompanied with about three hundred of the  
French Nobilitie, all mounted vpon Gennets of Spaine, Barbary horses, and coursers  
of Naples. He entred the citie by the gate, which goes to castle Saint Angelo: after the  
shooting off of the Ordinance, there was all sorts of musicke: the windowes were full  
of Senatours, Gentlemen and Ladies, and the streetes pestered with people: having re-  
sted himselfe two dayes, hee had audience of the Pope, and deliuered the Kings letters,  
the which beeing read, he was brought vnto Saint Peters Pallace, where he was lodged  
with the French Ambassador at the Popes charges. The feasting being ended he had a F  
second audience, treating of matters of great importance, then after much honor done  
him by the Pope he returned.

There was a troupe of desperate theeuers, which did wonderfully anney the Prouin-  
ces of Poictou, Aniou, Brittain, and the neighbour countries with their murders and  
spoiles

1609.

A spoiles, whole insolencie and power was such, as they durst encounter the Prouost  
Marshall with their armed Archers, who beeing too weak, these theeuers (who were  
called Guillerienes of their Leader) had free liberty to continue their theeuing: beeing  
accustomed in the ciuill warres to cruelty and theft, hauing no meanes to intertayne  
their licentious life at home in peace, they returned to their former villanies. They drew  
into woods, and vncouth places, Bankrupts, Forgers, men branded for villanies, Ras-  
kals, Theeuers, and the skumme of all the world. They say that Guillerie the elder bro-  
ther (for there were two of them) shewed some greatnesse in his theeuing, for if he did  
chance to meet any poore passenger, he tooke nothing from him, but gaue the poore  
man so much as he thought would suffice his iourney. If a rich man fell into his hands,  
and had no present money for his redemption, hee would take his Bill, and so dismis-  
se him, with this charge, that if he fayled to make payment at the day appoynted, he would  
remit no kind of crueltie to be reuenged of their breach of promise. This elder Guille-  
rie did so despise them that fought after him, as he would often mocke them. He came  
into an Inne, whereas the Prouost Marshall of Rheimes with his Archers was lodged,  
alighting from his horse, he fate downe with them, and entertayned them with discour-  
ses and playing at Dice, till it was very late, rising earely in the morning: hauing payed  
for his and their charges, hee willed his host to tell the Prouost and his Archers, that  
they were improuident, seeking in vaine for Guillerie, with whome they had supped the  
last night, who hauing wonne their money at Dice, had payed for their supper. Here-  
by you may coniecture what a bold and vndanted theefe this Guillerie was: But now  
heare in what denne this Cacus lodged, in a deepe Valley, and in the furthest part of  
athicke wood, hauing no ordinarie passage vnto it, where he had built him a lodge like  
vnto a Fort. Hauing taken a Gentleman of good note: hee brings him thither blind-  
fold, beeing come in, he shewes him all his thefts, store of victuals, and a good armo-  
rie, with a wall, rampier and ditch to repell force: Hauing dined well in his denne, hee  
dismisseth him, taking an oath that hee should not bewray what he had seene, hee keep-  
ing his faith, for that he could not discouer what he had not seene, yet he obserued the  
wood, and all the passages, and by this threed they went into the Minotaur, who could  
D not be drawne forth but by a seerge, and foure or fife field peeces. Seeing himselfe in-  
uiroed by the Prouost Marshalls, the Nobilitie, and the whole countrey, and prest with  
smoke, fire, and sword, going forth with his Horse-men, hee breakes through the thic-  
kest Troupes, but beeing kept backe by their shotte, he forced them vnwillingly to kill  
him, for that he threatened death to them that prest him. The younger Guillerie and  
about threescore others were taken, the rest escaped, who finding no safetie at land be-  
came Pyrates: the prisoners were carryed to Xaintes, and from thence to Rotshell,  
where they were broken vpon the wheele, and executed according to their merits and  
deserts.

This moneth, that which was sometimes called the Millars bridge was finished and  
E beganne to be passable: That which was drowned in the river, is now made more beau-  
tiful, from ruine and shipwracke, it hath receiued increafe and glorie, beeing before  
contemprible for the base vse, it is now famous for the worthie trades, beeing despised  
before for the ruinous houses, it is now glorious for the vniformitie of the building, lo-  
sing the antiquitie and the name both together: it hath not his name from milles and  
grinding, but from the shapes of birds which distinguish the houses, or from the build-  
er, as passengers may obserue by these two verses.

Millars bridge  
at Paris.

*Pons olim submersus aquis, nunc mole resurgo,  
Mercator fecit, nomen & ipse dedit.*

I was a bridge late drown'd with flood, now rais'd in richer frame,  
Marchant was he that made the worke, and gaue the work his name.

But now hearken to an admirable and bloodie fact, proceeding from blind loue:  
Peter Arrices Bourdeus, a Spaniard borne, an Augustine Monke, beeing for his great  
learning

Learning made publike Professor of Diuinitie at Tholose, before all his competitors: who besides his schollership, exceeded all others in preaching of the word, honestie of life, and sinceritie of manners. In the presidiall Court there was an olde counsellour called *Franciscus Geraldus*, an obseruer of the law, free from fraud, and of good fame; but mans life is not knowne but by the last act. Both beeing austere in their manners and behauiour, fall in loue with a yong maide: shee was borne in Portugal, and came to Tholose with her father and familie; her name was *Violentilla* of Castro, whose bewitching eyes and alluring countenance, had set on fire the weake and decayed counsellour, and this Stoicall Monke. Neither doth loue disdain white haire, nor withered cheekes; and although loues fire doth flame in this old man, yet he ioynes with the Monke, they diuide *Violentillaes* loue and embracing betwixt them, and only these two coriuals agree together, admitting no other competitor: they had both one care, to enioy the wench with equall libertie. In the end they thought it fit, to hide the stolne and vnchaste fire vnder the ashes of wedlocke. *Geraldus* he procures the marriage, with a young Aduocate borne in a towne neere to Tholose; the marriage is concluded and consummated, and these two Solicitors pay the dowrie. The feast beeing ended, the new spouse resolues to carry his wife home to his friends; these two Sutors repining at it, especially *Geraldus*, who promised to procure him many clyents in the court of Parliament of Tholose, or at the least in the presidiall court. But he/whether finding himselfe vsit for the city eloquence, or doubting of his wifes honestie, by reason of these riuals) stood firme in his resolution to carrie her to his owne home. But they storming at the departure of the woman, for that the marriage procured for their stolne loue, had not succeeded according to their intents, they studie how to drawe them backe to Tholose. *Geraldus* followes the married couple, he feasts there with them a moneth together, and perswades them to returne to the citie; but finding his words to be of no force, hee returnes much grieued at the husbands imperious command, relating to *Bourdeus*, the mans austere disposition, and the poore womans seruitude: they consult how they may recouer their old loues, and take a way the mans life. To attempt it by poyson they thought it not safe, they therefore resolued to doe it by the sword: and to the end it might be the more easily effected, they call the husband to Tholose, vnder colour of a suit which was then in question. *Geraldus* agrees with a scholler, or rather a murtherer, called *Candolas*, and an other named *Esbaldis* to kill him, and paises them halfe the price of this wicked bergaine. The vnfortunate husband, beeing ignorant of the plot came to Tholose, and was inuited to a solemne feast by *Geraldus*; the guests were *Bourdeus*, *Candolas*, and *Esbaldis*, where there fare was great, and their entertainment in shew answerable: after supper *Bourdeus* retires himselfe, and the rest went forth to walke, beeing in the heat of Iulie: in the meane time *Geraldus* entertained the husband with a long discourse vntill it was late, left the light should bewray the murtherers: at length being darke, he was let forth, and soone after was taken and led into solitarie and vnknowne places, where he was murthered with seuentene wounds. The perswader of this murther hearing thereof, cries out that his friend and guest had bin set vpon by theeues, who seeking to take away his purse, and he resisting, had slaine him. He sends for the officers of the citie, and the captaine of the Watch. *Esbaldis* sweating, and terrified with the fowlenesse of the fact, was taken flying, the dead body was brought into the Towne house: the Monke hearing that one of these murtherers was apprehended, hee resolued to flee presently with *Candolas* the other murtherer, going without his Frocke to Tonins a towne held by them of the Religion. Beeing still tormented with the testimony of his owne conscience, he demanded of a Minister, whether he might safely remaine there? but being doubtfull of his life, hee presently fled to Millau, and from thence hee went to Nismes. This mans flight, and the casting away of his professed habit, made the Court to hold him guilty of the fact, sending forth letters to apprehend the monke. The President *Verdon* giues charge to the Prouost Marshals to make diligent search after

A after them, the Monke was apprehended at Nismes, where they of the Religion tooke him from the publike Magistrate, pretending that he was of the Religion, that hee was maliciously accused for that cause, and that he could not be tryed but by the Chamber of the Edict, wherein they preuayled so much, as he was deliuered to the Iudges of the sayd Chamber, both Courts contending for their right.

The President *Verdon* hauing by his letters informed the King of this controuersie, there was at length a Decree made by the Kings priuie Councell, by the which the capitall question was referred to the court of Parliament of Tholoufa, they of the Religion complaining that the Edict was broken. At the length *Bourdeus* and *Candolas* beeing taken out of prison from the Chamber of the Edict, were brought bound to Tholoufa, the Court was diuided vpon *Bourdeus* triall, some concluding for his present death, others requiring a stay, vntill that *Candolas* (beeing put to the racke) should discover the whole matter: But in the end they resolued not to protract his punishment any longer. *Bourdeus* hearing his sentence read; and seeing the Racke before him, hee layd open the whole matter as we haue reported it. He accused the Councillour as the perswader and companion of the murther, hauing with him payed the murtherers for the fact. He commends the Court for the equitie of their iudgement, and giues God thanks, who by a momentarie punishment, had recalled him from a sinke of sinne and heresie whereunto he was running, hauing fled to them of the Religion only with hope of impunitie: he accused *Candolas* and *Esbaldis*, that with their bloudie hands they had done that premeditated villanie. He was carried to execution with teares in his eyes, and a contrite heart, detesting much the fact: passing by the *Augustines*, he stayd awhile exhorting his fellow Monkes to a more holy life, and intreating them to pardon him, for that he had so much defiled their Order by this foule fact: and being come to the place of execution he made a long prayer, and so had his head cut off, and his body quartered. After the Monkes execution, the Councillor denies the fact so obstinately, as if he would haue all men beleue he had beene free from this wickednesse: he was put to the racke, yet the bitternesse of the payne could not draw a word from him: remaining thus wilfully silent, the first President by a witty fiction, and without any force, wrested the truth from him, hee threatned him that his sonne should be tortured: to whom the father answered, that his sonne had not deserued it; that he was an innocent and altogether ignorant of the fact, then being vrged to declare the matter and to free him from the present danger, the father was more moued with a fatherly affection then with all their torments, confessing himselfe to be guiltie, that he might free his son from danger; who relating all as *Bourdeus* had done, was condemned to the like punishment. *Bourdeus* was executed the fifth of February, *Geraldus* the twelfth, *Candolas* the thirteenth, *Esbaldis* the fourteenth, and *Violentilla* the sixteenth, beeing the onely cause of the adulterie and murther. Shee comming to the place of execution, made this speech vnto the companie.

*Bourdeus* executed.

*Geraldus* condemned and executed.

E O you that assist at this fatall spectacle, to you my friends I speake, hauing obtained contulciance from God to suffer death, I do now intreat the helpe of your prayers at my approaching end: Learne by my vnfortunate mischance, how deceitfull and fraile vanitie is, behold I am she who euen now abused with the alluring baites of Beautie, despising others, preferred my selfe before all, thinking that for beautie and wit not any one did equall me. But see the fruites of vanity and pride which I now reape. The enticing baytes of the world, bankets, dancing, and such like follies did bewitch me, and haue forced me to act this fatall Scæne, an eternall reproch in respect of the world, but to God-ward a testimony of a contrite and penitent heart. I giue him thanks, whome it may be in some other kind of death I should haue forgotten. These are the fruites of my youths wantonnesse: hauing not past the age of fixe and twenty yeares, I dye a scorne to the world: But I would to God in the beginning of my being, that my cradle and funerall had beene inseparable. O fortunate and happie death! if my life had beene longer it had beene more wicked; and more yeares had increased my sinnes, dying a naturall death I should scarce haue repented: Good God pardon a sinner, pardon her I say, who

Speech of a woman condemned



1609. "who exceeds all others in the multitude of her offences. Looke not to my crimes, but A  
 "to a heart wounded with repentance, forgieue a wretch, which haſt forgien for many  
 "Martyrs; they teſtifie thy glorie with their blood, and I waſh away mine own guilt with  
 "mine. I am a Sacrifice onely for my ſelf, although I am ignorant of the conſpired mur-  
 "ther; yet ſufficiently guiltie, for that my vnchaſt manners were farall to ſo many as  
 "haue died before me. This onely grieues me, that my countrie and kindred are diſho-  
 "noured by this infamous ſpectacle: If I had giuen credit to their admonitions, I had not  
 "now bene brought forth to open infamie, but let not innocents be deſpised for my  
 "guilt. I aduiſe you againe, O you matrons and virgins of Tholouſa! let not your Sutors  
 "(which is the firſt precept to preferue your chaſtities) abuſe you with curlings, pain-  
 "tings, gay clothes, liberall ſpeeches, banquets, and coaches: theſe are ſnares and baites B  
 "for your Chaſtities: I was wearie of my beautie, and my naturall hew did not pleaſe me,  
 "the which I did abuſe with art. But to what end? that I might inflame a Spaniſh Monke  
 "blacke with ruſt, and an old decrepit Lawyer, who hauing bought my chaſtitie, grew  
 "companions of my ſhame. But why do I abuſe your cares any longer with my ſilhuines,  
 "but rather being penitent for my offences, let me intreat your laſt prayers and vowes  
 "for an expiation, deny not this paſſage to a ſoule which is going to heauen. Shee was  
 "ſpeaking more, when as the axe interrupted her laſt words, and left them vnperfect.

Death of the  
D. of Cleues.

This yeare in March the Duke of Cleues hauing languished long of ſicknes, hoping  
 of ſome recouery, was intercepted by death, going a hunting, to the great griefe both  
 of his ſubiects and neighbors, for that dying without children, he ſhould leaue a doubt-  
 full contention to them that pretended the inheritance, which did ſeeme to threaten  
 war and deſolation, the ſparkles which did ſhew vpon his death, gaue cauſe to feare a  
 great fire, as you ſhall after heare.

Discourſe of  
Terrails apprehenſion and  
execution.

I muſt now relate vnto you an enterpriſe vpon Geneua, made by Lewis of Com-  
 bourſier, Seigneur of Terail, and other places, Vicount of Rauell, Knight of the Order,  
 Corner to the Daulphin, and Baron of Moyſſac. Being executed there the ninth of A-  
 prill. About three years ſince there was intelligence giuen, that Terrail being much diſ-  
 contented, that the Spaniards had not aſſiſted him well in his enterprizes in the Low-  
 countries, foreſeeing that in the end they would ruine him, he gaue it out that he wold  
 ſerue the Gobet (for ſo he called the Duke of Sauoy) ſaying openly that he had a nota-  
 ble enterpriſe vpon Geneua. Soone after he came to Paris, vpon colour to recouer the  
 Kings fauor, but they were aduertified that he ſhould come into Sauoy. His deſſeignes  
 were then diſappointed by the murder which he committed in the Louvre before the  
 King, who treated of his peace with the Gentleman whom he ſlue: ſo as to ſly the Kings  
 indignation, he returned to the Arch-duke, where he remayned, vntill that hee vnder-  
 tooke a voyage to Loretto with La Baſſide an Enginer, whome hee had taken to aſſiſt  
 him in his executions. They went on foot, and in their returne had conference with the  
 Duke of Sauoy. Notwithſtanding that the Earle of Fuentes had diſſwaded Terrail, tel-  
 ling him that the Duke would ingage him in his enterprizes againſt Geneua, and that it  
 would be his ruine. At which time the Duke imparted vnto Terrail and his man, his  
 deſſeignes vpon Geneua: from which time they continued in Sauoy, hauing made two  
 voyages to that effect to Thurin. They of Geneua grew preſently into iealouſie, hauing  
 had ſundry aduertifements of a great and almoſt ineuitable enterpriſe againſt them,  
 managed by Terrail: being in this perplexitie, God ſent them ſome more light, the  
 which did ſerue them as a meanes to enter into the ground of the buſines, and to con-  
 uiſt Terrails man, and afterwards himſelfe. Hauing played at Tennis at Chambery, and  
 being hot he retired himſelfe into a chamber, where lying vpon a bed, a ſeruant of the  
 tennis-court aying a ſhirt, he ſaw La Baſſide and ſome others, preſent a paper to Ter-  
 rail, (which was a plot of the towne of Geneua) diſcourſing ſecretly as of affaires of im-  
 portance. This ſeruant hearing them name ſome of the Forts of Geneua, gaue more  
 attentive eare, and perceiued for certaine that they deuifed of ſome enterpriſe againſt  
 the towne, hearing Terrail (after a long diſcourſe) make no difficulty, but of the means  
 to draw a ſufficient number of men together for this enterpriſe: wherein being ſatiſfied  
 by

A by the aſſiſtants, he ſayd openly: They are taken, they cannot auoid it. This being vnder-  
 ſtood by the young man, he hauing a brother in the gariſon of Geneua, and deſirous  
 to ſaue him from this danger, went and diſcouered al to a Burgeſſe of Geneua, who was  
 then at Chambery. This Bourgeſſe made a faithfull report vnto the Magiſtrates of Ge-  
 neua, and to the yong mans brother, from which time they ſet ſpies to obſerue Terrails  
 actions. In the end they were aduertified that they were paſt the mountaines, con-  
 ferred with the Duke of Sauoy; and that he returned by the lake Lemman, whereof they  
 aduertified them of Berne, ſending all the markes of Terrail, and intreating them to ſeize  
 vpon his perſon if he paſt through the country. The which they had expreſly comman-  
 ded, hauing notice of the D. of Sauoyes praſtiſes againſt Geneua, their ally, and againſt  
 B their owne country. It happened at the ſame time, that a Deacon of Yuerdun, a towne  
 belonging to the Bernois, nere to the Frontier of the County of Bourgondy, being at  
 Geneua, came to ſalute the ſecond Sindic of the towne, and brought him letters. After  
 ſome other diſcourſe, he acquainted him with the aduertifements they had receiued, of  
 the enemies enterprizes againſt Geneua, and the country of Berne, but eſpecially vpon  
 the towne of Yuerdun, a place very important, being the key of the country ioyning vpon  
 Bourgondie: he gaue him alſo the markes of Terrails perſon, whole picture they  
 had gotten at Geneua, doubting that he himſelf would come to view the towne. Some  
 dayes after Terrail returning from Thurin, he paſt the lake, but with ſome ill preſage by  
 C the falling of his mans horſe into the water, which made him in a manner reſolue vpon  
 his returne, yet in the end being perſwaded by his man he paſſed on, he came into the  
 country of Berne, but not into any frequented places: paſſing through their countrey,  
 he diligently obſerued the places of moſt importance, neuer lodging in any towne, but  
 in villages, hamlets, and peſants houſes, vntill he came to Yuerdun, where he ſtayd not,  
 but paſſing the bridge he found the Bailiffe and others, whom he ſaluted, but they ob-  
 ſerued him not. Hauing paſt the bridge, ſeeming to ſtay for ſome other cauſe, he turned  
 towards Yuerdun, and viewed the ſituation and defences of the place: the which was  
 wel noted by them that were yet vpon the bridge, thinking ſimply that he had ſtayd vpon  
 ſome other occaſion: but hauing paſt a little further, the foreſayd Deacon beeing  
 D in a garden, ſaw him come a far off, and hauing obſerued his countenance, he began to  
 doubt that it was Terrail, and the better to diſcouer him, knowing that he was bald, hee  
 made him a low courtſie, to moue him to vncouer, the which he did, & the Deacon be-  
 ing now aſſured, ran ſpeedily to the Bailiffe, deliuering his opinion. All the Aſſiſtants  
 which had noted the countenance of the man to haue turned and obſerued the place,  
 perſwaded the Bailiffe to ſend after him, the which he did by two men onely, who ſhould  
 obſerue what courſe he tooke; that if he went not toward Bourgondy, they ſhould return  
 without any farther pourſute, but if he went that way, they ſhould follow him to his lod-  
 ging, without making ſhew of any thing, and obſerue particularly the markes which he  
 gaue them of his perſon. There hapned another act of Gods prouidence, Terrail hauing  
 E paſt a village called Villeboeuf, which is within halfe an houres iourney of Bourgondy,  
 meaning to lodge that night in the country, paſſing through a quag-mire, where his  
 horſe being mired, he returned & went ouer a plank, vpon the which his horſe ſtumbling  
 hurt himſelfe which made him halt: this made him reſolue to lodge that night at Vil-  
 leboeuf. Being lodged there, the two which were ſent from Yuerdun, obſerued him dili-  
 gently, and one of them returned ſpeedily to carry newes to the Bailiffe, who preſently  
 ſent foure horſemen led by the Captaine of Yuerdun to bring him backe, giuing them  
 charge alſo to require ayde of the peſants: arriuing in the morning, they found Terrail  
 ready to go to horſe, to whom the hoſt and others, being aduertified of the fact, had ſayd  
 F that he could not paſſe the mountaines, where there were two great gards, which ſtayd  
 all men that had not giuen an accompt to the Bailiffe of Yuerdun. This was confirmed  
 by them that came in the morning: & although that La Baſſide ſtormed at this affront,  
 yet Terrail ſeemed willing to returne to Yuerdun, with 4. or ſix horſe, whom he might  
 haue defeated, if he had foreſeen his calamity. After his detention, hee repented him of-  
 ten that he had not ſhewed his great courage at that time: but God blinded him, for  
 P p p p p from

1609. from that time he shewed no signes of valor or dexterity, whereby he might often haue A escaped, as we shall see. Being returned to Yuerdun, and examined by the Bailiffe who was witty and of great experience, he answered, that he was a Gentleman of Daulphiné, called *Paul* of Conflans, and that he went into Lorraine to follow a sure, which did import him much, intreating the Bailiffe to dispatch him presently. His answers hauing no greater ground, bred more ieaiousie in the Bailiff, so as he resolved to seize vpon his person, vntill he had better aduice: whereupon he demanded his sword, the which he deliuered, and caused him to be lodged in an Inne very carefully garded by foure men. Among other causes to breed suspition, being at Villeboeuf, seeing that he must returne, and that there was no meanes to escape, the passages being garded, he called for a candle, with the which he burnt a long letter written on both sides. Being demanded thereon, he answered, that it was a letter written to Monsieur *de Crequy* from his kinswoman, to be a mediator vnto his Maiestie for him; the which he still maintained, and that hee burnt it, lest his name and quality should be knowne. The Bailiffe for his better satisfaction sent presently to Geneua, to haue some one that knew *Terrail*: to whom they sent one of the Magistrates of the towne and a souldier, who had serued vnder *Terrail* in the Low-countries, and had giuen many aduertisements of his enterprises, whereof hee had the knowledge from his owne mouth, by the meanes of some of his seruants. These two being come to Yuerdun, it was held good the souldier should enter suddenly into the lodging, where *Terrail* was at supper: he enters, and at the first sits downe at the table without making shew of any thing. *Terrail* seeing him, was much troubled, seeming to be very ill, and desiring them to warme his bed: thus hee retired to his chamber much dismayed, whither he sent for the sayd souldier, whome he entertayned very courteously, intreating him to tell if he were not sent to discouer him, the which the souldier hauing iustified, he began to vse strange speeches vnto him: That he knew not why they of Geneua did malice him: That he had had diuers aduertisements from Chambery, that they layd waite for him at Geneua: And that they would employ the sayd souldier to discouer him: That he should die a gallant Knight and an innocent. That the Earle of Fuentes, the King of Spaine, and the Arch-duke would reuenge his death: That he neuer had had to do with the Duke of Sauoy, who he sayd was an vnworthie and an ingratefull master, witnesse the end of *Albigny*: He beganne to suborne the sayd souldier to helpe him to escape, promising him a thousand crownes, if with all speed he would write to the Earle of Fuentes, and go into Bourgondie to the Earle of Chanite, to aduertise him of his extreame danger. And *La Esclide* would haue deliuered the sayd souldier an hundred crownes which he refused. *Terrail* intreated him to returne early in the morning, for that he had matters of importance to deliuer vnto him. In the meane time the Bailiffe beeing aduertised of the truth, and finding it not fit the souldier should confer any more with him, caused him with his man to be conueyed to the castle, where they were lodged apart, and well garded. They of Geneua hauing notice of his detention, the Councell resolved to send to the Segnieurs of Bearne to demand him, giuing E the charge to one of the Sindics of the towne, who beeing first heard in the Councell of siue and twenty, he let them vnderstand, the great and iust grounds they had at Geneua, to desire to haue *Terrail*: that they had certaine proofes of his practises: that the witnesses which they had at Geneua, could not bee without danger transported: that the cause of both Townes allyed was common: that the enterprises concerned them inseparably: that in the like case, they of Geneua had deliuered prisoners to Bearne: that the Kings men not long since had granted them a prisoner for the like, attempt: that the consequence would be very great to diuert vndertakers, if they saw they could not without danger come about Geneua. In the end the petty Councell of Bearne, beeing perplexed in this businesse, assembled the great Councell of two hundred, where the like matters beeing propounded with vehemencie, it was generally concluded, that *Terrail* should be deliuered into their hands with his seruant and goods. The Kings Ambassador residing at Soluerre, did greatly allow of this resolution.

The aduice of this grant beeing come to Geneua, they vsed wonderfull diligence, and

A and dexterity, to perswade his brother (which dwelt in the Tennis-court at Chambery) to go thither to fetch him with goodly promises: the which he effected faithfully and speedily, so as within 3. dayes he was at Geneua, and did serue much in the discouery. They also sent the souldier which had known *Terrail* to Monluel, neere to Lions where they knew there was a souldier which had sometimes bin his horse-keeper, and had heard his speeches touching the enterprises of Geneua, the which he had oftentimes told to *Baleine*, (which was the souldiers name of Geneua) but the horse-keeper was absent: but the sayd *Baleine* found another souldier at Lions, his Camerado, who assured him that the sayd horse-keeper had often confer'd with him of this busines, whereof the sayd *Baleine* took an act by a Notaries hand. *Terrail* was deliuered to the *Sindic* of Geneua, & conducted with a guard from Yuerdun to Morges, a little towne seated vpon the lake Lemman, 8. leagues from Geneua, where he was deliuered in gard to the Bailiffe of Morges vntill they should send for him to Geneua by water. This was done by a Decree of the great Councell of Bearne, with this prouiso, that before he went out of their territories, they should send them letters vnder the Scale of Geneua, that it was done without prejudice to their iurisdiction, and of meere grace and curtesie. *Terrail* was brought alone from Yuerdun, his seruant remaining behind, lest they should confer: vpon the way he vsed strange speeches to the *Sindic*, asking him often: of what death will ye make me to die at Geneua? he seemed to feare much to be deliuered into the Kings hands, for which C he had changed his name and fashion: that the King hauing him he will keepe him long in the Bastile, whereas being far off, he might make his peace with greater aduantage; yet since seeing himself taken, he sayd he had no wil to fall into the hands of them of Geneua, but to be deliuered to the King, hoping by this means to make his peace very easily. He sayd also, that he had dissuaded the D. of Sauoy from the enterprise of Geneua: but with such friuolous reasons, as they might easily see they were inuented of purpose. Being at Morges, he so bewitcht the Bayliffe with goodly words and promises, as he refused him to them that came the next day to fetch him to Geneua by water, giuing *Terrail* means to escape, if God had not depriued him both of courage and iudgement. There were some of *M. Des Dignieres* men which past by Morges, intreating the Bailiffe to keepe him D vntill he had a new warrant from Bearne, whether they went to that end: there was a weak gard in Morges, he had the liberty of the castle, and meanes to speake with whom he pleased, and to write to his friends, hauing sent a very artificial and passionar petition to the Seigneurs of Bearne. He had also won the fauor of the people of Morges, by his good behaviour, iustifications, and bounty, so as if there had come but twenty resolute men to his rescue, he had bin safe: and this had bin easie to execute, the lake in this place being but three litle French leagues ouer, and right against Morges all being the dukes. if he had had the assurance to haue gone out of the castle, he had escaped by the means of them of Morges it selfe, so much they fauored him. They of Geneua sent speedily to Berne to complaine, and to re-demand him, the which was confirmed with much indignation against the Bailiffe of Morges, who before any answer made to the Segnieurs of E Geneua, had receiued letters of iniunction, commanding him speedily to deliuer *Terrail* vnto them, the which he was forced to do. For which contempt the Bailiffe was in disgrace, and there were presumptions, that *Terrail* had promised him tenne thousand crownes to keepe him from going to Geneua, or at the least that his man might not come: the which the Bailiffe had promised faithfully, hoping to effect it by the meanes of his great credit and alliance, but it fell out otherwise. The Earle of Fuentes, the Catholike Cantons, and *Terrails* kinsmen laboured much at Bearne to saue him, but some came too late.

He that was sent from the Earle of Fuentes, was intertained till the after-noone without audience, vntill that *Terrail* was deliuered into the hands of them of Geneua. F The Segnieurs of Bearne did carry themselves very affectionate and zealous in this action. *Terrail* was conducted in an armed Frigate: vpon the way one of the chiefe of the Towne which did accompanie him, intertained him with very honourable and kind words: That if hee would declare that which concerned the safety of the towne,

1609.

he promised him in the name of the Seigneurie, pardon, libertie, courteous vsage, and intercession to the King: but he denied all, yet he was much perplexed, sauing that hee was no man of yron, and if they put him to the Racke he should speake any thing. Being come to Geneua the fourteenth of Aprill about midnight, hee was lodged in the Town-house well guarded, the next day being sent for to the Councell, they did in like manner let him know how desirous they were to saue him, requiring him to speake freely, and to helpe himselfe, for that they had sufficient in ther hands to conuict him, promising him libertie and all good vsage, if he would voluntarily declare the businesse. This was repeated aboue ten times vnto him: but still he persisted in the negatiue, with great execrations and oaths, so as in the end they told him, that seeing hee would not saue himselfe there was no more grace for him. Whereupon they caused him to answer criminally, vsing some rough speeches vnto him, which amazed him much: being confronted by *Balleine* the fouldier, he denied all, yea that which was most apparent, so as they began by his doubtful answers to discouer the whole truth. On munday morning being the 17. of Aprill, he was led from the Town-house to the prison: about the same time the sayd *Sindic* with a Secretarie of the State, brought his man from Yuerdun to the prison, and presently brought him to his answer, causing the young man of Chambery to see him, from whome they had had their best intelligence, who hauing viewed him, affirmed confidently that this was the man which had presented the paper to *Terrail*, and had vsed the aboue-mentioned speeches vnto him. This young man being examined apart, what apparell *La Bastide* did weare then, he told what he had seen, the which *La Bastide* did confesse, but he denied the paper and the speeches, and so did *Terrail*. In the end, seeing that the young man did constantly maintaine his saying, it was resolu'd that *La Bastide* should be put to the Racke; who hauing indured the strapado twice, being ready to be put to it the third time, he sayd he would confesse all. This resolution to put him to the Racke was also grounded vpon an another occasion, for that a Burgesse of Geneua hauing by chance seene *La Bastide* the same day in the Court of the prison, did wites that he supt one night with him in a neere Village, and that in the morning the host had told him, that *La Bastide* had handled many mappes, and plots of Fortification, before he parted, so he was knowne by the host to be an Enginer, to whom he confessed it, and yet in prison he denied all. After *La Bastides* confession, he was confronted with *Terrail*, who began to disauow him, but *La Bastide* persisted in his confession, whereupon *Terrail* being presented the Racke, with teares in his eyes he confessed the whole act voluntarily, and had no torture: The French King, and the Estates of the vnited Prouinces, were presently aduertised of that which did concerne them. *La Bastide* confessed that he was an Enginer, hauing long serued the Archdukes, that since he had giuen himselfe to *Terrail*, to execute the enterprife of Geneua, and that he had sometimes beene a scholler. He was gallant of his person, and cunning in matter of fortification. That about foure or siue moneths past, returning from pilgrimage with his master, passing by Thurin, the Duke discourfed with them, both of Geneua, and of the great desire he had to be master thereof, demanding their aduice: he resolu'd to assaile it, not by seege or open force, but by enterprife, wherein they offered him their seruice, the which he accepted, with many thanks and promises, giuing to *Terrail* 700. Duckets, and a Jewell of 300. crownes price, and to *La Bastide* 280. *Phillips* Dollors. To effect this desseigne, the Duke gaue them charge to view the gates, Guard, Port, and state of the Towne, whereupon *La Bastide* vndertooke to go into the towne, where hauing viewed all, he brought vnto the Duke a plot of all that which had bene reformed in the fortification, since the Scalado, according to the which, the Duke did renew his ancient plot. That *Terrail* and *La Bastide* going to Thurin, they could not agree vpon the meanes of the enterprife, *Terrail* inclining to surprise a gate, with a pettard or otherwise, and *La Bastide* shewing that it was a matter of infinit danger, by reason of the great number of defences which were at the gates, and their careful guard. After some dispute, the Duke inclined to *La Bastides* opinion, to attempt the Port, where there was not so strict a Gard, and the which being surprized by a sufficient number

1609.

A number of men, they should be in the heart of the towne, and could not bee in danger before they were entred: the which being executed, *La Bastide* made no difficulty, to accomplish the enterprife, being very easie (as he sayd) to seize vpon the Port De Riue, which was neare. *Terrail* hauing heard all, yeelded to his opinion, and went with *La Bastide* to passe the Lake about Euian, where he remayned eight dayes, informing him selfe particularly, from all the Water-men which went to Geneua, touching the disposition, guides, and defences of the Port, visiting of boates and other things belonging to the nauigation of the Lake, by whom he discouered many errors in the Guard: and to be the better assured, he caused *La Bastide* to go ouer the Lake to Morges, to the end that he might passe in one of the Barkes of Geneua, which on certaine dayes go thither to marker, and obserue the state of the port, and enter into Geneua without ialousie; the which he performed so cunningly as no man suspected him. The like spy had bin taken some two yeres before, hauing grossely visited the chaines, who being amazed, and wauering in his answer, confest by force that he had bin sent to view the place, nor knowing any more of the enterprife, nor who had sent him, for the which he was hanged. Some think he was of *Terrails* faction. From that time they had fortified the fort with another ranke of double chaines, but that did not serue to warrant them against this last enterprife. *Terrail* and *La Bastide* (who returned vnto him by land) hauing againe visited the port of Riue, by the which he past, he returned to the Duke, assuring him of the certainty and facility of the enterprife, taking vpon them to be the Leaders and conductors of the execution. The enterprife was plotted after this maner: *Terrail* and the D. had made their desseigne to prouide 4. or 5. great flat-bottomed boats, such as do usually carry wood vnto the towne: especially in May, when as they make their provision, and to lodge vnder the wood an 150. or 200. choice men in euery boat, the which should approach without suspicion, for that their counterfeit water-men should be attired like vnto them of Geneua. As for the search which was heretofore made within the towne, they did not regard it, hauing resolu'd to kill the searchers suddenly, and to leape altogether out of their boats: they should at an instant gather their troupes together, farre from the commerce of them of Geneua, and at a prefixed time ship them, when as they should see a fauourable Northren wind arise. *Terrail* should be in the first boat, and the Duke or his eldest son in the last. The first exploit being done, the D. or his son should also haue other troupes, especially horf-men ready, the which might well bee drawne together, vnder colour of the Duke of Nemours marriage, which should be celebrated at Anisly in Sauoy, eight leagues from Geneua: and although the stay of the sayd marriage did cause some difficulty, yet they had so many other incouters as they held the enterprife infallible: the facility was, in that they might imbarke them secretly, a fauorable wind carrying them in a quarter of the time that is required by land: they thought that 500. men or more being entred, would be able to stay all the people, and seaze vpon the Canon at the Port, and also at the Port de Riue, by the which the Duke or his sonne should enter with their land-troupes. The enterprife was appointed at such a time, when as the towne seemed to be most vnfurnished, by reason of their country labors, and at dinner time, when it seemed euery man retires himselfe. They haue confest also (since their condemnation, that their voyage through the country of Bearne, was to obserue it, for the pursuing of their victory, after the taking of Geneua: for although the Duke entred alone into this enterprife, and that the Earle of Fuentes, had not discouered him selfe to be of the party: yet *Terrail* sayd, that the D. had assured him, that the Spaniards which were in Sauoy, had commandement to follow and obey him, as he pretended, in this enterprife. *Terrail* went into the Low-countries to take his leaue of the Archduke, to retire such meanes as he had yet remaining there, and to bring some of the best executioners that he could find, with some Mariners. He and *La Bastide* agreed both in their confessions, being examined apart, whereby they had drawne from them the grounds of the enterprife, against the which they themselves did afterwards giue them direction to defend themselves, especially *Terrail*, made a draught in paper of the meanes how to preferue any Port from the Pettard: he sayd, that the D. was so bent vpon this execution that

that notwithstanding his imprisonment, if they kept the confessions close, and gaue it A out that he had not dicouered any thing, but continued in prison still, vntill that time, the Duke would continue his enterprife, and might be easily taken both he and his son: but this was a forged meanes to delay his punishment, and to giue time to the intercessions which he knew would be made for him, by his kinsmen of Dauphiné, the expedient also was too dangerous. Being demanded if they knew not that it was a capitall Crime, to make like Desseignes in a time of full Peace, sworne and well obserued: the which they both confessed freely: *Terrail* desired that hee might be kept aliuie betwixt foure wals, and *La Bastide* intreated, that they would not make him lose his soule by some cruell punishment: being both condemned, *La Bastide* disposed B himselfe to die with a constant resolution: being vpon the ladder, he sayd vnto the Spectators: My masters I pray you pardon me, I am more ioyfull to die here ignominiously, then if the enterprife which I had in hand had succeeded: pray vnto God for me that he will pardon me, for the loue of his Sonne, who shed his blood vpon the crosse for me and for all true repentants. *Terrail* was condemned to lose his head, vpon the place of Molard, where he was executed the 19. of April, and *La Bastide* was hanged at the same place the 21. They both died very resolutely, especially *Terrail*, who neuer changed his countenance, neither shewed any gesture vnworthy of his fore-passed life: *La Bastide* was much grieued that Torture had made him accuse *Terrail*, of whose death he vnderstood, desiring rather to haue bene drawne in peeces with foure horses. *Terrail* was C interred on the Bulwarke of Loy, whereas the heads of those which were executed at the Scalado were buried. If *Terrail* had made vse of the grace which was offered him in the beginning he had bin saued: but he did not thinke they should be able to conuict him, relying vpon the promises of the Bayliffe of Morges, that his man should not be deliuered to them of Geneva, as indeed he was stayd at the instance of the sayd Bailiffe vntill a second voyage. It was held for certaine that the gouernement of Sauoy, had bin promised by the Duke vnto *Terrail*, if the enterprife had succeeded happily.

Conference  
betwixt *Du*  
*Moulin* and  
*Gontier*.

On the eleuenth of Aprill there was a conference betwixt Monsieur *du Moulin*, one of the Ministers of the Reformed Church at Paris, and Father *Gontier* a Iesuite, being seconded by the Barronnesse of Salignac: after which it was bruted abroad, that *Gontier* D had confuted *du Moulin* in diuers points which they of the Religion did hold, *Gontier* himselfe writing a glorious letter vnto the King to that effect. *Du Moulin* finding his reputation touched, and the truth mis-reported, was forced to publish a true discourse of the whole conference, after this manner.

Monsieur *du Moulin* hauing about three of the clocke in the after-noon mett with Monsieur *de Lienbrune* before his doore in the street of Marez, he was intreated to go vp into his chamber, the which he found full of Ladies and Gentlewomen: at his first entry one of them intreated him to expound the 31. Article of the confession of the Faith of the Reformed Churches. *Du Moulin* answered, that if it pleased her to come vnto his lodging he would indeuour to satisfie her; whereupon another Lady sayd, that E we should be alwaies ready to giue an account of our faith: and that *Du Moulin* should not refuse instruction to them that demanded it. *Du Moulin* answered, that he knew wel they demanded no instruction, and that to dispute of Religion with women, who speake all together, and then publish what they please, were to do wrong to the truth of Religion. One of them replied, that she was much troubled vpon this Article, and that they often objected vnto her, that the Ministers could not giue a reason of their Mission & Vocation. *Du Moulin* answered, that he wondered shee had not demanded of them that laboured so therein, a reason of their vocation, and that shee should haue found them much more troubled. That euery man that busieth himselfe to demand a reason of anothers vocation, must be well assured of his own, and ready to yeeld a reason. Herupon F enters Father *Gontier* with two others who had many bookes: *Gontier* demanded at his first entrance, what is the question? *Du Moulin* answered, that the Lady demands a reason of my Mission, and I told her she should require a reason of yours.

*Gont.* That is but an Euasion.

*Du Moulin*

A *Du Moulin.* It is no Euasion: For whosoever will demand the reason of anothers vocation, is first bound to giue an account of his owne. If you will confesse that you cannot defend yours, I doe offer to defend mine presently.

*Gont.* Be not in choller I denie it.

*Du Moulin.* I say nothing but what is cleere, and will first prooue, that you haue no vocation.

*Gont.* Who hath giuen you commission to speake thus vnto your superiors.

*Du Moulin.* You are not my superior, but I maintaine that you haue no charge. For you say you are a Priest, and haue receiued this Order of Priesthood after this maner. B Which is that the Bishop hauing anointed your fingers, and imposed his hands, saith vnto you, *Receive the power to offer Sacrifice to God, and to celebrate masse, as wel for the liuing as the dead.* By this meanes he hath made you a sacrificer to sacrifice Iesus Christ. I would demand then in what place of the word of God Bishops haue Authority to make sacrificers in the Church.

*Gont.* That is easily proued by the second and fifth Chapters of the first of *Tymothie*, bring mee a new Testament. Wherevpon they brought him one, and hee read these two chapters with great expectation of the assistants: but finding not that which he desired, he sayd vnto one of his owne coate which did assist him, goe and fetch mee my concordance, the which being brought hee turned it ouer a long time and spake C not a word.

*Du Moulin* being weary to attend, sayd vnto him: If this disgrace had befallne mee to bee put to silence; and to bee forced to send for my Concordance, I would neuer shew my selfe in such good company. Wherevpon Monsieur *Lienbrune* sayd vnto *Gontier*, Sir, I am much amazed to see that I see: for you haue told mee that the Ministers were not able to stand before you, and now I see you put to silence.

After halfe an houres silence, I sought sayd *Gontier*, a passage where it speakes of the Imposition of hands.

*Du Moulin* sayd vnto him, I will ease you of that paine, shewing him presently the passage which is in the fourth chapter of the first of *Tymothie*.

D *Gontier* read the passage which is this, *despise not the gift that is in thee, which hath bene giuen thee by Prophecie, by the imposition of hands by the companie of Elders:* adding that these Elders were Priests, and that the Greeke word did beare it.

*Du Moulin.* That doth not prooue that Bishops haue Authority from God, to establish sacrificers in the Church.

*Gontier* in steed of answering takes the Bible, and turning towards Monsieur *de Lienbrune* sayd, that he would shew, that vnder the new Testament there were alwaies Sacrificers in the Church.

*Du Moulin.* That is nothing to the purpose, wee speake of Authority of Bishops to make Sacrificers vnder the New Testament.

E *Gont.* Wherevpon *Gontier* calling for paper, pen and incke, the which being brought, he began to write without speaking any thing, then putting out what hee had written he held the company in suspence.

*Du Moulin* sayd vnto him: you winne time; and vnder colour of writing you take leisure to thinke of some thing to saue your selfe. Wherevpon he leauing his writing, intreated *Du Moulin* to set downe his proposition: who at his request wrote these words: shew mee that the Bishops of the Church of Rome haue Authority by the word to establish Sacrificers in the Church.

*Gont.* I will prooue that the Apostles were Sacrificers.

*Du Moulin.* That is not the question, neither doe you prooue what I demand.

F *Gont.* It is sufficient I shew you that the Apostles were Sacrificers.

*Du Moulin.* Seeing you like their, and that I can draw no prooffe from you of the power of Bishops to make Sacrificers, because wee will not be at a stand, let vs see how you can prooue the Apostles were Sacrificers.

*Gontier* takes the penne and writes as followeth: The word *to Sacrifice* signifies to doc

He did the  
like at Amiens  
against  
Monsieur  
Hucher where  
being troubled  
led to answere  
he sent to fetch  
his Corcor  
dance.

1609 doe an holy thing. The Apostles were established to doe a holy thing, therefore they A were established to sacrifice.

*Du Moult.* The question is not heere of the Etymologie, but of the sence, and how the word to sacrifice is taken in the Romane Church, that is to offer really vnto God the body of Iesus Christ in a propitiatory sacrifice for the liuing and the dead. To pray vnto God is to do a holy thing, and yet euery one that praies is not a sacrificer in that sence. So, as your conclusion followeth not, for that you take the word to sacrifice in another sence then the question is here.

*Gont.* I approue what was needfull to proue.

*Du Moult.* I deny it: it is nothing to the purpose: you sticke vpon the word to tie B the thing.

*Gont.* I haue done sufficient and you haue granted what I demanded.

*Du Moult.* I haue granted nothing, and take the company to witnesse, if any one hath hether to heard a word from Maister Doctor which proues that Bishops haue Authority from God to establish sacrificers in the Church: Or that the Apostles were sacrificers to sacrifice Iesus Christ.

*Gont.* No man speaking any thing, *Gontier* sayd that Iesus Christ had sayd vnto his Apostles, doe this: whereby he commanded them to sacrifice.

*Du Moult.* I deny that doe this signifies to sacrifice.

*Gont.* He commands them to doe his bodie.

*Du Moult.* Admit that it were so; yet to doe the Lords bodie is not to sacrifice it. C

*Gont.* In the sixe and twentieth of Saint *Mathew*, the blood of Iesus Christ is shed for the remission of sinnes: But where the blood of Iesus Christ is shed there it is sacrificed; and all which serues for the Remission and forgiuensse of sinnes is a Sacrifice.

*Du Moult.* I denie it, if that were true, Baptisme were a Sacrifice, seeing it serues for the Remission of sinnes. It is also false that whereas the blood is shed for the remission of sinnes there it is a Sacrifice, vnlesse his blood bee offered vnto God, for there is no Sacrifice without offering vnto God. Moreouer to make this effusion of D blood, a Sacrifice, it must bee done by death. But in the Lords supper, you cannot shew mee that this blood is offered vnto God, nor that this effusion of blood is made by death.

*Gontier.* In the 26. of Saint *Mathew* it is sayd expressly that the blood of Iesus Christ is shed, whereupon he framed this Argument. The blood shed which is ioyned with death is a Sacrifice. But the blood shed in the Sacrament is ioyned with death. Therefore it is a Sacrifice.

*Du Moult.* You still suppose that which you must proue, which is that this blood which you say is shed in the Sacrament, is offered vnto God. Secondly I answer that captiously, you adde to that which I haue sayd this word conioyned. That in the 26. E of Saint *Mathew* hee speakes of blood which is conioyned by nature with his death. But I say that if our Sauours blood were really shed in the Sacrament, yet should it not be shed by death.

*Gont.* By this answer the Maior is granted.

*Du Moult.* You speake nothing, neither haue you produced any thing yet for to proue that our Lord Iesus CHRIST hath offered his blood vnto God in the Sacrifice.

*Gont.* I haue done it sufficiently; there needs no more.

*Du Moult.* Proue it, or say you cannot.

*Gont.* Whereupon *Gontier* takes the penne and writes. The blood shed for the remission of sinnes is contained in the institution of the Sacrament in the 26. of Saint *Mathew* the 28. verse.

*Du Moult.* That doth not proue that Christ did offer his blood vnto God in the Sacrament.

*Gont.*

A *Gont.* Therevpon after some silence, and the Ladies importunity to speake of some other thing, in the end *Gontier* recouers himselfe, and frames an Argument which hee would not write, but *Du Moult* did write it, hee repeating it; Then he read it before him, and this it was. The blood of Iesus Christ which is shed for the remission of sinnes, must necessarily bee offered vnto God. But in the institution of the Sacrament contained in the 26. of Saint *Mathew*, verse 28. the blood is shed for the remission of sinnes. Ergo it is necessarily offered vnto God.

*Du Moult.* I deny that the first proposition is alwaies true, for admit the very blood of Iesus Christ should be shed in the Sacrament it selfe, it followes not that it were offered to God in Sacrifice: for it might bee offered or presented to the communicants and not to God. It was sufficient that he was offered vpon the Crosse.

B As for the second proposition, I acknowledge that the blood of Iesus Christ was shed, but hee meanes vpon the crosse: as the Bible of the Church of Rome and the Masse it selfe doe witnesse, who turne it to the future (*Effundetur*) that the blood of our Lord shalbe shed. I demaund now of Maister Doctor if hee disauowes his Bible, and his Masse. When Christ sayd drinke all of it.

*Gontier* hauing taken the paper, blots out part of that which *Du Moult* had written: whereat hee complaines, and represents it vnto the company: *Gontier* excused himselfe, and sayd hee had done it vnadvisedly: Then hee beganne to write these words.

C The Oblation made vnto the Communicants cannot be. Then hee staied, and blotted out that which hee had written, beginning to speake of the second Article of *Du Moult* answers: who intreated him to answer to the first Article. *Gontier* sayd that hee would not, and that in his answer hee would impugne that which hee found weakest. *Du Moult* prest him againe, saying that *Gontiers* conclusion, sayled, when as one of the propositions was denied.

*Gontier* refused againe. Some of the assistants which came late prest him, but hee persisted in his refusal. But vpon the second Article hee sayd that *Du Moult* denied the Bible, the which sayd is shed, and not shalbe shed.

D *Du Moult* answered that our translation was faithfully done according to the Greeke, but that should be no let, that the exposition of the Church of Rome, and the Bible onely allowed by the councell of Trent, and what the Masse it selfe doth bring should not be true.

*Gont.* Then *Gontier* caused a Greeke Testament of *Robert Stenens* to bee brought, and to weaken the Authority of the Greeke Text, he sayd that many things had beene changed, and that in the end of the booke was an Index of aboute fise hundred diuers readings.

*Du Moult* answered that these diuers readings did not change the sence: That all this inuectiue against the Originall of the new Testament did not helpe any thing to proue that which they could not yet proue, which was that Iesus Christ had offered his blood to God in the Sacrament, pressing *Gontier* againe to proue it. *Gontier* persisting still in his deniall, and their disputation beeing at a stay: all the Ladies to gratifie him, intreated them to speake of some other thing, saying that it was to deepe for them.

One of the Ladies then desired them to expound these words of Iesus Christ: *this is my bodie.* New matter propounded.

*Du Moult* tooke the word, and sayd: That no man doubted of the truth of those words: that they must beleue the Scripture according to the exposition it made of it selfe: that these words, *this is my body*, are thus expounded by the Apostle Saint *Paul*, the first to the *Corinthians* the 10. verse. *the bread which wee breake vnto you is the Communion in the Bodie of Christ.* An exposition which the Church of Rome rejects, not beleueing that it is bread, or that wee breake bread: Neither that the bread broken bee the Communion in the bodie of Christ, seeing it was the very bodie of Iesus Christ. Besides the Euangelists with one consent doe witnesse that Iesus Christ did breake and giue bread. *Hee tooke bread, brake it and gaue it.* The which the Church



1609.

Church of Rome denies not beleueing that hee gaue bread. Moreouer it denies A these words, *this is my bodie*. For seeing that the word *this*, signifies, *that which I giue you*, and seeing that he gaue bread, the sence of these words, *this is my body*, is, *this bread is my body*, the which the Church of Rome denies.

Gontier on the other side opposed that Saint Paul had sayd in the Sacrament, that the bodie of the Lord is broken for vs. That the bread whereof he speakes saying, *the bread which wee breake*, is his flesh, as it is sayd in the sixth of Saint Iohn. *The bread which I will giue thee is my flesh*.

Du Moulin interrupted him saying, that therein hee did contradi& the Church of Rome, the which did not beleuee that the bodie of our Lord is broken in the Sacrament, demanding of Gontier if hee would set it downe vnder his hand, that the Church of Rome did beleuee that the bodie of our Lord is broken in the Sacrament. That Gontier by this word bread, meaning the bodie of Christ, made the words of Saint Paul ridiculous, causing him to say that, *the bodie of Christ which wee breake is the Communion in the bodie of Christ*. That in this passage of Saint Iohn hee speakes not of the Sacrament, but doth promise to giue himselfe vnto the death as it appears by the words which hee addes. *The bread which I will giue is my flesh, the which I will giue for the life of the world*. But he gaue not himselfe for the life of the world but in his death.

Gont. Herevnto Gontier answered not any thing, but that this word, *I will giue*, being twice repeated is taken in two diuers significations. Then beeing required to signe that the Church of Rome did beleuee that the bodie of our Lord is broken in the Sacrament, hee tooke paper and wrote, *Iesus Christ in the Sacrament hath broken his bodie*. Saint Paul 1. Cor. 11. verse 14. which was not that which was demanded. Therevpon being required to speake freely if the Apostle Saint Paul, spake the truth in saying that wee breake bread, hee answered freely that hee would make no answer therevnto. The which moued one of the assistants called Mounseieur Pompart, who came in the end of the conference, to say vnto him, we brought our eares to heare but you haue brought no tongue to speake. Gontier beeing then prest againe to proue that Iesus Christ hath offered his blood vnto God in the Sacrament, he quits the combat and retires himselfe ashamed into a corner of the chamber, where hee beganne to write what he pleased, the which hauing shewed vpon the Table, he afterwards rent it, hauing retired it out of the hands of the Ladie of Liembrune who would haue kept it. Gontier hauing thus quit the place, the Barronesse of Salignac entred the Lifts, whose words were, that shee had forsaken the Religion in the which shee had bene bread vp, after knowledge of the cause, hauing spent foure whole yeeres before shee could resolve: That she had read all the Fathers in Greeke and Latin, and had had a man by her to translate them. That shee had found that the Fathers of the foure first ages were conformable to the beliefe of the Church of Rome: that shee had relied thereon, and that her conuersion had serued others.

Du Moulin sayd: Madam, seeing you vnderstand so well what you doe, giue mee leaue to aske you if you doe not call vpon the Virgin Mary, and if the forme of your praier bee not *Aue Maria &c.* yes sayd shee. Then Du Moulin sayd vnto her, you doe not then vnderstand what you doe, for in speaking so, you thinke to pray to the Virgin Mary, but you pray vnto God for her, saying God keepe thee Mary, the Lord bee with thee &c. Moreouer Madam, I thinke you remember wel the causes which haue moued you to this change. As for example, can you shew vs the texts wherein God doth command to paint God, and to make Images of the Trinity in stone. The sayd Lady answered, that shee would not vndertake to proue that in the presence of a Doctor. Norwithstanding Du Moulin shewed her the fourth of *Deutronomy vers. 15.* where God forbids to make any Image of his likenesse. Shee on the other side produced the Images of the Cherubins: But Du Moulin sayd, that hee spake of Images of God, and that the Cherubins were not God.

As for the Images of creatures, hee demanded of her, if when shee changed her Religion,

The Church of Rome beleuee that the body remains whole and that the accidents only which they call kinds are broken.

Conference with the Lady of Salignac.

1609.

A ligion, shee had scene any commandement from God to doe any seruice vnto the Images of creatures.

Gontier did releuee her a farre off, crying out of his corner where hee was retired, Madam, obiect vnto him the serpent of brasle, the Image of Iesus Christ God and man. Also hee sayd that they did Sacrifice and cast Incense before the Cherubins.

Du Moulin answered that the brasen Serpent was no Image of Iesus Christ, but a figure of his Office and sauing vertue. But admit it had bene the Image, yet was it not the Image of his Diuinity, besides it is not found that the Israelits did it any seruice but in committing Idolatrie, he also denied that they did doe Sacrifice or cast Incense before the Cherubins, hauing a vaile interposed.

The Lady fell againe vpon the Fathers, affirming that shee had read them all. Du Moulin told her that it was impossible considering the multitude of bookes and the difficultie for her, which vnderstood neither Greeke nor Latin. That twentie yeeres were not sufficient, and for her shee must haue double asmuch time; intreating her to name some one father amongst the rest which shee had read. Shee gaue him for example *Chrysostome*, wherevpon Du Moulin intreated her to repeat some one passage which shee had learned there. Then shee was brought to a stand, saying, that being the mother of a familie shee had no leisure to attend it altogether. Then shee repeated a long list of the fathers, whereas shee tooke the Greeke for the Latin, saying that *Tertullin* had bene Disciple to the Apostle, that *Ciprian* had bene his Disciple in the yeere of Christ one hundred and fifty, wherein shee was reprehended by Gontier, who heard her a farre off, who rising easily from his place, tooke his leaue of the company.

Du Moulin sayd vnto him at his going forth: Sir, if wee were lost and damned as you teach, yet Christian charity would binde you to haue compassion of vs. And I wonder how that you, who shew your selfe here to bee of so tractable an humour, yet preaching nothing but bloud and sedition as they tell mee that goe to heere you.

Gontier answered, you are ill informed, I haue yeelded an account of my doings vnto the King: and would expose my life for your helth: so after some complements the company retired.

Two daies after Mounseieur De Liembrune hauing met with the same Ladies at Saint Nicholas des Champs, hee inquired of them what the reason was that father Gontier had bene so much amazed, and so troubled to answer. They told him that father Gontier sayd, that he would therein support Madam De Liembrune who wept, fearing to affli& her more.

On the nineteenth day of Aprill beeing Easter day, the vines hauing thrust forth their blood vnseasonably by the forwardnesse of the spring in March, were withered with the mornings frost, and the sonne rising, burned them vp quite, so as that moneth which doth open, and gaue them great hope, did presently extinguish it, and they were deceived of their vintage, especially about Paris, the which was the more grieuous for that three yeeres before they had had small store of wine, so as the poore laborers were terrified from the charge: wherevpon they drew so great store of Brewers of Beere out of the Low countries to Paris, as the signes of Alehouses were more ordinary then of Tauerns.

France is not vnlike vnto a fat fertill soyle, the which with corne puts forth Cockell, Darnell and such like, so as that kind of Vulturs more greedie then any Farmers of Imposit, who make trafficke of Diuine and humane things, and know nothing but to sucke the marrowe from the poore people, employing all their policies, cares and counsell, to scrape what is remayning and to shake the whole State of the Kingdome by their dangerous inuentions, like vnto Horseleaches, which neuer leaue the skinn vntill they burst with blood: They were the Authors of new Edicts, the which when they had bought for little, they opprest the subiects, ruined and spoyled them vterlie. Some of these blood-suckers perswaded the King to abate his coyne both in goodnesse and waight, by which wickednesse all mens fortunes

Vynes burned vp.

The King perswaded to alter the coyne.

1609.

fortunes would be shaken, and both ours and forraine trade vnterly ouerthrowne. This A  
publike infection had so posselt the King, as hee was fully resolu'd to alter his coyne,  
and an Edict being vpon the presse, should presently be published, yea against the will  
of the Court of Parliament.

They in whose perpetuall garde the Kingdome is; made it knowne vnto the Kings  
council how dangerous it would bee to alter the old coyne, and what clamors and in-  
nouations it would breed. That they had read of examples in former times of great ru-  
ine which had growne thereby, the which should make them more wary to runne into  
the like: Next vnto ciuill warres and a generall desolation, the abatement of coyne  
is the greatest mischiefe: By this sinnew, trafficke is maintained, the which beeing dis- B  
solued France would languish, like vnto the Artires which want nourishment. In  
the end the courage of *Achilles* pretailed, or rather the eloquence of *Harley*, that *Nes-*  
*tor* of our France, with whom the whole council assented.

The King heard his speech willingly and commended it, chasing those catterpillers  
farre from him.

There was a kinde of people who hauing gotten great credit by their great trade,  
taking vp great summes of money at interest (they finde many desirous rather to liue  
vpon the vse of their money, then to purchase Lands) In the end finding themselves  
opprest with vsurie, and vnable to make payment of their debts, they are forced to  
breake and to runne away. They are the wickedest amongst men, who hauing pur- C  
chased places of Authority for their sonnes, and married their daughters with great  
dowries, hauing conuaid great store of gold, wares, plate and stuffe into forraine  
parts, they change their soyle: the which hath happened often within few yeeres. But  
the boldnesse and impunitie of these publike thecues, which in others haue bene  
neglected was punished in one. It was a Marchant called *Pingre*, verie well knowne  
for his great trade, whom the fame of his former life, and his abundance of Marchan-  
dize had purchast great credit vpon the exchange. Hee hauing defrauded his cre-  
ditors, and conuayed away his goods and his state to his friends and neighbours, and  
beeing fled into the Low countries, was found by his creditors at Valentia and was  
brought backe to Paris, where hee was called in question before the masters of re- D  
quests, his Proesse beeing made, hee was condemned, to come into the court in his  
shirt and a torch in his hand, and to aske forgiuenesse, then to bee carried through  
Saint Denins streete where his house had bene, hauing hanging at his backe these  
words written in great letters, A TREACHEROVS DEFRAUDER  
OF OTHER MENS MONEY. Wherevpon there was and aduertisement  
made touching this crime, in these termes.

As good Lawes spring commonly from bad manners, so wee from two great mis-  
chiefs which beganne to grow in this Realme, see two very holosome Edicts made  
in one moneth, to suppress so many Duells, which tend to the ruine of the flourishing  
Estate of the Nobilitie, and to preuent Bankrupting, which wee see so ordinary, or at E  
the least to punish such as shalbe conuicted thereof, with their complices and adhe-  
rentes. Leaving Duells for a more ample discouise, wee wil only speake a word vpon  
the subiect of the Decree against *William Pingre*, condemned for Bankrupting, and  
fals-hood, both foule crimes, the which draw others after them, as theft, coulenage,  
the robbing of the publike treasure, and counterfetting, all capitall. There hath  
bene some doubt vpon the interpretation of these words, to punish them extra-  
ordinarily, and capitallie, by the Tennor of the Ordinances of Orleance and Bloyes:  
If the new Edict which it hath pleased his Royall Maiestie to send vnto his Court of  
Parliament this moneth of May in the yeere of our Lord 1609. had not taken away  
all cause of further doubt, appointing death for such offenders, to the great content of F  
all good men.

But for that no Law is good or commodious to euery man, and that *Iupiter* him-  
selfe (as the old prouerbe saith) whether hee send raine or faire wheather, cannot con-  
tent all the world: I will yeeld some apparant reasons to them, which hold there is,

Punishment  
of a Bankrupt.

1609.

A to great seueritie and crueltie in this Iudgement, and more in the Kings Maiesties  
Edict.

They say there must bee some pittie and commiseration had of those, who hauing  
lost their goods not by prodigalitie or fraude, but by some great force, or by mis-  
chance, or by the breaking of some one of their Creditors; and that our custome  
and the Ordonances haue often allowed them, respits, delaies and surceasings by  
letters or Iudgements, which the Soneraigne Courts haue confirmed. But admit  
it were so; and that there are some which are not vnworthie of the miserable remedie  
of cession of their goods, carrying the marke which is a greene bonet and hat, I say a  
B greene hat; to preuent the fraude of such as hauing made cession doe still were a  
blacke hat; and a little greene nightcap vnder it, so as it can hardly beescene. Yet  
can wee not too rigorously punish, not onely with a ciuill death, which is the losse  
of their goods and honour, but also with naturall death, those that are duely conuicted  
to haue by fraude and dissembling taken and carried away great summes of money  
out of diuers good purses, and then fle into forraine countries, where they enioye  
their spoyles, an infinite number of good families beeing ruined, and brought to  
beggerie.

These are (saith *Tacitus*) the fruites of vsury, whose byting is like vnto the  
woundes of certaine serpents, whereof hee that is stunge seemes to feelee no paine in  
C the beginning, but in the end it brings them to a death full of anguish and paine.  
There is not any Bankrupt, but hath bene an Vsurer, a tiue and passiue in diuers  
sortes: And if *Cato* compared an Vsurer to a murderer, wee may well say that  
a coufener is a verie theefe, seeing hee doth with a fraudulent intent get, and mali-  
ciously carrie away the goods of so many poore men, and that by subtil and malici-  
ous practises, whereof the fraude depends, the which shalbe called cossenage, if there be  
no other more significatiue.

Robbing of the publike Treasure, is not often found, as it was in the dealing of  
this *Pingre*, yet most doe deale in it that mannage the publike Treasure, whence  
growes the shame of either side, as well his that takes, as his that giues.

D There remains the most grieuous cryme of all, which is fals-hood, whereof no  
man breaking fraudulentlie, can excuse himselfe: for in steed of making good and  
loyall bookes of accoumpts, they make them false: If they say that all such faultes that  
are not punishable with death, as in a Notarie, Register, or some other publike per-  
son, and that by some Iudgements they haue bene content to cause them to burne  
the daie: I answere that by the Romaine Lawes such Registers of Bankers which  
are called *Argentarij*, *Argyropoista*, *Mensularij*, and *Cernasista*, of whom *Se-*  
*neca* speakes in the preface to his Declamations, is a sufficient Testimonie in Iudge-  
ment, and it hath bene Iudged by infinite Decrees that their Iournall is a good  
prooffe.

E Hee then that falsifies that rule, or makes it double, merits no lesse punishment  
then forgers, by a capitall punishment, not onely by the losse of reputation and cre-  
dit, but by losse of life, as the Edict will haue it, and is practised in some soueraigne  
Courts, namely at Rouen.

But the equitie and necessitie of this *Senatus* consult, fortified by Edict, will ap-  
peare and defend it selfe, and the profit and commoditie will appeere hereafter more  
and more. To stoppe the passage to all those that prepare themselves for the  
like fraudes, and to coole their heate, who to affect a greater gaine vpon the place,  
contemne all honest meanes to imploy their money, either in purchasing of Land,  
F which is the most safe, or else in buying of rents by constitution, which is lawfull both  
by the Lawes of God and man, which is the only honest meanes to make profit of mo-  
ney with a good conscience.

The King therefore to preuent these false-hoods published an Edict in May as  
followeth.

Q9999

HENRY

1609.

An Edict  
to limit Bank-  
rupts.

**HENRY** by the grace of God King &c. To all present and to come greeting. Desiring to provide for the disorder and most frequent crimes, which the corruption of manners proceeding from the liberty of the forepassed troubles, hath brought in, and to restore Iustice to her authority, and former beautie, to the end that vnder her our subiects may be preferred and maintained in their duties. We haue considered that one of the things which wee are speedily to redresse, is the abuse and apparent deceite which is committed vnder the name and pretext of playing Bankrupt, to the prejudice of poore Widowes, Orphelins and other of our good and louing subiects, by the meanes of which crime, which is growne frequent and in a manner common, for want of being punished as it deserues, the publike faith and trust amongst our subiects is greatly diminished, and the trafficke and commerce almost wholly decayed.

And for that the ancient Kings our Predecessors, haue ordained small punishments against Bankrupts, for that during their reignes, infidelitie and corruption of manners had not so fully crept into the hearts of their subiects. King *Francis* the first our most honoured Lord and great vnckle, vpon the aduice which was giuen him in the Citie of Lyons, ordained in the yeere of our Lord 1536. that they should proceed extraordinarily against Bankrupts, which did breake fraudulently, their factors and dealers, by informations, confrontations of witnesses and all other extraordinary means, and the fraude being discovered, the culpable to be punished corporally, by condemnations, asking forgiveness, to the profit of the parties interested, standing on the pillory, or otherwise, as it shall be determined by the Iudges, and to be kept close prisoners vntill they had made full satisfaction. And King *Charles* the ninth also our most honoured Lord and brother, vpon the complaints which were made vnto him in the assembly of the Estates held at Orleance, that the sayd crime of Bankrupting grew too common: Hee ordained that such as should fraudulently breake, should be punished extraordinarily and capitally, which Ordonances the last King deceased, had confirmed by an Edict made at Blois, in the yeere of our Lord 1579. and declared his intention to be. That they which should fraudulently breake, or make cession of their goods, should be punished exemplarily. The which hath made the sayd crime so familiar, as many of our louing and loyall subiects haue suffered, and doe suffer daylie great losses. Desiring therefore to make these complaints which haue bene made vnto vs to cease, after mature deliberation, wee haue held it verie fit and necessary to renew and augment the sayd punishments against bankrupts and cessionaries, which haue broken in fraude.

For these causes and many other considerations vs mouing, with the aduice of our counsell, and of our certaine knowledge, full power and royall Authoritie, by this our present Edict perpetuall and irrevocable haue sayd, decreed and ordained, and doe say, decree and ordaine, will and our pleasure is, that according to the Ordonance and Lawes of our sayd Lord and Brother, vpon the complaint of the Estates held at Orleance, they shall proceed extraordinarily against Bankrupts and Debtors, breaking and making cession of their goods to defraude or beguile their Creditors, their Factors and Dealers, of what estate, quality and condition soeuer they be, and the fraud being proued they shall be exemplarily punished with death, as theues and publike affronters.

And notwithstanding for that most commonly the sayd Bankrupts breake with intent to inrich their children and heires, and the better to couer their malicious designs, make transports and cessions of their goods to their sayd children, heires, or other of their friends to keepe them for them. Wee haue by the same meanes declared, and doe declare such Transports, Cessions and Sales and Donations of goods, mouable or immouable made to defraude or beguile the Creditors directlie or indirec[tly] to be voyde and of no force at all. Forbidding all our Iudges to haue any regard thereof: But contrariwise if it shall appeere the fore-  
sayd

1609.

A sayd transports, Cessions, Donations and sales shall be made to defraude the sayd Creditors: wee will that the Cessionaries, Donataries and Purchasers, shall be punished as complices of the sayd frauds and breaking.

Wee will also and it is our pleasure, that they which, contrarie to the truth, shall iustifie themselves to be Creditors to the sayd Bankrupts, as it often happens by Monopolies and Intelligences, to the end they may draw the true Creditors to composition, shall be also exemplarily punished, as complices of the sayd frauds and bankrupts: forbidding all men expressly to retire the sayd bankrupts, their cautions, factors or dealers, goods, mouables and papers, nor to giue them any comfort or assistance in any sort whatsoever, vpon paine of being punished as Complices, as is sayd. Wee doe also inioyne all those that are true creditors (vpon paine of loosing their debts and actions) not to make any accords or contract, or to giue any time vnto the sayd bankrupts, or their mediators, but to pursue them by the course of Iustice according to our intention. Allowing any one of our subiects, yea without Decree or Warrant, to staie any bankrupt flying away, and to present him vnto Iustice, notwithstanding all Iudgements, Decrees and Customes to the contrarie. Wee command our louing and faithfull counsellors holding our Court of Parliament at Paris, Bayliffes, Seneschals and all other our Iudges to whom it shall belong, to cause these presents to be read, published, inrowled and obserued, according to their forme and tenor.

And to our Proctor Generall and his substitutes, to haue a care thereof, and to certifye vs of the contraientions which shall be made to our present Edict, as they will answer to the contrarie, for such is our pleasure. And to the end it may be firme and stable for euer, we haue caused our seale to be set to these presents.

*Giuen at Paris in May. 1609.*

Signed Henry.

D

**T**he King at the same time being much troubled with the daylie combats of his subiects one calling an other to field vpon euery light occasion, whereby many Gentlemen of Noble families did vntimely loose their liues, by the aduice of the Princes of the blood, the Constable, the Marshalls of France and other Officers of the crowne he made an Edict to suppress it, as followeth:

Edicts against  
Duels.

**HENRY** by the grace of God &c. To all our subiects greeting. The Kings our Predecessors and wee haue made diuers Edicts and Ordinances, for the restraining of the too frequent vse of Duels and single Combats, in this our Realme, moued as most Christian Kings with our duetie and the discharge of our consciences towards God: and as louing and good fathers, tending the safety and preservation of our subiects: hauing likewise a care to maintaine our soueraine Authority, which is much interested by the disorderd and vnbridled liberty of the sayd combats. To this end wee haue by our Edict dated in the moneth of Aprill, in the yeeres of our Lord 1602. with the aduice of the Princes of our blood, Officers of our Crowne, and others of our counsell, which did then assist vs, declared all such as vnder collout of drawing satisfaction from any one, for a pretended iniury, shall challenge, or cause to be challenged, guiltie of high treason; and withall wee did ordaine they should be punished accordingly, as also they that should answer to any such priuate challenge, or assist and second them; expressly forbidding all our Officers of what  
quality

1609. quality soeuer, to dispencc with any that are guiltie of the punnishments prescribed A by the Lawes of our Realme, for treason, or to moderate the same vpon any consideration. Hoping that the terrour of the sayd punishment would bee a meanes to suppress that detestable custome of combats.

But wee are so farre from attayning to our iust desire, as to our great griefe, and the contempt of Almighty Gods commandements and ours, these Duells haue since beene farre more frequent then before, which wee haue chiefly obserued, for to proceede from a false, erronious and long conceiued opinion, too deeply rooted in all the heartes of our Nobilitie ( who haue alwaies more valued their honours and dignities then their liues ) That they ought not to seeke any satisfaction for received iniuries, but by armes, without disparaging and disgracing their reputations, B and incurring some blemish of cowardise, especially in those cases which they thinke cannot bee sufficiently repaired but by armes.

Notwithstanding that, we, to free them from this doubt and collour, haue by our sayd Edi&th ( shewed that wee haue beene willing to charge our selues with whatsoeuer might bee objected in this regard, against those that should subiect themselves to the obleruation thereof.

Moreouer many, as mallitious, as rash, not considering how seuerely wee doe censure such actions, doe oftentimes willingly ingage themselves, to the hazard both of soule and bodie, thinking thereby to increaseth their reputations, and to get C the aduantage of others. Howbeit in effect it is contrarie to true honour, no way becoming a true Christian, and altogether displeasing vnto vs. So as they are to hope for so little fauour from vs, as wee hate those that practise these Duells, as a more then brutish madnesse.

Being therefore verie desirous now to satisfie them that build such opinions vpon so dangerous and deceitfull foundations, and by the same meanes provide (as much as in vs lieth) for the inconueniences and discommodities which fall out daylie by this vnrestrained libertie; Experience teaching, that it is sometimes necessarie and commodious for the publike good of the whole commonweale, to alter and change Lawes and Decrees, and to accommodate them to such accidents as shall D happen in succeeding times, to make them the more profitable and beneficiall: wee likewise haue thought it good and requisite, with the aduice of the Princes of our blood, Officers of our Crowne, and other great personages neere vnto vs, who by expresse commandement haue often met about this subiect, to adde to those precedent Edi&ths and Ordinances, made by our former Predecessours and our selfe against the sayd combats ( without reuoking or disannulling them in any sort ) this Edi&th, which wee will and commaund to bee inuiolably obserued and kept by all persons, of what estate and condition soeuer they bee. Expressly forbidding all persons: As also the Queene our deere and welbeloued spouse, with all the Princes of our blood, and our chiefe Officers and Seruants, nor to make any petitions, E supplication or sute vnto vs to the contrarie, vpon paine of our displeasure. Protesting and swearing by the cuer lyuing God, neuer to grant any grace nor pardon, that may derogate from this present Edi&th, nor to dispencc with any many for the punishment thereby prescribed, in fauour of any whatsoeuer, nor for any cause, collour, or perticular respect, that may bee propounded, pretended, or vpon what ground soeuer alledged.

First wee inioyne all our foresayd louing and loyall subiects, of what estate or condition soeuer, to liue hereafter in peace, vnity and concord, without wronging, contemning or prouoking one another, either by priuate scandals or open iniuries, vpon paine of our indignation, and withall to bee exemplarily punished according to the fact committed.

2 Wee commaund them to honour and respect such persons, as by their birthes, or by their Offices and Dignities, wherevnto wee haue highlie aduanced them,

A them: deserue to bee distinguished from others, as wee vnderstand they are: and that such as shall faile in this their duty and respect, bee punished according to the qualitie of the person whom they haue offended.

3. The said persons of qualitie, shall in like manner forbear to wrong others, whereby to compell them to forget the respect which they owe them. And if they doe otherwise, they shall bee bound to satisfie them as shall be thought fit.

4- All controuersies which shall fall out among our subiects, whereof the decision belongs to Iustice, shall bee ended by the ordinary courie of lawe, established in our realme. And wee forbid the parties, to frame any quarrell for the cause, vpon paine of loosing the thing in question for him that shall attempt it: the which wee do B from this present day adudge to his aduerse party.

5. And for that through the indiscretion and mallice of some, others doe sometimes endure such indignities, as they thinke it impossible to drawe any satisfaction from them but by the sword, which beeing forbidden by our Edi&ths, they either seeke it them-selues, or attempt it by their friends, and practise it daily to the great contempt of our lawes and authority, from whence these disorders and frequent murders doe growe: wee haue held it necessarie, for the preuenting of greater dangers, to permit, as wee doe by these presents, any one that shall thinke him selfe wronged in his honor and reputation by another to complaine vnto vs, or to our deare and well beloued Cousins, the Constable and Marshalls of France, and to demand the combate, which C shall be granted vnto them, as wee shall thinke it expedient for their honors.

6. Such as remaine in our Prouinces, may adresse them-selues to the Gouvernours thereof, and in their absence to our Lieutenant Generall, and for want of them, to the Gouvernours or Lieutenants Generall of the next adioyning Prouinces, to deliuer their grieuances, and to demand the Combate of them. Which Gouvernours or Lieutenants generall shall decide the said controuersies, if it may bee. And if they bee of that nature, as they cannot bee ended but by combate, they shall aduertise vs thereof, that they may receiue order from vs touching the execution thereof.

7. The party offending shall bee bound to appeare before vs, or our Constable and Marshalls of France, or before our Gouvernours and Lieutenants Generall, when they D shall be called: whereof notice shall bee giuen to him selfe in person, or two seuerall times at his dwelling house, with the complaint of the party griued, and the demand of the combate which hath beene made; who beeing absent, it shall bee reiourned for three dayes: and then not appearing, hee shall bee suspended for bearing armes for his contempt, and turned ouer to our Iudges of our courts of Parliament, euery one according to the place of his aboade, to bee punished as breakers of our Edi&ths, which courts wee inioyne to procede duly therein.

8. If any of the said parties haue iust cause to refuse the sayd Iudges, to whom they are referred to make their complaints, hee may haue his recourse to vs, and wee will provide for it. But if the causes of such refusal be found friuolous, and not worthy to E bee allowed, then hee shall be returned with blame to the said Iudges, who shall dispose thereof as they shall thinke best.

9. Hee that shall demand the combate, and be held not receiueable, as hauing taken an offence too lightly, and vpon small cause, shall be returned with disgrace.

10. Hee that shall offer wrong vnto another to the preiudice of his honor, shall be suspended for the space of sixe yeares, from all such charges, honors, titles, offices, dignities, and pensions, as hee doth inioy, and not bee restored during the said time, nor afterwards, vnlesse hee shall haue demanded pardon of vs, and satisfied the party in such manner as hath beene adiudged, and withall receiued from vs a new declaration of our will for his re-entring into the said offices.

F 11. Hee that shall haue no office, charge, dignitie, nor pension, shall loose the third part of the annuall reuenue of the lands which hee holdeth: which third part shall bee leuiued before all other charges, debts, bands, or whatsoeuer, and bee employed to such vses as wee shall afterwards declare. And hee whose thirds shall amount to lesse then

1609. twenty-pound sterling, or shall haue none at all, shall be kept prisoner two whole yeares, A where-so-euer we shall appoint.

12. Who-soeuer shall call any man to field in the behalfe of another, or, giue notice of the challeng, or bee the bearer of any dishonorable message, shall be for euer degraded from his gentry and bearing armes, and bee kept in perpetuall prison, or put to some infamous death, as shall bee ordained by vs, or the sayd Iudges: moreouer he shall for euer forfeit the one halfe of his goods, both mouable and immouable.

13. Hee that holding him-selſe wronged, shall make his owne challenge notwithstanding formerly demanded leaue as is inioyned him, shall for euer be incapable to make his party good by armes with any one, as also for obtrayning any satisfaction for what-soeuer wrong he shall pretend to haue bene done him. And if he that hath bene called by him shall giue Vs or our said Cousins the Constable, and Marshall of France, or the sayd gouernors, and our Lieutenants Generall notice thereof, as we inioyne them to doe: then the charge, office, or pension, which the Challenger inioyeth, shall be giuen to the party challenged, if he bee a man of quality and fit to hold the place, but if he that is challenged repaire to the place appointed, or doth any thing tending to this end, without giuing notice as is aforesaid, hee shall vndergoe the same punishment with the party challenging, and we wil dispose of their offices and pensions as we shall thinke best.

14. If contrary to the Prohibition conteyned in this our Edict, it happeneth that any fight and kill, one another, he that shall haue killed shall vndergoe the paine of death set downe in our ordonances, and vntill hee be apprehended hee shall be deprived of all such charges dignities, and pensions as he doth inioy. Moreouer halfe the reuenues of all this goods shall be employed to such vses as wee shall hereafter ordaine without giuing any satisfaction to the heires of the partie that is slaine, for that hee disobeyed this our Edict: and if both parties bee slaine in the said combat, their bodies shall be deprived of buriall, and the thirds of their goods, in fee simple, employed to such vses as we shall ordaine. And if they haue no goods, their children shall be declared ignoble, and subiect to tax for 10. yeares: and in case they were before taxable, they shall be declared to be vnworthy for euer to be made noble, to hold any royal charge, dignity or office.

15. Such as shall haue assisted the said combatants, if they haue once drawne their weapons shall loose both life and goods, according to our former Edicts. And if they were but only lookers on, yet went thither to that end and purpose, they shall be degraded from bearing armes and deprived of all their offices, dignities and penosins. And if they were accidentally there, yet did not labour to part the said combatants, and to keepe them from fighting, they shall be suspended from their offices, charges and pensions for six yeares, after which time they shall not bee restored vntill they haue asked pardon of vs, and obtrayned a new declaration.

16. Such as shall of them-selues fight in single combat, shall incurre the paines of death, or perpetuall imprisonment, with losse of halfe their goods: and vntill they be apprehended, they shall be degraded from their nobility, and deprived of all their goods during life.

17. If the offences bee committed in places of respect, besides the penalties aboue mentioned (from the which we protest neuer to exempt any man) such as shall commit them, shall be subiect to the seuerest punishments contained in the edicts and ordonances, as well ancient as moderne, of our realme.

18. All lawes, how good and hole some soeuer, are neuerthelesse defectiue, and many times more preiudiciall then profitable to the commonweale, and dishonorable to the lawmaker, vnlesse they be duly obserued and put in execution, wherupon we doe expressly inioyne and command our sayd Cousins, the Constable and Marshalls of France, to whom the knowledge and decision of those contentions and quarrels which concerne the honor and reputations of our said subiects doth belong, that they haue a carefull regard to the obseruation of this our present edict, without vsing of any moderation, or suffering it to be infringed by any fauor or conniueance: notwithstanding all

A all letters, priuat or patent, or any command that may come from vs, the which we forbid them to respect as they desire to please and obey vs. 1609.

19. Wee giue the like charge to all other officers of our crowne, in regard of those that are vnder their charge; and to the gouernors and Lieutenants generall of our provinces for such of our subiects as dwell there, which shall repaire vnto them, as is ordained by this our present edict: referuig to our selues the liberty of adding here-vnto and augmenting the penalties, such as time and experience shall teach vs to bee necessary, that we may suppress the liberty of duells and single combats in this our Kingdome, as things to rashly vndertaken, presuming vpon our authority; and by this means free our subiects from the inenitable peril of their soules, as well as of their bodies and goods, into the which they runne headlong by these means: the which wee haue and doe by these presents declare, to be infamous, and repugnant to true honour, and those which shall obey it to be honorable.

20. And to the intent it may please God to blesse our intent, and to prosper it to his glory, and the safety of our subiects, we haue ordained that all such mony as shall be raised of the pecuniary fines, seyzures, proffits, and reuenues, of such as shall infringe this our edict, to be employed both for the norrishment of the poore, and the erecting of a Royall Hospitall, which wee haue resolved to build expressly to this end and purpose, as also for the repaying of decayed Churches in this our realme, forbidding the sayde summes to be employed to any other vses, vpon grieuous punishments. In the meane time we will and command, that the sayd summes of mony be receiued by the receiuer of Gods Hospitall in our good city of Paris, who shall keepe it carefully vntill that we shall otherwise dispose thereof. We also command our trusty and well beloued, the iudges of our Courts of Parliament, Sheriffes, Bayliffes, and all other our iustices and officers, to whome it shall belong, that they cause the contents of this present edict to be red, published, inrowled, and inuolably obserued, without any thing done to the contrary: for such is our pleasure. And to the end it may be firme and stable for euer, we haue signed these presents, and caused our seale to bee set therevnto, without preiudice to our owne right, or to others.

*Given at Fontainebleau in Iune. 1609.*

D

*Signed.* HENRY.

There was a Turke of Constantinople, a man of good yeares, who had bene taken prisoner by the knights of Malta: he spake the Siriack tongue very wel, and did write it perfectly. A Dominican Fryar at Malta, learned both in Diuinity and Philosophy, and very desirous of the tongs, obtrayned his liberty, and brought him to Paris, where he instructed him in the principles of Christian religion, and vpon our Ladies day he was brought to S. Bennets Church to be Christned. Being examined of his demand at the Church doore, the Dominican being his interpreter, he answered that he desired to be a Christian, wherupon (hauing abiured the superstition of the Alcaron) he was baptized, hauing noble witnesses. *Alphonso d'Ornano*, Marshall of France, and the Kings Liutennant in Guienne, was the one, and *Mary* of Seneton, a Lady of an honorable house, was the other. There was so great a concourse of people, as this spectacle was preiudiciall to many, who being sore bruised and hurt, could hardly retyre themselves out of the presse.

*Charles* of Gonzaga Duke of Neuers had layd the foundation of walles in the furthest part of his Country, neere vnto the riuer of Meuze, and caused his suruayours to measure out ground for the building of houses, hee determined and resolved to make and erect a goodly new Towne, imitating Sedan, Iametz and many such other

*Turke baptised at Paris.*

*Charleuille a new towne built by the Duke of Neuers.*



1609. other petty Princes, who the neerer they are to Germany, hauing freed themselves A from the Eagles tallents, which did sometimes oppresse the world, tooke vpon him a kind of command, he drew new inhabitants to settle themselves there, with promise of immunities, and would haue it called Charleuille, making a new coyne with this Inscription, *Carolus Gonfaga Dux Niuier, & Rethel. sup. Princeps Archenfis.*

Joachim of  
Chetardies  
death and his  
praise,

Joachim of Chetardy a Councillor of the Court of Parliament at Paris, one of the Clergy, died in Iuly; But why should I ioine him (though a man of a singuler good life, and well deseruing his purple roabe) with great personages? his goodly A&t, deseruing eternall memory makes him worthy.

He was Prior of Saint Cosme neere vnto Tours vpon Loire, the which he repaired and restored, being decayed and ruined, as well by the violence of Ciuill-warres, as the negligence of his Predecessors, and not only tooke away the long deformity, being in old time a holy and sweet place, seated in the Elisian fields of France, but also finding great *Ronsards* boanes to lie in a base, mute and illiterate coffin, more iust then they that had beene aduanced by his rich spoyle, he would not suffer his Ghost to lie any longer neglected, causing a stately Tombe of Marble to bee made for *Ronsard*, and a liuely Image to bee cut by the Phideas of Parris, with a short inscription; for it was sufficient to admonish Passengers that there lay *Ronsard*; neither did he need this care and charge of mortall men, who in his life time saw his owne eternity, whose glory after death cannot exceed that, which hee did reape lyuing: yet this goodly and bountifull Councillor, by this good Office hath deserued much of all them that honour learning. And as it was some-times sayd of a Romaine, who when hee had erected an other mans decayed statue, that he had fixed his owne, so *Chetardy* building vp *Ronsards* monument in dumbe marble, he hath placed his own in the monuments of writers. Vpon the Tombe these words were grauen.

### Epitaphium Petri Ronsardi Poetar. Principis et huius Cænobij quondam Prioris.

D. M.

CAVE. VIATOR. SACRA. HEC. HVMVS. EST.  
ABI. NEFASTE. QVAM. CALCAS. HVMVM.  
SACRA. EST. RONSARDVS. ENIM. IACET.  
HIC. QVO. ORIENTE. ORIRI. MVSAE. ET.  
OCCIDENTE. COMMORI. AC. SECVM. IN-  
HVMARI. VOLVERVNT. HOC. NON. INVI-  
DEANT. QVI. SVNT. SVPERSTITES. NEC  
PAREM. SORTEM. SPERENT. NEPOTES.

*In cuius piam memoriam Ioachi, de la Chetardie in sup. Paris. Curia Sena. et illius. viginti post annos in eodem sacro Canobio successor, posuit.*

Marriage of  
the Duke of  
Vendosme.

In the beginning of Iuly the King performed an A&t of great content to him-selfe, which was the marriage of the Duke of Vendosme his base Sonne, by the Dutchesse of Beaufort, with the sole daughter and heire of the Duke of Mercuer, which marriage had beene formerly concluded vpon at the sayde Dukes reconciliation vnto the Kings seruice: But the Dutchesse her Mother was drawne, and perswasively induced vnto

A vnto it with great difficulty. She was one of the greatest marriages of France, for besides her fathers inheritance, she was by her mother heire of the house of Martigues in Brittany, a House of great possessions, and issued from the Dukes of Brittany. The King would haue this marriage solemnized at Fontainebleau, with as much pompe as might be, and therefore the Courtiers spared no cost to please the Kings humor: and the more to honor it, he called the Princes of the Bloud, the Officers of the Crown, and the chief Noblemen to Court: among others came the Prince of Condé, the first Prince of the Bloud, and the first Peere of France, who some few moneths before had beene married to the Constables daughter, one of the fayrest Ladies of France, whom the King did very much affect, and was the chiefe meanes of the making of that marriage. In consideration whereof, they say that the King augmented the Princes pension to ten thousand pounds sterling by yeare, beeing before but eight, and that he gaue vnto the yong Princeesse a pension of two thousand pounds sterling more. The marriage day at Fontainebleau being come, it was put off vpon some pretended cause, and so was protracted from day to day, sitteing dayes together vpon many coloured excuses: but those that knew best the humor of the Court, sayd, that the King did it of purpose, that hee might the longer enioy the sight of that faire Princeesse of Condé, whose beauty had made so great a breach in his heart, as he could no longer dissemble it, nor hide it from the eye of the world. But the Prince was not well pleased with these long delays, protesting that if the marriage were not consummated the next day, he would be gone home to his house, whereupon all excuses were layd apart, and the ceremony performed, after which were great triumphs and sports, especially running at the Ring, where the King himselfe wonne the prize from all the gallants of his Court, hauing taken the Ring three times in foure courses. The sports beeing ended the Prince of Condé hied him home with his Ladie to his house, meaning (if it were possible) to preuent that which hee feared, and to keepe his honour vntainted. The sequele you shall heare hereafter.

The marriage being ended, the King retired to Paris, whete they beganne to consule in Councell of making warre in the Duchie of Cleues. It was generally thought it would be so, for that the King had called some of his companies of men at armes, and giuen them their Rendezuouez by a certaine day in diuers frontier townes in Champaigne vpon the way to Luxembourg. There was Artillerie provided, leuies for foraine forces set downe, and all preparation for warre: but it went so slowly forward, as they might easily iudge of the euent by the beginning. In the end they began to treat of a peace by their messengers with no doubtfull hope, the Duke of Neuers (whose mother is issued from the House of Cleues, as appeares by the name she beares,) and *Henry de la Marke*, Earle of Mauleutier, and *Titularie* Duke of Bouillon being a younger brother of that House, who pretends no small interest to the Earledome of La Marke, sent their Commissioners to an assembly held at Delpord, where beeing heard, they were willed to shew their Titles: but the Marquis of Brandebourg, and the Duke of Newbourg challenged the whole inheritance: what the successe will be you shall heare in the following yeare.

We haue sayd in the yeare 1606, that by reason of the streightnes of the Pest-house which was built in *S. Iaqués* Suburbs, the plague was wonderfully disperst in Paris, and very violent, whereupon the Magistrates of the city, and such as had the charge of the publike health, resolued to build a more spacious one on the other side of the city: the worke did equall their desseigne: for in Saint *Martins* Suburbs they made so large and spacious a building of free-stone and Bricke, couered with Slate, with such chambers, porches, and walkes, as it doth equall or exceed many Pallaces. Which Worke was finished in three yeares: vpon the front of it this was grauen in Marble:

Pest-house  
built at Paris.

HENRICVS. QVARTVS. FRANC. ET. NAVAR. REX. CHRIS-  
TIANISSIMVS. BGNO. REIP. NATVS. PACE. DOM. FORIS-  
QVE. PARTA. AD. ORNANDAM. VRBEM. CONVERSVS. IN-  
TER. CAETERA. ANIMO. INVICTO. DIGNA. OPERA. PROP-  
TER. QVÆ. VRBIS. RESTITVTOR. NON. MINVS. QVAM. PA-  
TER. PATRIÆ. ET. REGNI. FVNDATOR. DICL. MERVIT. HOC  
QVOQVE. PROCROTAPHIVM. VETVSTATE. COLLAPSVM.  
PRO. SVA. ERGA. DEVM. OPT. MAX. PIETATE. ERGA. AF-  
FLICTOS. LIBERALITATE. ERGA. OMNES. CLEMENTIA.  
RESTITVENDVM. CVRAVIT.

The Queene  
brought in  
bed of a  
daughter.

On the five and twentieth day of Nouember the Queene was brought in bed early in the morning of a daughter: France being sufficiently supported with sons, had now need to be strengthened with daughters, by whose marriages it might get allyances with forraigne Princes. If euer children came happily, they do at this time, when as the ancient enemies of France renew their old practises, whereby they seeke to with-draw the chiefeft men from the duty and obedience which they owe vnto their Prince and Countrie, they receiue such as flie away, who thinking and desiring to returne, they disswade them with assurance of safetie, vainely seeking the ruine of France, which hath fallen out to their owne losse. So in the memorie of our Grand-fathers, the Burgondian receiued *Charles* the seventh his sonne, flying from his father, who commanding him to returne, he kept him and intertained him seuen yeares. But *Charles* sent the Burgondian word, that he did feed the Foxe, which would one day deuoure his pullaine: which Prophecie hee prouoed true: for *Lewis* pursued his receiuer and nurce with all force and policie, vntill that by his infortunate death, at the seage of Nancy, hee left France, Lorraine, the Suisses, and in a manner all the borderers in peace.

Prince of  
Condes re-  
treat.

At this time there fell out an accident which did much trouble the whole Court, but especially the King. The Prince of Condé had during the Queenes lying in, come to Court to do his duty to the King, who receiued him very graciously, and dealt earnestly with him to bring the Princess to Court to see the Queene in child-bed. The King prest him so much, as in the end he promised to go and fetch her: and so he tooke his leaue, seeming to haue no other intent, but his thoughts were farre otherwise: for being come home to his house (which is about sixteene leagues from Paris, vpon the confines of Picardie) whether he gaue it out that he would go a hunting, so as within two dayes after he tooke his caroch with the Princess, one Gentleman and a Gentlewoman, and without any other trayne or prouision, hee posts with all speed possible through Picardy to recouer the Arch-dukes countrey. Two daies were past before the King was aduertised of his retreat, who vnderstanding the maner of it, conceiued what his intent was, whereat he was very much discontented, holding it a great affront and dishonour to haue the first Prince of the Bloud abandon his country after that manner, without his leaue or priuity. He sent the Knight of the watch with other in poste after him, to bring him backe if they could ouertake him: but they came too late, for hee was gotten out of the Kings dominions. At his returne the King vnderstanding where hee was, he sent Monsieur de Pralin one of the Captaines of his gard to the Arch-dukes, to demand the Prince, and to request him to perswade him to returne into France. He had charge also to tell the Prince how highly he had offended his Maiestie, who notwithstanding would pardon what was past, and receiue him againe into fauour: And the Arch-dukes dealt with the Prince to that end, who answered, that he was his Maiesties most humble subiect and seruant, but there was no safetie for him in France, vnlesse the King would grant him a towne for his assurance. With which answer Monsieur de Pralin returned. The King holding it an indignity to haue his subiect (who had offended him) capitulate with him, yet before he would take any seuerer course against him, hee

B

A

A resolved to make him another summons: whereupon he sent the Marquis of Coeuvre, brother to the Duchesse of Beaufort in ambassage to the Arch-dukes, who hauing deliuered his commission to the Prince at Bruxels, hee required to haue an act therof in writing vnder a Notaries hand as followeth:

The most high, most mightie, and most excellent Prince, *Henry* of Bourbon, Prince of Condé, first Prince of the Bloud, and first Peere of France, presented himselfe in his owne person before me a Notarie and witnesse vnder-signed, and hath required me to make an act, vpon the insinuation and summation which had bene made vnto him, by the Ambassadors of the most Christian King, the sixteenth day of this present moneth of Februarie: the tenor whereof followeth:

We *Hannibal d'Estret*, Marquis of Coeuvre, Councillor to the King in his Councils of Estate, and priuy, Captaine of fifty men at armes of his Ordinances, his Lieutenant Generall in the government of the Isle of France, Gouvernour of the towne and Cittadell of Laon, and Ambassador extraordinarie for his Maiestie to the Arch-dukes in Flanders: beeing assisted by *M. Mathew Bruslard*, Segnieur of Berny, Councillor to his Maiestie in the sayd Councill of Estate and Priuie, and Ambassadour resident with the sayd Arch-dukes for the Kings seruice, *Philip* of Longueuall, Seigneur of Maniquan, Lieutenant to the Duke of Vendosme in the Gouvernement of La Fere, and of *Charles* of Aubelpine, Councillor in the Court of Parliament at Paris, haue this day

Act of the  
Prince of  
Condes insinua-  
tion.

C the 16. of February, 1610. by expresse letters of commandement from his Maicity brought vs for our instruction, Signed *HENRIE*, and vnderneath *Bruslard*, bearing Date the eleuenth day of Ianuarie last past, and re-iterated vnto vs by these expresse letters, of the fourteenth of this present moneth of Februarie, transported our selues vnto the Prince of Condé's Lodging, to whom in the presence of the Prince of Orange his brother-in-law, and of *Rochefort* one of his domesticke seruants, we haue presented a letter of credit from his Maiestie, bearing Date the eleuenth of Ianuarie last past, which hauing read, We let him vnderstand the greatnesse of the offence which he had committed, and his Maiesties iust discontentment, accompanied with sorrow, worthy the affection which a father (such an one as he hath bene) beares vnto his sonne whom he loues and fauors in all things. The grace which his Maiestie (vsing his accustomed bountie and clemencie) hath offered vnto him by the mediation of the Arch-dukes: which is, to forget, remit, and pardon not onely the first offence, but all others which he hath since committed by reason thereof. To restore him to his place, and the fauour which the Bloud from whence he is issued doth deserue: the affection which his Maiesty hath alwaies borne him, and that which he did enioy being neare him: the great wrong which he hath done vnto himselfe in contemning the counsels of the sayd Arch-dukes, the which hath increased his Maiesties indignation, by the refusall of his grace. Notwithstanding all this, his Maiestie so full of bounty towards him, hath commanded vs to signifie againe vnto him, and to repeat the same offers, and to assure him againe of the effects thereof for his person, if he would obtaine his will: who answered, that vntill he might haue some other assurances from the King, then that which they had offered him, there was no safetie for him to returne into France: adding these words which he repeated twise, *My masters, take not this, if it please you, for disobedience*. Whereupon they being silent awhile, to attend if he would speake any more, and seeing that he spake nothing, We haue (sayd they) according to the sayd commandement, sommoned and charged him in the name of his Maiestie, his King and Soueraigne Lord, to whome he owes all duty and obedience, to returne speedily into his Realme, without delay, colored excuse, or pretext whatsoever, vpon paine of incurring for euer his sayd Maiesties indignation and dis-fauour, and to be held as a Rebelle, and guiltie of high Treason, and to be proceeded against by such courses as are vsuall in the like cases.

The which the Prince hauing very attentiuely heard, and diligently obserued, hee sayd, he would make no other answer but by writing, and in the presence of Notaries, which he had sent for, intreating vs to giue him that in writing which we had declared vnto him, and that he would send for it, the which he did the next day by the Seigneur of

1610. of Nambone, to whom we haue caused a copie of this present A&t to be deliuered, signed by vs soure, the which wee haue caused to be made to serue when need shall require; Made at Bruxels the day and yeare aboue-written. Beneath at the margent is written *d'Esfré, Bruslard, l'Abéspine, and Philip* of Longueual, and I the Notarie haue bene required by the sayd Prince to go with the Seigneur of Nambone his Steward, vnto the sayd Ambassadors, and to make vnto them an Insinuation of the answer which the sayd Prince hath made vnto the sayd Summation and declaration, as followeth:

Prince of  
Condes an-  
swer to the  
summation.

We *Henry* of Bourbon, Prince of Condé, Earle of Soissons and Vallery, first Prince of the Bloud, and first Peere of France, Gouverneur, and Lieutenant generall for the King in Guienne. Vpon the Summation made vnto vs on his Maiesties behalfe, by the Marquis of Coeuure his Ambassadour extraordinarie to the Arch-dukes, beeing assisted by the Seigneur of Berny, resident for his Maiesties seruice with their Highnesses, and by the Seigneurs of Maniquam, and Aubespine, and beeing ready to returne into France, according vnto the offers made vnto vs by their sayd Highnesses, which is, that his Maiestie will forget and remit our pretended committed offences, as well in our retreat, as by reason thereof. As also vpon the declaration made vnto vs after the sayd Summation, to be held for a Rebell, and guiltie of high Treason, in case wee persist in our first answer which wee haue made by the mediation of their sayd Highnesses.

We therefore say and declare,, that we are the Kings most humble and most obedient seruant and subiect, borne of the Royall Houfe of France, and nere in bloud to his Maiestie, and as such, we are readie to obey his commandements, giuing reasonable assurance for vs and our Family: most humbly beseeching his Maiestie, that he will conceiue graciously of this our Answer, and not to take it for a refusall or disobedience, protesting Nullitie of all that which may bee done or practised hereafter to our preiudice.

Made at Bruxelles the nineteenth of Februarie, 1610. Signed vnderneath, *Henry of Bourbon*: and beneath that, By my Lord the Prince, the first Prince of the Bloud, and first Peere of France, Signed *Viry*: The sayd Prince requiring an A&t to be made of all that had past, to serue him when need shall require. Made and past at Bruxelles, in the house of my Lord the Prince of Orange, this nineteenth of Februarie 1610. in the presence of *Maximilian de la Hay*, Seigneur of Fresnoy, and *John* of Crostflomanie, witnesses thereunto called and required: And the sayd Prince with the witnesses, haue signed the Minute in witnes of the truth of these things. I *Michel Maurissens* a publike Notarie, made by the priuy Councell of Brabant for the Arch-dukes of Austria, Dukes of Bourgondy and Brabant, and Earle of Flanders, resident at Bruxelles, haue signed this present A&t with my accustomed Notariall signe, here vnderneath written:  
*Maurissens, publike Notary.*

According vnto the which, I the aboue-named Notary, did the same 19. day of Februarie, with the witnesses vnder-written, transport our selues to the lodging of the said Marquis of Coeuure, Ambassadour extraordinary for the most Christian King, to deliuer him this former Instrument, as he came from abroad vpon the sand in his Caroch, being accompanied with three horsemen: but for that there was no meanes to giue it him, for that he was set within it, and also for that he was knowne and discovered by the Seigneur of Preau and others which did accompany him, I was kept from approaching by the sayd horses, the street being very narrow: and to shew him the more honor and respect, I followed him into the court of his lodging, where most of them being come out of the Caroch, I declared vnto him the sayd answer, in the name and by the commandement of my Lord the Prince of Condé. Whereupon hee cryed out presently, stay him, stay him, so as finding my selfe enuironned by his men, the sayd Marquis came out of his Caroch, pulling me by the cloake, and vsing threatens, that if it were not for the respect he bare to the Arch-dukes, he wold strike me with his sword, forcing me

me to take againe the sayd answer, saying, that ~~had~~ surprized him, commanding me to depart out of the Court of his lodging, and that he might not enter without his permission. Whereupon I answered, that I was a publike person, and that it was lawfull for me to make the like deliuerie. If it had bene the King himselfe, and that I would giue an A&t of his refusall vnto the sayd Prince of Condé. Thus it was done and past in the presence of *James Moncleaux*, and *Anthony Daloghenhagen*, beeing called and required as witnesses, and signed by me, as a publike and authentick person.

*Maurissens, Notarius publicus.*

B

The last yeare was spent in Conferences, Messages, Ambassages, and Treaties touching the affaires of Cleues and Iuliers, to see if the question for the Inheritance, might be quietly compounded, but beeing of diuers humors and dispositions, the controuersie is not yet ended. *Sigismond* Marquis, and Elektor of Brandebourg, before he would go to Armes, published his pretensions, after this manner. About some hundred yeares since, there was a marriage made betwixt *Mary* Daughter to the Duke of Iuliers and Berke, and Countesse of Rauenspourg, and *John* Duke of Cleues, and Earle of Marke, and then it was concluded, that all those Estates and Seigneuries should bee for euer vnited by an indissoluble knot, and neuer diuided. As wands bound together are hardlier broken, then when they are dissolued, so they thought their houses and families well conioyned, would with greater difficulty be shaken and broken. Of this marriage betwixt *Mary* and *John* were borne *Willyam*, *Sibilla*, and *Amallia*: In the yere 1526. *Sibilla* married with *John Frederick* Duke of Saxony, vpon these conditions. That if either of them died without heires male, that then those vnited Prouinces shold descend vnto *Sybill* the eldest daughter, and *John Frederick* of Saxony her husband, vpon condition they should giue dowries to two Sisters answerable to their qualities.

D But that *Willyam* was married in the yere 1545. to *Mary* of Hongary, after that he returned into fauour with the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, from whome hee had fallen beeing in league with the French King. From him hee obtaines a grant, that if there were no issue male of him and *Mary*, or they should chance to die, that then those three Dukedomes should descend to the daughters of *WVilliam* being liuing, or if they were dead, to their heires. *Charles* beeing dead, and his brother *Ferdinand* succeeding in the Empire, he confirmed this coniunction of those States, and would haue it indissoluble: after him *Maximilian* and the Emperour *Rodolphus*, now liuing, renewed this first Decree, by a perpetuall Lawe, that the heires of *WVilliam*, in the direct line of either sexe, sonnes or daughters, should enioy the whole inheritance. This *WVilliam* thinking to haue made a firme coniunction of his Estates by the Emperours letters, in the yere 1572. married *Maria Leonora* his eldest daughter to *Albert Frederick* Marquis of Brandebourg, and Duke of Borrusia, with these conditions, that if he and his wife *Mary* should die without any issue male, then the Duchies of Iuliers, Cleues, and Berke, with the Counties of Marke and Rauenspourg, and all their dependances, should come vnto *Maria Leonora*, and to *Albert Frederick* Duke of Borrusia her husband, but with this caution, that *Albert* should out of his owne money pay a portion set downe by *William* his Father-in-lawe, vnto the Sisters of *Maria Leonora*, in regard of their pretensions to those Segneuries, and one of the Sisters dying, that money which shee should receiue in lieu of her Inheritance, should accrew to her suruiuing sisters, with this condition, that at the payment of the money by *Albert*, the future husbands of the sayd sisters, should renounce and vtterly disclaime all their right vnto the Inheritance.

Of *Mary Leonora* and *William*, the eldest was *Anne* wife to *John Sigismond* of Brandebourg: who by the disposition and conueyance of Duke *William* for want  
Rrrrr of

1610. of heires male, was called to these vnited Estates. It happened that the second daughter, being married to *Philippe Lodowike*, Count Palatine of Newbourg, confirmed this Decree, referuing by expresse words her interest to the Inheritance, if her elder sister should dye without children: The like was done by *Magdaleine* the younger sister, marrying with *Iohn* the Count Palatine of Rhin: and with this Caution Brandebourgs right was settled and confirmed, drawing his beginning from the elder: Notwithstanding, that by the contract of marriage betwixt *Marie Leonora* and *Albert Fredericke*, not onely she and the heires male that were to be borne, but also the women by right of substitution were called to the succession. The Duke of Newbourg defended his right, by other letters and grants, but hee soone agreed with Brandebourg, and they two ioyned their forces together, and vnited their martiall powers against the other Pretendants: whereby it appears, the Christian King could not iustly refuse his succours to the confederate Princes of Germany.

*Leopold's title by the Emperours gift.*

The greatest Pretendants against Brandebourg, were the Electour of Saxonie, and *Leopold*, who had obtaigned a right and Inuestiture from the Emperour. He contends that the Duchies of Cleues and Iuliers, are fethers taken from the Eagle, boughes from the stocke, and beames from the Sunne. And therefore a Fee belonging to Males cannot fall to women: for if any one will search into the Record of Antiquitie, he shall not onely find, that the Emperours of Germany, but also of Rome, haue giuen Prouinces and Lands conquered from their enemies in warre, in reward to their old souldiers, vpon condition, that as often as the Empire should be preft with warre, they should willingly serue it, by reason of their fees. And no man will deny, but the Electors of the Germane Empire, the chiefe Ministers and Officers, are tyed to a manly seruice and duty, both in peace and warre, at the Emperours pleasure. The Lawes of the Empire haue excluded women from all Iurisdiction and publike charges, yea in priuate causes, much more where the Maiestie of the Empire is in question. In France (which falles not to the distaffe) after the death of *Charles* Duke of Bourgondy, who was slaine at Nancy, the Earle of Neuers might iustly haue challenged the Countie of Bourgondy, for that a disposition made in fauour of *Philip* the Hardy, extended to the women, who notwithstanding by the publike lawes of the Empire are excluded. By which example the Lawe made in the Contract of marriage betwixt *Mary Leonora* and *Albert Fredericke*, is to be held vaine, void, and of no force. *Tacitus* hath obserued in his booke of the manners of the Germanes, that they did not onely fauour males, but did hate the women kind, and that it was their manner and accustomed order to leaue the whole Inheritance to the eldest sonne as his lawfull right, left being diuided into diuers parts, it should runne to nothing, and to their younger children they gaue their cattle, money, plate, stufte, and other furniture belonging to an house.

*Pretensions of the Elector of Saxony to Cleues.*

The Electour of Saxonie pretended the inheritance of Cleues by two titles: first, by a grant from the Emperour *Fredericke* the third, who gaue Cleues and Iuliers in Fee to *Albert* of Saxonie, for the great seruice he had done vnto his Maiestie, and *Maximilian* did grant the same vnto *Ernest*, the Earle of Saxonyes brother. His other title was grounded vpon the contract made at the marriage of *Sybille* with *Iohn Fredericke* of Saxonie. These were the words: *That if Duke Iohn and Mary Duchesse of Cleues, Iuliers and Berke his wife die without any issue male, or if the males issued shal leaue no heires, in that case it was agreed, that all those vnited Seigneuries should descend to his daughter Sybille, and to the children that should come of her and Fredericke of Saxony.*

The Electour of Brandebourg did so impugn the title of Saxonie, as that grant made by *Fredericke* the third, and *Maximilian* the first Emperours, vnto *Albert* and *Ernest* of Saxony, was held as abandoned: for after the departure of *William* Duke of Iuliers and Berke, the Saxons neuer obtained that possession of the soile, which the Interpreter of Fees tearme *dominium utile*: or if they had it, they lost it for want of vse. Such is the nature of Fees, as hee that suffers an Inuestiture to be made to another, and makes not his clayme within the yeare, is excluded from the Fee: much more hee that

1610. that suffers another to enioy the Fee, tenn, twentie, thirtie, or forty yeares, and neuer makes any question to it. Neither did it auayle the Saxons to haue made a protestation of their right, wherein no due forme of Lawe was obserued, and hath beene made voyde by prescription. When as a sute begunne, and relinquished three years together, is voyde: and fiscall causes if they be not produced in time, after a long intermission are reiecte.

Duke *William*, and *Iohn* the sonne of *William*, receiued the Inuestiture of these States, from the Emperour, and King of Romaines, without any question or opposition made by the Saxons, of their pretended right, so as that first protestation made by words onely, is to be held voyde. For it is receiued by the ciuill Lawes, that those protestations are voyde, which are not often repeated, and fortified by formes of lawe, and therefore the Saxons right (if they had any) is lost by their owne negligence. Neither is the Saxon to be tolerated, who so much brags, that *Albert* had deferred the Inuestiture of the Emperour, for his warlike exploites, when as he and *Ernest* by their continuall silence foure-score yeares, haue silently renounced it. How often did they (being aliue) terme *William Iohn* Duke of Iuliers and Cleues, in their priuate letters, writings, and titles? It makes nothing to the question, whether it bee a masculine fee, and impatiēt of a womans command. For the clause which is contained in the Emperour *Fredericke* the thirds grant: *If the Duke of Iuliers shall happen to die without issue male*, is to be referred to the first case, that is, when as *Iohn* and *Marie* should die without sonnes, and that by the opinion of Lawyers, who hold, *That euery disposition speaking of any Act, is onely to be understood of the first: and he that is once excluded from the succession of a fee, is neuer more admitted.* For a Right being once extinct riseth no more, as in the yeare 1511. the Estate of Cleues was giuen to *Mary* daughter to Duke *William*, by *Maximilian* the first, so all the Right of these Estates was giuen by *Charles* the fifth, and after him by a new grant, vnto the Daughters of *William* and their heirs.

But it appears by the Annales, that the Estates of Cleues and Iuliers are falsely tearmed a masculine Fee, where it is manifest that *Arnold* Duke of Gueldres and Iuliers, gaue vnto *Charles* Duke of Bourgondie, Gueldres, Iuliers, and the Countie of *Zutphen*, who dying, they came to *Marie* his onely daughter, wife to the Emperour *Maximilian*, whence it happened, that in the yeare 1511: whereas *William* Duke of Iuliers died, not the House of Saxony, but his daughter, and wife to *Iohn* Duke of Cleues, challenged her fathers inheritance, with whome there was neuer any controuerfie. It hath bin obserued in all ages, that the foure Dukedomes of Iuliers, Cleues, Gueldres, and Berke, the issue male failing, the inheritance hath by right gone vnto the women. *Marie* after the death of *Edward* her brother, succeeded in Gueldres, and afterwards marrying with *William* of Iuliers, she brought it as her dowrie.

*Renold* made *Joane* his sister heire of Gueldres and Iuliers by his testament. *Engilbert* Earle of Berke, hauing lost his sonne, hee left the Earledome to his suruiuing daughter. And the daughter of *Theodorice* of Cleues, wife to *Asolph* of Marke, obtained the inheritance of Cleues. In Henault and Holland it is receiued, that such Estates shold come vnto the daughters: neither is that insolent lawe allowed of in the greatest kingdomes: neither in old time were women tyed to their distaues. Among the Scythians *Tomyris*, and ouer the Egyptians *Semyramis*, *Arfinoe*, and *Cleopatra* did raigne. And now England, Spayne, Scotland, Ireland, and Naples are subiect to the Gouvernement of women; yea women are called to such Kingdomes, not onely by right of Inheritance, but also by testament.

*Charles* the fifth in his last Will made 1534. and in a codicile 1538. ordained, that if *Philip* his sonne should die, then *Mary* his daughter, Queene of Bohemia, should succeed in all his kingdoms. And likewise *Philip* in his last Will made 1597. provided, that if his son should die without heires, his daughter *Isabella Clara Eugenia* should then be heire of all his Estates. It is therefore manifest by these examples, that women are called not onely to Duchies, but to great kingdoms. And *Cor. Neostadius* in his book of Fees, proues, that Cleues is subiect to the rule of a woman. *The nature (sayes he) of the fee of Cleues*

1610. Cleues is, *That no males remaining, the females are called to the succession in their order.* A

Whereas the Saxon and others pretend the Emperour to bee Iudge of this controuersie, they flatter themselues with an error: although it be provided by the Imperiall Lawes, that if there grow any controuersie for a Dukedome, Earledome, or any other great fee, they must go vnto the Emperour, as to the head of all Fees, that he may determine of the possession, and command them to be quiet which offer violence to the possessor, yet this was not alwaies obserued, but it hath bene often tried in other Tribunalles, and euen that hath bene lawfull for the Saxons, when as they were oppressed and grievously iniured by the Emperours seueritie, and the preheminence and power of their ill-willers.

Moreover, the grant which *Leopold* hath obtained, it comes not from the Emperour himselfe, neither is it gotten by iust suffrages, but by the sinister practises of Courtiers, the which was not allowed by the Electors and Imperiall Cities, who haue of late required by their Deputies, that it should bee made void. The Saxon knowes it well by many familiar examples, that the Emperour decrees nothing priuately in such controuersies, but hath sent for the Electors, Princes, and Vicars of the Empire: In their Decrees they obserued more strict formes, then in these which are granted in fauour of the Saxon and *Leopold*. No man but knowes, that the Electors and Princes cannot be called by any Libell or Edict out of Germany, into a forraigne Court: as the Bohemians and they of Prague may not (by the Lawes of the Countrey) be called out of their owne limits.

No man is ignorant, that *Leopold* having left the course of Law and Equitie, hath settled all his Interest in Armes, hath leuied souldiers, hath called in the aydes of his Confederates: forced townes and castels, built new Forts, hath called religious men to accompany him in this warre, who attentue to the Trumpet, as if the question were for their Altars and Religion, and not for a prophane thing, haue promised him money to make a tenne yeares warre. If the Saxon bee not blind, hee will easily see, that these attempts are not for his good, nor for the dignitie and greatnesse of the House of Saxonie, but that the Spaniards may be the more mightie in Germany, (who haue already swallowed it vp in hope) that they may vndermine it, and quite ruine it, the which D his Predecessors of Saxony haue long since made tryall of, to their owne losse, when as they like true Germanes, and louers of their Countries liberty, suppress that violence and imminent destruction which beganne to disperse it self through their countrey.

Brandebourg who pretended to be before all others in the right of Inheritance, when as hee had protested his Right by written Tables after the manner of Clyents, throughout all Germanie and the Netherlands: yet admonished by the examples of the Ancient, that the controuersies of Princes are not decided in Iudiciall Courts, but that their Right consists in armes, lest if his Competitors should seeke to oppresse him by force, he should be found vnprepared, He drawes his Allies and confederate Princes of Germany vnto him, who were not slow to assist him, the Elector Palatine, the Duke of Wirtemberg and the Prince of Anhalt, who beeing sent Ambassadour from the rest to craue ayde and succors of the French King, hee found him very tractable and willing, and the rather in that respect: for if his heires should bee debarred or deprived of their Inheritance, it were to be recouered by iust Armes, and the vniust possessors to be expelled by force.

The instance of the Prince of Anhalt, and other Germane Princes, mooued him to ioyne with him in this warre: for that when as the King was oppressed with ciuill warre, they had sent him great succours. Hee therefore thought that ayde was not to be denied them, who first of all had so well assisted him. And to the end hee should not faile his friends being in danger, and might remoue all violence and oppression from them, he sent *Boisile*, a man of great wisdom, of sound iudgement and knowledge, who had bene employed in many Ambassages, and had performed weightie affaires, and important negotiations, vnto a generall Assembly of the Princes of Germanie: who

A Who whilst he remained there in the Kings name, to obserue their Councils, and to perswade them to that which concerned the libertie and dignitie of Germany, and whilst that in this assembly they contend with words and speeches, they make preparation for warre in France: money is giuen to Captaines to leuie men, artillerie, powder, and shot is drawne out of the Arcenall, it is put into boates, and carryed vp the river in Champagne, that if happily they should fall to open warre for the question of Cleues, all this preparation might be ready, and the Christian King performe that in deeds, which he had promised in words. In the meane time *Boisile* deliuered the causes of his Ambassage vnto the Germane Princes, in these termes:

The beginning of my imposed charge (most renowned, & mighty Princes, Electors of the sacred Romain Empire, worthy and noble Earles, magnificent and honorable Ambassadors of the Citties of the Empire) shall rise from the manifold health, where-with *Henry* the most Christian King of France and Nauarre, my souerain Lord, greeteth you, Wishing that in this Assembly you enter into such sound counsels, as the imminent danger which now threatens Germany, may be repelled, and that you may proceed in your affaires well and couragiously: moreover, he wisheth you to expect such good offices from him, as you may iustly hope for, from a most friendly King, your kinsman and affociate. But when as by the singular grace and mercy of God, and the victorious arms of the King my master, the practises of the most wicked were preuented, and that France began to enioy her ancient peace and tranquility, his highnesse out of his most Royall disposition, thought it not sufficient for the glory and honour of his name, vnlesse he might also prouide for the general peace and quiet of Christendome. Of which his commendable intent, the ten yeares Truce in the Netherlands, obtained by his mediation and authoritie, are sufficient witness, whereby those Prouinces are now refreshed, and Iray freed from the feare of a most cruell warre by the reconciliation made betweene the Pope and the Venetians. But there was nothing, whereof his Highnesse tooke like care, as the safetie & libertie of your countrey of Germany: the which when he saw to be many waies infringed, after the example of his worthy progenitors, he hath profest himself a champion and defender thereof. Thus much D he thought himselfe indebted vnto you, both in respect of ancient amity and league of the Kings of France with the Princes of the Empire, and for your owne great merits, and good offices, conferred towards himselfe and his Kingdome, in his greatest extremity: which kindnes that he might sometimes requite, he thought he should do a matter worthy and becomming himselfe, if he were carefull for your general safeties. When therefore not many yeres since he obserued many things to be attempted to your ruin, as the depopulation of your countreies, and the vsurpation of your townes and citties, contrary to the lawes and priuiledges of the Empire, and that there were Factions nourished amongst the Princes, he could not chuse but by the lawes of friendship to admonish you, how necessary true loue and vnity was among you, the better to repell those E iniuries, and herein he dealt the more earnestly, for that he did presage to himselfe, that Cleues and Iuliers, and other Prouinces of the house of Cleues would be the subiect of all troubles and dissensions in Germany, touching the which, he oftentimes treated with you in the Dukes life time. And since his death (because that businesse seemed directly to concerne the peace of Germany) how willing and ready he hath bene euer to vndertake the protection of lawfull heires, I thinke you do all know sufficiently. And to the end hee might manifest his mind the more plainly in that cause, wherein the safety of Germany is in question, he thought good to publish the same to all the Princes in Europe, that he wold neuer faile in to iust a cause to assist his friends and associat Princes, to whom those Estates by lawes descended, the which he did not, thereby rashly to intangle those Princes in warre (for who hath knowne the hazards of warre better then himselfe?) but rather the King his Master out of his great wisdom was highly pleased with that Treaty obayned by the labour and counsell of that most excellent, prudent, and most couragious Prince the Lantgraue of Hesse, touching the getting possession of those Countreys, and referring the contention and variance betweene



1610. " the Princes pretendants, to the iudgement and ordering of friends, which busines that A  
 " it might be the more safely effected, he sent afore-hand some troupes of horse to the  
 " Confines of the Kingdome, to be assisting to these Princes, howsoever things should  
 " happen: for he knew very well, that some neighbour-Princes had long since plotted, by  
 " what meanes they might adde those countries to their owne Dominions. But after the  
 " possession of those countries gotten, when the Princes seemed somewhat remisse, nei-  
 " ther did impart their resolutions to the King, he fearing lest that delay might hinder  
 " their affairs, in respect of the warlike preparations then made against them, he thought  
 " good to admonish them by letters and secret messengers, that they should beware that  
 " they were not surprized whilst they were in consultation of their busines. But in the  
 " meane time, whilst that the messengers went and came from one to another, the noble B  
 " Prince of Anhalt came fitly to Paris, being most deservedly welcome to the King my  
 " Master, as well for his valiant and worthy seruice in warre with his Maiesty vnder your  
 " fauours, as also for his great knowledge and praise-worthy experience in martiall affaires,  
 " wherein he excelleth and is renowned amongst the Captaines of our age: who by let-  
 " ters brought from the excellent and mighty Princes, the Elector Palatine, and Duke of  
 " Wittemberg, signified to my Lord the King: That it was resolved by the confederate  
 " Princes, to defend by force of arms the possession of the Princes the heires, if so his Ma-  
 " iesty wold supply them with those aydes which they expected. How royally and friend-  
 " ly he was intertayned, and how affable and tractable he found the King, you haue heard C  
 " by report of the Prince himselfe: He treated further about sending an Embassador, that  
 " might confirme the Confederats in their resolution, and might thoroughly certifie them  
 " of the Kings intention: to which charge, though vnfit for it, I was by his Maiestic cho-  
 " sen, and sent to be as it were the interpreter of his good pleasure and liking. Now there-  
 " fore most excellent Princes, it is your parts to looke that the Common-weale bee not  
 " damnified, nor that the Princes your kinsmen be not vnworthily cast out from their an-  
 " cient seates by forraine Princes that are no friends to you, who by possessing these con-  
 " tries lay themselves out a way to inuade Germany. As for that which concerns the K.  
 " my Lord & master, although he be not ignorant that by taking your part, he doth (as it  
 " were) draw vpon himself much trouble and discommodity, yet the interest of his friends D  
 " shalbe cuer of more force with him, he will protect and defend you and your Councels  
 " against all violence and wrong, with men, mony, and all kind of helpes, which hee hath  
 " already provided and in readinesse, wherein notwithstanding there will nothing be at-  
 " tempted against the Maiestic or right of the Emperour: neither hath he any priuate re-  
 " spect herein, but this onely he desireth, that Germany, being the Bulwarke of the Chri-  
 " stian Common-weale, may enioy all happy peace and security, and that his friends and  
 " wel-deseruing associat Princes may still retaine their owne rights and priuiledges, if so  
 " as their Ancestors haue done, and you haue constantly performed, yee do still remaine  
 " in league and amity with the King my Master.

Death of the  
Marshall Dor-  
nano.

The Marshall d'Ornano, famous for his worthie seruice in the warres, brought vppe E  
 vnder his father, a Collonel of forraine souldiers, that were then stipendiaries to the  
 French Kings. Afterwards he grew renowned by many prosperous exploites done vnder  
 Charles the ninth, and Henry the third: for in the yeare 1587. he defeated *Chastillon*  
 leading two thousand Suisses by crosse waies through the countrey of Auvergne for  
 them of the Religion, where he took diuers of their colours, and mightily annoyed that  
 party. Henry the third being cruelly murdered, *Alphonso* was a violent and vnrecon-  
 ciled enemy to the league, from whom he took Lyons and many other strong towers  
 and forts in those parts, at length being taken prisoner by the Leaguers, they offered to  
 give him his liberty, with the chiefe charge of the army, and other aduancements and  
 preferments, if he would quit the Kings party, yet he rather chose his freedom by the  
 payment of fifty thousand Crownes, then by his defection to ioyne with them, which F  
 thing in a souldier is like to a white crow: he was an vsuall and frequent seruer of God,  
 and more zealous in his prayers, then many that were religious, and had taken holy or-  
 ders, as he that had a daily custome to sing his Psalter.

When

A When as the passage of his vrine was stopped, and that with much torment he cal-  
 ed his bladder, he was content to be cut, which falling out vnfortunately, he died of that  
 deadly disease at Paris, whose death was a great griefe both to the King, and all true lo-  
 uers of the commonweale: For he not onely shewed by his valour how much he lou-  
 ed his countrie, but hee did also without feare in August last past, dissuade the  
 King constantly and courageously from certaine Edicts too grievous and bitter to  
 the people, and so much preuailed by that his worthy and manly speech, as hee made  
 certaine horseleeches and brokers (which make sale of our soules) to bluth, andooke  
 the morfell out of their iawes.

B Hee being dead, how few *Alphonso's* hath the court, which play not the claw-backes,  
 but are vpright and iust Counsellors? In his last words hee willed his body should be  
 carried to Bourdeaux: and because all power of a Testament dieth, if the living neglect  
 the behests of the dead, his body being imbalded and put in a Caroch couered with  
 blacke, drawne with foure horses, was brought to that graue which himselfe had ap-  
 pointed, all the States of Aquitaine bewailed him, not onely as the Kings Lieutenant,  
 but as their father, and the want found by his death, shewed how honest his life was.

C But after that France had lost *Alphonso*, the most Christian King substituted in  
 his Office and place *Desdiguieres*, equall vnto him if not superior in valour, who be-  
 ing brought forth by the Duke of Vendosme, and a most choise company of souldiers  
 to the Court of Parliament, was for his noble exploites publicly praised, in an elo-  
 quent Oration, as truly in this late ciuill warre, hee had serued the King very valiantly: A  
 while after he was sent to treat with the Sauoyard, about most waighy affaires, which  
 I will publish as soone as they come to light: for whatsoeuer is worth the knowing,  
 both in this and the yeeres ensuing, I will adde to my Commentaries, if I may steale so  
 much leisure from other sutes.

Wee shewed in the proceeding yeere, that the attempt of *Terrail* and *Bastide* a-  
 gainst Geneva did not onely remaine vneffected, but that it was publicly reuenged  
 by the death of them both: This yeere an attempt not vnlike the other, not by stran-  
 gers and Catholics, but their owne home-bred and native Citizens, was reuenged and  
 D reuenged, so they will neuer cease from treacheries and stratagems, both within the  
 walls and without, vntill either by surprize or a siege, it loose all command and power.  
*Canalis*, a man not meanelly reputed of, both for his knowledge in physicke, and the  
 languages, was drawne into suspicion of treason, detected by obscure signes, and his  
 inconsiderate speech increased the same: for such is the force of truth, that it will  
 breake forth euen in spite of the offender, and being tortured, hee confessed all things  
 more plainely: He being a man of good reckoning, and not the last or lowest amongst  
 the Treasurers and Decurions of the Citie, did by spies certifie the Duke of Sauoy of  
 all the counsells of the Citizens, hauing promised him all his faithfull indeuor, and if  
 at any time he intended the surprize of the City, by some stratagem in the night or by  
 E scalado or wild fire, that then hee would priuily fire the poulder, that thereby he might  
 auert the Cittizens (being euery where scattered and busied in quenching the fire) from  
 keeping out the enemy: Neither was there ability wanting to performe his treachery,  
 in so much as to his custody the poulder and munition was committed: Hee accused  
 also (as priuie to this villany) one *Maillerie*, before that time found guilty and impris-  
 oned for robbing the Treasury, and one *Blondet*, whose brother for the same cause  
 was before executed. But I here that *Canalis* beeing found guilty aswell of that first  
 conspiracy, whereof we formerly made mention, and which was not farre from effect-  
 ing, as also of this new and fresh remembred treason, was condemned, and his body  
 broken, and so laied halfe dead on a wheele vnbound hee was cast from thence to bee  
 burned in a fire vnder him. It is strange that so often treacheries against Geneva  
 F haue bene vnderaken in so few yeeres, or rather that before a yeere compleat (the  
 treason of *Terrailins* beeing discouered and punished) an other within the same yeere  
 should breake forth.

So neglected is the knowledge of holy things, as they which professe themselves  
 Christians

1610.

Desdiguieres  
made Marshall  
of France.

Batercur.

Conspiracy  
against Gene-  
ua.

1610.

A godly institution.

Christians by name, disdain to expresse the same in deed, being children in faith, so as they are ignorant of the rudiments thereof, and they which are most quicke of sight in prophane matters, are most blind in matters of faith, which thing when *Nicholas Pellegens* maister in the chamber of the Kings accounts did obserue to bee done, to the great despight of Religion, and hinderance of saluation, being a man of singular Godlinesse and learning, he instituted for a yeerely stipend a holy preacher of the dominican Order, who out of the publike pulpit euery Sunday in the yeere should evidently shew to the youth, and the people the rudiments of faith by short questions or oppositions (which wee call the Catechisme) a counsellor excellently well deseruing of the Christian commonweale, which hath renewed the godly institution of the primitive Church, for they which were willing to beare the name of Christians, before they were baptized, were instructed by preaching of the holy misteries. Which custome by degrees through the negligence and ignorance of the parish Priests is discontinued, and of so many hundreds of Ecclesiasticall persons, onely the Iesuites in their Colledges haue not suffered this light of faith to be extinguished. Many perchance will account mee idle to make mention of such a popular matter, although posterity ought not to know any thing more, then those things which are ordained to teach vs how to lead a godly and blessed life: Neither ought that to bee a reproofe vnto me, which the Protestants reckon as a great honour to *Sleidan*, who spends himselfe wholly in the commendacions of his reformed Religion.

About the end of February it was seriously debated by the meanes of Cardinall *Perron*, *Augustus Thuanus*, and other welwillers of learning, concerning the enlargement of the Kings, or Cambray Colledge, and the increasing the number and stipend of the professours, and also for the pulling downe of certaine cottages, which hindered the prospect of the Court and Orchard, and now the Surveyors haue set out the bounds of the place, although indeed the Vniuersity hauing bene long wast, and like a wildernes, needes not so much large walkes and Colledges, as Students to frequent and liue in it.

Skirmish between Leopold and Brandenburg.

Wee here also that *Leopoldus* and the Saxon, haue had some bickering with *Brandenburg*, as it seemes rather in some accidentall light skirmishes, then any set or generall battaile. The Marquis of Brandenburg had sent afore-hand some thousand foote without ordinance, to winne, or more likely, to surprize a little towne, whilest hee kept himselfe with his footmen not farre off in his campe to be ready to releue his men, if need required: but the businesse succeeded not as hee expected, for whilest the Brandenburgers were ouer-long in winning the place (beeing vnprovided of Ordinance) *Leopoldus* being aduertised of the townsmens necessity, lending some field peeces before him, set vpon them on a suddaine with a great power of horse, at the first vollee of whose Ordinance the count of *Solms* Collonel, and at the second vollee his Lieutenant were both slaine: the rest being terrified with their death, and afraide of a greater power of the enemy approaching, tooke them to their heeles. The Marquis hearing of their flight by some run-awaies (who are quicker in comming home, then going to the field) came in all hast with some troupes of horse, and restrained *Leopoldus* in time, who hauing the victorie in his owne hands, knew not how to vse it, for if hee had pursued them more speedily, whilest they were dispersed, and in that perplexity, hee might vtterly haue defeated them, but by these euents the Brandenburgers were well warned to bee more prouident. But oh the inconsistency of humane things! that no nation hath peace permanent, and quiet fastened with some sure hold, for behold the Germanians and the high Dutches, who since the death of *Charles* the fift, haue so long abstained from domesticke armes, who by their helpes maintained warres abroad, are now inforced to vse them for themselves, and to desire helpes from others, shaking off the rust from their swords, and the rest of so many yeeres.

An Edict concerning Ad-uocates for the poore.

Our auncestors (saith *Tully*) would neuer suffer a poore man to loose his cause for want of a Patron, or Ad-uocate to defend it. When many in France through their great pouerty vnable to defray or sustaine the charge of their suites being destitute of helpe

1610.

A helpe or counsell from Ad-uocates, were constrained to forsake their intangled, though wealthy inheritances, or whatsoever else they had, and to yeeld them vp into the hands of the mighty and more powerfull partie: it was decreed in the Kings Councell, that in euery Court Parliament as other Courts, there should bee chosen Ad-uocates and Proctors of approued integrity, that should helpe poore men with their best counsell and furtherance without any fee or reward: so straightly was the law *Cincia* imposed vpon them, that if they were lame and crippled, they should not take so much as a wand of their needy clientes, but that contenting themselves with the Kings allowance, they should looke for a greater reward in heauen: for euen amongst the heathen it hath bene accounted glorious to helpe the distressed, and to defend and support those that are oppressed, as it was also accounted most wicked and execrable to abandon or deceiue the client: for *Cato* against *Lentulus* did earnestly auouch, that there was nothing more religiously obserued of the auncients then to defend Orphans, and to bee faithfull to their client; inso much as it was lawfull for Ad-uocates to witness for their client against their owne kinsmen, but by all meanes prohibited for their kinsmen against their clients, questionlesse a godly decree, but no longer of force then the like good and excellent lawes, whose setting or fall hath not bene much distant from their first rising.

Religion and custome require of necessity to anoint the Kings of France with that sacred oyle which is kept at Rhemes, as anoynting was necessarily imposed vpon the Kings of Israell by the Hebrew law, but for the Queenes of France to bee anointed, it is more of custome then of precept. Neuerthelesse it is now growne to that order, that the Queenes also bee installed with those Christian ceremonies: Neither ought we to enuy that this honour is done them, from whom spring young grafts, and siens for the *Floure de Lucis*, who are companions of the bed and scepter, who also are regents of the Kingdome, either in the sicknesse, or after the death of the Kings their husbands, to whom onely the law *Salique* enuieth the royall throne, although through them it is neuer empty: with the like step of honour haue the *Cesars* dignified their Emperresses. For Princes (saith *Papynian*) honour their Princesses with the same priuiledges which themselves haue, and *Ulpian* doubts not to mention the Treasures of *Cesar* and the Emperresse by one and the same title: hence it is that in ancient monuments & coynes, we behold the portraictures of Kings and Queenes, circled with Lawrell and Coroll. After the golden mines of India were discovered, *Ferdinandus* and *Isabella* caused both their Images to bee grauen in that new gold, as it were the one beholding the other: In like manner *Katherine de Mediceis*, caused to bee coined a peece of gold with the sunne vpon it, so made and called in her owne praise and application: and now of late the Archdukes *Albertus* and *Isabella* in the Low countries, haue caused their coyne to be stamped with their two faces. The marriage bed makes the Queenes companions, so as they may well say, according to that old prouerbe, where women challenge to themselves halfe the charge and command of the house. *where thou art Caius, there am I Caia*. They report out of the three wishes of Saint *Augustine*, that hee wished to see the *Cesars* and the victorious Consulls going vp to the capitol in their triumphant Chariots, but I wish to see a Queene drawne in a golden Chariot.

In such a Chariot as *Cybele* rides,  
Through *Ida's* towred townes.

But now the Court of Parliament (according to the ancient custome in the happy and ioyful Inaugurations of Kings and Queenes) prepareth to remooue out of the ancient house of *Themis* and the lawes, into the house of the *Augustines* next adioyning, not to returne thither againe, till the publike triumph be accomplished. Not vnworthily sometimes, and very seldome in many yeeres, doe the Lords of the councell lend this house (appointed for ministracion of right and iustice) to the Kings and Queenes

1610. Queenes for some few daies, as the Kings haue confirmed the same to them for euer; A  
for therein they hold the Royaltie of their court and coronation. This remouing  
hath happened three times in this age, as I gather out of the Annales, the more ancient  
of which was, when *Charles* the fifth, Emperor, hauing safe conduct to passe out of  
Spaine through France, aduanced himselfe to repress the insolencies of the Gan-  
tois: the next when *Henry* the second espoused his daughter *Elizabeth*, to *Philip* the  
second King of Spaine, and his Sister vnto *Philbert Emanuel* Duke of Sauoy. The  
third and last was in the yeere 1562. That I am more tedious in a matter, that is yet to  
come and vneffected, my desire to see it constraineth me, and desire to enioy the plea-  
sure of it carrieth me beyond my selfe. B

### The Coronation of the Queene.



He King after hee had receiued the protestations of the King of  
Spaine by his Ambassador, not to infringe nor alter any thing in the  
peace, nor to medle in the action of Clueues: hauing bene also in-  
treated by the Emperor, to be an arbitrator in that businesse, know-  
ing that the Pope sent the Seignior *Rinarello* Bishop of Nazareth  
to that end; that the Protestant Princes did wholly incline to his in-  
tentions, and that the Archdukes had assured him of passage, victuals, and of their own  
forces: Hauing resolved to see his Queene crowned with as much State as might be,  
all things for the solemnity being prepared, they came to Saint Denis in France, on  
Wednesday the twelfth of May 1610. being attended on by the Daulphin, the Lady *El-  
izabeth* his sister, Queene *Marguerite* Duchesse of Valois, and by many Princes and  
Princesses, with a great number of Noblemen and Ladies, the next day beeing Thurs-  
day, the act and ceremony of the coronation was done, as followeth. D

There was a great Scaffold built in the midst of the quier of the Church in the Ab-  
bay of Saint Denis, set before the great Altar, about nine foote high, being eight and  
twenty foote long, and two and twenty foote broad, to the which there was an ascent  
made of many steps. About the midst of this Scaffold inclining somewhat towards  
the backe part, there was an other Scaffold about a foot high, hauing two steps vp vn-  
to it, which Scaffold and steps contayning about ten foot in length, and six in bredth,  
were covered with carpets, on the which was set the throne or chaire of State, ap-  
pointed for the Queene; which chaire was couered with azur'd veluet imbroidred  
with Flower de Lucies of gold, and ouer it a cloth of State of the same sute: the great  
Scaffold and staires were covered with crimson veluet imbrodered with gold. There  
were other Scaffolds both on the right hand and the left, as well for the Princes,  
Knights of the Kings Orders, Gentlemen of the Chamber, and other Noblemen, Cap-  
taines and men of Marke, as for Ambassadors, Ladies, the Queenes women, and o-  
thers: within the compasse of the high Altar, there was a forme covered with cloth of  
gold, for the Cardinals of Gondy, Sourdis and Perron, and behinde them was an o-  
ther for the Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelats, appointed aswell to serue at the  
coronation and masse, as to assist there. E

Ioyning vnto the Altar on the same side, there was a table honorably prepared for  
the great and lesse crownes, the hand of Iustice, and the ring appointed for the sayd co-  
ronation: On the other side on the right hand there was a chaire couered with vio-  
let colour veluet imbrodered and fringed with gold, hauing two long cushions, for  
the Cardinall of Ioyeuze who did the office; and behinde on the same side was a ta-  
ble richlie appointed for the bread, wine and candle, vntill that the maister of the  
ceremonies

A ceremonies should come to fetch them, and deliuer them vnto Ladies appointed to  
carry them vnto the offering. 1610.

The flower of the Quier, and from the great Scaffold vnto the high Altar, was coue-  
red with crimson veluet imbrodered with gold, with good and rich carpets round a-  
bout the sayd Altar, and ouer the sayd carpets was a couering of cloth of gold.

The sayd Thursday beeing the thirteenth day of May, the Queene was found ready  
in the morning in her chamber, attired with a kirtle and bodies of Ermines, a mantle  
ornament of her head, and other royall habits. Her mantle was of blue veluet im-  
brodered with flower de Lucies of gold, and furred with Ermines, hauing a traine seuen  
ells long. The attier of her head, was all garnished with precious stones, her bodies  
were also of blue veluet, couered with flower de Lucies of fine gold, and her kirtle in-  
riched with great diamonds, rubies and emerauds, all of such riches and excellency, as  
the value was inestimable.

Being thus attired, shee was conducted with great state vnto the Church, being ac-  
tended on by the Daulphin, who carried the traine of her Royall mantle, being assisted  
by Mounsier de Vitry, the Lady *Elizabeth*, Queene *Marguerite*, and by manie Princes  
and Princesses, and other Noblemen and Ladies in very good order. The Queene be-  
ing come into the Church, she kneeled downe vpon a cushion before the great Altar,  
whereas he found the Cardinall of Ioyeuze in his pontificall ornaments, accompa-  
nied by the Cardinals of Gondy, Sourdis and Perron, and a good number of Bishops,  
Abbots and other Prelats, of either side of the great Altar, after which shee did pro-  
strate her selfe, praying verie deuoutly, which beeing ended shee was raised vpon her  
knees, and then bending her head the Cardinall of Ioyeuze pronounced this prairer in  
Latin. *Oh Lord God heare our praieris and supplications: that that which is to bee done by  
the Ministry of our humilisy, may bee filled with the effect of thy vertue, through Iesus  
Christ our Lord &c.* This prairer being ended, he tooke the phyll in which was the ho-  
ly vnction, and poored so much into a vessell of gold as hee thought necessary, and a-  
pointed the Queenes head, and then her brest, saying, *In the name of the Father, the Son  
and the Holy Ghost, this vnction of oyle may profit thee in honour and eternall confirma-  
tion.* After which vnction he sayd this prayer. *God eternall and almighty, pacified by  
our praieris, power the abundant spirit of thy blessing vpon thy seruant, so the end that this  
day being instituted Queene by the imposition of our hands, shee may alwaies remaine wor-  
thy by thy sanctification: and that shee may neuer after be seperated from thy grace, as un-  
worthy; through our Lord Iesus Christ &c.* D

The Cardinal proceeding in the sayd Coronation, hee tooke the ring and put it on  
the Queenes finger, saying: *Take the ring of faith, the signe of the holy Trinity, by the  
which thou maist auoide all hereticall mallice, and by the vertue which is giuen thee call  
the Barbarous nations to the knowledge of the truth.* After which he sayd this prairer fol-  
lowing: *God from whom proceeds al power and dignity, giue vnto thy seruant by this signe  
of faith, the prosperous effects of her dignity, in which faith shee may alwaies remaine con-  
stant, and strue continually to please thee, by our Lord Iesus Christ &c.* E

Then the Cardinal put the Scepter into the Queenes hand, and the hand of Iustice,  
which done hee tooke the great crowne which hee offered to set vpon the Queenes head,  
being in the meane time supported by the Daulphin and his sister, and then was taken  
away, and in steed thereof was set on an other of lesse waight inriched with diamonds,  
rubies and pearles of inestimable value. The Cardinal setting the crowne vpon her  
head, sayd these words. *Oh Lord shee fontaine of all goodnesse, and giuer of all honours,  
grant vnto thy seruant well to gouerne this dignity which shee hath taken, and fortese in  
her by good workes the glorie which thou hast giuen her, by our Lord Iesus Christ &c.*

The Coronation beeing ended, and the praieris sayd, the Queene was placed in her  
Throne, which was prepared vpon the Scaffold, and the great crowne set before her  
vpon a stoole couered with cloath of tiffue of the same, and on the right  
hand there was a Nobleman which held the Scepter, and on the left an other, which  
held the hand of Iustice.

1610.

The Queene beeing thus seated in her throne, masse beganne to bee celebrated by A the sayd Cardinall of Ioyeuze. The Gospell beeing read, three Ladies carried vp the offering of bread, wine and candle, to the which there were thirteene peeces of gold tied. After the eleuation of the Sacrament, when they came vnto the *Agnus Dei*, they presented the Pix vnto the Queene, to kisse, who was afterwards led vnto the high Altar, where shee receiued the Sacrament with great deuotion and reuerence, which done, shee sayd her praiers and then was conducted backe againe vnto her throne, where she heard the end of masse.

Masse beeing ended, the Queene descended from her Throne, and was conducted backe vnto her Chamber with the same order and ceremony that shee had beene brought vnto the Church. After the end of masse there was a largesse cried for the B Queene in the Church, begunne of the Heralds, and good summes of gold and siluer cast vnto the people at diuers times. All which was done with great acclamations and signes of publike ioy. All which beeing ended the King did in some fort reconcile the Ambassadour of Spaine with him of Venice, who had giuen him a boxe of the care for that hee had called him *Pantaloun* in bidding him farewell: And the same night their Maiesties returned to Paris, where preparation was made for the Queenes entry vpon the Sunday following.

A quarrel betwixt the Ambassadors of Spaine and Venice.

But oh the inconstancy of humaine things! Man purposeth and God disposeth; Yesterdayes sunne-shine of glory, is sodenly ouercast with a darke cloude of heauynesse and mourning. France which did yesterday ioy to see her King triumphing in glory at the coronation of his Queene, doth now weepe and lament for the losse of him, and they apprehend the ruine of their fortunes, and the confusion of this flourishing Estate. Hee which yesterday supported the fortune and felicitie of France, like an other *Atlas* lies now wallowing in his owne goare, being treacherously murdered by the cursed hand of a damned and bloudy villaine, as you may heare by the discourse.

Discourse of the Kings murder.

On Friday, the daie after the Queenes coronation, the King beeing aduertised of some ominous influence and prediction, which did threaten him that day, hee went to heare masse with great deuotion: at his returne they brought him some of his children, and amongst others the Duke of Aniou, whom hee loued deerely, and in whom his Maiesty rooke great delight, but beeing then very peniue, hee commanded they should carrie him to breakfast, then turning very sad, hee cast himselfe vpon his bed to sleepe if hee might (the which hee beeing full of life and spirit was not accustomed to doe) but not beeing able to take any rest, hee fell vpon his knees, and beganne to pray, then hee lay downe againe, and praied againe; and thus hee did three times. In the end he went and walked in the Gallery vntill dinner time.

D

After dinner many Noblemen came into his chamber, and beganne to tell some tales to put him out of his melancholic humour, and to make him laugh; hauing smiled a little with the rest (beeing by nature of a pleasant disposition) in the end hee sayd; E *wee haue laughed enough for Friday, wee may well weepe on Sunday.* Herevpon he made a partie to goe to the Arcenall at toure of the clocke; where they say, that the Duke of Vendosme tould him that hee had beene warned to be gone of the fourteenth day; yet making no account thereof, hee went downe into the Court, whereas a man of a meane condition entertained him a quarter of an houre, then hee went into his Caroch, by the Dukes of Espernon (who sat in the first place of the boote vpon the Kings right hand) Montbazon, the Marshall of Lauardin, *La Force* and *Praulin*, beeing followed by two foote men, and one of his garde on horse-backe, hauing commanded Monsieur *De Vytry* and the rest of his garde to stay behinde.

Prouerbe vsed in France.

Beeing betwixt the draw-bridge and the port, this miserable wretch who watched his oportunitie, drew neere vnto the Caroch on the right side, thinking his Maiestie F had beene there, but seeing hee was on the left hand, and hearing them command the Coach-man to goe on, hee went the neereft way by narrowe lanes, and met with his Maiety in the streete called *Ferroniere*, neere vnto Saint *Innocents* Church, where staying

1610.

A staying to make way for a cart to passe, the King leaned downe on the one side towards Monsieur *De Espernon*, pressing him to read a letter without spectacles; the Duke of Montbazon turned towards them, and one of the foot-men was busie tying vp his garter on the other side, so as this monster had the opportunity to stab the King into the left pap, but the wound was not great, wherevpon crying out. *O my God I am wounded*, hee gaue him meanes to giue him a second blow, which was mortall, the knife entring betwixt the fifth and sixth ribbe, it cut a sunder the veine leading vnto the heart, and the wound was so deepe as it entred into *Cana Vena*, the which was peered, wherewith the King did presently spit bloud, loosing all apprehension and knowledge, for any thing they could perceiue. They had great difficulty to saue the murderer from killing presently, yet in the end hee was conuaid to the house of Retz.

Henry the fourthaine.

The King was carried backe vnto the Louvre: vpon the way they met with the Daulphin, who went to take the ayre; but they caused him to returne, and to bee carried into the Queenes chamber. The King was laied vpon a couch in his cabinet, whereas presently after hee gaue vp the ghost. Many spake vnto him of God, and amongst others the Archbishop of Ambrun, doing the last seruice of a Church-man, exhorted him in this last action, but he made no shew to vnderstand him.

Thus died King *Henry* the fourth, whose victories and martiall exploits had purchased him amongst his owne subiects, the surname of Great, whose life and actions future ages will read with admiration.

Neuer Prince was more respected of strangers, more feared of enemies, nor better beloued and obeyed of his subiects. And euen now beeing in his greatest glory, and holding himselfe as it were the moderator of Christendome, it pleased God to suffer him to bee deprived of this light by an vntimely death.

S s s s s

L E W I S

LEVVIS the thirteenth, the  
64. French King.



**L**EWIS his Sonne, a young Prince, not then tenne yeares old, was called by Succession to the Gouernment of this Monarchie, in a season when as all things threatened confusion, by reason of this sudden accident, and the diuers dispositions of great men. But it pleased God (the Protector of Monarchies) to prevent this storme, and to calme the passions and factious humours of such as might otherwise haue troubled the State, for their own priuate interests, every one bending his thoughts to the seruice of his King and Countrie. This strange deed filled the City with terror and amazement, and the Court with teares and lamentations, especially the Queene his deare spouse.

At which instant the Duke of Guise comming to the Louvre, hee went to comfort the Queene, whom he found wonderfully afflicted with the newes of this lamentable accident: from whence he went with the Duke of Espernon to the Court of Parliament where they caused the Queene to be declared Regent, carrying a Register with them to the Louvre, to signifie it vnto her: which done, the Duke of Guise demanded two things of the Queene, the one was, the restoring of the Marquis of Vernueil to her fauour: and the other, the continuing of the Duke of Suilly in his charge, the which she willingly granted. After which he went through the City with five or sixe hundred horse directly to the Arcenal, where he entred with five more in his companie, whereas the Duke of Suilly and he embraced one another, and sware a strict league of loue and friendship, and then he returned to his house.

Aa

**A** An houre before, the Duke of Suilly hearing of the Kings hurt, was going with about some three score horse towards the Louvre, but meeting with Mounseur De Vi-try in Saint Honores streete, and hee telling him in his care, that hee was dead, hee returned presently, and put himselfe into the Arcenal, lodging that night, and the two following in the Bastille. It was strange to see the disorder, despaire, cries and confusion which was generally through the citie, the people casting themselues prostrate vpon the ground, nor caring if horses went ouer them, nor what became of them. Mounseur De Vi-try going to the Louvre, and entering into a little streete right against it, hee was incountred by a capitaine, one of his friends and familiar acquaintance, who was so troubled and transported with griefe, as hee knew him not, but sought to stoppe his passage, charging him with his pike, and putting him in daunger of his life; but in the end knowing him, hee cast away his pike, and crauing pardon of him, hee sayd vnto him. *Sir cause mee to bee hanged, kill mee, I am so troubled as I know not what I doe, for I did not know you.* Wherevpon hee passed on, and entred into the Louvre, where he found the Chancellor, who had been there before the blow, and there they lodged three nights together.

Duke of Suilly puts himselfe into the Bastille.

The daie the King was murdered, the Court of Parliament, hauing notice thereof, (as I haue sayd) made this decree.

**C** Whereas the Kings Attorney Generall hath informed the Court of Parliament, & at the chambers therof assembled that the King being now murdered by a most cruell, inhumaine and detestable Paricide, committed vpon his most sacred person, it were necessarie to provide for the affaires of the present King, and for his Estate; and hath required that there may bee present order giuen concerning his seruice, and the the good of his Estate, which cannot bee well gouerned but by the Queene, during the minoritie of the King her sonne; and that it would please the sayd Court to declare her Regent, that the affaires of the Kingdome may bee gouerned by her. Wherevpon hauing consulted, the Court hath declared, and doth declare the sayd Queene (mother to this King) Regent in France, for the gouernment of the State, during the minority of her sonne, with all power and Authority.

Decree made by the Court of Parliament.

Made in Parliament the fourteenth daie of May  
in the yeere of our Lord. 1610.

**O**N Saturday the fifteenth day, the King, beeing assisted by the Queene, the Prince of Conty, and other Princes, Noblemen, Prelats and Officers of the Crowne, (for the Earle of Soysons was yet at his house and came not til Monday) went vnto the Court of Parliament, where sitting in his seate of Iustice, hee made a little speech vnto them without interruption: but the Queene beginning to speake shee sunke downe in a fowne, but in the end the Chancellor wonne great reputation for the order and successe of this action, the which was as famous for the manner of it, as pittifull for the teares that were shed.

The King goes to the Court of Parliament.

It seemed that heauen and all creatures did second the mourning of men, all was so horrible and desolate, both in Court and citie, and much more in the country. At that time the King made a declaration, confirming the Decree of the Court of Parliament, for the Regencie of the Queene his mother, as followeth.

**T**He King sitting in his seate of Iustice, by the aduice of the Princes of his bloud, Prelats, Dukes, Peeres and Officers of his crowne, hauing heard the request made by his Attorney Generall, hath declared, and doth declare (according to a Decree made by the Court of Parliament) the Queene his mother Regent in France, and to haue the care of the bringing vp of his person, and the gouernment of the affaires of his Kingdome, during his minoritie. Commanding this present Edict to be inrowled and published in all the Ballewikes, Seneschaushes and other iurisdiccions depending

A declaration made by the King.

SSSS 2

vpon



1610. vpon the sayd Court of Parliaments, and in all other Parliaments of this Realme. *Gr. A*  
*men in the Court Pariment the fifteenth day of May 1610.*

I suites se it for  
to receiue the  
Kings heart.

**T**he King vpon the foundation of his royall Colledge at La Fleche for the Iesuities, had resolved to haue his heart laied there, after his death; the which they remembering, sought all meanes to recover it, and to preferue this pretious peece of that cruell shipwrack. Mounseigneur *De La Varenne* who had from the beginning laboured to aduance this Colledge, did now shew his loue and affection to them. He remembered the Queene of the deceased Kings will, who willingly granted that it should bee executed in euery point; wherevpon hee presently sent vnto the Iesuities beeing in their profect house of Saint *Lewis*, that they should bee readie to come and receiue this Treasure when they should bee sent for, and soone after hee sent them certaine Carosses, in the which they were brought vnto the Louvre, to salute the King and Queene and to offer them a new their most humble seruice on Saterday the fifteenth of May.

Iesuities come  
to the King  
and Queene.

Beeing come into the Kings chamber, and hauing done their ordinarie obeysance, his Maiestie hauing imbraced the chiefe of them, father *Cotton* made a speech for them all, witnessing the extreame griefe which the company felt, by the incurable wounde it receiued by the deceased Kings death, and that they were resolved for to spend and consume themselves in the seruice of his crowne. The King assisted by Mounseigneur *De Souure* his Gouvernour, assured them that amongst the other qualities which hee desired to inherit of his Lord and most honoured father, was his loue to this Order, and that continuing to affect his seruice, they should finde the like affection.

Queenes  
speeche to  
the Iesuities.

This beeing done they went vnto the Queenes chamber, whom they found accompanied with certaine Ladies of her Court, and some Noblemen and others. All the fathers hauing humbly saluted her, father *Cotton* made offer of the like seruice as hee protested vnto the King. To whom the Queene sayd, The deceased King my most honoured Lord and husband loued you deerely, as euery man knowes, and in testimony thereof, hee would haue you after his death, to bee the depositors and gardiens of his heart, I haue commaunded it shalbe deliuered vnto you, and that his will bee effected. Hauing this pretious pawne, and continuing towards the King my sonne in that duetie which you haue shewed vnto him, my loue and affection cannot faile you. Assure your selues I will maintaine you, and will haue a great care of your preferuation, as men who I thinke doe watch for this our Royall Estate.

These wordes were followed with humble thanks from the Iesuities, who hauing taken their leaue, went directly to the chamber where they did imbalme the Kings bodie. A lamentable sight, namely for those who but two daies before had seene him so pleasant and full of helth. The Prince of Condé arriued presently after, who melted in teares; Hee kneeled downe before the royall heart, and his praies beeing ended, taking it vp on a cushion, hee deliuered it into the handes of *Bartlemew lacquimoit* superior of the house of Saint *Lewis*, who beeing attired in a surplise and stoale, hee receiued it in the name of the whole companie, with protestation of the eternall bond which the whole Order should owe vnto the memorie of the deceased King, in that hee had honoured them with so precious a gage. Then beeing accompanied by his brethren: and followed by a great number of the Nobility, many torches beeing light hee was conducted to the great gate of the Louvre, where as the Caroches did attend them. Hee entred with foure others of the same Order, and two Gentlemen which carried torches in that where the Kings heart was, which was the same wherein this good Prince had receiued that lamentable and bloudie wound of death. The garde appointed, by Mounseigneur *De Verry* did accompanie this doulfull conuoy, the which came to Saint *Lewis* about eight of the clocke at night, on Saterday the fifteenth of May.

The

1610.

**A** The furniture of this mournfull conuoy, made the afflicted Parisiens (who loue their King with passion) easily to discouer what it was: so as many notwithstanding the raine and the great discommodity of the time, went on with the troupe, the more to witness their affection to their deceased Prince, and not satisfied to haue cast holy waters vpon his heart, they would in imitation of the Iesuities, kisse it one after an other: yea if it had beene possible a thousand times, euer detesting the memory of that damnable Paricide and wicked murderer that had deprived them of their dearest Jewel, the which was not done without great lamentation and shedding of many teares.

**B** This rich treasure rested three daies together in the Chappell of that house: vpon the fourth which was Assention Eve, it was set forth to the view of the people, it was on the right side of the high Altar vnder a pavillion, and vpon the same cushion whereon it was brought, hauing two tapers of white waxe burning continually before it, hauing the goodliest and richest Ornaments of either side their house could yeeld.

In the meane time *Ignatius Armand* Prouinciall of the company in France, beeing at that time at *Neuers*, where hee did visit the Colledge which they haue in that towne, hee tookt his way to Paris, where hauing kissed the King and Queenes hands, hee understood by Mounseigneur *De La Varenne*, that on Whitsun Mondae they should part to carrie this gage to the Royall Colledge of La Fleche, where it was appointed, and twentie of the companie were named to accompanie it by the waie. All hauing sayd masse verie earlie in the morning for the deceased, at that of the Prouinciall, which was the last, there assisted the Earle of Soylons, the Duke of Elsperton, and the Maister of the horse, with many other Noble men of marke.

Massé beeing ended, all these Religious men hauing their surplises on, and white waxe candles in their hands, put themselves in order, one of them carrying a silver crosse gilt, and two carrying two candlestickes of either side of the same, the rest following two and two in great deuotion.

**D** Last of all came the Prouinciall in his surplis and stoale, carrying the heart vpon a cushion of blacke velvet couered with cypres, and in this order they entered the Caroches, which attended them at the Church-doore. The Prouinciall with five others tooke their places in the Kings Caroeche, carrying in his armes this mournfull charge and spectacle of sorrowe, the which at noone and at night hee let rest in Churches, where it was conducted with diuers Processions which came for to meete it.

Those Princes and Noblemen which had assisted them at Massé, went to horsebacke, who were presentlie followed by many others, as well Princes, as the chiefe Noblemen of the Court, which marched for a time in troupes, but beeing ioyned together they made a bodie of a thousand horse, and so did accompanie it to Bourg La Roine.

The Iesuities in their Caroches, especiallie those that were in the Kings where the heart was, sung continually. All that long iourney was nothing but continuall testimonies of the singular loue and affection of those people vnto their King. Euen so that good Prince was accustomed to say speaking of his subiects. *They will know mee better when they haue lost mee.* The first encounter was of the Earle of Curlon, who knowing the mourning, leaped from his horse, and bathed all in teares, came and kissed the heart of his good maister. The Chancellour beeing accompanied with many Noblemen, came and yeelded the like Office to him, whom hee had serued so faithfully: Mounseigneur *De Pallescan* would haue approached three times, and euery time his knee bowed verie low, beeing touched with feruent loue, feare and reuerence, towards the memory of his deceased Maister. The Duke of Montbaçon and Mounseigneur *De La Varenne*, to whom the Queen had committed this charge,

S ffff 3

were

1610. were still full of teares, not able to dessemble the vnspeakable sorrow which they felt A in their soules to haue lost, and in that manner, so good and louing a Maister.

The third daies iourney Mounseigneur De La Varenne went before to see the preparati- on made by the inhabitants of La Fleche. There was not any parish but the Priest met them with his crosse and his parishioners, not respecting the discommoditie of the waies, which was verie great, by reason of the continuall raine, whereas they saw nothing but teares and sighes of these country people.

Mounseigneur De La Ferette Gouvernor of Chartres, being accompanied with the chiefe Gentlemen and Citizens, came to meet them two Leagues from the towne: and that reuerent chapter of our Lady, with the rest of the Clergie, and all the Magistrates B of the towne came out of the portes, every man thinking hee did not any thing if hee did not more then any other, to honour the Prince without Peere. They arrived when it was darke, and they had no light but by torches, the which could hardly bee kept light, by reason of the raine which fell in such abundance as streames ranne downe the streets: The heauens meaning to let vs vnderstand that the teares of men were not sufficient to weepe for this disaster.

The Iesuite which carried the heart, went out of the Caroehe when they met with this procession, and so went on, the Deane hauing ioyned with him. The greatest part of this deuout people were bare-headed, and the Clergie with their square capps in the midst of this deluge, and in this manner they past the Suburbes, and the towne, C vnto the Cathedrall Church, where the heart was laied, and giuen in garde to the Deane, who beeing accompanied by many other Chanoins, watched all the night in prayers and deuotion.

The next day all the Iesuites sayd masse, after which they assembled together in the Church to take their deere charge, and the Deane hauing a desire to carrie it vnto the Church-dore, they granted it willingly. So departing from Chartres, they came to Champ-rond in good time, where the rest of the daie was spent by the Iesuites to sing Euen-song and Vigiles for the dead.

Early on Wednesdaie morning they went towards Nogeant, where approaching, the Clergy and a great number of the inhabitants came to meet them, witnessing D; all they could, the honour and respect they bare vnto the memorie of their Prince: where the Capuchins sayled not of their duties: Heere Gontier the Iesuite made a Sermon, such as the time and place would permit, exhorting his Auditory to praie feruently for the soule of the deceased King, and to affect with the like zeale the seruice of him who hath succeeded to his crowne.

The night was spent at La Ferté Bernard, where the heart did rest in a burning chappell, which was made in a little Church in the suburbs, where both the Clergy, and the Inhabitants did their duties. Before their departure father Jaquinot made a Sermon of the same subiect.

On Thursday they came to Guecelar, but wee may not passe ouer in silence the demonstration of the singular affection of the Towne of Mans, to their Prince and soueraigne Lord. Hauing newes of this conuoy, and that they should not haue the happinesse to see it passe through their towne: The Earle of Negrepalisse the Gouverneur, with a goodlie troupe of Gentlemen, the Lieutenant Generall with the other Officers of Iustice, with a verie great number of men and women of all sortes, came about a League into the high waie, where it should passe, powring forth more teares then if they had lost their neereft kinsfolkes, thinking themselves happy if they might kisse, or but touch the cushion whereon the heart lay. And if any one had the fauour to kisse it (as it was graunted to the most apparent) they left it all bathed with laymenting teares. The Lieutenant Generall adrest himselfe vnto the Duke of Montbason, and made him an eloquent Oration vpon the feeling of this losse, to whome the Duke answered wisely, with great readines and eloquence. In the end they arrived at la Fleche on Friday, about ten of the clocke, a towne which about all

A all others had felt this cruell disaster, and had yet teares in her eyes: a towne which this incomparable Monarch did cherish particularly, and which hee intended to make one of the goodliest of his Realme in her quality.

The reception was after this manner: The Prouost with his Archers marched before, after whom went the Schollers in order, to the number of twelue hundred, according to their Degrees, the Diuines carrying tapers in their hands. The Clergie went after, among them the Fathers Recollets, and the religious schollers of diuers Orders, beeing followed by that of the towne. The Fathers of the Colledge Royall being in their surplices, and every one carrying a B taper in his hand, ended that ranke. Monsieur de la Varenne was in the head of the Seculars, and the Baron of Saint Sufanne his sonne, beeing accompanied by foure and twentie Noble men schollers, most of them in mourning gowhes. Then followed the Court of Iustice, and other Officers, with the Bourgeses, Marchants, and all the Inhabitants of the towne, all carrying white torches burning, every one according to his ranke. In this order they stayed in a great meadow without the towne, vntill the coming of the Heart, which was not long. Before they ioyned, the Duke of Montbason, and the Iesuits went out of their Caroches.

In this meadow they had set a table covered with blacke, on the which the Prouinciall layd the cushion with a crosse betwixt two gilt candlesticks. All the Procession past C before it, and kneeling downe, did an humble homage. The Iesuites of Paris ioyned with them of the Colledge Royall. This done, the Prouinciall tooke the Heart againe, before him therewent a Herald with a gard of twelue Archers, and two Exemptes, euery one with a pistoll in his hand, and two supported his Armes. In this order they came to the towne gate, which was all covered with blacke cloth, and Scutcheons with the Kings armes on it: from thence they marched to Saint Thomas, the chiefe church of la Fleche, the which was hanged with blacke, as that of Saint Francis, and the Nunnes chappell: During the Procession, the Iesuites and other Clergie-men sung vnto the entry of the Church. Then presently began the Seruice, where the peoples teares expressed the griefe they had for his losse. Which done, father Cotton began the funeral Oration, where among other things, he shewed how infinitely the whole companie was bound vnto the memorie of the deceased King, and the seruice they desired to do vnto the King his sonne now raigning, and to the Queene Regent his mother, holding it a great fauour and honour done vnto the Companie, to haue the possession of so precious a gift.

The Sermon beeing ended, the Procession began to go out of S. Thomas church. Then the Duke of Montbason tooke the Heart from the Prouinciall, and carried it vnto the Colledge, which the Iesuits had hung with blacke. The great gate of the Colledge was all blacke, the ornament whereof did shew, that the deceased King did liue still in his sonne, vpon the front of this portall there was a great table with the name of E Iesus in the midst, whereon was a heart casting forth beames, and richly crowned: on the right hand was a Phenix burning, with this Motto: — *Semilis in prole resurgo*: and on the left hand a Pelican, with these words: *Mors & vita inuoluit natos*: beneath there was written, *P. M. Henrici 4. posuit Ludovicus de Rohan*. This was the Earle of Rochefort, sonne to the Duke of Montbason, a Student in that Colledge. In the midst of the great Court there was an Arch seuen and twenty foot high, and six and twentie broad, all blacke, full of torches, the passage was ten foot broad, and eightene high, Out of the midst thereof appeared a great Scutcheon with the Armes of France and Nauarre, and vpon the Arch there was written: *Deuictori omnium hostium, & super omnes retro Principes, prouidentissimo Regi Henrico 4. soli Inuicto, immortalis memoria, & M. A. statui eius semper dicatissimi PP. Ludovicus de la Valesse: Arthusius d'Espimay*: the first is son to the Duke of Espernon, and the second is brother to Monsieur Saint Luc.

On either side of the Court was a gallerie, distinguished into seuentene Arcades by pillars full of teares, and Flowers-de-luce of siluer in a fable field. In the midst of euery Arcade were the Armes of France with deaths heads, and great torches. On the Basis of

Reception of the Kings heart into la Fleche.

1610. of it were Images delicately cut, whereas the King like the ancient *Cæsars*, being weary A of the Earth, seemed to seeke for Heauen, being carried by an Eagle about the Cloudes.

This funerall pompe being past this great Arch, they saw on the one side a Piramide, and on the other a Pillar, but by reason of the shortnesse of time they could not bee finished: Then they discovered the house which the deceased King gave vnto the Iesuites when he founded the Colledge. The portal, being covered with blacke and Scutcheons, lamented the death of this Prince, and shewed them the way to the great Hall, (which now serues for their Chappell) which was hung with veluet. Before the Altar which was all in mourning, there was a scaffold covered with silke to receiue the B heart, and to giue some little time to their sighes and teares. At either end of the Altar was a pillar covered with gold of a browne collour, and an Arch which was fixt to the toppes of the sayd pillars, and reached to the toppes of the Hall, the voyde place betwixt the Arch and the Pillars was full of the Armes of France and Nauarre. At the beginning of the Arch, there came forth a golden flower with branches, to receiue this pretious gage.

The Herald being mounted vpon the Scaffold, received this great treasure from the hands of the Duke of Montbaçon, and hauing pronounced with a loude voyce. Here lyeth the heart of *Henry* the fourth, most high, most mightie, and most Christian King of France and Nauarre, and hauing repeated thrice, according to the custome of France: *The King is dead, pray to God for his soule*, hee layed the heart in his place C of rest, vntill the vynes more richly wrought may be finished, the which shall be set before the chiefe Altar of the Church. Then hauing taken off his coate of Armes, and put it on again by commandement of those that had the charge of the Conuoy, he sayd with a loud voice. God saue *Lewis* the 13. most Christian King of France and Nauarre. *God saue the King*. This being ended, the Lieutenant Generall went to Monsieur de la Varennes house, and there in the behalfe of all the Iustice, and the towne, he did wites by a discourte full of zeale and affection, the extreame grieve which that towne had in particular for the losse of their good master, together with the honour which they did receiue by that pretious gage of his heart: thanking the Duke of Montbaçon, and Monsieur D d'la Varenne for the towne, which had received from their hands a present of so high esteem. To whom the Duke of Montbaçon answered very grauely vpon the same subiect; his countenance, words, & gesture, witnessing his affliction. Afterwards it was concluded in an assembly of the town, held before the Lieutenant generall, that for euer after on the 4. of Iune, on which day the heart of the deceased King was brought vnto the towne, and layd in the Iesuites church, there should bee a generall Procession from S. *Thomas* church to that of the Iesuites, where all the Clergie, the body of the Iustice, the Kings Officers, and other inhabitants should assist. At the returne of the Procession there should be a sollemne seruice sayd for the soule of the most Christian King deceased, and that al pleading and handy-worke should cease that morning.

This sudden and lamentable disaster did wonderfully afflict all the French in general E and bred strange apprehensions in the minds of many, who remembring the miseries and confusions which had grown through the factions of great men, during the minority of former Kings, prayed generally for vnity, and some did write of that subiect: among others one *Pellester* discoursing of this miserable accident, concludes with an exhortation to great men to liue in vnity, for the generall good of the Estate.

It is not (sayes he) the propertie of greatest sorrowes to speake, for teares and hart-breaking-sighes are the best demonstrations of greatest passions; the which maketh me to expresse in few words, the great grieve and publike sorrow wherewith France is now afflicted: Know then, and let future ages for euer lament, that on Friday the 14. of May, F the next day after the Queens coronation, our great *Henry* (of most famous memory) K. of France and Nauarre, passing through the city in his Caroch, as a Prince which liued without feare or suspicion of his subiects, accompanied with some few of his Nobilitie, and without any of his vsuall Guard, was murdered by an accursed and execrable

A execrable Assassin, called *Francis Ramillac* borne at Angoulême.

Is it not a wonder to the Christian world, to see France a second Affricke, breeding such detestable monsters? how infamous is this age, in regard of that of our forefathers? What a miserie is it, that a French King should not be free from the rage and furie of a cur-throate villaine, one of his owne subiects? Accursed villaine, thou hast depriued vs of this great Prince, whom we lament with teares, and whose losse wee shall euer feele. Thou didst thinke in thy damnable desseigne to swallow vs vp in a gulf of miserie and desolation: but God in his goodnesse hath preserued vs; and otherwise disposed the hearts and affections of the French, then thou in thy frenzie didst conceiue, or the hellish counsell of Sathan suggest. The darke prison wherein thou art iustly detained, where new torments are prepared for thy offence, will not let thee see how (notwithstanding thy wicked Act) that all things remaine constant in the same tranquillitie they were in before. It is to God alone to whome we are bound for this grace, yet will we not forget to giue due prayes to those instruments which hee hath vouchsafed to vse in this action: for the Princes, Officers of the Crowne, the famous Court of Parliament, with the Magistrates of Paris, haue all with one heart and common consent assured the Estate: so as there is not any shew of mutinie or sedition amongst this great multitude: but resolution and modestie, which make the Parisiens to bee much commended, and serues as an example to all other Prouinces of the Realme.

C Thou (I say) canst not see how the very hower of thy horrible attempt, all the Nobilitie ranne to the Louvre, making offers and protestations of their seruice and fidelities: thou seest not, though the father be taken away, the sonne is left vs, to succeed in the Gouvernement: though he be young, yet shall he be fortified with the wise aduice of great Princes, and of the Queene his mother, who amidst her greatest sorrowes, will remember the common good; and hath vouchsafed for our comfort to accept of the Regencie and Gouvernement of the Kingdome. In the presence of the Princes, Peeres, Constable, Chancellor, Cardinals, Marshals of France, and other great Officers of State, all assembled in the great Chamber of the Pallace, with authoritie of the Court of Parliament, his lawfull Successor sitting in his throne, was sollemnly acknowledged D and proclaimed King of France.

To conclude, this young Prince is so worthily brought vp, in the loue and feare of God with all other vertues, which serue to the ornament of a great King, that treading in the foot-steps of the late King his father, he will cherish Religion, loue Iustice, be generous, meeke, affable, gracious, and shine in a full luster, like a glorious Sunne ouer all France. All things shall flourish under his Raigne, his people shall bleffe him, and with eyes lift vp to heauen, pray to God for his preseruatiō.

Thus now wee see this Prince happily settled, and so well supported with the force of armes, aduice of his Council, and the loue of his subiects, as it shalbe in vaine for any one to presume to attempt any inuouation without condigne punishment: seeing then E his comming to the Crowne is so blessed, and seconded by the fauors of heauen, let vs not prouoke the anger of God by our ill dispositions: let vs indeauor to haue this cursed murderer not only detested of all French-men, but also held in abomination of all strangers: Let vs remember, that as contrarie winds cause stormes and tempests at sea, so disunion and factions trouble a State. If our owne iudgement cannot instruct vs, let the schole of reason teach vs, let vs consider that in an humane bodie there is a head, and vnder that head many noble parts: that the member appointed for one seruice, dares not execute anothers office. The legges will not be the armes, nor the lungs the heart. Euen so in a wel-gouerned State, one is acknowledged for head, and giueth life to all the other members; which moue not but vnder his command, so as euery one F discharging his duty, by a good vnion and correspondencie, Kingdomes are preserued, and of small become great, whereas contrariwise by diuisions and factions great States are ruined and come to nothing.

Remember, that it is about 1200. yeares since this Realme of France hath bene held for one of the greatest Monarchies in the world: Let not posteritie reproch vs, that it hath

1610. hath bene ruined in our time; and that by our intemperate rage, we haue ouerthrowne A that which our Ancestors haue built vp by their wisedomes and valors: and if the publike interest do not mooue you, yet let euery man respect his owne particular: wee are all imbarcked in one vessell, if it perish, hardly will any one escape: wee are all in one house, if it fall, wee shall be buried in the ruines. Let vs not forget, that wee are yet drenched with our last shipwracke: that we haue not bene long freed from ciuill war, the which neuer comes alone, but is attended on by plague, famine, and all other calamities and miseries, as losse of goods, imprisonment, ransoming of our bodies, the sack and spoile of our townes, the rauishing of our wiues and daughters, and the slaughter of our children.

Let vs know, that experience is the mistresse of fooles, and let vs not attend repentance after our errors. We are now in peace, let vs continue, preferue, and seeke to B maintaine it with the assistance of God. Let vs not be like vnto Magicians, which procure stormes by their charmes, contrarie to the course of nature. Calamities and miseries come but too soone, let vs not prouoke them, or go to meet them. You great men which haue the charge and gouernment of the State, in Gods name, haue no other obiect before your eyes, but the good and seruice of your King: sie diuision, which like a bad Councillor, seeking to ruine others, ouerthrowes it selfe. Assure your selues the greatnesse of the Estate is your owne, her tranquility is the Basis and foundation C of your owne families. Study not who shall ruine his companion, but who shall serue his countrie with greatest loyalty. It is incident to men of weake iudgements to be full of enuie, malice, and dissimulation: carry your hearts in your faces, loue one another, that you may the better serue one master. It shalbe your prosperitie, and doubt not but there are more good then bad in an Estate, and that there was neuer any one so mutinous and factious, but in the end he was curbed by the Authority of his Soueraigne. You haue at this day a King redoubtable, ouer whose person the eye of the diuine Providence doth so watch, as although he be young, yet shall he not be lesse obeyed and feared throughout all his Kingdome: the Edicts of the deceased King his father shalbe obserued as his owne: you shall haue him a common father to all his subiects.

It is sayd that *Alexander* made no distinction betwixt Greek and Barbarian, but only D by their vertues, not regarding the difference of their habits. So our King will iudge who are good and bad French-men, by their obedience and fidelitie, euery one shalbe partaker of his grace and fauour, as he shall make himselfe worthy by his seruice. So as all things being thus firmly settled within the Realme, we shall haue no cause to feare any danger from abroad: The King is in peace with his neighbours, and we assure our selues, that there is not any one of them but he is so generous, as he doth deplore this lamentable accident befallen our late King. And although hee had before the death of this Prince, some desseignes to preiudice France, yet now he will turne his hatred into loue, moued onely by commiseration of this disaster. And if wee may hope for this kinde from forraigne Princes, what ought we to expect from those which are natu- E rall borne French-men.

G O D indeed in this dangerous confusion, did heare the prayers and vowes of good men, and did so vnite the hearts of great men, as euery one did striue by emulation, who should do best seruice to the King and State: but aboue all, the Queenes constancie was admirable, who in the midst of her greatest afflictions labored continually, and did not neglect any thing, that might tend to the publike quiet of the Realme, causing the King the two and twentieth of May, to make a Declaration for the intertaynement of the Edict of Pacification made at Nantes, as followeth:

L E W I S by the Grace of God, &c. Since the most vnfortunate and detestable murder of our most honoured Lord and Father, the King last deceased (whome God F absolue) the Queene Regent our most honoured Lady and mother, (hauing alwaies teares in her eyes, and sorrow in her heart) hath not let to labour incessantly, and with great magnanimitie and wisedome, lest this fatall accident should be preiudiciall to our

A our person, our state and subiects, holding her selfe bound vnto this duetie, not onely for the naturall affection which she beareth vs: but also for that shee hath bene declared Regent, and in this quality charged with the gouernment of the affaires of the Kingdome, by the suffrages and consent of the Princes of our blood, and other Princes, Peeres, Prelats and chiefe Officers of the crowne and the Iudges of our Parliament, being all assembled there together (we sitting in our seate of Iustice) wherein her endeauours were so happy, and the affection of all our subiects which were then neere vs (especially of the inhabitants of our good citie of Paris) so great and sincere towards vs, as wee cannot wish nor desire more in their obedience and loyalties, then in the good and wise gouernment of the Queene Regent, our most honoured Ladie B and mother: Hauing also had intelligence by the aduice which comes dailey vnto vs, that in all partes of our Kingdome all our subiects, as well Catholikes as they of the pretended reformed Religion of all qualities, striue by a commendable emulation, to exceed one another in redinesse of obedience, and in actions which may yeeld some testimony of their loyalties and duetie: for the which wee haue great cause to thanke God, and to hope that as it hath pleased him heretofore to preferue this Realme from great daungers; to make it flourish so many ages, that hee will still by his bountie take our young yeeres into his protection, and giue vs leisure to grow in pietie and vertue, hereafter to imploy the greatnesse, wherevnto hee hath raised vs, to his honour and C glorie. The which wee heartely craue at his hands, and that he will inspire vs with such counsell as shalbe fit and necessary for the well gouerning of our subiects in his feare, and to make them liue in peace, vnitie and loue, one with another, as beeing the true ground, whereon (next after God) depends the safety and preservation of the Realme: Experience hauing taught Kings our Predecessors, that the furie and violence of armes, had not onely bene vnprofitable to drawe vnto the Catholike, Apostolike, and Romaine Church, their subiects that were diuided from it, but was rather hurtfull: which made them haue recourse by a more happie counsell, to mildnesse, granting them the exercise of the sayd pretended reformed Religion, whereof they made profession: In whose imitation, the deceased King our most honoured Lord D and father, had made the Edict of Nantes, to reconcile all his louing subiects: The obseruation of which Edict, with the Orders made in consequence thereof, haue settled an assured quiet amongst them, the which hath euer since continued without any interruption. By meanes whereof, although that Edict bee perpetuall and irrevocable, and by that meanes hath no need to be confirmed by any new declarations. Notwithstanding to the end our sayd subiects may bee assured of our loue, and that our intention and will is to cause the sayd Edict to bee inuiolably kept, beeing made for the good and quiet of all our subiects as well Catholikes, as those of the pretended reformed Religion.

Wee make it knowne, that it hauing bene propounded in our presence, by the E Queene Regent, our most honoured Ladie and Mother, wee haue by her good aduice, of the Princes of our blood, and other Princes, Dukes, Peeres, Officers of our Crowne, and manie notable personages of our Councill, decreed, and ordained, and our pleasure is, that the aforesayd Edict of Nantes in all pointes and Articles, together with all other Articles which haue bene graunted vnto them, and the Orders made, and Iudgements giuen vpon the interpretation, or execution of the Edict, and in consequence thereof, shalbe entertained and kept inuiolably, and those which shall infringe it, seuerely punished, as troublers of the publike quiet: inioyning all our Officers to this effect, to see it verie carefully kept, as they will answer F to the contrary, whose negligence shalbe punished as rigorously as the disobedience of such as haue broken it.

Wee also command our louing and faithfull Iudges of our Court of Parliament at Paris, to cause these presents to bee proclaimed and inrowled, and the contentes to bee kept, entertained, and obserued in euery point according to their forme and tenour, not suffering any thing to bee done to the contrarie. For such is our pleasure.

1610. In witnesse whereof We haue caused our Scale to be set hereunto. *Given at Paris the 1610.*  
two and twentieth of May, 1610.

Signed. LEVVIS.

And vnderneath was written, *By the Queene Regent his mother beeing present.*

Arraignement  
of the murder-  
er.

Execution of  
the murderer

THE State being some-what settled, and freed from all feare of factions and alterations: the Court of Parliament proceeded to the arraignment and condemnation of the infernall monster of nature, *Francis Rauillac*, borne at Angoulesme, by profession a Lawyer. Beeing prisoner in the Concergerie, (which is the prison for the Court of Parliament) his processe was duly instructed and made, in the chamber of the Tournelle (which be the ordinary Iudges for all criminal offenders,) who being put to the Racke on the 25. day of May; on the 27. day sentence of death was giuen against him, by the which he was declared duly attainted and conuicted of treason in the highest degree, both against God and man. His execution was according to the sentence, after this manner. He was brought out of the prison in his shirt, with a torch of two pound weight lighted in one hand, and the knife wherewith he had murdered the King, chained to the other; and then he was set right vp in a tumbrell or dung-cart, and so he was conducted with a good gard vnto our Ladies church, where beeing condemned to do penance, he had bene torne in peeces by the peoples rage, if the Officers had not restrained them. After this he was accompanied to the place of execution by two Doctors of Diuinity, who still perswaded him to saue his soule from euertlasting punishment, by reuealing his associates, the which he would not, but still maintained, that he did it only by the instigation of the deuill, and the reason was, for that the King did tolerate two Religions in France. In this manner he was carried to the Greue, where there was a strong scaffold built for his execution. *Du Vic* the Kings Attorney was appointed to assist at his execution, and there to gather (if it might be) some further light of this hellish conspiracie. His death was terrible, to diuert all murderers from the like attempts. At his coming vp to the Scaffold, he crost himself, in signe that he died a Papiist, then he was bound vnto an engine of wood made like vnto a *S. Andrews* crosse, which done his hand with the knife chained to it (wherewith he had slaine the King) was put into a furnace, then flaming with fire and brimstone, wherein it was in a most terrible manner consumed, and yet hee would not confesse any thing, but cast forth horrible cries, like a soule tormented in hell: and surely if helts torments might be felt on earth, it was proued in this mans punishment, the which (had not the foulness of his fact bene so horrid) would haue moued all the lookers on to pittie and commiseration. After which the executioners hauing made pincers red hot in the same furnace, they did pinch his paps, the brawnes of his armes and thighes, with the calues of his legges, and other fleshy parts of his body, pulling out collops of flesh, and burning them before his face: then they poured into those wounds, scalding oyle, rozen, pitch, and brimstone molt together: after which they did set a hard roundell of clay vpon his nauell, hauing a hole in the midst, into the which they powred molten lead, yet hee reuealed nothing, but roared out most horrible, like vnto him that was tormented in the brazen Bull of the tyrant *Phalaris*. But to make the last act of his Tragedie equal in torments to the rest, they caused foure strong horses to bee brought to teare his body in peeces, where being ready to suffer his last torments, he was againe questioned with, touching the discouery of this truth, but he would not reueale any thing, & so died, without speaking one word of God. But his flesh and ioynts were so strongly knit together, as those 4. horses could not of a long time dismember him, nor pul him asunder: but one of them fainting, it is remarkable to see the affection of a Gentleman who was present, mounted vpon a mighty strong horse, who seeing one of the horses straine but faintly, he lighted from his owne, and taking off his saddle, he tyed him to one of this wretches members, yet for all this, they were constrained to cutt the flesh vnder his armes and thighes, with

A with a sharpe rasor, by which meanes his body was the easier torne in peeces: which done the fury of the people was so great, as they pulled this dismembred carcase out of the executioners hands, which they dragged vp and downe through the dirt, and cutting of the flesh with their kniues, the boans which remayned were brought to the place of execution, and there burnt, the ashes were scattered in the wind, as being held vnworthy of earths burial: the people shewing by these exterierour acts the great and sincere affection which they bare vnto the deceased King, our common father, and restorer of the estate. By the same sentence of condemnation all his goods were declared forfeited to the King; and more ouer it was ordayned that the house where hee had bene borne should be beaten downe (a recompence being giuen to the owner thereof) and that neuer any other should be built vpon that ground. That within fiftene daies after the publication of the said sentence, being proclaymed by the sound of a Trompet in the towne of Angoulesme, his Father and Mother should depart the realme, and neuer to returne againe, which if they did, they should be presently hanged without any other forme of processe. His Brethren, Sisters, Vncles, and other his kinsfolkes, were forbidden euer after to carry the name of *Rauillac*, inioyning them to take an other, vpon the like paines, the substitute of the Kings Attorney generall hauing charge to see the execution of the said sentence at his perill.

It was an admirable thing after so great a disaster to see the vnion and tranquillity which was generally in the state, there remaying not any markes of so great a mischief, but the mourning weeds which all men did weare, and the sighes which all good French-men did breath forth for the losse of their good King: neuer King was more lamented, nor Parricide more detested. This wicked murderer confessed no other motive of his crime, but the booke of *Mariana*, a Spanish Iesuite (so horrible a fact could not bee committed if a Iesuite were not an actor) which booke by a decree made by the Colledge of Sorbonne, and confirmed by a sentence from the Courts of Parliament was for that cause condemned to be publicly burnt before our Ladies Church in Paris the tender of the sentence was. The Court, the great Chamber, the Turnelle, and the Chamber of the Edict being assembled, hauing scene the decree of the faculty of diuinity assembled the fourth of this Month of Iune, according to a sentence giuen in May last, vpon the renewing of the censure in matter of Doctrine made by the said faculty in the year 1413. confirmed by the holy councell of Constance; that it is an heresie full of impiety to maintaine that it is lawfull for subiects or strangers, vpon any pretext or cause whatsoever, to attempt against the sacred persons of Kings and Soueraigne Princes. The Booke of *John Mariana* intituled, *De Rege et Regis institutione*, Printed as well at Mentz as in other places, contayning many execrable blasphemies against the deceased King *Henry* the third of most happy memory, the persons and estates of Kings and Soueraigne Princes, and other propositions contrary to the said decree: vpon the conclusions of the Kings Attorney generall, the matter being propounded; the sayde Court hath and doth ordaine, that the sayde Decree of the fourth of this present month of Iune, shalbee entred into the registers thereof, and heard at the instance of the Kings Attorney Generall, and read euery yeare on the like day on Sunday in the Parishes of this City and Suburbs of Paris. It doth also ordaine that the booke of *Mariana* shalbe burnt by the executioner of Iustice, before our Ladies Church in Parris, forbidding all men, of what estate, quality and conditions soeuer they be, vpon payne of high treason, to write or cause any bookes to be Printed against the sayd decree and sentence. It doth also inioyne that coppies taken out of the Originalls of the sayd decree, and this present sentence shalbe sent vnto the Bailewicks and Seneschau-shes of this iurisdiction, there to bee read and published after the accustomed manner and forme. And moreouer at Euen-song in Parrishes, in Townes, Suburbs and other Burroughes the first Sunday of Iune. Inioyning all Bayliffes and Seneshalls to proceed to the sayd publication, and the substitutes of the Kings Attorney generall to haue a care of the execution, and to certifie the Court of their diligence.

*Given in Parliament the 8. of Iune. 1610.*

Ttttt

Yet



1610.

Boy condemn-  
ed for words.

Yet those holy men had such power and credit as they staid the publication of the A  
sayd sentence for a time, whereat many were much scandalized. Presently after the  
execution of this Parricide there was a young boy of the age of thirteene yeares dwell-  
ing with a weauer, apprehended, for that he had said, that if he had the knife and the ca-  
racters which *Rauillac* had, he would doe as much to the young King, wherevpon hee  
was condemned to be hanged by the prouost of Paris, from which sentence he appea-  
led to the Court of Parliament. And the Prouost of Pluviers, twenty leagues from Paris,  
being accused to haue said, the day that the King was murdered, that he was slaine or  
wounded that day, strangled him selfe in prison.

Succors of  
Cleues resol-  
ued on.

An other man of Meaux making profession of the religion and reputed for a very  
honest man, came vnto the Duke of Bouillion (being accompanied with letters B  
from the Minister of that place) to let him vnderstand that the Diuell had appered vn-  
to him, and had incited him, to kill the King, saying, that if hee would not  
doe it, another should effect it before the end of Iuly. In the beeginning of the  
Queenes Regency, all her care and endeuer was for the preseruacion of the peace  
and the safety of the realme; She sought to giue contentment to the Princes at home,  
and to entertaine the alliances of France, which made them resolute (though not with-  
out some opposition and difficultie) to pursue the desseine of Cleues, and to send the  
10000. men which the deceased King had promised vnto the Princes, but the number  
of horse was not so compleat; the Marshall of La Chastre was chosen generall of this  
army, and *Monsieur de Montigny* was made Marshall of the Campe; there were foure C  
pieces of artillery, commanded by the young Marquis of Rosny (who was newly made  
Master of the Ordinance) to begin his apprenticeship there. This army began to march  
but slowly in Iuly towards Mets. The Marshall preparing himselfe for the voyage, there  
came two Iesuits to seeke him out, who told him that hee could not goe this Iorney,  
nor carry succors vnto Heretikes with a good conscience, seeking to terrifie, his con-  
science with threats, as that if he vndertoke it, hee could not bee saved. But the Marshall  
giuing noe credit vnto their words sent them away with a softer answer: yet soone  
after they came vnto him to change their language, and to pacifie him.

They now prepared for the Kings Funerall, and the Duke of Espernon with Moun-  
sieur de Bélegarde Master of the King hortes, were sent to Compiègne to fetch the body D  
of King *Henry* the third which made many thinke that his funeralls should haue bene  
ioyned with the Kings, but his body was carried directly to *Saint Denis* where it was  
interred without any pompe and ceremony.

Earle of Sois-  
sons made go-  
uernor of Nor-  
mandy.

The Prince of Condé being aduertised of the Kings death, he sought to make his peace  
and reconciliation, writing letters full of humility & obedience to the King and Queene  
Regent, where-vpon their Maiesties did write graciously vnto him, by a gentle-  
man whome the Princeesse of Condé his mother sent vnto him with 20000. Crownes  
to degage him from the Spaniards. At this time the Gouvernement of Normandy was  
giuen to the Earle of Soissons, and that of Dauphine to his Sonne, which bred great  
debate betwixt the Prince of Conty and the Earle his Brother, the which did much E  
trouble the Queene, who could not well tell how to pacifie the Prince; The Court of  
Parliament at Rouen, refused to verifie the Earles Patent for the sayed government,  
where-vpon they had a new commandement sent them: They grownded their refusal  
vpon this reason, for that they had already receyued the Duke of Orleans for their  
gouernor, by commandement from the deceased King.

After the execution of the Parricide *Rauillac*, and his confession, that the booke of  
*Mariana* the Iesuite, had bene the onely moriue to draw him to that damnable at-  
tempt; there was a fowle imputation layd vpon the Iesuits, and many condemned them  
as abettors and fauorers of the murderers of Princes, wherein they were the more  
confirmed, for that *Marianas* booke had bene condemned to bee burnt by a decree F  
of the Court of Parliament. *Father Cotton* a Iesuite, who had bene in more credit  
and fauour with the deceased King then any one of that company, seeing  
their credits now in question, and that this brand of infamy was like to stick vpon  
them

A them, he employes all his Art and eloquence to wipe it off, and to that end hee writes  
a letter or declaration vnto the Queene Regent, of the Iesuites doctrine, in the which  
he disauowes *Marianas* Booke in the name of their whole Company. And to winne  
them the more credit, he procures them a Testimoniall from the Bishop of Paris, the  
which he plants in the Preface of his discourse. The Bishop writes. That whereas since  
the cruell Parricide of the deceased King, there had bene many bruits disperted in  
Paris, to the preiudice of the remarkable Order of the Iesuites, we being desirous to  
prouide for the honour and reputation of the sayd Order, knowing well that such bruits  
proceed onely from ill will, grounded vpon spleene against the sayd Fathers: We de-  
clare by these presents, that the sayd bruits are Impositions, and slanders inuented  
B litiously against them, to the preiudice of the Catholike, Apostolike, and Romish Re-  
ligion, and that not onely the sayd Fathers are free from all such blame: but also that  
their Order is as well for doctrine, as good life, profitable for the Church of God, and  
to this Estate. In witness whereof we haue signed these presents. After all this, *Cotton*  
begins his declaration vnto the Queene Regent after this manner:

Madame: God ordayned in the old Testament, That they should not see the the Kid  
in the mothers milke: to teach vs, (as *Philon* the Iew doth expound it) that we must not  
surcharge him with new affliction, that is otherwise oppressed. According to this rule  
being of the same nature, those of our Societie did hope, that after this fatal accident

C which hath shaken the two Poles of Christendome, they should at the least haue had  
free liberty to sigh after their incomparable losse, a losse which is as particular to them,  
as it is common and generall to all. But it is befallen them, as vnto those that are vnder  
the ruines of a great building, where as one stone attends not another, to couer and o-  
uerwhelme those vpon whom it falls. We were busied both hearts and bodies at the  
translation of that pretious gage, which it pleased your Maiestie to cause to bee con-  
signed into our hands by my Lord the Prince of Conty, and to the which the chiefe No-  
blemen of France yielded the last honors, when as some (ill affected to the Catholike  
Religion, and to them of our profession, to defame vs, and make profit of our absence)  
D disperted bruits, so far from likelihood and probability, as no man could think such slan-  
ders could enter (no not in dreaming) in the conceit of any reasonable creature. This  
grew by reason of a bad booke, the doctrine whereof hath bene iustly censured by  
the Court of Parliament: some maintaining that the doctrine contained in the said booke  
was common to all the Iesuits: others, that it was so particular to the Author, as many  
of the same company had written against it, and altogether condemned it in a Provin-  
cial congregation, some yeares past. A controuersie which the least passionate will de-  
cide, concluding, that a disauow were a satisfaction, and that they should attend what  
we could say. Wherevpon (Madam) hauing bin particularly named, it hath made mee  
now to set pen to paper, to represent vnto you (as to her who is wholly affected to the  
E true Religion, the most interested in the good of this State, and the most assured San-  
ctuarie which Innocency can find) that which the Doctores of our Company haue writ-  
ten of that subiect, knowing that the greatnesse of our affaires will not suffer you to  
seeke it, nor the little loue which our ill-willers beare vs, to make you a true discourse  
of it.

After which he cites some Authors of that Societie writing of obedience to Princes,  
which held, that it was not lawfull for subiect nor stranger to attempt against the life of  
a Prince, although he doth abuse his authoritie: directly condemning the error of *Ma-  
rina*. And then he sets downe the opinion of the whole Company, touching the ques-  
tion of obedience to Princes, concluding, that it is not onely vnlawfull to attempt a-  
gainst the persons of Princes, but that it is an execrable Parricide, a prodigious offence  
and a detestable sacriledge.

This Declaration was no sooner printed, but there was a refutation presently  
written, called *Anti-Cotton*, maintayning, that the doctrine of the Iesuites allowes and  
maintaines the parricide of Kings, and the Rebellion of subiects, the which he prouoed  
out of their owne Authors.

Bishop of Pa-  
ris writes in  
the bulke of  
the Iesuites.Cotton the Te-  
stimoniall sent to  
the Queene  
Regent.

Anti-Cotton.

1610.

1 Francis Ribadineira writing of the parricide of James Clement, he saith, Forasmuch as the resolution which Henry the 3. took upon him, was the advice of a Polititian and a Machinist, not conformable to the rules of our Sanior, behold the reason, that by the iust iudgement of God, the saye Henry was killed by a yong Monke, and dyed by the stroke of a knife.

2 Carolus Scribanius a Flemish Iesuit, who calls himself *Clarus Bonarscius*, in his book intituled, *Amphitheatrum honoris*, sayes, That if it so fall out, that a Denis, a Machanidas, or an Aristotimus, monsters of their ages, oppresse France, that not the Pope haue absolute power to animate against them some Dion, Timoleon, or Philopœmen, that is to say, tamers and suppressers of monsters. And afterwards speaking of a tyrant wasting France, *Vill no man* (sayes he) take armes against that tyrant wasting France: will no Pope set free the noble kingdom from the stroke of the axe?

3 He cites Bellarmine, who although he condemneth treason against Princes: yet in ambiguous termes he seemes to approue it, by commending Garnet the Iesuit in these words: *VWherefore was Henry Garnet, a man unmatched in all kinds of learning and holines of life, so punished in the highest degree, but only for that he would not detect that, which with a safe conscience he could not.* And the same Author in his booke *De Pontifice Romano*, sayes, *The Pope may dispose of kingdomes, taking from one, and giuing to another, as being the superior Prince Ecclesiastical.* And the Iesuit Gretzer sayes, *VVe are not such dastards, as we feare to affirme openly, that the Pope of Rome may (if necessity so require) free his Catholike subiects from their oath of obedience, if their Soueraigne intreate them tyrannically:* yea he addes in the same place, *That if the Pope do it discreetly and warily, it is a meritorious worke.* After all this he coates the doctrine of Tolet, Mariana, and Iohn Guignard, a Iesuited Priest residing in Paris, who had written a treatise in praise of James Clement, with diuers motiues to make away the King which last died: for the which hee was executed. But *Franc. Verona Constant.* exceeds them all: he affirmes: *That notwithstanding the Councell of Constance, it is lawfull for any priuat man to murder Kings condemned of heresie and tyranny.* And Emanuel Sa writes, *that the rebellion of a Clerke against the King, is no treason, inasmuch as he is not subiect to him.* The which Bellarmine in a manner confirms, saying: *The Pope of Rome hath exempted Clerkes from their subiection to Princes: kings are now no more superiors of Clerks.* And to proue their doctrine of killing Kings more plainly, he produceth the equiuocations and euasions of Garnet, being apprehended for the powder-treason, the which is iustified by many of that Society: Iohn l'Heureux writing thus: *when any man is drawn into question vnder an vnjust trial, no man standing bound to informe against himselfe (as the law of nature teacheth vs plainly) he may peremptorily and freely deny that for which he is called into question, without any tergiversation, because he alwaies vnderstands this clause, Vt teneat dicere.* Which doctrine is confirmed by diuers other Iesuits. One of them affirming, that the doctrine of Equiuocation is grounded vpon the memorable example of S. Francis. In the end he shewes their opinion touching concealing of confessions, which they hold, ought not to be reuealed. Iohn l'Heureux writing of that subiect, sayes: *That a thing sealed vp with the most holy signet of Confession, cannot be broken without detestable sacriledge: and that there cannot fall so great a mischief, for the auoyding of which, it can bee lawfull to bewray a confession.* And Suares addes: *yea though the safety of the whole Common-wealth should stand vpon it.* By all which proofes he shewes, that it was not Mariana's doctrine alone, to murder Kings, but that all the Iesuits haue erred with him in this whome Father Cotton cannot iustifie in generall.

Iesuits doctrine  
proued by  
their actions.

Aut-cotton hauing set downe the Iesuites doctrine, he prooues it by their actions. And first, by the fact of Iohn Chastel Clerke, brought vp in the Iesuites Colledge, who hauing stabbed the King in the mouth the 27. of December, 1604. being examined vpon sundry questions, and among others, whether he had studied Diuinity in the Iesuits Colledge, he answered: *That hee had bene there vnder Father Gueret, with whom he had continued two yeares and a halfe.* And beeing asked if he had euer bin in the chamber of Meditations, whether the Iesuits vse to bring the greatest sinners, there to behold the representation of many deuils, set forth (vnder colour to reduce them to a better life)

1610.

A life) thereby to cause a perturbation in their minds, and consequently vpon such resolutions, to thrust them forward to the vndertaking of some great action. His answer was, *that he had often bin in this chamber of meditations.* And beeing questioned, whether the killing of the King were not an ordinarie discourse among the Iesuites, he answered, that he had heard them say: *It was lawfull to kill the King, and that hee was no member of the Church, and that we ought not to obey him, nor hold him for our King, vnless he had receiued approbation from the Pope.*

Peter Barriere being apprehended at Melun in April 1593, beeing discouered by an honest Friar, confessed that he came purposely to Court, to kil the King, & that he had bin perswaded therunto by one Varadé a Iesuite, whose daily practise was to defame the King with vild speeches: by whose perswasion hee had prouided a knife to do the fact. He first of all discouered his intent to Aubry, Curate of S. Andrew des Arts, who directed him to Varadé Rector of the Iesuits colledge, who confirmed him in his resolution to kill the King, assuring him, that in case he were put to death, he shold obtaine in heauen a crowne of Martyrdome: and adiuring him vnto this action, vpon the Sacrament of Confession, and the holy Communion. And omitting many other actions of Iesuites both at home and abroad to prooue their damnable doctrine, he concludes with Garnet, Hal, and others of the Sect, who were complices in that powder-treason, which was practised to ruine the King and the whole Estates of England.

C In the end he seeks to prooue by many pregnant presumptions, that the Iesuites are guilty of the murther. First, by an aduertisement sent from M. de la Force, the Kings Lieutenant in Bearn, that a Spaniard described by him, was come into France with an intent to kill the King, which Spaniard was brought vnto the King by Cotton, but the King hauing receiued these letters, shewed them to Cotton, and commanded him to bring the Spaniard againe, but he could not be found.

Iesuits guilty  
of the Kings  
murther.

Secondly, the seditious preachings of Gontier and Hardy both Iesuites, the Lent before the fact was committed: in somuch as the Marshall d'Ornano told the King, that if Gontier had preached so at Bourdeaux, he wold haue caused him to be cast into the river, and yet he was a very zealous Catholike.

D Thirdly, the confession of Rauillac, who iustified vnto father Aubigny, that he had told him in confession, that he had bin sent to giue a great blow, and that he had shewed him the knife, hauing a heart grauen vpon it. But the Iesuite protested, that God had giuen him the grace to forget that presently which was reuealed to him in confession, whereby he saued his life.

And last of all, the predictions before the Kings death, as at Bruxelles, where the Iesuits domineere, it was spoken of 12. or 15. daies before it hapned. At Prague, a Iesuite had giuen it out, that the K. was dead, before it fell out so, and moreover, he told them, that after his death the Daulphin shold not be King, but the K. of Spaine, and that for some reasons which Gontier gaue in his Sermons in Lent last. And then the prediction of the Prouost of Pluviers, that the King was either slaine or hurt that day. He was a Iesuit in faction, and hath a son a Iesuit.

Predictions  
of the Kings  
death.

The King being dead, the Queene with all the Nobility, propounded in councell to yeeld him the last duty in his obsequie: she giues order, as well to pray for his soule, as for all all things requisite for the ornament of the funeral of so great a Monarch. Two daies after the death of this great King, his body was layd in a bed, his face bare to the view of all, and then they opened his bodie to embalme it, out of the which they tooke his hart to carry to la Fleche, and his bowels to S. Denis, as he had appointed in his life time: the which being done, he was layd in a coffin of lead, couered with purple velvet, on the which was a great crosse of white satten. On Whitson-monday about foure of the clocke in the morning, his heart being honorably imbalmed, and laid in lead, was carried to la Fleche. The body being layd in a coffin, it was set in a chamber hangd with rich tapistry, on either side were altars set, where there were daily an 100. Masses said. In the chamber were many formes richly couered, for the Princes, Officers of the Crown, Cardinals, Arch-bishops, Bishops, chiefe Almner, and other Prelates, & Officers of the Church:

Kings heart  
carried to la  
Fleche.

1610. church: and neere vnto the holy water pot, were two Heralds: on either side there were A many other seats for religious men, who did sing day and night. Vpon the Kings bodie, were his Crowne, his scepter, and the hand of Iustice, vpon a cushion of rich embroderie. The Kings bodie remained in the sayd chamber fifteene or sixteene dayes together, then was it carryed downe with great honour and ceremonie into the great lower Hall at the Louvre, beeing attended on by the Bishoppes, Prelates, and Noblemen of the Court.

Hall of honor. The sayd great Hall was hanged with the richest of the Kings Tapistrie, from the toppe to the bottome, and the pillars and planchers were covered. Along the sayd Hall there was a Gallerie on either side, for the comming in and going forth of Princes and Noblemen, which Galleries were covered with rich Tapistrie. At the vpper end B of the sayd Hall, there was a scaffold made with foure steppes, vpon the which was set a great bed-stead, couered with cloth of Gold, vpon the which the Kings Image (being made in waxe) was layd, hauing his hands ioyned together, and attired in his royall Roabes, with a Crowne vpon his head, the which did rest vpon a cushion of rich imbroderie. Vpon his Royall mantle was the Collar of the Order, and on either side, were layd the Royall Scepter, and the hand of Iustice, the Scepter on the right hand, and the hand of Iustice on the left.

Neere vnto the sayd Image were two Altars richly adorned, of either hand one, at that on the right hand was sung a Masse of *Requiem* in Musicke, and at the other were C sayd foure other great Masses: Ouer either Altar was a rich Canopie, and bewixt the Altars were many seats for Prelates and Religious men, who sung as in the fore-sayd chamber, and at the lower end of the Hall there were many other Altars richly adorned, where they sayd Masse. The sayd Image beeing made as like him as might be, was daily serued with meate to his table, by his Stewards, Sewers, Cup-bearers, Caruers, Almoner, and all other Officers, and all order was duly obserued, as if the deceased King had bene liuing, and then the meate was distributed vnto the poore. The one and twentieth of Iune, the sayd Image and hangings were taken away, and the sayd hall both top, sides and floore were hanged and couered with blacke cloath, and the body of the deceased King beeing in his coffin, was set in the place of the Image, couered with a paul D of blacke veluet, which hung downe to the ground, with a crosse of white fatten, and a cloth of State ouer it of blacke veluet: vpon the Kings coffin, were the Crown, the Collar of the Order, the Scepter, and the hand of Iustice. At the foot thereof was a great crosse of siluer, vpon a cushion, neere vnto the which were two great tapers burning continually, and a holy water-pot of siluer: on either side of which stood a Herald, the which were euery two houres releued by other of their companions which took their places. On the 25. of Iune, Lewis the 13. now raigning, dined in Longueville house, after dinner he was conducted with great state to the Louvre, to cast holy water vpon the body of the deceased K. his father, being accompanied by his brethren, who were carryed of either side of him, the Duke of Orleans on the right hand, and the D. of Aniou on the left. Neere vnto his Maiestie followed the Cardinals of Ioyeuze and Sourdy. E The King mourned in purple, hauing a very long traine, the which was carryed vpe by the Prince of Conty, the Earle of Soissons, the Duke of Guise, the Prince Ionuille, and the D. of Elbœuf: being followed by the Marshals of France, and the Knights of the Order. Many Bishops, Prelates, and Noblemen, and an infinit number of men of accompt, Ladies and Gentlewomen were in the sayd hall, attending the Kings comming, who hauing giuen holy water, retired himselfe into the Louvre. The next day the Iudges of the Court of Parliament at the rising of the Court, went also after their accustomed manner to the Louvre, to giue holy water, being followed by the Iudges of the chambers of Accompts and Aydes, the Generals of the money, and the whole body of Iustice, the Prouost of Paris, the Prouost of Marchants, and the Sherifes of the sayd city. F On the 28. day of the moneth, the 24. sworne Criers of the city, hauing commaundement giuen them, went with the Kings Armes on their breasts and backs, throughout all the streetes of Paris, to denounce the Conuoy and funerals of the deceased King,

King goes to cast holy water vpon his fathers bodie.

Order of the Kings going to the Louvre.

A crying out thus with a loude voice. Noble and deuout people, pray vnto God for the soule of the most high, most mighty, and most excellent Prince, Henry the great, by the grace of God, King of France and of Nauarre, most Christian, most venerable, most victorious, incomparable in magnanimity and clemency, who is dead in his palace of the Louvre, pray vnto God to receiue his soule. On Twelofday at two of the clocke in the afternoone, his Maiesties body shalbe taken vp to bee carryed to our Ladies Church in Paris, where the same day shalbe sayd an Euen-song for the dead, and the next day in the morning his seruice and accustomed prayers shalbe sayd, after which hee shalbe carryed to the Church at Saint Denis, to be interred in the Sepulcher of the Kings of France.

B On Twelofday the nine and twentieth day the streetes were hung with blacke, on either side from the Louvre to our Ladies Church, vpon the which were the Kings and the cities armes, one neere vnto an other, and at euery house a burning torch. About two of the clocke in the afternoone, the same day, the funerall began, after this manner. First marched the Capraines, Lieutenants and Ensignes of the Towne-house, with their gownes, swords by their sides, hoods and cornets, the archers and shot of the sayd towne-house, followed in their cassakes of collour imbrodred, and vpon it a mourning hood, beeing one hundred three score and twelue in number, going two and two, with their marches light, carrying their Harguebuses and Halberds bending towards the ground, all which were diuided into three bands.

The order of the conuoy to our Ladies Church.

After them followed the Orders of Churchmen: First marched the fathers Penitents of the third Order of Saint Francis, in number three score. Then followed the fathers of the third Order of Saint Lewis, being fife and forty. The Capets otherwise called the poore Schollers of the Colledge of Montagu three and thirty. The Capuchins in number foure score and three. The Minimes beeing sixty eight. The Franciscans in number two hundred twenty foure. The Iacobins one hundred and ninty. The Augustines to the number of an hundred. The Carmes fifty. The Feuillans thirty fife. Before all which Religious men were carried their crosses, and of either side of euery crosse were carried foure torches, against them was a Scutcheon with the deceased D Kings armes of either side.

Then marched fife hundred poore men in black gownes and hoods, with new hose and shoes, euery one carrying a burning torch with the deceased Kings armes before and behind. After whom followed the foure and twenty sworne cryers of Paris ringing their bells, hauing Scutchions on their breasts and backs. After them marched the Knight of the watch, with his Lieutenant in mourning gownes, and a truncheon in his hand, being followed by his company, in their cassakes, hauing tipets of black cloth vpon their shoulders, in the midst of the sayd company marched the Ensigne, dragging his collours vpon the ground, beeing couered with blacke cypres, the drums making a mournfull sound, being also couered with blacke. Then followed the Sargents of the Chastelet in long blacke gownes, and square caps, carrying blacke truncheons in their hands, being in number thirty. After them marched the Sargents of the Towne-house on the left hand, and those of the Chastelet on horse-backe of the right hand. Then followed the Notaries, Commisaries of the quarters, Proctors, and Aduocats of the Chastelet, in order, in their long mourning roabes, and square caps, on the right hand: And the Proctors, Deputies, Registers and Bourgeses of the towne on the left hand, beeing attired after the same manner. After them marched the Lieutenant *Ciuill* of the Chastelet on the right hand, and the Lieutenant *Criminal* on the left, being followed by the Councillors of the sayd Chastelet.

After whom marched the Priests, Curats and Religious men of most of the chief Churches in Paris, singing; and on the left hand went the Vniuersity, that is the Masters of Arts, Licentiats, heads of houses, Regents, Bachelors and Doctors of Physick, with their scarlet gownes and miter; the Doctors of the cannon and ciuill law, the Doctors of Diuinity of all Orders, the Bedels of the Vniuersity, and the Rector.

Then followed the sworne Messengers, after whom came the maister of the Ports, beeing

1610. beeing all in long gownes and hoods. Then came the Pages of the Stable, attired in A blacke serge. After whom marched the masters of the Haubois, Flutes, Musical instruments, Trumpets and Drummes couered with blacke, making a dolefull sound. Then followed Mounſieur *De Creguy* on the right hand, and Mounſieur *Del' Eſcure* on the left, beeing followed by the Captaines, Lieutenants and Enſignes of the Regiment of the Kings garde. After whom marched the great Prouost of the Kings house on horse-backe, wearing a mourning gowne with a long traine, hauing his Officers of either side him, and followed by his Lieutenants, Enſignes and Archers on foote, in blacke gownes and hoods, and their cassakes vpon them, carrying their Petronells and Halberds vnder their armes.

The captaine of the port of the Kings house, with his porters, hauing their imbodered cassakes and a mourning hood vpon it. Mounſieur *De Merolles* on the right hand, and Mounſieur *De Bonillon*, with Mounſieur *De La Bourdesiere* his Lieutenant, being followed by the captaine of the hundred Suisses of the body, attired in blacke water chamlet, and round caps of chamlet pleited, their ensigne being couered with blacke cypres.

After whom followeth Mounſieur *de la Palus* in the head of the two companies of two hundred Gentlemen of honour, beeing followed by the two ensignes, that of the Vidame of Mans on the right hand, and that of Mounſieur *de la Bourdesiere* on the left, all attired in blacke serge with tipets. Then marched the ordinary officers of the Kings house, to the number of an hundred and sixty: and after them came the Musicians, Physitions, Surgions, Groomes of the wardrobe, and of the deceased Kings chambers, every one apart. The Vsshers of the hall, with their heads bare: The Gentlemen Waiters, and Clarkes of the kitchen, on the right hand, on the left hand went the Generals of the money, of the Aydes, and of the Chamber of accompts. After them went eight trumpets in mourning weeds, their trumpets beeing couered with blacke cypres. Then came Mounſieur *de Rhodes* master of the ceremonies, who carried the Kings Penon.

The Chariot of armes couered with a great Paule of blacke veluet, hauing a crosse of white fatten, beeing enriched with foure and twenty great scutchions imbodered with the armes of France, was drawne by sixe great coursers, beeing also couered with blacke veluet downe to the ground with a crosse in the midst of white fatten, guided by two coach-men attired in blacke veluet, bare headed, and their hoods off. Then followed *Beniamin* the ryder, carrying the golden spurs: *Betseze* an other ryder came after him with the Gantlets: *Pluuine* carried after a Scutchion with the armes of France and Nauarre, and an other rider carried the coate of armes.

After all these came the first Quierrie, who carried the Helmet mantled with purple veluet, *Semeè* Flower de Lucs of gold, and lined with Ermines, and vpon the helme was a royall crowne, all couered with blacke cypres: all the riders which carried these peeces of honour, were on horse-backe, with long mourning gownes and hoods.

After these marched the Preachers, Confessors and Almoners of the deceased King. Then followed on foote seuteene Archbishops and Bishops, two and two, all with white miters, and blacke veluet coapes, after whom marched the Archbishop of Lions alone, and a good distance from the rest. Then went the Ambassadors of Sauoy, Venice and Spaine on horse-backe, in mourning gownes with long traines, every one beeing carried by sixe of their Officers, every of which Ambassadors was conducted by an Archbishop or a Bishop mounted vpon moyles.

After them came the Popes two Nuncios, the ordinary and the extraordinary, and of either side of them went the Archbishops of Aix and Ambrun, mounted vpon their moyles. Then followed the Cardinals of Ioyeuze and Surdy with their purple coapes and red hats, beeing also mounted vpon their moyles, and followed by their Officers.

After all these went the horse of honour, all couered with purple veluet, imbodered with Flower de Lucs of gold, and fringed about with gold, the saddle and stirrups were

1610. A were richly guilt; there was nothing to bee seene of the horse but the eyes; hee was led by either reine by two Squires, beeing a foote and their hoods on. Of either side of the sayd horse marched ten Heralds, in mourning gownes and hoods, hauing their coates of armes vpon their gownes imbodered with Flower de Lucs of gold.

Then followed the Maister of the horse, his horse being all couered with blacke veluet, and a great crosse of white fatten, carrying the royall sword in a scarfe, and a scabberd of purple veluet, richly imbodered with Flower de Lucs of gold.

After him came foureteene vsers of the Court of Parliament, with wands in their hands, and after them the Presidents and Councillors in their scarlet robes, beeing eighty nine in number. After whom went two Vsshers of the Chamber with their Mases, being bare headed, and then followed the Bishop of Paris, and the Bishop of Angers on his left hand, with their Miters, surplises and Coapes of blacke veluet. Then followed the Kings Image in the same honour as it was lying in the great hall at the Louvre, holding in his right hand the Royall scepter, and in his left the hand of Iustice, beeing carried by the porters of salt in Paris: About which Image went many Presidents and Councillors of the great chamber, and the Scottish garde. The ground of the canopie was of purple cloth of tiffue, all imbodered with flower de Lucs, and fringed with gold, the which was carried by the Prouost of Marchants, and the Sheriffes of the city of Paris.

After which came the Earle of Saint Paul, carrying the Lord Stewards staffe, representing the Earle of Soylons, Lord Steward of France, on the right hand, and the Cheualier of Guise, representing the Duke of Esquillon, great Chamberlaine, carrying the banner of France on the left hand, being mounted vpon great coursers, couered with blacke veluet, with crosses of white fatten.

The Prince of Contry marched after them, vpon a little horse all couered, hauing a mourning gowne with a long traine, and vpon it the collour of the Order; his traine was carried vp by seuen gentlemen.

The Earle of Soylons followed him, beeing also on horse-backe, attired in the like habit, and with the order. After whom came the Dukes of Guise and Elbeuf on horse-backe in the same weed, but without the Order: the Duke of Elperton followed them, in the same mourning attire, and with the Order, and then came the Duke of Montbazon, with the same order and habit; their traines were carried vp by Gentlemen which attended them. Then followed the Vssher of the Order, carrying a blacke wand in his hand, being in his mourning gowne, and his hood off. After the Princes and Dukes came the Knights of the Order on foote, with their collours vpon their mourning gownes, their traines were carried vp by their pages. And then followed a great number of the Nobility in order two and two: After whom came the twelue Pages of the Chamber, attired in blacke veluet, and caps. And last of all marched the captaines of foure hundred Archers of the Kings garde, with their ensignes, being followed by all the Archers of the sayd gardes, carrying their armes to the ground, they hauing gownes and hoods.

Before they came from the Louvre, there was some difference betwixt some great men, the Court of Parliament, and the Scottish garde, but the Queenes wisdom and foresight did pacifie all without brute. This is the order which was held from the Louvre to our Ladies Church, the way they went was ouer the new bridge along the Augustines kaie, and then ouer Saint Michaells bridge, to the new market, and so to our Ladies Church, into the which they entred at nine of the clocke at night.

The bodie of the deceased King was set in the midst of the Quier of the sayd Church, vnder a burning chappell, the which was made of the heigh of two pikes (it was so called, for that it had an infinite number of waxe candles that were continually burning on it): The Quier of the aforesayd Church was hanged round about with blacke cloth, and in the midst of the sayd cloth was a band of veluet, on the which there were fastened Scutchions of the Kings armes, within two foote one

Our Ladies Church hanged.

1610. of an other. The great bodie of the sayd Church, was also hung in like manner, and all along were two rankes of waxe tapers, and the same night Euenfong and Vigile for the dead was sayd.

The next day in the morning, beeing the last day of Iune, the Princes, Cardinalls, Noblemen and Officers of the crowne, the Court of Parliament, the Conuents, Parishes and all those that had accompanied the Kings bodie the daie before, came vnto our Ladies Church, about tenne of the clocke in the morning, whereas diuine seruice was sayd by the Bishop of Paris. After the offering the Bishop of Sees made the funerall Oration, the which continued a good houre. The seruice beeing done about two of the clocke in the afternoone, the Princes, Cardinalls, Bishops and all the chiefe men went to dine in the Bishops palace, and thereabouts, where preparation was made for them.

In the meane time the first beganne to march euery one in his first ranke and order, as they had done the daie before, from the Louvre vnto the sayd Church: they went ouer our Ladies bridge, and so through Saint Denis streete, and withour any staie, vntill they came to Saint Denis in France. The streetes from our Ladies Church vnto Saint Denis gate were hanged on either side with blacke. Vpon the which were fixed the Kings armes, and those of the cittie, about an elle distant one from the other.

The Religious men, Curates of Parishes, with the Fathers confessors, Almoners, Bachelers, Regents of the Vniuersitie, and Doctors of Diuinity, did accompany the Kings bodie through the cittie, in their order, vnto the Church of Saint Ladre, which is in Saint Denis subarbes, and then most of them retired, and left the bodie, the which was accompanied by the whole Court, his Officers, the Court of Parliament, the Princes, Dukes, Earles, Noblemen, Gentlemen, Capitaines, Gardes and Archers, and by the Chanoins of our Ladies Church, vnto the crosse which is in the mid way of Saint Denis, where the Prior and Religious men of Saint Denis came to receiue the body. There the Priests of all the parishes departed; and the Princes, Cardinalls, Bishops, Dukes, Earles, Noblemen, with all the Kings court, the court of Parliament and Officers attended the bodie vnto Saint Denis Church, where it was laied vnder a burning chappell, and there were Vigiles and Suffrages sayd for the dead.

The Church of Saint Denis was all hanged both bodie and quier with black cloth, and in the midst of it there was a large band of blacke veluet, vpon the which were Scutchions with the Kings armes fixed. The high masse was celebrated by the Cardinall of Ioyeuze, and answered in musicke: After the offering the Bishop of Angers made a funerall Oration. The offices beeing ended, and the accustomed prayers sayd, the Maister of the ceremonies tooke vp from the Kings bodie, the crowne, the scepter, and the hand of Iustice, which lay vpon it, and withall the coverings of cloath of gold: Then the Gentlemen Waiters and the Archers carried the bodie into the vault, which is before the high Altar of the sayd Church, vpon the right hand. Then came the Cardinall vnto the vault, and cast earth vpon the bodie, and the last holie water, which done hee sat downe on the one side of the sayd vault, by the high Altar, and the Maister of the ceremonies of the other; Betwixt both stood a Herald, who called the Noblemen and Gentlemen, which had carried the peeces of honour, one after one, the which beeing brought by them, were cast into the vault.

This done, the Earle of Saint Paul strooke the Lord Stewards staffe against the ground, and sayd in a low voice. *The King is dead.* Then the sayd Herald taking the word, cryed out three times, *The King is dead, The king is dead, The king is dead, pray all vnto God for his soule.* Then all fell vpon their knees, with teares in their eies.

Soone after, the sayd Earle of Saint Paul, tooke his staffe againe, and sayd, *God saue the king,* and then the Herald tooke the word, and cryed out thrice, *God saue the king* Lewis the thirteenth of that name, by the grace of God king of France and of Navarre, the most Christian, our most Soueraigne Lord and good Maister, to whom God giue a most happy

A happy and long life. Which hauing sayd, the trompets drummes, phifes, hautbois and flutes began to sound. After which euery one of the Noblemen and Gentlemen tooke againe the peeces of honour which they had laide into the vault, and the Princes and cheefe of the Nobility were conducted into the great Hall, where the funerall feast was prepared for their dinner. Euery one hauing dyned the Presidents and Councillors of the Court Parliament, of the Chamber of accounts, of aydes, generalls of the mony, Magistrats of the city of Paris, and other officers, came into the said Hall, where, as the Earle of Saint Paule holding his staffe in his hand, made a short speech vnto them touching the Kings death, to whom hee offred his seruice, promising to recommend them vnto the King now raigining, to maintaine them in their offices and estates. And in token that his place was also voide, he brake his staffe in their presence.

There were many funerall Orations made in diuers parts vpon this lamentable subject, euery one struiuing to descouer the greefe of his soule, by the eloquence of his tongue, among which I haue made choyce of one, as followeth.

C A Funerall discourse, made vpon the  
death of the deceased King, by the  
Bishop of Sees cheefe Almoner to the Queene.

MY minde is so opprest with horror, so wounded with greefe and so troubled with amazement (be it for the feeling of present things, or the apprehension of future) as I know not what bounds to giue my thoughts in their amazement, nor what rule to my words in their complaint: being vnable to gouerne the one by the lawes of iudgement, nor the other by those of rethorique.

Shall the miserable point of a vild and base knife, handled by an enraged Monster, inspired rather with a Diuell then a reasonable soule, bee hereafter ordayned tratorously to murder the greatest Monarkes of the earth? and that which the condition of a man should hold most reuerent, as well by the institution of God, as by the consent of nations, shall it hereafter be exposed, not to the fury of some great and fearefull enemy, who by the lawes of his victorious sword, shal barbarously depriue him both of life and state, but to the frenzy of the most abiect and cōtemptible vagabond, which lurkes amonge the scumme of the people: so as by wicked perswasions, or by cursed illusions, he may be drawne to this impious resolution, to giue his life, so as he may take away that of a great Potentate, and to ruine himselfe so as hee may ruine him withall. O lamentable age which doest belold such accidents! O cursed earth which doest produce such monsters!

It is almost one and twenty yeares since our late King Henry the third, after so many great and famous victories which this realme owes to the happinesse of his sword, when as the prosperity of his affaires was ready to open him the gates of Paris, being al that time rebelled against his Lawes, and to settle him in the Throne of his fathers, from whence the fury of his people nad in a manner delected him, was miserably slaine in his Cabinet, by the vilanous knife of an infamous petty humaine fury, who to haue access vnto this religious Prince, vsed (as a passport throughout the whole army) the name and habit of a religious man. We did not thinke the Sunne should euer see the like, as I thinke it had neuer seene, but wee did imagine that as this parricide had noe president, so it should finde noe imitation: but behold (wretches that wee are) at the ende of twenty reuolutions of yeares, wee finde our selues plunged in the



the same gulfes of sorrowes, and confusion of affaires, that wee were then: and by the A like accident, and in a maner the like murtherer reduced by the blow of a knife, no lesse contemptible then the other, to the like or greater dispaire, and to more lamentable miseries, our losse being so much the more greivous, as the wife and mild gouernment of our last Prince, with the disposition of the affaires, made his life more necessary for this Estate, and the parricide so much the more detestable, as this good King hauing wronged no man, and receyued so many; but rather bound all the world vnto him by his bounty, and shewed his power rather in pardoning and sauing, then in punishing and destroying: for which reason hee should not bee hated of any one, but of such (if there bee any such) whome good deeds incite to doe ill, and of whome to haue well deserued, is a sufficient subiect to be hated. I pray you what can bee obserued in the life B of this Prince, where they haue seene his indignation employ the severity of the publike sword to reueng any priuat iniury of his owne? what hath he euer done fence his like sword to reueng any priuat iniury of his owne? change by a royall Metamorphosis, with the Charmes of his bounty, his very enemies to faithfull seruants? as well to suppress their hatred by good vsage, as their power by the force of his armes, and by his free confidence to binde the faith of the most faithlesse to serue him, loyally? without doubt I doe not finde that euer Prince did equall him in this, whose life doth not rather serue him as a lustre to make his glory shine the more, then of compaision to shew any equality. Wee haue heard him some-times say that hee would make his gards vnecessary, shewing by his words the confidence which the remembrance C of his mild actions gaue him. Alasse poore Prince! thou hast done it: thou hast made the care of thy gards fruitlesse: and euen that which thou didst royally vante of, we doe now lament bitterly: It succeeded ill for thee, for if thou hadest not refused the faithfull seruice of their ordinary assistance when as the unhappinesse of France did seeme to lead thee to that cursed and farall street, the which thy death hath for euer made odious vnto vs, we should rather now haue bene troubled to sing thy victories, then to wepe for thy lamentable death: and rather busied to erect Trophæes for thee, then to prepare thee a monument and funerall pompe. But who would not in a manner say that the euent of things which are called contingent and casuall (for that they seeme so to them which know not the motiues) are tyed to their first causes, with such chaines D of necessity, as it is almost impossible for the wit of man to auoyd them, either by the counsell of any other, or by his owne prouidence? no man is ignorant but that this miserable accident was enigmatically fore-told him by the inspection of his particular Horoscope, almost at the same time when it happened. His most deere did aduertise him; the most learned in that art besought him to haue a care of him-selfe: the mournfull dreame which some few daies before the Queene his faithfull Spouse had had lying by his side, and awaking sodenly with the terror of her vision, was also a speaking Image of his future misfortune, which should haue serued him as an Oracle to make him more carefull of his preferuation, if the courage of this Prince had bene capable of amazement, and if hee had had for him-selfe the thousand part of the iust feare E which did afflict us continually.

But as nothing can assure a Hare, so nothing can amaze a Lyon. The memory of his royall actions, and the consideration of his mildnesse, whereby hee bound all the world to loue him, made all such attempts incredible vnto him. He did rather cast the eye of his thoughts vpon his owne bounty, then vpon an others wickednesse. It was *Cæsar* which would neither giue credit to his wife *Spurina*, nor to his faithfull *Calphurnia*, and it seemes he must of necessity imitate his disaster, as hee had imitated his clemency and vallor. wherefore in our complaints we accuse him to haue procured his owne death by the refusall of his Gards, and in a manner condemning him as culpable, we grow passionate against him for whome we are oppress with passions: yet in the end, looking with the eyes of Iudgement vpon this first mouer of all our fortunes, who by the rauishment of his incomprehensible course, drawes all after him, what resistance soeuer they seeme to make, we doe presently absolue him of the fauour which in

A in thew hee gaue vnto this detestable Paricide, and accuse onely our owne offences, which deserued this punishment, and the tormenting treachery of that internall monster, whom the unhappinesse of this Realme had made choise of, to execute so brutish and barbarous a murther; For as *Saint Jerome* saith wel; *Cursed is he who for his vices meritts to be the executioner of wicked and fatal actions, as by the instrument of cursednesse it selfe.*

And what act can bee imagined, more wicked, more fatal, and more cursed, then traitorously to murther his owne King? His lawfull Prince? His visible God on earth? Whom the Soueraigne King of Kings hath himselfe anointed by the hand of his Ministers, at the foot of his Altars, to make him as it were the Lieutenant of all his power amongst men, and the humane Image of his diuine Maiesty? But can their bee any found so wicked as to make this proposition disputable? Hath it not bene decided by the mouth of the Holy Ghost, in the decrees of the Law of Grace? Our Saviour as man, and the sonne of *Dauid* was the true King of Iury, as well as King of the whole world by his diuinity: So as it it had pleased him to re-establish his temporall Kingdome, the Gouernors of Iury had bene but his Lieutenants: And yet when hee was vniuistly accused before *Pilate*, hee refused not his Iudgement, neither did hee tell him that hee did vsurpe vpon him (becing the true Prince and Maiestate) an vnlawfull and tiranous power: But hee onely answered him in milde and respectiue termes. C *Thou shouldest haue no power ouer mee, if it were not giuen thee from aboue.* And *Saint Paul* besides the commaundement which he giueth vs to obey our Princes and Lords, although they be bad, hauing by chance offended in words, the High Priests of the Iewes, and being aduertized thereof, he answered, condemning himselfe, *Brethren, I did not know that it was the High Priest; for it is written, thou shalt not speake ill of the Prince of the people.* How then? If it be not tollerable to speake ill of our Princes, shall it bee lawfull to murther them? And not with the publike sword, which sometimes a generall rebellion of subiects against their Kings, puts into the hand of a furious multitude; but with the dagger or knife of any desperate madde man, who imagining that hee is chosen of God for such an enterprize, will of his owne motion make D him selfe Iudge, Accuser, and Executioner, altogether, of him, whom hee should not looke on but with trembling, or at the least with the reuerence which is due vnto the liuely Image of the monarke of all the world. And I pray you what wilbe the end if it shalbe lawfull for euery priuate man, not onely to censure the actions, but the very intentions of his Prince, and holding them reprehensible, not before any other tribunall but himselfe, and his owne fancy, to vsurpe insolently a commission to punish him, as if hee were some new *Iehu*, secretly anointed by the hand of a Prophet, to reuenge the sinnes of *Achab*, and to raigine in his place? Oh wretched and most cursed are they which by such maxims incourage weake and superstitious soules to such wicked and damnable resolutions, and who vnder a shadow of piety, make them dare things E so monstrosly impious. But it may be I declaime against an opinion, which is not approved by any one in France, and that his bretheren, who they say did tow in other countries, and vnder another heauen, like an accursed graine of hell, doe abhor, condemn & detest it. As without all doubt it is detestable, and the booke which seemes to confirme it, worthy to burne the band of the Author in his owne flame, as a damnable infant which should punish his father for giuing him life. For although he speakes not of any but tyrants, the which doth nothing concerne our Kings, being the true lawfull and iust Princes of this Estate, yet doth he giue vnder this proposition (most wicked of it selfe) a silent praise of a murther like vnto that which wee now lament: And who knowes not that to commend an action, is secretly to periwade the like?

F Moreover from this Maxime which doth onely concerne tyrants, may bee drawne most wicked and dangerous conclusions. For if hee hold it for certaine that it is lawfull for any man to kill a tyrant, what Prince liuing, how lawfull soeuer, can be hereafter assured of his life in the midst of his gards, and in his chaire of State. The greatest Monarkes doe, they as soone as they are Kings, change their humane and lawfull nature

1610. nature into one that is diuine, perfect, and not subiect to sinne, and shall they neuer more commit error which may in any sort scandalize their subiects? No, no, they are still men in imperfection, although they seeme gods in power: Neither doth greatness, which giues them more meanes to sinne, take from them the desire. And will there not bee alwaies found, some extrauagant spirit in their Prouinces, who censuring their faults, it may be, more bitterly then hee ought, will araigne them in his fancy, giue them his imaginations for soueraigne Iudges, will conuict them to bee tyrants, and as such will seeke to murder them, if hee can come nere them? Yes without doubt, there wilbe alwaies some one found; And this venemous seed will still finde some soyle to make it fructifie especially if they crowne so desperat an enterprize with praises, if they propound the recompence of an eternall and future life, to those who to execute it, loose the present and mortall life, and yet they call the punishment of such murders Martirdome, communicating vnto murderers and Parricides, the glory of Saints, and of the blessed Champions of our faith.

Wherefore oh all you Kings and Princes of the earth, which shall heare the report of this horrible assassinate! you haue an interest in this lamentable accident, whether that you loue vs, or bee our enemies, or hold vs indifferent, and the murder of our Prince should fil you with horror and amazement for your selues; there being not any one of you, whom the same knife by the which this great Monarke receiued death, doth not threaten with the like aduerture: when as neither the innocency of his life, the glory of his actions, the wonders of his valor, his mildnesse, bounty, freedome, piety, liberality, wisdom, and all other royall vertues, shall not shroud and protect any one, against the impious presumption of the like frenzy. For if we shal distinctly measure all the actions of his life, by the compasse and particular rule of euery one of the vertues which I named; I assure my selfe that in some hee shalbe found without equal, in others without a superior, and in al without a second. And to begin by the innocency of his life (I alwaies except those fraile and humane sinnes, which make the most iust culpable before God) can they iustly reproch him, that hee hath against reason attempted against the life, honor or goods of any one of his subiects. Did he euer take away any mans wife by force? And hath it euer bene scene that by his incontinency, as by that of many other Princes, the beauty of Ladies hath bene mortal and fatal to their husbands? The delights of a goodly house did neuer cost the Masters life? and during his raigne hath there bene found a new *Quintus Aurelius*, or a second *Naboth*, which haue accused their goodly vines and farmes to bee the causes of their death? His greatest choller and indignation against any one, was it euer made a crime against them whom he hath most hated? No, no, but contrariwise that royall soule which had nothing in it but fealing and courage, seemed to faile in reuenge: and although that offences and seruices did equally touch him, yet had hee no memory but for the last.

As for his valor, whosoever holds it vulgar and ordinary, after so many proofes which he hath giuen within these twenty yeeres, hee hath had neither eyes nor eares, or else mallice and enuy hath made him stop them. I will not therefore come to examples, as if I treated of a thing that were vnknowne or disputable. France doth proclaim it sufficiently by the eternall memory of so many combats, so many encounters, and so many townes besieged. Wee will produce new testimonies, when his owne enemies shall cease to confesse it: we will extoll him with new praises, when euen those whom hee hath vanquished shall forbear to preach it: and finally wee will note them particularly, when as Arques, Yury, Fontaine-Françoise, Aumale, Noion, and many other Theaters of his glory, that is to say, when as the mountaines, vallies, fields, rampars of the townes, and in a manner all the corners of France shall cease to witnesse it. But I thinke it now as superfluous to produce testimonies, as it is impudent, F iniust and mallicious to doubt of it.

I will say the like of his clemency: for as the fields couered with dead bodies were the proofes of his valour, in like manner, so many townes preserved from sacke and

1610. A and spoile, during the greatest furie of his victorious armes, are and shalbe for euer the monuments of his mildnesse and bounty. But this needes no more confirmation of proofes then his valour: they are both without contestation, as well as without comparison. His vanquished enemies confesse the one, and his subiects preferred witnesse the other. The acts of the one haue bene in a manner alwaies signed with blood, the actes of the other, haue bene most commonly with teares of ioy, and pittie: as if hee had receiued as great pleasure to pardon, as glorie to vanquish: and as if to raise vp with an vnarmed hand, an enemy lying prostrate, after the combate, were as royall as to ouerthrow him valiantly with his sword in fighting.

I know well there may be one action in his life noted, wherein his clemency hath as it were suspended her ordinarie effects, to giue way to the seuerity of his Iustice: but the griefe which hee seemed to haue in his soule, that he could not without danger, extend vpon the accused, the golden rod of his grace, and making compensation of his offences with his seruices, pardon his error, the loue of his valour, doth witnesse sufficiently that he was forced therevnto, by the authority of the Lawes which he desired to see in force by reason of state which did oppose against his mercy; and by that wise Maxime which sayth, that there is nothing more dangerous then to bring a great courage to the place of execution, and then draw him back: for that he doth alwaies remember the affront, and forgets the pardon.

As for his confidence and trust; Alas! we haue but too many proofes; and I would C to God this vertue had not bene so great in him: It is that which hath vndone vs, for that he hath thereby vndone himselfe. We reuerence the memory of all his other perfections, but doubtlesse wee may iustly hate the remembrance and proofes of this: why was hee not more distrustfull? Why did hee not feare like vnto other Princes, who hold that a moderate distrust is one of the partes of wisdom? Did hee thinke to bee alwaies with his sword in his hand in the midst of combates, where it is a crime (at the least for *Cæsars*) to shew any feare? Not to feare is a great perfection in batailles, to assure his owne souldiers, and to strike terror into his enemies: for feare is contrary to all other things: onely they which haue it not, may giue much. D But yet this vertue, as all other, must be restrained within the center of mediocrity, being equally distant from her extremes. It is as great an error not to feare any thing, as to feare euery thing: and without doubt by too much confidence, men are made too bold.

In the meane time wee doe not forbear to commend this vertue in him, although wee doe now complaine, for that hee did grounde it, neither vpon his valour, nor vpon his power, neither vpon the care of his seruants, nor vpon the ranks of armes which did enuiron him hourly: but vpon the onely protection, safegarde and fauour of him, who can preferue the sillie Sheepe amongst rauinous and deuouring Volues, and can make Lions stand in feare of Hares. As on a time E falling vpon that discourse, and we seeming to wish that he wold not so lightly expose himselfe, and that in fearing some-what more, he should giue vs lesse subiect to feare. Hee answered vs with the words of the two and twentieth Psalme. *The Lord is the light which guides mee, and my helth, what should I feare &c.* according to the instruction which he had learned from his infancy.

As for his pietie, the life which hee had lead from his infancy, being in a manner borne and nurst in armes, was the cause hee could not make it so apparent to the sight of the world, as it is great and visible to our God. But yet I will say, without flattery, that I did neuer see warrior, that was more religious being not ceremonious; who seeking not the outward shew, had more of the effects. Such as did obserue his F life and actions more strictly then my selfe, know well, and doe witnesse it; that hee seldome drest himselfe, before hee had humbly made his praier vpon his knees, sometimes briefly, but yet his zeale did recompence the shortnesse: sometimes with a longer praier, which did not abate his zeale.

1610.

This did he often at night, offering to God by this meanes, the first fruites, and the remainder of the day. *For my part, I haue seene him sometimes* Masse beeing ended, and when as all men were risen, to continue at his prayers vpon his knees, with such signes of true pietie, as I was in a manner ashamed for vs who should haue beene an example to him, and not hee to vs. And to say that it was a fained hypocricie, the humour of this Prince farre from dissembling, both by nature and custome, would make this slander incredible. I spare to speake of other publike testimonies of his zeale to Christian religion, for that they are well knowne to all the world; as well those by the which hee hath newly rayled from their ashes, and more richly endowed many Churches that were ruined; as those by the which hee hath caused the standard of the B crosse to be freely worshiped in Constantinople, and in this Babilon of all the Turkish Empire, the perpetuall sacrifice foretold by *Malachie*, to be celebrated. But I will not conceale that when as hee gaue Bishoprikes to such as hee held capable, hee recommended vnto them with great care the duties of their charges: the pastorall care of their flockes, the preaching of the word of God, an exemplary life, extirpation of abuses, and other holy Episcopall duties, which hee sayd were the onely meanes to ruine heresie insensibly, rather vndermyning it secretly then to secke to beat it downe by open violence.

Neither will I conceale how carefull hee was to inquire if any one gone astray were newly returned to the Catholike Church; and how ioyfull hee was to vnderstand that any one of worth had therein followed his example. For although hee would not haue any one forced, no more then hee could indure to bee himselfe; yet hee tooke great delight to vnderstand; that reason had done that in any one, which the threats of fire and sword, had attempted in vaine at the massacre of Saint *Bartholomew*: Thinking that the surest meanes to draw one vnto God, was by the care vnto the heart, and that the sweetnesse of perswasions should be the onely violence.

What shall I say of liberality, the which of all his vertues hath beene least recommended in him? Those which haue a hand with the greatest in the gouernment of publike affaires, and especially of the treasure, will be witnesses with mee, that aswell in pensions as in free gifts, he gaue really euery yeere three hundred thousand pounds sterling, dispersed here and there vpon an infinite number of persons, like vnto the Jewes Manna ouer al the people of Israel. Was not this to giue? What King of France did euer exceed him, howsoeuer hee were reputed to bee another *Alexander* in liberality? Without doubt I doe not thinke that there is any Prince or Monarke liuing that can equall him in this bounty.

And why then hath hee not beene esteemed for this vertue aswell as for the glory of the rest? It is as I conceiue, for that an infinite number of men hauing assisted him in the conquest of his owne Realme, with their meanes, persons, tongues, pens, authority and industry, and finally with all that their condition did permit, and euery one imagining that this Prince was bound vnto him for part of his crowne: the greatest part of E them held his free gifts for iust payments and recompences due vnto them: wherevpon many being lesse thankfull vnto him then they ought, and on the other side many being not recompenced nor rewarded, who notwithstanding held themselves to be aswell deseruing as those that were gratified, and by consequence held there good vsage to bee a priuat wronge done vnto them: whereby it happened that most of them that receiued spake not any thing, and such as receiued not, complained bitterly: whence grew in my opinion that fame so contrary to his effects, and that imputation so maliciously repugnant to the truth. But such as would curiously search into the truth, and not vnto that which was spoken, they shall find that in this perfection hee hath shewed himselfe as it were superior to himselfe, in regard of his other more eminent vertues: At the least in this point hee hath beene superior to all the Kings now F liuing vpon the earth.

Also he neuer had knowledge of any excellent man within his Realm, especially being recommended for the glory of his learning, who he did not fauor with some honest pension:

1610.

A pension; and the rather if hee had a penne which might make the fame and honour of his actes liue eternally; for as hee loued to doe things commendable and praise worthy, so hee desired to bee praised. Wherefore such as he found to haue golden pens, hee made their condition to bee of gold: neither had the Vniuersity of Paris euer a more iust subiect to hope for a resurrection, if I may so terme it, of the glory which shee hath some-times had in the world, as shee should promise vnto her during his raigne; and by his bountie, by the desire which wee saw him haue to build and enrich great Colledges, whereas Schollers might bee freely taught, and the Schoole-masters haue good entertainments: besides the publike Chaires filled with excellent men, whom with rich conditions hee desired to call from all partes of the B world.

But in the meane time Alas! so many rare vertues which did shine in him like goodly starres in their mansions, haue not hindred but that the wretched fortune of France hath found an infernall monster among men, who without any respect of royall Maiesty, had no horror to murder him traitrouly, to precipitate at an instant this Estate from the toppe of glorie, greatnesse and power, wherevnto the wisdom and valour of so great a monarke had raised it, into a gulf of totall ruine, or at the least into a Chaos of an immortall confusion of affaires. For what could bee lesse expected from so sodaine and terrible a clappe, but the totall ruine of the bodie, whose C head was so miserably taken away, what wisdom soeuer shine in the discreet moyetie which hee hath left behinde him, to hold his place for a time, and to represent him during the minority of the King his sonne? Certainly it is the iust effect of humane providence, that wee feare it: but in that it happens not; it is the mercy and grace of God: besides the wise gouernment of so vertuous a Queene, and the fidelitie of the great Princes of France: But by the wise gouernment of the one, and the Royall obedience of the other, both lightned with the beames of a wife and faithfull Councell, this blow which should haue ruined vs all, hath but afflicted vs desperately; and for floods of blood which should haue flowed, the wrath of heauen is contented with streames of teares.

D No, no, execrable fury, who by so detestable a murder, hast brought vs to the brinke of our preceps, vaunt not insolently in hell, that thou hast ruined the Empire of the French, as thou hadest propounded vnto thy selfe, hauing murdered the Father and the Prince.

Thou hast indeed shaken it, but in despite of thy impious hope it shall subsist forever by the assistance of God, great, happie, triumphant, rich, mighty and glorious, alwaies the feare of our enemies, the honour of Europe, the hope of her Allies, the wonder of strangers, and the protector of the Church, aswell as the eldest sonne. Such as thought (with thee) to see her glorie for euer laied in the graue, shall not see it at this time but a little infirme and sicke for griefe, for the death of her father: But after E this mourning past, which habit shee weares by thy treacherie, shee shall resume her former beauty and force, and shall raigne as before either triumphing in warre, or flourishing in peace, like vnto those solide Triangles which stand right with one point vpward howsoeuer you turne them. I doe presage it both by this marke of heauenly fauour, which doth shine like vnto a fortunate starre vpon the fore-head of our new Prince, and by the incredible tranquillity of the state, which the wisdom and care of the Queene, his vertuous mother, and our wise Regent, hath made suddenly to succeed the preparatiues of so great and cruell a storme. Wherefore burne more then euer in the eternall flames which torment thee, with an iraged dispight to see thy hopes frustrate, accursed soule that thou art, who didest promise vnto thy selfe to ruine so great a F Kingdome, in ouerthrowing the pillar of her greatnesse, and hath executed but one of the two: Our God suffering the one for our finnes, but preserving vs from the other for his glorie.

And you oh wife Princeesse! whose happie wisdom doth in a manner keepe the publike from sealing of this losse, and makes vs iustly to say that our deceased King liues Vvvvv 3

1610. liues in our Queene Regent as not able to die whilst that you are liuing: continue A  
great *Artemisa*, continue as you haue happily begun, to entertaine by good order this  
great body of the Estate in his disposition and former helth; not suffering bad humors  
to ingender, for want of precautions, which in the end may cause some burning feuer  
of sedition. Entertaine this wonderfull calme which raignes by your conduct vpon  
the waues of so great a sea of publike affaires, and of different passions, as they bee  
which wee may imagine should proceed from the flowing and ebbing of so many  
people subiect to your obedience, and especially of so many great men which doe  
assist you, who most commonly are carried away with contrary respects. Imagine  
I beseech you, Imagine that great monarke (who to raigne elsewhere in a more hap-  
py Empire, hath assigned vnto you his Scepter and his Crowne, to the end you B  
should preferue it for the King his sonne) saies vnto you, as comming from heauen,  
to comfort you in your cares, and to fortifie you in your glorious trauell; My deere  
Moyetie, seeing that death hath seperated vs, touching the corporall vnion, it is a  
great content vnto mee, to see thee with such happy successe beginne to hold my  
place in the throne of this Kingdome. I see thee gouerne thy selfe so wisely, as I  
cannot wish more for the good of my sonne and my subiects, but that in this part  
of gouernement thou wilt bee alwaies equall vnto thy selfe. Cause the King my  
sonne to bee bread vp in the loue and feare of God, rather then in all humane scien-  
ces, holding it for certaine, that in seruing God humbly, hee shall command men ab- C  
solutely. Doe what you can to procure him peace, vntill that a more manlike age,  
shall suffer him to doe that, which his infancy doth yet seeme to forbid him. Peace  
gathers treasure together, warre disperseth it: and it is no small meanes to make a  
Prince to bee feared, and to retaine his neighbours from attempting against him, to  
bee reputed to haue his cofers full of gold and siluer, as well as his storehouses full  
of armes. Continue this course which I see thee take, not to determine any thing  
of importance, but in Councell, and to assist their daylie, force the naturall deli-  
cacie of thy sexe, forgetting in a manner that thou art a woman, to support the tra-  
uelles of a man bread vp in the toyles of affaires, and to put off the person of a Queene  
to assume that of a King.

Yet vse a moderation in thy continuall care, and so labour in these Royall vocati-  
ons, as thou maist long labour in them: for thy life is alwaies more necessarie for  
France, then thy daillie presence is for the Councell. I haue held great men tied to the  
yoke of my obedience as much by benefits and good vsage, as they themselues are  
retained by consideration of their duties, and my authoritie. Perseuer as much as  
you may to follow my steppes in this course, vsing these meanes as a coyn of such  
price, as for it they giue that which is inestimable, that is to say, life: and remember  
that thou doest command Frenchmen, that is to say, freemen, to whom a good coun-  
tenance doth often serue in steed of recompence, but yet in the end they fall off, if  
the field of their hopes brings forth nothing but flowers, this good Iudgement which B  
God hath giuen thee, will make thee knowe (as I see the experience) how farre Roy-  
all greatnesse, should admit of easie access, and the familiarity which the French doe  
commonly desire of their Prince. For doubtlesse as to much austerity is the losse of  
loue, so to much familiarity makes them to neglect respect: vse it then as wisdom  
shall aduise thee; but about all things seeke by all possible meanes to ease the people,  
and to haue the lesse subiect to leauy money draw thy selfe as little as may be into ne-  
cessity to spend: To the end that being first blest of God, and then of men, thou maist  
reape more happy fruites of the prayers which I make incessantly in heauen, for thy  
prosperity, for that of my sonne and of the whole Realme.

Thinke I say Madam, that this great Prince doth some times in your dreame  
make such or the like exhortations vnto you. Although it bee a rashnesse in vs to F  
presume to put you in minde by fained wordes and conceptions, of one part of that  
which either the Oracle of his mouth, or the wise discourses of your excellent spirit  
doth speake vnto your thoughts.

But

A But pardon (if it please you) our zeale, which makes vs erre by a desire of well doing,  
and that falling vpon the lamentable subiect to witnesse the vertues, greatnes, and glo-  
rie of that incomparable Monarch, we had rather stammer then be silent, and rather  
faile in the lawes of discretion then in those of affection. I haue receiued from his grace  
and liberalitie, and partly by your intercession, the liuings and Ecclesiasticall dignities  
which I enjoy: his bounry did esteeme my writings much about their merit: and his  
greatnes did not disdayne to looke vpon me sometime with a good eye: how then  
could my remembrance moderate my words in blessing him, or my teares in lamenting  
him? Without doubt I haue as great cause to weepe for him, as any man of my profes-  
sion, if complaints should be proportionable to the losse which is made: but I protest  
B it is not mine owne priuate interest that makes me thus bitterly to lament him, so much  
as the consideration of the generall harme, which not onely France, but all Europe  
hath sustained by this lamentable losse.

And therefore when as to performe the generall offices of our duty, wee entred into  
the Chamber where as his body lay pitifully in the Hearse that did inuiron him, mee  
thought that all the walles of his Pallace, yea all the valleys and fields thereabouts,  
should accompany with their sad accents, the sound of our mournfull songs, and that  
all the holy water wherewith we did sprinkle the foot of his mortuarie sheet, should bee  
composed of our teares. For we haue not onely lost a good King, but a good master,  
C and not onely a good master, but a good father, whose remembrance is vnto our harts,  
as myrrh is vnto bodies which it imbalmes, incorruptible, but wonderfully bitter. Alas,  
how can it be but bitter vnto vs, seeing it puts vs in mind of his name, which was so  
sweet: seeing that putting vs in mind of his perfections, and making vs to see how ne-  
cessarie he was for vs, it doth shew vs by consequence how miserable wee are to haue  
lost him, conuerting by these meanes his vertues into sorrow; his happines into de-  
spaire; and his owne good deeds into sad subiects of complaints, not suffering vs to re-  
member them, or binding vs to sigh for them? No, no, it is not possible but for such to  
whom his vertues were indifferent (if there be any such vpon the earth) to remember  
them without teares, either of eyes or heart, it is in vaine in this case to obiect constan-  
D cie, and the lawes of reason: Constancy may in other subiects be a vertue, but in this I  
hold it for a vice, at the least an insensibility: the reasons which I should admit in other  
accidents, should seeme to me in these vnreasonable Paradoxes, and the consolations  
which I should hold in other losses for morall Sentences, should appeare vnto mee in  
this case Blasphemies. For what can be sayd vnto vs herein, to comfort and fortifie vs  
against sorrow, the which hath not alreadie represented it self vnto our thoughts with-  
out fruite? What, that he was mortall like to other men? It is true, but that is one of  
the subiects of our complaints. For the good of France required, that hee had bin im-  
mortall. What, that we must will what the Destinies decree? It is force, perforce, but  
this necessitie doth not mollifie our griefe. What, that teares and sighes cannot recall  
E him againe? Alas, I know it well: but it is that which makes vs lament more bitterly.  
For if teares and sighes could recall him to life, it is long since we had wept no more;  
It is long since he had returned into the possession of the light, and had bene no lon-  
ger deprived, but whilst the bruit of his death was disperled ouer the countie. Are  
these the considerations where-with they thinke suddenly to appease so sensible a grief  
as ours? do they thinke with such admonitions instantly to dry vp the iust and pittifull  
teares of poore orphans, the which they shed for the death of their father miserably  
murdered before their eyes? Thinke they, that for such reasons poore and desolate ser-  
uants lamenting the death of their master and protector, should suddenly stoppe their  
mouths to all complaints? No, no, these petty reasons do not cure the griefe, but of  
F minds which are not greatly sicke. Euen so we cannot approach neare vnto his Royall  
Hearse to wish him eternall rest, but in making our prayers at his feet, we do not feele  
our hearts as it were diuided in two by the knife of sorrow, and that after we haue cur-  
sed the brutish boldnesse of that vile Parricide, which hath so wickedly caused his body  
to be conuerted into dust, as well as our eyes into teares, wee do not say vnto him in  
casting

1610. casting holy water, the words wherewith I will end this miserable discourse: Farewell A  
great Prince, farewell good master, farewell our sword, farewell our buckler, farewell  
our glorie, the rest which thou hast purchased for vs vpon earth, may be restored vnto  
thee in heauen, with an eternall rest for thy soule: And neuer may it happen, that our  
ingratefull memorie may cease to remember with blessings and prayes, although it be  
with teares and sighes, the name of great *Henry* the fourth, King of France and Na-  
uarre, the hope of Learning, and the glorie of Armes.

Duke of Es-  
pernon sea-  
zed vpon the  
Citadell of  
Metz.

**T**He Duke of Espèrnon did cunningly seaze vpon the Cittadell of Metz, by an ex-  
ample of most dangerous consequence, expelling Monsieur *d'Arbien*, to whome  
the deceased King had giuen it in charge: The Gouvernour hauing notice, that some B  
Captaines and other creatures of the Duke of Espèrnon had an enterprize to ceaze  
vpon the Cittadell, he put them out of it. VWhereuppon the Duke complained to the  
Queene, and intreated her to send for the Gouvernour, to giue an accompt of that which  
he had done: who hauing receiued her Maiesties letters, he presently tooke his way to-  
wards the Court. As soone as he was gone out of Metz, the Dukes friends and seruants  
seized on the Cittadell for him. Many did wonder at the Queenes patience, that shee  
would suffer her authority to bee so abused in this manner, yet no man opposed him-  
selfe.

Jesuites seeke  
to be incorpo-  
rate in the V-  
niuersity of  
Paris.

The Iesuites since their reuocation some seuen or eight yeares since, had laboured C  
by all meanes possible to be incorporate in the Vniuersitie of Paris, and to haue free  
libertie to open their schoole: and to this end they had built a house for their Nouices  
in the Suburbes of *S. Germaine*, the which is so great, as a little towne may stand with-  
in the compasse of the walles. The Vniuersity of Paris opposed it selfe against them in  
this demand, and the deceased King in his life time (at the instance of the Vniuersitie)  
would not yeeld vnto it. After whose death, the Iesuites through the fauour of the Q.  
Regent, and some Noblemen, began their poursuite more hotely then before. The V-  
niuersitie still opposing, it grew to be a question in lawe, and was brought before the  
Court of Parliament, during which contention, the Vniuersitie presented this Petition  
vnto the Queene Regent.

### To the Queene Regent, the Princes of the Bloud, and the Lords of the Councell.

Petition made  
by the Vniuer-  
sity of Paris.

**M**ADAME, The Vniuersitie of Paris most humbly shewes vnto your Maiestie,  
that the Doctrin of murthering of Kings by Assassins, who through deuotion  
vow themselves to death, as to a martyrdome pleasing vnto God, is a pestilent infection  
neuer scene nor read of in all the Records of Antiquitie: neither Pagans nor Christians  
euer knew it. Among the Mahometans, onely one, called *the old man of the Mountaine*,  
had put it in practise: but the rest of that Sect did presently suppress it, and neuer since  
haue they vsed it, although their hatred against Christian Kings is nothing decreased.  
Onely within these three-score yeares this infection hath crept into Christendom, and  
hath bin practised in England and France: we say in England, for that in respect of ci-  
uill and temporall obedience, due to Kings, and for the safety of their persons, all Chri-  
stian Kings, Pagans, Heretikes, Idolaters, Infidels, Excommunicates, and Apostats,  
are holy and sacred vnto vs, as the Apostles, the ancient Christian Church, and the ex-  
ample of the Saints in Paradise, which haue bene Prelates and Bishops in France, do  
teach. This hellish position vpon another erroneous doctrine, which is the Popes su-  
premacie, whom we acknowledge Head of the Church, as our Ancestours haue done.  
The doctrine of this supreme power is not found in the writings of the Diuines of Pa-  
ris, nor in the bosome of the Vniuersitie, but in the Sermons and writings of Iesuites,  
and

A and in the answers of murtherers, when they are examined by their Iudges. Their own  
words do versifie it. *Parry* (who vnderooke to kill the Queene of England) sayd, that he  
might lawfully do it, for that she was excommunicate by the Pope, and therefore her  
life was abandoned. *Catesby* the attempter of that powder-treason, which should haue  
blowne vp the King, the Queene, their children, and the States of England, maintained  
that this enterprize was holy: For seeing that *Clement* the eight had by two Briefes for-  
bidden the Catholikes to receiue him, by a greater reason being receiued, hee would  
haue him made away.

*John Chaste!* sayd, that it was meritorious to kill the deceased King, for that notwith-  
standing the Bishops of France had receiued him into the Church, yet was he not in it,  
the Pope hauing not admitted him. *Rauillac* the last murtherer, sayd, That the King  
made warre contrarie to the Popes liking, That God was the Pope, and the Pope was  
God, by these words: *Thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke, &c.* Hereuppon the Bishop of  
Clermont, one of their Disciples, sayled not, after the execution of the paricide, to  
come to the assembly of the Sorbonne, according to the custome of our Ancestors, to  
condemne this doctrine of murtherers: where going from forme to forme before the  
Doctors were set, he aduised them to be carefull what they did: *You haue here* (sayd hee)  
*two Nuncios from the Pope.* And the company beeing set, he gaue his opinion, that the  
matter then in question had bene diuersly handled, and that it was necessarie to speake  
vnto the Nuntios, who would write vnto the Pope, as if Kings might not liue but at the  
Popes pleasure. After that many good Preachers of this Vniuersity had detested the  
murtherers of Kings, and the fauourers of this doctrine. In the end *P. Cotton* presented  
a letter declaratorie vnto your Maiestie of the Iesuites doctrine, vpon this subiect, wher-  
by he seeks to giue satisfaction to such as complaine, that their writings do too much  
maintaine these three approaching doctrines: the Popes Supreme power, and thereon  
depending, Rebellion against Kings, and abandoning of their liues, when as such men  
shall hold them to be Tyrants.

Many men of vnderstanding are well acquainted with their Equiuocations and Fal-  
lacies, wherewith they hide their wicked doctrine: according to the practise whereof,  
D that Sect dorth make profession by Treaties allowed by their Generall, as may be seene  
in the Apologie of *Henry Garnet*, in the chapter of Equiuocations. We should be loth  
to discouer them, and to hinder the course of their false coyne, if any good might grow  
thereby. But seeing by the merit of their fallacies, that Sect will gaine that aduantage  
ouer vs, as to instruct youth in the Vniuersity of Paris, contrarie to the constant and  
determinate will of the deceased King: This Vniuersity, the daughter of the Kings of  
France, should hold her selfe guilty of infidelity, if shee should not lay open vnto you  
their deceites, and be an humble tutor vnto your Maiestie, not to suffer this daughter,  
so loyall vnto her Soueraignes (so long as she is kept from forcing or corruption) to  
be infected with the company of a Sect which hath bene found so dangerous to our  
Kings. He tels you (Madame) that the Authors of this Order say, we may not kill a Ty-  
rant, but the Authors produced by him, and especially *Valentia*, their last great Doctor  
addes a limitation: *If it be not* (sayth he) *by publike iudgement.* And to the end you shold  
not doubt of this publike authoritie, he afterwards sets downe Articles of their doctrin  
ouer the authoritie of Kings in this manner: That a Monarchy is the best kind of Go-  
uernement: that the Pope is Monarch in the Church touching the Spirituall govern-  
ment, and the King in his Realme for the temporall: not meaning the King should bee  
King in his Realme, vnlesse the Pope be Monarch, and haue absolute power in the spi-  
rituall government of the Church. But (Madame) it is directly opposit to the doctrin  
of the Church, the which your Vniuersity of Paris hath alwaies maintained, that the  
F Pope hath the power of a Monarch in the Church: for these be things contrarie, that  
the Councell is about the Pope, (as your Vniuersity hath alwaies held) and that the  
Pope is absolute Monarch of the Church. This doctrine of your Vniuersity, if it were  
euer necessary, it is now more then euer, both for the King, and all the Kingdomes of  
Christendome.

What



1610.

What be the effects of this absolute spirituall Monarchie? he tels you plainly in another booke which he presents vnto your Maiestie, and to the Princes and Noblemen of the Kings Councell. It is at the end of the second Tome of his Institutions, in the 35 question, where hee saith, *That the Pope hath not absolute power to take and giue Kings Crownes and Kingdomes.* All his fallacie consists in this word (*absolute*) for he saith, that he hath power to giue and take away the goods of your subiects, but onely by way of Iustice. So *P. Cotton* a little after affirms, That the Pope by vertue of his spirituall gouernement, and for the coniunction of Religion and State, of the spirituall and temporall, may by vertue of his censures dispose of the Crownes of Kings, *For Religion, the seruice of God, the good of the Church, and for the saluation of soules.* This doctrine is not particular to him alone, but common to all his Societie. This doctrine of coniunction which he sayes is betwixt Religion and the State, the spirituall and temporall, is contrarie to the doctrine of our Lord Iesus Christ, who hath for euer made a great separation betwixt Religion and State, saying: *yeeld vnto God that which is Gods,* that is, Religion: *and to Cesar that which is Cessars,* that is, ciuill and temporall obedience, honour, seruice and tribute. Madam, your Vniuersitie of Paris hath alwaies taught it thus, holding with the ancient Councels, and reiecting the new, in that they haue oppugned this holosome doctrine. Wherein our Kings, the Bishops of France, the Courts of Parliament, the Kings Councell, the French Doctors, and your Vniuersitie haue alwaies maintained, that the liberty of the French Church, and of the realme of France consisted. It is no question of small importance: it concerns the Kings Estate: wherof these men affirme the Pope may depriue him: these men (I say) to whome at this day they commit the instruction of youth in all towns: the consciences of people in confessions, and the teaching of all in generall. The Kings life and your Maiesties is also in danger: for when he hath depriued a Prince of his right of gouernement, they hold him for a tyrant, which vsurpes an Estate against the iudgement of this publike authority, which may by the Iesuites doctrine make of a King a tyrant: yea they maintaine, that subiects may rebell against their Prince, although he be not excommunicate, if they beleue that for feare of his greatnes, they dare not do it: This is the decision of the Iesuite *Suares*, who thereby brings the Estate and life of all great Princes into danger. Such is also the practise of some murderers of Kings; men which acknowledge the Popes suprem power, taught by the Iesuites, and beleue no other: but so far-forth as it shall please the Pope. And this plainly was the practise of the last parricide, as it did appeare by his execrable discourse with the Diuines which were sent vnto him, to whome hee shewed himselfe perfectly instructed in all the shifts and fallacies which Sophistrie could vse of that subiect, whereas otherwise hee was very ignorant of all other knowledge and learning.

We doubt not, Madam, but the Pope, beeing well aduised, would performe his dutie, in damning (by his Buls) such murderers and Assassins to the paines of hell, and causing (as he may with a word) these great mischiefs to cease, which cast a shame and reproch vpon the innocencie of Christian religion. For hitherto the power of such men at Rome, hath giuen some men occasion to say: That he which doth not hinder nor preuent crimes committed by them ouer whom he hath all power, and whome he may restraints by so easie a censure, hee himselfe is the author, as the rules of Iustice do teach.

The pretext which *P. Cotton* takes from the good of the Church, to giue power vnto the Pope, to take away and giue Crowns is a counterfeit colour: for by the same separation which our Lord Iesus Christ hath for euer made betwixt Religion and state, throughout the whole world, where he will haue his Gospell preached, wee are bound (notwithstanding all Ecclesiasticall Censures, Interdictions, Dispensations from the Oath of Allegiance or commandements from the Pope) not to take Armes against our Kings, but to yeeld them all Ciuill and Temporall obedience, and to expose our liues for the defence of theirs. This is the Law of Nature written in the hearts of men, when they came into the world, the which the Sonne of God taking our flesh vpon him

1610.

A him, hath since confirmed, binding Christians more strictly then Pagans, who were led by the onely instinct of nature: and Priests more then Lay-men, whome they should instruct in this holy doctrine, both by word and example. And much more Bishops then Priests, and most of all the first Bishop, for that his example to Christians should be of more force then all other pastors of the Church.

And the King of Great Brittain, to warrant himselfe against these murderers was forced to require an oath of Allegiance from his subiects, for his ciuill and temporall obedience, and for the safety of his life, notwithstanding all Popish censures. An oth which the doctrine & practise of murderers makes necessarie at this day throughout all Christendome, to assure the Estates and liues of the annoynted of God, and to free the Catholike, Apostolike, and Romish Religion, to all Kings and Princes, of that blame and hatred which this pestilent doctrine hath procured it. And to make it to be more fauoured with those Princes which hold a different Religion. But this holy doctrine is more necessarie in France then in any other countrie, seeing that the effects of the contrarie, fall chiefly vpon the life of our Kings, and the Crowne of France: and more, in the minoritie of our King, then in his full age, this false doctrine should be refused, and the fauourers thereof reiected, for that the practise of former ages hath euer taught vs, that when they will employ their censures against the temporall gouernment of Kings, they excommunicate the weakest.

C For these causes, Madame, the Vniuersitie of Paris, daughter to the Kings of France, doth most humbly beseech your Maiestie, and you my Lords the Princes and Noblemen of the Councell, not to suffer the Iesuits, holding a doctrine of the Popes supreme power ouer the Estates and liues of Kings, contrarie to the doctrine which the Vniuersitie hath alwaies maintained, to instruct youth in Paris, much lesse to be incorporate in the Vniuersitie, to make the doctrine and manners thereof as repugnant to the Estates of Kings, as their Sect is, as may appeare by the writings of *Peter Cotton*, dedicated to your Maiestie, and deliuered daily in their name; and by the experience which is made in many parts of Christendome. And the Vniuersitie shall pray for the preservation and prosperity of the King, your Maiestie, and of you my Lords the Princes and Noblemen of the Kings Councell.

A Afterwards the Iesuits presented a petition vnto the Court of Parliament, requiring that they might bee receiued into the Body of the Sorbonne: wherupon it was answered: *Let it be signified.* At this signification the Sorbonne consented, so as they would submit. They demanded interpretation of that word, whereunto it was told them, that they must be subiect to the Rector, and to all the Statutes of the Vniuersity. But the decision of this cause was remitted to the opening of the Court againe at Saint Martins.

E In Iuly the Court of Parliament amerced the Bishop of Paris in a pecuniarie Fine, for that rashly, and to the preiudice and dishonor of the sayd Court, he had past before them, at the funerals of the deceased King. This small formality bred bad blood, and many were amazed to see the Queene, and much more the Earle of Soissons, to affect any party in this contention, especially against the Court of Parliament, who had bene so officious to them. Hereupon (and it may be vpon some lighter cause) factions began to grow among the great men. The Earle of Soissons, the Duke of Espernon, the Chancellor, *Villeroy*, and the Iesuites made one partie: The Dukes of Bouillon, *Sully*, and Rohan, *Des Dignieres* with the Court of Parliament were the other. A strange alteration in Court, a strange myserie of State, being supported and assisted by the house of Guise. The Prince of Condé had written to them of this partie, and especially to the Duke of Bouillon, that he would be wholly gouerned by their Councell, and by the first President. *Monsieur de Barraut* had bene sent to Bruxelles to hasten his departure. This cloude of factions being risen, it threatened a storme of combustions, considering the contrariety of humors of the Princes and Noblemen, and the incompatibility of their quarels, vnder the gouernement of a woman. There was then no speech but

1610. of parties and factions, and such as obserued the humor of the French, and the libertie A of the present time, thought they could not belong in forme, before they entred into action. Whereupon they did renew and augment the Capitaines in all the quarters and ports of Paris, who tooke the oath of Allegiance to the King and Queene. All the houses were visited, and commandement given them to be armed: all idle persons were commanded to depart, and the guards at the Louvre doubled. This grew vpon certain threates, secret practises, and brutes of bad presage against them of the Religion. In the heate of these alterations, such as hated the Huguenots fought to trie the peoples affections: but they answered: That if they wished ill to them of the Religion, they should do it themselves, as for their parts they would not bring the publike quiet into danger. During these broyles, the Prince of Condé arrived at Paris, much more glori- B ous in his returne, then at his departure. He entred into Paris, being accompanied with about 1500. horse, where were all the Nobility of the Court, and most of the Princes, which had gone forth to meet him. Among others the Duke of Bouillon went vnto the frontiers: all good men hoped for much by his presence, to ballance the affairs betwixt these new parties. He came directly to the Louvre, where hee was very well recei- ued by the Queene, who in testimonie of her fauor, presented him with a goodly house in S. Germain's suburbs, built by Gandy an Italian, and a rich cupberd of plate.

Prince of  
Condé returns  
to Paris.

But his coming did not pacifie these alarmes at Paris: it was daily feared there would haue bene some Tragedie among the great men: which caused the Prince of Condé, C and the Dukes of Guise and Bouillon to keepe guards in their houses two nights together, vpon some apparent aduise, that they would force their lodgings. But it was the wil of God to disperse this cloud: so as amidst all these brutes all things continued quiet and peaceable, the people seeming to haue no will to stir: for in effect all the Commonalties and townes of the realme in generall, were not only resolu'd to obedience, but so banded to peace, as if any one should haue sought to vndermine it, it was thought he should not haue found any one retreat. These were the works of God, & some fruits of their former follies. The carriage and power of the D. of Espernon were the chiefe causes of all these broiles and distrust, hauing 4000. men of the Kings guard in the suburbs at his deuotion, being their Colonel, wherewith he did fortifie himselfe as hee pleas- D ed. They of the Religion had their part in this feare, yet they continued their exercise, relying wholly vpon the assurance which the Q. had given them: who also assured the Noblemen of their protection, contenting them with great pensions, & other aduancements. The Earle of Fuentes made great preparatiues at Milan for war, which put the D. of Sauoy into a great alarme, but especially they of Geneua, who feared them both: wherupon they sent for M. de la Noue, being at Pontz, who went vnto them with leaue: they did assure both the one and the other from the Court as much as might bee, and they confirmed the D. of Sauoy the marriage of the Lady Elizabeth for his eldest son, with a dowrie of 300000. crownes, and some small Seignourie during her life.

The Queene being settled in the Regencie by a free consent of the whole State, M. Pasquier, one of the Masters of Requests, a man of great learning and iudgement, did write a discourse of aduice vnto her, touching the preseruatiue of the State, during the minoritye of the King her sonne, in these termes:

Pasquier  
letter to the  
Q. Regent.

M Adam: it is the worke of a discret Pilot to provide for an approaching storme during a stil calme, and to fore-see the remedy before the danger, or if hee be surpris- ed with the tempest, to oppose himselfe courageously against the fury of the waues and winds, to bring his ship to a safe port. Euen so should you during the calme wher- in wee are, thinke of all alterations which may grow both within and with- out the realme, and to provide a fit cure to hinder their course, and to oppose your self resolutely against their attempts, that would trouble this State, to preserue it from ap- parent shipwracke whereinto it may fall, if the helme be not rightly gouerned. Where- upon I haue thought it my duty, to a King, and a part of those that are within this ship, to contribute this my discourse, which I most humbly beseech your Maiesty to receiue with the like deuotion, as it is presented.

We

A VVE haue the King your Sonne very young, who is our lawfull Lord, nor giuen vs by chance, but ordained, yea pre-ordained of God, by a continuall succe- sion, descent, and generation of Kings, receiued, nourished and bredde vp amongst vs. Education of the King  
The first care you ought to haue of him, concerns his education, and breeding vp in good maners: for according to the good impressions he shal receiue in his tender age, he will continue to the end, if bad, they will not endure the touch, but wil soon change. You must cause him to bee bredde vp in the feare of God, not with a partiall hand, which must be liuely printed in his soule, that it may be a bridle vnto him, to keep him in the ordinarie course of reason. Let vs adde what we please of humane wisdom to our opinions, they are but follies, yea precipitations of our greatnesse, if the honor of God be not our guide. VVherefore this holy obiect must be a lesson vnto him, whereon he must daily feed in this tender age, else all your desseignes in the conduct and direction of his life, will be built vpon sand.

This feare of God being grauen in his heart, he must withal be presently taught, that one of the first motions of a great King, consists in the obseruation of Iustice, whereof he is a debter to his subiects, the assured ground of his Estate: the which hee must be taught to see visibly, by the examples of happy succeffe, which haue accompanied those who reigning iustly, haue maintained their subiects in all obedience. Or on the other side (the which God forbid) that he which holds another course of life, leaues not his Crowne to his posterity.

Let him vnderstand that this Iustice must bee distributed with an equall proportion (I meane according to their merits) to all his subiects, both great and small, and to punish such seuerly as abuse their greatnesse to the preiudice of the weaker sort: A seuerity which will purchase him much loue with the people: but also to recompence this rigour he must be milde, affable and gracious to such as haue the honour to bee about him. A good countenance, and an embrace of our King, to the Princes, Noblemen, and others of what quality focuer, doe most commonly carry a generall discharge for all the bonds which they thinke he owes them. These propositions well managed will produce an other of no lesse worth, which is, that although hee haue supreme power within his Realme, and that the common sort of Courtiers hold his will to bee a Law, yet he will Iudge by an instinct of Nature, that it is not ment of all that he will or may, but only of that which he ought iustly to will. For the Law is made to giue perfection to the thing for the which it is made, and not to satisfie a disordered appetite. The King must in this case set a strong barre betwixt him and his opinion, least hee take for his deuise, That which I will, is iust; but rather, I will it, for that it is iust. This maxime will frame in him the Law of reason, not written in paper, but grauen in his heart, which will keepe him company day and night; It will aduertise him and aduice him in all places and at all times, after what manner hee should gouerne his subiects with iudgment. Any Prince that hath suffred himself to bee transported with his own passions, in doing that which he ought not, there often happens that vnto him which he would not: and about all things hee must haue a continuall care, not to make a difference and seperation betwixt the affaires of State and those of God, who must bee the first and last end of his actions. You must accustom him in his yong yeeres to haue an exact and diligent care of affaires, wherin he must be instructed as he growes, to the end that being thus framed, and comming to ripen yeeres, labour may bee but a pastime vnto him: the Maisters eye makes the field fertile, and the horse fat; so the knowledge which the Prince takes of his affairs, makes that his Councillors do not gouerne them at their pleasures. Breed him vp, not in prodigality, but in a wise liberality, worthy of a great King: represent still vnto him, the knowing well how to vse this vertue; and how, where, and when it is necessary, his bounty will redound vnto himselfe, and the more he shall giue, the more he shall reape.

If you desire that he shall first please God, and then the people, let him wholly direct his heart to clemencie, whereof he hath an admirable president before his eyes, by the memorie of the deceased King his father, your honoured Lord and royall husband.

X x x x x

It

1610. "It is a great wisdom, and fit for a great spirit, to winke (when occasion serues) at offences which are done vnto him, hauing so great a power, who may reuenge the least without controule. These be the vertues which our King should seeke in his tender age which will grow with him, and will by litle and litle so increase, as they will one day make him repared the true father of the people.

"And for that in a publike fountaine the common interest is, that no man cast any filth into it: euen so, that no dishonest thing should fall into our King, the generall spring of all his people: wherefore there must be a careful regard had, when hee enters into that heate of youth, that he suffer not his wil to runne headlong to voluptuousnes, & that hauing power to do what he please, he doth not that which he ought not: for that the way of liberty to great vices is so easie and sweet, as it is almost insensible. For this cause you must teach him in time, what honour and reputation he shall reape by a continent youth, and contrariwise how that God will be highly offended, if hee abuse his suprem power in vnchastitie. Although that all vices be naturally odious vnto God in all persons, yet is it more particularly in a Prince, for that he doth not so much offend in himselfe, as in his example. Cursed is he which glories in that which he should punish in another. An iniurie done to a priuate man, breeds in his soule such a liuely resolution of reuenge, as oftentimes it tends to the ruine and vtter desolation of an Estate.

"You shall let him know the miserable effects of Couetousnesse, which produceth nothing of it selfe but a contempt of God, with an absolute will to make all things veniall, to the ruine of a King and his people. The object of vnlimited Auarice in a King, giues great lustre to prodigalitie, which was held prodigious in another Prince. Above all, if his naturall inclination carries him to violent things, he may bee withdrawne, letting him see, that Cruelty is vnworthy of so mild a spirit as that of a King ought to be, and that the Prince which is infected there-with, hath nothing of a man but the shape. It is a vice much to be feared in a King, for it is in him as couetousnesse in old men, which increaseth continually without any hope of decrease. These are in effect the vices whereof a King should bee free. These vertues and these vices will shew, that there is not any thing so auaylable for the generall profite and publike commoditie of an Estate and Common-wealth, as a good Prince, nor any thing so hurtfull as a bad and vicious.

Vnion.

"Hauing provided for that which concerneth our Kings person, wee must passe to that which belongs to his Estate. In this first incounter of affaires, that which you should haue in greatest recommendation, is the vnion of the Princes, Officers of the Crowne, great Noblemen, and then the people. When all shall bee well vnited, there shall not be any King or Prince, how mighty soeuer, that shall dare to attempt against this Estate without his vndoubted ruine.

"Vnion is your strength, Diuision your weaknesse; Vnion maintaines and preserues Estates in their greatnesse; Diuision vndermines and ruines them, without hope euer to rise againe. That King of Egypt meaning to teach his children the force of Vnion, and the weaknesse of Discord, represented vnto them a bundle of arrowes, which they could not breake beeing tyed together, but diuided, there was nothing more easie. This Estate is like vnto mans bodie, the which liues long by the accord and harmonie of the foure humors. But when as any of these qualities seekes to commaund ouer the rest, the body falls into diseases, and so dyes. It is euen so of this Estate, if by your iudgment and wisdom you reduce both great and small to one will, the same intention and the same desire to maintaine the Estate vnder the Kings obedience; you shall make it the feare and terrour of her enemies. But if the parts of the bodie be once dismembered, if this perfect Vnion and correspondencie of all the members do not subsist by a mutuall and reciprocall entertainment, the corruption and desolation of the Estate will follow.

"To entertain Vnion, let Princes and great men be called to Councell, in matters which

A which concerne the State, and the greater they are by extraction of birth, the more precedence and prerogatiue should be giuen them, both in regard of the memorie of their ancestors, and of their owne vertues. From the greater, descend to them that hold the second and the third ranks; and then vnto the meaner, and so reward euery one according to his merit, with the charges and dignities of the Realme. It is one of the chiefe means to maintaine this Estate. But in this distribution of Charges, flatterie, false reports, malice or enuie, must not bee admitted, least they abuse you with false apperances.

The most holesome and best aduice will come from the common voyce of the people. I speake of the Cleargie, where are the wisest and most learned of France: of the Nobilitie, whereon depends the force, and of the third Estate intermixt with a great number of vertuous and learned men.

It is not sufficient to haue provided for the vnion of great men: but it is to bee feared that God will giue way vnto his furie; beeing wonderfully incensed against vs, for the great abuses and manifold disorders which are committed as well in the Ministerie of the Church, as in the administration of Iustice. To pacifie him, and to diuert his wrath and indignation, name men that are learned, and of a holy and vndeified life, to spirituall liuings, who may according to the dutie of their charges, and the Kings Edicts, keepe residence at their Benefices, to edifie their flockes: For there is not any thing that doth so much moue the wrath of God, as to see his Churches prophaned, and to fall into the hands of such as are vowed to the Temporall seruice of the Prince, and not of the Spirituall. Whensoever it hath bene practised, it is a certaine demonstration of the alteration and change of an Estate, and of their miserie and disgrace, which abuse it lycientiously, whose affaires alwayes decline euen vnto their ends.

Aduance men of knowledge, merit, and discretion to places of Iustice, who may be knowne and approoued to bee vertuous, louers of the publike weale, and not giuen to auaice. Do nothing against Iustice: take away the abuses which are committed through fauour and surpriſe in Euocations and Abolitions: Cause the Royall Ordonances to be obserued in euery poynt, without any alteration, and leaue Suites to their ordinarie formes in Lawe, not causing them to bee iudged by Commissioners: Breake not the authoritie of the holy Lawes, let not their vertue be in paper, but in effect: for men will iudge of your bountie, as they shall find your Inclination to the obseruation or breach of the lawes. If you tye your selfe to maintaine them, you yeelde vnto the people that which you owe them: And contrariwise, if you breake them, you deprive the people of that which you are bound to distribute vnto them, which be the cause of infinite miseries to the King and his subiects. Let Iustice bee equally and without partiality distributed.

E As in mans bodie Nature imparts to euery member as much nourishment as is needfull, not suffering one to vnrpe any thing of another of the common Nutriment: Euen so ought you with the like Ballance maintaine the Kings subiects, fore-seeing that the substance of one passe not to another, to the end that the whole bodie bee maintayned with equalitie. Remember that the meanest within the Realme, is the Kings subiect, as well as the mightiest: and therefore you owe him, in the place which you hold, the like Iustice. See that the aduancement of one may not be the disgrace of another. And consider that the least haire makes his shadow against the Sun-beames, and that the lustre of your authoritie which consists in Iustice, will decay, when it shall not be vniuersall, to giue vnto euery one that which belongs vnto him: For this effect, giue care to al men: notwithstanding that you are raised to this honor, yet must you with the like eye receiue the poore and the rich which come to be suiters to your Maiesty, to the end that euery one in the time of his affliction, may haue recourse vnto your bountie, fauour, and protection to haue reliefe and succour. Remember, that God is aboue you; and as you shew your selfe in fauorable clemency vnto the people,

1610. "So will he be vnto you: it were better to heare no complaints, then hauing heard them A  
 "to giue no ease vnto the complaynants. And aboute all, Madame, remember, if it please  
 "you, that the Courts of Parliament, and other Soueraigne Courts, in their Iurisdic-  
 "tions are the fundamentall parts of the State, by the which our Kings haue happily con-  
 "tinued their realme from father to sonne vnto this day. Wherefore you must haue a  
 "principall care to support these companies, and thinke that they are the chiefe arms by  
 "the which during the minority of our King, his Maiefty and yours shalbee wonderfully  
 "preserued against all those, that flattering themselves with their owne ambition, shall  
 "make any attempt, the which, I humbly beseech God may not happen.

Ease of the  
people.

"Next to this, you must prouide for the general and too-true complaints of the vex- B  
 "ation of the people, by innouations, tributes, creations of Offices, parties, & other  
 "like mischiefs, by the which in promising to re-vnite the reuenues of the Crown, they  
 "do alienate the peoples hearts, which is the Kings chiefe treasure. Wherefore by your wil-  
 "dome & gouernment, you shal iudge whether it be not needfull to ease them, if not of  
 "all, yet at the least of a good part of these new impositions. And specially to abolish alto-  
 "gether that party so preiudiciall, which giues life againe to so many states, the which at  
 "the time of their beginning were dead about 60. yeares since, whereof the not vsing  
 "them for many ages, teacheth vs, that they should by no means be reuiued. When I  
 "speake this (Madam) my meaning is, that a Prince should intreat his subiects, like vnto C  
 "Bees, and not take from them both hony and waxe: but to intertaine them alwaies in a  
 "good disposition, and to suffer them to enioy part of the fruits of their labour: it is hee  
 "that by his painefull exercise intertaines and makes the rest of the Realme to liue in  
 "quiet. From him comes trafficke, riches, gold and tribute. It is a Spring which flowes  
 "continually and is neuer drie: if the people cease from labour, all the bodie of the State  
 "will perishe.

"If you desire to maintaine the Realme, you must preserue the people, and accom-  
 "modate them: the which will be easily and speedily done, when as by visiting one vnto  
 "the other, you shall not will any thing but what is pleasing to the people, nor they with  
 "for any thing but with your good liking. There must be a reciprocall communication D  
 "betwixt you and them; they must performe the duty of obedience, and you must shew  
 "that which belongs to your wife command in your Regencie. If you take vpon you  
 "this resolution, you shall make them wonderfully affected to the Kings seruice, and the  
 "preseruatiō of the State: for they haue beene accustomed to do for their King, as the  
 "bodie for the soule: they bring a mutuall consent to submit themselves to his wil that  
 "leades them, that makes them breath and subsist: but if they be too much oppress, they  
 "will do like vnto those that are tormented with burning feauers, who turne vpe and  
 "downe continually, and can find no place of rest, which is a certaine foretelling of the  
 "ruine of a State. So as it is needfull you should be carefull of their health. Haue onely  
 "this apprehension, that the Kings greatnesse depends of his subiects ease, and then to E  
 "maintaine the Kings greatnesse, you will resolue to haue the people rich and at ease:  
 "that is to say, such as they shall bee, such will the King be: the heart commonly feels  
 "the infirmities of the body.

"If the people bee poore, hee will bee a poore King (were his Store-houses heaped  
 "vpe with gold and siluer) his qualitie depending vpon that of his people, for that he  
 "takes his name from the subiect. Will you haue them loue you? do them good: for  
 "he that intreates them ill, he may well haue the commandement of their bodies, but  
 "not of their hearts. Be then (during this great charge which you hold) like vnto a good-  
 "ly running riuer, which brings profit to euery one: the fruite which you shall gather  
 "by good vsage of them, will be of wonderfull increase: For they shall not afterwards  
 "breath, but by your Maiesties bountie: by which you shall frustrate the designs of such F  
 "as would trouble the State, who cannot do any thing without them: the people  
 "from then you leaue them naked, and disarme them of all force. Oppose then a people  
 "against them freed from all extraordinary Imposts, experience will teach you, that  
 "with

A with hand and heart, they will smother their enterprises in the breeding. It were feare- 1610.  
 "full experience should let vs see what a discontented people linked to the ambition of  
 "great men can do, who neuer incense the subiects against their Prince, but vnder the  
 "maske of the Common-weale, whereof in effect they are the first corrupters.

A "Feare that you haue eased the people of all these superfluities which did afflict them,  
 "keep an account of the number of Prouinces within the Realme, and what Subsi-  
 "dies, Taxes, Imposts, Customes, Ayds, Tributes, and other publicke reuenues, euery one  
 "doth contribute, that you may certainly know what is raised yearely of the people,  
 "and then examine what the pensions, rents, fees of Officers, payments of souldiers, and  
 "other expences may amount vnto; to the end that by good husbandrie you may so  
 "gouerne the Kings treasure, as the glute hands may not retaine that which shold come  
 "cleare into his coffers. The receipt and expences scene and truly knowne, let not all the  
 "expences of the Kingdome (if you will haue it durable) exceed the Kings reuenues, o-  
 "therwise it cannot long subsist. Auid warre all you can both at home and abroad,  
 "they can yeeld nothing but ruine, death, and confusion. Leauē not peace, vnion, and  
 "concord, which you enioy both within and without the Realme, which will bring infinit  
 "benefices, to the honor and quiet of this State. Whosoever seeks to ingage our King  
 "lightly in warre, during his minority, shewes, that he seeks to liue in the troubles and  
 "confusions of the time, fearing lest his actions should be knowne, or else he desires to  
 "satisfie his ambition and coutousnesse with the hazard of the King and realme: or to  
 "speake more plainly, that he desires to giue vent to his secret enterprises, which can-  
 "not burst forth but by colour of publicke diuisions: and in a word, you must purchase  
 "peace at what rate soeuer, rather then to come to Armes. Whosoever takes Armes  
 "in hand during the Kings minority, making shew to defend him, prescribes him often-  
 "times a law, to the preiudice of his Estate.

Touching ciuill warre, and home-bredde confusion, be carefull and respectiue to  
 "auoide it: for as inward diseases are more hard to cure then those which are exteriour,  
 "and bring a man by degrees vnto the graue, Euen so warre which beginnes in the bo-  
 "D wells of a Realme, is much more dangerous then a forraine warre, for that it drawes  
 "it insensibly to ruine. If you desire to ouerthrow this Estate, vndertake a ciuill warre,  
 "within few dayes it will bring you to the graue.

As for forraine warres, you should much lesse vndertake them, nor wish them: for  
 "it opens a gate, and admits a passage to strangers to practise the bad intents which  
 "they may haue against the King and his Crowne: shame which restrayned them will  
 "turne into furie, which will free them a passage to enter into France. Whereas if you  
 "keepe your selfe within the bounds of peace, nor any one of your neighbours, (al-  
 "though he haue a desire) will in regard of his honour, attempt against the King in his  
 "minoritie.

E "VVhat will bee the fruites of eyther of these warres? I will tell you: They will  
 "cause new Impositions, new Edicts, which will consume the bloud and sub-  
 "stance, which the people haue yet remayning, and by this meanes you shall leaue the  
 "fields without labour, the poore without bread, the rich without meanes, and in the  
 "end bring this Estate to its last period. The beginning and continuance of warre, ga-  
 "thers together a great superfluitie of bad humours, which by degrees makes the bodie  
 "of a Monarchie fit to receiue an alteration in all the members: For Warre is the mo-  
 "ther and nurse of all liberty and impunity, the which doth dispende and exempte euery  
 "one from the subiection of lawes, and the commandement of Superiors, which is the  
 "F sole and only meanes, by the which the bond and vnity of people is dissolued.

Learn wisdom by our examples, and follow the way which hath beene made  
 "vnto you by the deceased King for twelue yeares together. Hee made triall what dan-  
 "ger warre brings with it. Seeke peace both within and without the Realme: you shall  
 "thereby preserue the Estate, and you shall haue meanes to ease the people of a heauie

X x x x x 3 burthen,

1610. "burthen which they haue so long borne. Let your life be a liuely image of the happie A  
"condition of a people exempt from the calamities and miseries of war. Where can you  
"seeke war, to enioy a more absolute peace? war must not be vndertaken, but to keepe the  
"people from affliction during a peace. True it is, that although you haue peace with  
"the Kings subiects, and all your neighbors, yet must you not keepe it so strictly, as war  
"may not be vndertaken. And therefore if you find it conuenient, you may inttaine  
"garrisons vpon the frontiers, lest you be suddenly surprisid: All peace without Armes  
"is weak.

Troublers  
of the State

"I will adde one exception to that which I haue formerly sayd, that there may be some B  
"one so rash, during the tender age of our King, as to stir vp the subiects to mutinies,  
"either vnder colour of Religion, or of the common-weale, to make his owne profite  
"with the preiudice of our King. As a light discafe increaseth and kills the bodie, if it re-  
"medies be not applyed in time, so in this first motion of alteration, if you do not em-  
"ploy force and authority to stay the course of such a mischief, it will let the foure cor-  
"ners, and the hart of France on fire. The first medicin should come from the soueraign  
"Courts, and therein you shal know of what importance and necessity they be, by whose  
"decrees such an one shalbe declared guilty of high treason, whereunto you shall pre-  
"sently adde force to put it in execution with fire and sword, and follow him with such  
"resolution, as he may be presently inuested wheresoeuer he hath shew himselfe, and that C  
"he may be taken there without mercy, to the end that by his head the rest of France  
"may be diuerted from once dreaming of such foule offences: and that his ashes may  
"make a remedy for posterity. God forbid I shold presume any euill by any Nobleman  
"in France, being assured of their general loyalties: yet I may say by the way, that the suf-  
"ferance of one iniurie drawes on a thousand others: and on the other side one iniurie  
"reuenged, suppresseth all bad desseignes.

Warre of  
Germany.

"Some aduise you to succor the Germans, others to remaine quiet: the first say, that  
"the deceased King was bound not onely by word, but in effect: that not relieuing  
"them now, the honour of France was engaged: that it was a worke worthy of a great D  
"King to succor afflicted Princes, when as one more mighty will vlturpe their Estates, by  
"some coloured title: that not doing it, they might draw them into despair to ioyne with  
"him against this realme: or for want of succouring them, to prepare the way to haue a  
"great neighbor against vs, who by our negligence hath extended his limits to bee a fu-  
"ture scourge vnto vs. In which case we shold haue nothing left vs but a late repentance.  
"A lesion which is ordinarie to the Princes and Potentates of Italy, who will not suffer  
"a new Prince to grow great among them. Others say, that we must ballance all affaires  
"according to the diuersitie of obiects which are presented vnto our eyes: that what was  
"good to a great warrior, cannot bee applyed to his sonne in his tender age: that it is a  
"goodly thing to succour afflicted Princes, but it is better not to trouble his owne af-  
"fares vnseasonably: that the death of the King his father hath freed him from all pro-  
"mises: that the rules of duty do not bind him to giue succors, for that in matter of state  
"honor must be measured by that which is most necessary for the good, quiet and pro-  
"fit of him and his subiects: that in his youth he must feare a confusion, and an Anarchy  
"which Armes may draw into France: and that in seeking to preserue another, we shall  
"lose our selues.

"To conclude, it may happen that by our succors these forraigne Princes may bee set-  
"led in their countries. And on the other side, it may be, that both they and our succours  
"may be defeated: and that in this infortunat successe, there will be a port opened for the  
"conqueror to enter into France: the which during the minority of our King, you must F  
"auoide by all meanes possible. A lesion which was well obserued by our great K. Lewis  
"the 11. who dying, aduised them to keepe the Realme in peace, and not to enter into  
"any quarrell with the Britton, and the other neighbours: to the end that his son Charles  
"the 8. being but 13. yeares old, his state might be in peace, till he came to age, to dispose  
"of

A of things at his pleasure. And long before him that wife *Gontran* King of Orleance, " 1610.  
"tutor to *Cloaire* the second his Nephew, being but foure months old, thought (that  
"not to expose his Realme to all the miseries whereunto an Estate is subiect) hee must  
"breed vp his little nephew, and preserue his Realme by all mild courses, dispersing with  
"an admirable dexterity all inuasions that might grow in it, how dangerous soeuer:  
"And yet he, for his greatnesse, with that of his nephew, might haue made head against  
"any vndertakers. And aboue all things you must haue a speciall care that Princes and  
"Noblemen, may not be armed vnder any pretext which they shall borrow of the Ma-  
"iesty of a King, so long as he shall be in this tender age.

Madame, the rebels of each side are great, the which you must weigh in a iust  
B ballance, to incline vnto that which shalbe most profitable for the good and preferua-  
"tion of the King and his Realme; and take counsell with God what you haue to doe in  
"this point: And aboue all things thinke that at this day, in a fall assurance of all things  
"in this Realme, you must feare any thing.

R Religion may alter the subiects wils: It peereeth the hearts of men vnto the quick, " Religion.  
"and carries them away with a violent and extraordinary motion, the which blinds  
"the eyes to all consideration of respect, duty and obedience, which they owe vnto their  
"Prince. We should all wish that there were no any but the ancient Religion, wherein  
"wee haue beene baptized and bred vp: But the miseries past which had in a manner

C brought France to her last periede, should teach vs, what calamities do follow vs, if the  
"same maxime which the deceased King hath established, bee not inuiolably obserued:  
"who by a wise aduise tolerating the exercise of the pretended, reformed religion, hath  
"by the same meanes fedled the Catholike, Apostolike and Romish Religion, in townes  
"whereas it had not bene exercised these forty or fifty yeers. This subiect concerneth the  
"preseruatiō of the State, whereof religion makes a part: And therefore you may not  
"alter any thing. Allow vnto them of the reformed religion, free exercise of their Re-  
"ligion, the Chambers of the Edict, and the townes which haue beene granted them for  
"their assurance: forget not any thing that the deceased King granted them, as a

D Prince who knew well how much it did import the State not to touch this stringe.  
"It will conaine them within the vow of obedience: Neither shall it bee in the power  
"of any, how great soeuer, to draw them from the duty which they owe naturally to  
"their King. It is a body so composed as it receiues no motion, but when any thing is  
"attempted against the Edict, the which was made to preserue them: Make no breach  
"in this Edict, it is immouable, and the chiefe parts without motion. This bodie is  
"not like vnto a clock whereas the greater and lesser peeces moue all together, one  
"by an other: heere the greater haue no force, nor vertue, without the people, what  
"shew soeuer they make, as wee haue sometimes seene, when they had an humour to  
"rise, from the which they were wisely diuerted by the people: And contrariwise, wee  
"remember that the people of Rochell alone endured the extremities of war without  
"their support, who haue alwaies maintained themselves in obedience, by the wisdom  
"of the Edicts of pacification.

E Madame, entertaine these Edicts in euery point, and that which hath beene autho-  
"rized by the wisdom of the deceased King; you need not then feare them that hold  
"the chiefe rankes amongst them. But breake them in any part, they bee firebrands to  
"inflame the humours of the people; the which would turne to the desolation of the  
"State, I meane of both religions: the one would draw with it the losse and ruine of  
"the other, whereas the maintaining of both, adding thereto prayers, fasting, mode-  
"sty, chastity, preachings, with a holy life, wilbe the support of the ancient, and the  
"F uerthrow of the new.

The faculty of eloquence in the mouth of a Preacher, is a goodly gift of nature, " Preachers.  
"the which being augmented by long vse and study, giues light and ornament to  
"the goodly conceptions of his minde; which concerneth the health of our soules. But if  
"he



1610. "he will abuse the sweetnesse of his tongue, there is no plague so prejudicial to a Realm, A  
 "as this well speaking Preacher. It is a torrent which overflows to drowne a multitude,  
 "his tongue is a sword, wheron depends the life and death of those, for or against whom  
 "he doth employ it, he stormes, he thunders, and confounds heaven and earth together,  
 "when as to prevaile in his intentions he vnfittingly abuseth passages of the holy Scrip-  
 "ture, by the exposition whereof he wins what credit with them hee list: There is not a  
 "ny thing how incredible soeuer, but with good words hee will make probable: and no-  
 "thing so rude and vnpublished, but hee will make plausible with his eloquence: his  
 "speech in a multitude is of as great force, as iron in an army: especially with those who  
 "booming to heare him, bring nothing but spirits of deuotion and obedience, whereof B  
 "the Preacher doth cunningly make his profit: He doth by gouerne their mindes at his  
 "pleasure, and knowes how to moue their affections, and to intire their courages in such  
 "sort, as they forget all feare of danger, and all bonds of benefits. Hearing of the sentences  
 "by meanes of the way, brings greatest passions vnto the minde. To prevent the effects  
 "of such an instrument, you must by your absolute command, forbid all inuectiues in  
 "their Sermons, which be the firebrands of sedition, and that they follow their texts, and  
 "reach the subiect, obedience to his King, with vnity and concord, both of great and  
 "small. If he doe otherwise intreat him like *Anthony Eremita* a Franciscan, who was ba-  
 "nished out of the Realme by *Lewis* the eleuenth, for that hee had exceeded the bounds  
 "of Preaching, and disputed of the State of the Crowne in his pulpit. *Cardinal* *de* *Beaufort* C  
 "Lahough we cannot force the Lawes of Nature, and giue vnto the youth of our  
 "King, that great sence, iudgement and conduct which is requisite for the gouern-  
 "ment of his Realm, which only time must produce, yet must you not attend the time of  
 "his ful age, to haue him crowned. He is our King, old or young, you must alwaies apply  
 "vnto him these holy Characters, whereas al the Princes of the bloud, other Princes and  
 "Officers of the Crowne must assist. After this let him make a progresse throughout his  
 "whole Realme, to the end his subiects may know him, and yeld him the oath of allege-  
 "ance. The Princes presence at what age soeuer, is of so great merit and recommenda-  
 "tion with his subiects, as it doth wonderfully moue them to loue him. And yet D  
 "Madame, herein it is necessary, to make warre by the eye, and doe according to the dis-  
 "position of affaires, not withdrawing your selfe easily from the first, and chiefe Ci-  
 "ty of France, the which you see by their teares is wholly vowed to the seruice of their  
 "Prince.  
 "You must not forbear to assemble the Estates for the reason which they suggest vn-  
 "to you, that they wilbe some blemish to your greatness. It is quite contrary,  
 "the Estates hauing confirmed it by publike Authority, will sence it fully. But I  
 "will tell you the reason why you should forbear to call this assembly. It would  
 "bee an instrument for them that would trouble the State to giue a forme vnto their E  
 "practises, euery one would seeke to winne the Deputies by courtisie, presents, ben-  
 "efits, goodly promises and other fauours, and al these private persons returning into their  
 "Prouinces, would serue as torches to kindle new fires and combustions. I know well  
 "there is not any Prince or Nobleman that hath this proiect in his head, beeing all with  
 "one deuotion, vowed to the Kings seruice: but they are men, & therefore you must take  
 "away al occasions of doing ill, or thinking ill. Commonly the Estates assemble to prouid  
 "for the present and future complaints of the generall of this Monarchy, and to reduce  
 "things to their ancient course. You know where the disease lies, prescribe the like re-  
 "medy, as you would haue done, if it had beene heard. To Prelats abate the tents, F  
 "these bee they who either by their doctrine or good example hold the hearts of the  
 "Nobility and people tied to their Princes seruice. As for the Nobilitie, gratifie  
 "them, honour them, and put publike charges into their hands, they bee the Kings  
 "creatures, who referre all their exploits to the profit and advancement of the head,  
 "from whom they take their being, and nourishment. As for the people, beeing the  
 "fondation

The Kings  
Coronati-  
on.

Assembly  
of the E-  
states.

A foundation whereon this Realme is built, and the which being ruined it is impossible it  
 should subsist, ease them, take away these new Edicts, Imposts and Subsidies: It is bet- 1610.  
 ter to gratifie a people then to intreat them roughly. The force of diseases decline  
 as the naturall vigor of the sicke body increaseth. But a people how rich, stronge and  
 vigorous soeuer it bee, declines, as taxes and imposts increaseth, wee doe not perceiue it  
 but like vnto the going of the hand of a dyall, whose motion is not seene, but when it  
 hath finished the course, nor the losse and ruine of a people but in their fall. There-  
 by Madame, you shall both stop the mouthes of the three Estates, and of all those that  
 shall make any motion to haue them called, and withall you shall auoide an alterati-  
 on, which time might breed.  
 B Do not disapoint the Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Officers, to whom the deceased  
 King gaue honours and pensions; Remember that he gaue them not but to men  
 of merit, and who had assisted him to recouer his Realme, and to settle it in peace and  
 good order. *Lewis* the eleuenth, a true patterne of wisdom, a little before his death,  
 desired to see his sonne, whom hee had not seene in many yeeres; about all things hee  
 aduised him not to alter any thing in his Court, nor with them whom he had aduan-  
 ced to dignities. A commandement grounded, for that after the death of *Charles*  
 the seuenrh his father, hee had cut off the pensions of Noblemen and other Officers,  
 C who had with the losse of their blood deserued what they enjoyed: the successe of  
 which Councell had like to haue beene his ruine, and of the whole Realme, by so ma-  
 ny Malcontents. He would thereby teach his sonne that an inconsiderate change is  
 of very dangerous consequence.  
 WIL you put a wise Councell in practise? call all the Princes, generall Gouernors,  
 and one or two Noblemen of euery Prouince, neere vnto the King and you, giue  
 them pensions that they may be able to maintaine themselves there, and countenance  
 them indifferently according to their qualities, to auoide ialousie, the mother of di-  
 uisions, and factions. The benefits and fauours which they shall receiue from the King  
 D and you, will augment the desire they haue to his and your seruice, and euery one in  
 his Prouince will disperse such practises as may grow prejudiciall to his Maiesties  
 seruice.  
 T O know all things that shall passe in the Prouinces, consider if it shalbe conueni-  
 ent to depute intendants or suprauisors of Iustice, which shall report vnto you as  
 occasion shall require, what is done, and the complaints of all the people.  
 Keepe our King in good termes with the Pope, the King of Spaine, the King of Eng-  
 land, the Archdukes, the Suisses, and all our other Allies, renew the League with  
 E them. It wilbe a great and Soueraigne remedy to maintaine peace in this Realme,  
 when as you shalbe assured that your neighbours will not practise anything against  
 the King nor his State.  
 T He affection and fidelity which the Parisiens had vnto the seruice of their deceased  
 King, is well knowne vnto you, by the last teares which all in generall poored forth  
 to witnesse vnto the King, and you, their wonderful griefe for the losse which they haue  
 receiued in the death of him, by whom they liued. As in a clocke one instrument  
 makes all the rest to moue. Euen so this Realme, according to the modell of Paris, the  
 other townes doe commonly frame their opinions, you are assured of the Parisiens af-  
 F fection to the Kings seruice, the which they haue continued in his person by a conti-  
 nuation from the father to the sonne. Wherefore you must alwaies arme your selfe  
 with their loue, to draw others to doe the like. Establish Capitaines, Lieutenants and  
 Ensignes in all the quarters, which shalbe knowne to be honest men, and that breath  
 nothing but the Kings seruice, mixt with some Lawyers, Treasurers and Marchants,  
 who

Pensions.

To call all  
great men  
to Court.

Intendants  
of Iustice.

Alliances.

Paris and  
other  
townes.

1610. " who shall take the oth of allegiance in your hands. These men will maintaine the Parisiens in their obedience, and if there happen any vnexpected accident, you shall be assured the King hath there so many seruants, who will willingly imploy their liues to preserve his person, and maintaine their countymen vnder that yoke of seruice which they owe naturally vnto their Prince.

" Command that in Paris there be not so many strangers that professe armes, and that matters may be reduced to the same estate they were in the time of the deceased King, euery Nobleman being for his owne particular as well assured now as he was then. A policy which it may be wilbe hard to digest, but yet it should bee allowed of by euery good subiect: As for all other townes, entertaine them by letters, making them often know how desirous the King and you are to ease them, and to maintaine them in peace, that they bee carefull not to suffer themselves to bee abused with false reportes, which some wicked people may giue out for truth, which would but increase their miseries.

Audiences: " If you desire to content the Clergy, the Gentlemen, and the common people, admit any (if it please your Maiesty) that desires to speake with you, to your presence without a mediator, to the end the whole bond may remaine to you. Appoint certaine daies to this end, when as euery one may haue free access vnto your Maiesty (being assisted by such Noblemen as it shall please you) to make their complaints. There will grow a double profit thereby, the one is, you shall vnderstand matters truly, without any disguising, the other is, that hee to whom you giue a fauourable audience will goe away content, although he sometimes bee discontented for that he hath not obtained all that hee demanded. To passe at the mercy of such as haue liberty to giue, or refuse the entry, to them that would complaine, is to sell the perfumes of Princes, with a blemish to their reputation and greatnesse.

Councill. " A Boue all things beware you follow not your owne opinion alone, in managing the affaires of this Realm. Our wills are most commonly partiall, which may diuert our Iudgement from the right way. First take Councill of God, and let him bee the guide of your actions; let them bring what maximes they please for the preservation of the State, it is a vaine wisdom, if God be not of the party: Then take aduice of men experienced in many things, which may be full of discretion, age and wisdom, and which haue nothing in their soules which age hath not made graue, constant and settled. Yong mens Councill is sometimes good, but that of the aged is most commonly better. And about all things labour carefully to know them from whom you shall take councill, for many times vnder a vale of integrity, there lurkes disloyalty. Madame; all these discourses giue you power to gouerne this Estate well. I assure my selfe you haue also a will: Euery action is contained within power and will, and no man can bee deceiued of his expectation when hee makes both of them his end. God of his mercy grant you both, to guide all things to good and to gouerne them in an equall course, to the end they may haue a good and a happy end, which may tend to the increase of the greatnesse of the King and State: Most humbly beseeching your Maiesty to take in good part these Remonstrances, which are made by him. Who is,

*Your most humble, most faithfull and most obedient subiect  
and seruant N. Pasquier Councillor and  
Master of Requests.*

The Duke  
of Feria  
Ambassa-  
dor from  
Spaine  
comes  
to Paris.

A Mbassadors came from all parts to console the death of the deceased King. Among others the Duke of Feria came from Spaine, with a great traine. The Duke of

A of Montbazon being accompanied with two hundred horse and foure Caroches, went to meete him a League without Paris, and brought him to his lodging. At his first audience hee was fetch't by the Duke of Esquillon with twelue Caroches and many Gentlemen, where comming to the King, hee told him that he was sent from the King his Maister to visite his Maiesty and to offer him the like friendship and intelligence, as hee had with the deceased King his father, for whose death hee had much greeued. The young King, hauing heard his interpreter, answered him sodainely. *I thanke the King my Brother for his good will, I will remember him and you also: Seeing he desires it, hee may expect from mee all friendship and good intelligence, such as hee had with the deceased King my father.* And then hee asked him many pretty questions of the King of Spaines helth, the Queene, the Princes and the Infanta, which bred an admiration in the Spaniards, to see the Maiesty of the young King, which seemed then supernaturall and extraordinary.

The Ambassador being retired, and the King set downe in his chaire, there comes sodainely a Church man of his traine, thrusting through the presse, and cast himselfe at his Maiesties feet, making great signes of the Crosse, as if hee blest him, and crying out in his language. *God blesse you my King, God blesse you my Prince, God assist you for euer, and make you alwaies prosper.* Wherevpon they inquired of him what hee was? And he answered them cheerefully, that he was a Nauarrois, his Maiesties most humble and most faithfull subiect.

C Some daies after the Lord *Wotton* Ambassador for the King of great Brittain, arrived at Paris, being sent to the same effect to condole, and to make all offers in his Maisters name, of cordiall loue and friendship: his comming was so pleasing as it bred a ialousie in the Castillian Ambassador. The Marshall of Lauerdin met him neere Saint Denis gate with aboute two hundred horse, and so accompanied him to Luxembourg house: within three daies after the Prince *Ionuille*, accompanied with a great troupe of Gentlemen, went and fetch't him to his audience, where hee gaue and receiued much content: on Twesday hee, with the Ambassador Leager, dined with the King at the Tuileries, after which he receiued the oth of the Queene (in the Kings presence) for the obseruation of the League, with great solemnity, in the Feuillants Church. Then after some priuate audience of the Queene, he tooke his leaue of their Maiesties to returne for England.

After all these condolences, it was resolved in requitall of these Ambassages, and to confirme the League which the deceased King had with those Princes, that Moun-  
sieur *De Bellegarde*, Maister of the Kings horse, should goe into Spaine, the Marshall of Lauerdin into England, and the Duke of Espernon to Rome. And then they began to prepare for the Kings Coronation, which was appointed at Rheims on the seuenteenth day of October, with that Pompe and State, that is usuall at such sollemne ceremonies.

The Lord  
*Wotton*  
Ambassador  
from England  
comes to  
Paris.

*FINIS.*



## An Alphabeticall Table containing the principall matters mentioned in this Historie.

<b>A</b> Bbeville submits it selfe to the King. 926	<i>Alexandria</i> taken by the French. 516
<i>Abderamen</i> the Sarrafin defeated, and slaine. 47	Taken againe by the French. 623
Abolition of troubles past. 992	Alienations made by the deceased King reuoked. 722
Abuse in the Cleargie. 78	<i>Alincourt</i> sent from the King to the Pope. 1024
Accident vnlooked for. 781	He comes to Genoa. 1046
Accord betwixt <i>Charles</i> and <i>Lewis</i> . 80	Alterations after the death of Pope <i>Leo</i> . 595
Accord betwixt <i>Robert</i> the French King, and the Emperour, for Lorraine. 115	Alterations in Court. 721
Act brauely performed by <i>Lorges</i> . 630	Ambassadors from <i>Lewis</i> the twelfth, to <i>Philip</i> of Burgondie. 390
Accord betwixt the Queene Mother, and the King of Navarre. 737	Ambassadors sent from two Kings. 420
Accident very strange befallles King <i>Charles</i> . 629.	Ambassage from <i>Marie</i> of Burgondie. 438
Admonitions giuen by the Princes to King <i>Charles</i> , and their demands. 360	Ambassadors sent from the Arch-duke to sweare the peace. 976
Admonitions of <i>Philip</i> of Burgondy to <i>Lewis</i> the eleuenth. 387	Ambassadors sent to Rome, touching the Marquisat of Salusses, 1009
Admirall of Brittain for King <i>Charles</i> . 469	Ambitious proceeding of Pope <i>Pius</i> . the second. 451
Admirall <i>Chastillon</i> puts himselfe into Saint <i>Quintines</i> . 715	Ambrue taken for the Protestants. 838
Admiral complaines to the Queene of the oppression of the Protestants. 726	<i>Amblise</i> defeated by the Duke of Bouillon, 905.
He shews himselfe a faithfull seruante to the King and State. 728. Hee pleades for the Protestants. 731. His exploits in Normandy. 743. Hee comes to Court. 788. Hee is wounded. 792. And is murdered. 793. He is accused of conspiracy against the King. 795.	<i>Amiens</i> yeelds to <i>Lewis</i> the eleuenth. 405. It is surprised by the Spaniard. 947. besieged presently by the King. 948. yeelded by composition. 950
Admirall of Villars slaine at Dourlans. 933	<i>Aneenis</i> and <i>Chasteau-briant</i> yeelded to the Duke of Brittain. 462. Taken againe for the King. 463
<i>Adolph</i> of Guelders an vnkinde sonne. 413	<i>Angiers</i> cattle surprised. 834
He is taken prisoner. 414. And slaine. 441	<i>Anne</i> of Brittain succoured by the English, and Spanish. 468. She is married to <i>Maximilian</i> . 470. She is much discontented with King <i>Charles</i> . 471. She is perswaded to embrace the alliance of France. <i>Ibid</i>
<i>Adrian</i> the sixth made Pope. 595	<i>Amnebaule</i> defeated, and prisoner. 661. His dangerous passage through the Alpes. 673
Aduocate vnknowne pleades against the king for his wife <i>Gelberge</i> . 139	<i>Anagnia</i> seized on by the French. 188
Aduocate <i>Bernards</i> speech at the ending of the Parliament. 772	<i>Anne de Bourg</i> executed. 724
Affront done by Pope <i>Boniface</i> to King <i>Philip</i> the Faire. 177	Antipope chosen. 231
Affection of a sonne to his father. 523	Answer made by King <i>John</i> , to King <i>Edwards</i> demands. 211
Affliction speaks of it selfe. 1035	Answer made by <i>Anne</i> of Brittain, to King <i>Charles</i> . 467
<i>Aix</i> abandoned. 630	Answer made by them of Cambray, to the French. 709
<i>Aix</i> in <i>Proouence</i> reduced for the king. 914	<i>D'Anselot</i> dyes. 777
<i>Alaric</i> slaine by <i>Clouis</i> . 117	Answers made by the States to the partisans of Spaine. 915
Albigois ruined by <i>Lewis</i> the eighth. 150	<i>D'Anville</i> associates himselfe to the Protestants. 810
Alba yeelded to the French. 663	Ardres taken by the Spaniard. 946
<i>Alexander</i> the fifth chosen Pope and two deposed. 337	Apprehensions of King <i>Charles</i> . 805
<i>Alphonso</i> of Arragon frighted with horrible apprehension. 483. He crownes his sonne and flies. <i>Ibid</i> .	Arme



## An Alphabetical Table containing the principall matters mentioned in this Historie.

<b>A</b> Bbeville submits it selfe to the King. 926	<i>Alexandria</i> taken by the French. 516
<i>Abderamen</i> the Sarrafin defeated, and slaine. 47	Taken againe by the French. 623
Abolition of troubles past. 992	Alienations made by the deceased King reuoked. 722
Abuse in the Cleargie. 78	<i>Alincourt</i> sent from the King to the Pope. 1024
Accident vnlooked for. 781	He comes to Genoa. 1046
Accord betwixt <i>Charles</i> and <i>Lewis</i> . 80	Alterations after the death of Pope <i>Leo</i> . 595
Accord betwixt <i>Robert</i> the French King, and the Emperour, for Lorraine. 115	Alterations in Court. 721
Act brauely performed by <i>Lorges</i> . 630	Ambassadors from <i>Lewis</i> the twelfth, to <i>Philip</i> of Burgondie. 390
Accord betwixt the Queene Mother, and the King of Nauarre. 737	Ambassadors sent from two Kings. 420
Accident very strange befallles King <i>Charles</i> . 629.	Ambassage from <i>Marie</i> of Burgondie. 438
Admonitions giuen by the Princes to King <i>Charles</i> , and their demands. 360	Ambassadors sent from the Arch-duke to sweare the peace. 976
Admonitions, of <i>Philip</i> of Burgondy to <i>Lewis</i> the eleuenth. 387	Ambassadors sent to Rome, touching the Marquisat of Salusies. 1009
Admirall of Brittain for King <i>Charles</i> . 469	Ambitious proceeding of Pope <i>Pius</i> . the second. 451
Admirall <i>Chastillon</i> puts himselfe into Saint <i>Quintines</i> . 715	<i>Ambrac</i> taken for the Protestants. 838
Admiral complaines to the Queene of the oppression of the Protestants. 726	<i>Amblise</i> defeated by the Duke of Bouillon, 905.
He shews himselfe a faithfull seruant to the King and State. 728. Hee pleades for the Protestants. 731. His exploits in Normandy. 743. Hee comes to Court. 788. Hee is wounded. 792. And is murdered. 793. He is accused of conspiracy against the King. 795.	<i>Amiens</i> yeelds to <i>Lewis</i> the eleuenth, 405. It is surprised by the Spaniard. 947. besieged presently by the King. 948. yeelded by composition. 950
Admirall of Villars slaine at Dourlans. 933	<i>Ancenis</i> and <i>Chasteau-briant</i> yeelded to the Duke of Brittain. 462. Taken againe for the King. 463
<i>Adolph</i> of Guelders an vnkinde sonne. 413	<i>Angiers</i> castle surprised. 834
He is taken prisoner. 414. And slaine. 441	<i>Anne</i> of Brittain succoured by the English, and Spanish. 468. She is married to <i>Maximilian</i> . 470. She is much discontented with King <i>Charles</i> . 471. She is perswaded to embrace the alliance of France. <i>Ibid</i>
<i>Adrian</i> the sixth made Pope. 595	<i>Amembault</i> defeated, and prisoner. 661. His dangerous passage through the Alpes. 672
Aduocate vnknowne pleades against the king for his wife <i>Gelberge</i> . 139	Anagnia seized on by the French. 188
Aduocate <i>Bernards</i> speech at the ending of the Parliament. 972	<i>Anne de Bourg</i> executed. 724
Affront done by Pope <i>Boniface</i> to King <i>Philip</i> the Faire. 177	Antipope chosen. 231
Affection of a sonne to his father. 523	Answer made by King <i>John</i> , to King <i>Edwards</i> demands. 211
Affliction speakes of it selfe. 1035	Answer made by <i>Anne</i> of Brittain, to King <i>Charles</i> . 467
<i>Aix</i> abandoned. 630	Answer made by them of Cambray, to the French. 709
<i>Aix</i> in Prouence reduced for the king. 914	<i>D'Andelot</i> dyes. 777
<i>Alaric</i> slaine by <i>Clodius</i> . 117	Answer made by the States to the partisans of Spaine. 915
Albigeois ruined by <i>Lewis</i> the eighth. 150	<i>D'Anville</i> associates himselfe to the Protestants. 810
Alba yeelded to the French. 663	Ardres taken by the Spaniard. 946
<i>Alexander</i> the fifth chosen Pope and two deposed. 337	Apprehensions of King <i>Charles</i> . 805
<i>Alphonso</i> of Arragon frighted with horrible apprehension. 483. He crownes his sonne and flies. <i>Ibid</i> .	Armic

# The Table.

Armie arrives at Constantinople,	123
Army against the Albigeois,	148
Army of Sarracins in France	48
Armies of France and England retire without fighting,	139
2. Armies in France one against another.	215
Army against the Briton dismissed,	255
Armie in Picardie for Lewis the 11.	406
Armie of the Duke of Brittaines,	460
Armie of the league in Italy, 493. Defeated at Fournoue.	494
Army of French favours the Pisans,	522
Army of French enters Italy,	552
Army of French in Piedmont,	562
Armie in the Dutchy of Milain,	568
Army of French sent into Scotland.	698
Army of Henry the second.	704
Army of Germaines for the Prince of Conde,	820.
3. Armies of French in Guienne,	371
Army of Sauoy defeated in Dauphine,	901
Arbitrement broken off at Rome.	1011
Archduke Albert applies his minde to a peace,	966. He swears the peace.
Artequille slaine by the Flemings.	195
Arras yielded to Lewis, by De Cordes,	438
Arras betrayed to Maximilian,	472
Arrogancy of the Popes Nuncio,	177
Arthur of Britaine, Earle of Richmond, leaves the English.	314
Articles of agreement with the English,	410
Articles betwixt King Charles the eighth, and Lodowicke Sforce,	478
Articles betwixt King Charles and the Florentines.	483
Articles of hard execution,	827
Articles granted to the Duke of Mercoeur,	959
Articles of the treatie of peace,	970
Articles of the Edict of pacification,	992
Articles of the treaty with the Duke of Sauoy,	1050
Assembly of the generall Estates,	55
Assembly made against Philip the fourth,	174
Assembly at Passau in Germany	706
Assembly at Fontain-Bleau,	731
Assembly of the Estates at Blois,	824
Assembly at Montaubon,	830
Assembly of the League at Nancy,	847
Articles of the Contract of the Kings marriage	1049
Assembly and petition of the Protestants,	863
Assembly at Mantes.	912
Assembly at Rome in form of a Parliament,	647
Aspelpho brake his Faith and besieged Rome,	56. He is forced to retire, and sues for peace
Ibid.	
Asior Lord of Faenza cruelly murdered by Borgia,	523
Attempt of Clodion,	7
Attila overthrowne but not vanquished,	10
Attempt of the League	48
Attempt of the Navarros against the Regent,	217

Attempt against the house of Medicis,	444
Attempts of Maximilian vaine.	545
Attempts vpon Thurin,	663
Attempts vpon Roussillon,	670
Attempts of the Duke of Maienne	874
Attempts of the Marquis of S. Sorlin against Lyons,	914
Attignac demands Don Phillipines life,	1014
Attempt against the King,	1017
Austrasia now called Lorraine.	23
Auvergne vnitd to the crowne,	145
Auerse yielded to the French,	486
Aubigns defeated, and taken prisoner,	534
Attempt to poyson the King	1054
Armie lodged at Moustiers,	1060
Ambassadors of Sauoy presented to the King,	1069
Allobrandines speech to the Queene,	1070
Ambassadors perswaded to signe peace,	1078
Affront done the French Ambassadors men in Spaine,	1085
Ambassage sent from Venice,	1086
Ambassadors chosent to send to forraine princes,	1090
Alliance renewed with the Swisses,	1092
Assembly of the Grisons at Coire,	1096
Army at sea for the King of Spaine	1004
Accusations of the Duke of Biron.	1118
Answer of the Duke of Biron.	Ibid.
Ambassadors sent to the King to congratulate,	1137
Archbishop of Viennes speeches to the Dolphin,	1142
Attempt vpon Geneva,	1150
Ambassadors sent from Venice,	1163
Articles added in the confession of the Protestants Faith,	1165
Assembly of the knights of Malta,	1169
Alexander Mons. the Kings bafe sonne made knight of Malta,	Ibid.
Alliance purchased dishonorably	1180
Antragues committed to prison, 1192. Hee is condemned to dye,	Ibid.
Ambassage from Spaine,	1236

## B

Bankers and vsurers fitted,	199
Baldwin Regent in Phillips minority,	118
He punisheth the rebels of Galcoine,	119
Bailleul besieged by the French,	602
Bappaume ruined by the French,	582
Barges taken by the French,	672
Baron of Castellinau taken,	726
Baron of Adres forsakes the Protestants,	758
Baron of Lux speech to the Duke of Sauoy,	1052.
Barrecaodes at Paris,	850
Barrecaodes at Lyons,	1007
Bataille at Tours,	47
Battle of Schlus favorable for the English.	193
Of Crecy, 197. Of Poitiers, 208. Of Court-ray,	276
Bataille	

# The Table.

Battle of Agincourt, 381. Of Crenaux lost for the French, 307. Of Veruicel, 311. Of Herrings lost by the French, 322. Of Montlehery, 391. Of Nancy, 433. Of Guinegalle, 445. Of Saint Albis, 464. Of Fournoue, 494. Of Agnadell, or Guiradade, 448. Of Rauenna won by the French, 563. Of Marignan, 578. Of Bitocque 597. Of Pavia, 615. Of Serifols, 683. Of S. Quentine, 715. Of Graueline, 718. Of Dreux, 742. Of Ver. where the Protestants were defeated, 751. Of S. Giles, 755. Of S. Denis, 769. Of Baffac, 773. Of Montconter, 781. Of Lufon, 787. Of Coutras, 842. Of Yore, 891. Of Issaire,	893
Baionne attempted by the Spaniards,	905
Baaria incorporated to the crowne of France for rebellion,	71
Bedford and Richmond (brother in lawes) at iarre,	313
Beauuois besieged and relieved.	409
Beginning of the States, of Dauphenie, Sauoy, and the French Country,	121
Beginning of a second warre.	273
Beginning of troubles at Paris,	766
Beginning of the second troubles,	769
Beginning of the warre in Flanders,	790
Beginning of the fourth troubles.	896
Beginning of the warres in Piemont,	643
Betezac Treasurer to the Duke of Berry burnt,	248
Beaucare surprised by the Catholickes, and taken againe,	754
Bergerac taken by Piles,	752
Beugras taken by the Imperials	609
Bigne Secretary to Renaudie apprehended,	726
Bishop of Laon a traytour to his King,	211
Bishop of Paris dyes.	409
Bishop of Angiers discouers a counterfeit.	1017
Bishop Corragious	48
Blanch Regent of the King & realme, 151. The complaints of discontented Princes, 152. Her death,	161
Boniface the Pope makes a decree against Philip the Faire, 174. He dies mad.	180
Bohemians take armes for the death of John Husse,	376
Bolonia besieged, 557. and taken, 559. Besieged againe by the Spaniard.	560
Bouillen besieged by the King of England, & taken, 689. Yielded againe to the French, 701	
Bourges recovered from the Protestants,	741
Bookes of Religion where to be printed,	995
Bourgundy annexed to the crowne,	221
Bourgundians seekes aid from England.	274
Bourgundians and Sauoyard make war in Dauphine and Languedoc.	329
Bourgundians defeated at Compeigne	341
Bourgundians attempt Callis in vaine,	349
Burgundions practise against Lewis 11.	409
Burdeaux yeelds to Charles the 7. 372. Entered againe by Talbot, 373. Besieged & yeelded by composition to the French,	374

Bois-Dauphin made Marshall of France,	935
Brauery of the French at Rome,	1010
Bresse besieged by the French,	469
Brittaines defeated by their owne error	316
Bridge breaking at Orleans many English are drowned,	327
Brittaines leaue the alliance of France,	320
Brittaines reconciled to their Duke.	462
Brittaines defeated at Portreau,	468
Bressia taken by the Vencians, and recovered by the French.	563
Brother makes warre against his brother,	26
Brother kills his brother.	32
Brouage besieged by the king, 826. besieged againe by the Prince of Conde.	834
Broyles in Italy.	528
Brunhault incenseth one brother against another, 31. She kills her sonne, 32. She is put to an horrible death,	33
Bresse taken by the Marshall of Biron,	1056
Bruits in Italy.	1063
Bowens answer to the king, 1071. His letter to the Dukes ambassadors,	1076
Bourg yeelded to the King,	1078
Bruits of warre after the death of the Duke of Biron,	1138
Baron of Lux comes to the King,	Ibid
Bruit of the Kings sickness,	1160
Building a worke worthy of a Prince,	1161
Birth of the Duke of Orleans.	1222
Birth of the Duke of Anion.	1235
Brandebourgs pretensions to Cenes	1271
Boisjes speech to the Princes of Germany,	1275

## C

Calumniators when to be feared,	1037
Callis besieged and taken by Edward King of England, 199. recovered againe by the French, 717. Taken by the Spaniard,	946
Caire in Egypt indiscreetly besieged by Saint Lewis.	160
Caiette sack't by the French.	497
Camillo Vittelli slaine,	505
Cambray summoned by the French King,	709
Cambray besieged, and yeelded to Count Fuentes,	934
Capobasso a traitor to Charles of Burgundy,	427
Capitulation made by Fredericke King of Naples,	526
Capona takē with great spoile & slaughter, Ibid	
Cardinal Baluo committed to prison, 405. Set at liberty againe,	446
Cardinal of Vrsin poysoned.	531
Cardinals vse meanes to win the Pope,	637
Capella taken by the Spaniard,	926
Capitulation broken at Mont-Denis	680
Capitulation made with the Reistres,	846
Cardinals made at Marselles by Pope Clement the seuenth.	639
Cardinal of Guise slaine.	868
Cardinal of Austria promisseth to relieue Amiens, 953. He marcheth towards Amiens,	and



# The Table

and retires againe,	954
Care of Religion most worthy of a Prince,	67
Cardinal of S. Malo hinders the Kings voy-	age.
Carolomaigne the Regent dies of a violent	85
death.	85
Castell taken by the Spaniards,	933
Castle of Naples compounds with Ferdinand,	498.
Castle-Novo abandoned by the Vice Roy. <i>Ibid</i>	
Castle of Amboise built by Charles the 8.	509
Castle of Naples yielded to the Spaniard,	535
Castle of Milan yielded to the Imperials,	601
yielded againe to the confederates,	620
Castle of Emerie taken by the French,	675
Castle of Angiers yielded to the King.	835
Catholike Cantons allied to Spaine,	1015
Causes of the change of the Estate.	55
Causes of the King of Englands discontent a-	gainst Phillip,
	191
Causes of the losse of the battell of Cressley,	198
Cause of warre in Flanders	172
Cause of a quarrell in Guienne.	172
Cause of King Charles his frensie.	255
Causes of the King and Duke of Burgundies	harred against the Constable,
	411
Cause of the King of Englands discontent a-	gainst the Duke of Burgundy,
	419
Causes that moued Edward the fourth to passe	and returne into England,
	423
Causes of Charles of Burgundies ruine	453
Causes of new warre in Brittain.	470
Causes of reuolts at Naples,	487
Causes of the ouerthrow of the French at Na-	ples,
	540
Causes of King Francis discontent against the	Emperour,
	634
Cause of warre betwixt England and France,	656
Cause of new troubles,	729
Cause of the Protestants discontents.	768
Cassaubons letter to the Ministers.	1053
Cause of the Duke of Sauoyes voyage into	France.
	1030
Cesar Borgia comes to court, and commits a	treacherous murder
	544
Censure of King Charles his frensie,	254
Ceremony in Paris in sweeting of the peace,	977
Champaigne yields to the King.	331
Charles Martell bastard to Pepin,	43.
Hee encourageth his men against the Saracins,	46
his disposition, children and death,	50
Charlemaigne the paterne of a great king,	61.
Armes, and the successe of his reigne,	62.
he is left King alone by the death of his brother	Carroloman,
	64.
hee opposeth himselfe against the Lumbards,	65.
he is entertained at Rome,	66.
he takes reuenge of a treache-	rous defeat,
	71.
hee is created Emperour,	72.
he diuides his possessions to his children	and looseth two of his best sonnes,
	74.
his death,	75
Chambray yielded to the King,	1059

Charles the Bald seeks to deceine his Nece,	82
Charles the Simple borne after his fathers death	83.
he is put from the crowne, 90. he is taken	prisoner by Heybert, and dyes,
	91
Charles the grosse dejected from the Empire	& realme, dieth poorely in a village,
	86
Charles, Duke of Lorraine, heire presumtiue,	reiection from the crowne, 104. he sends am-
	bassadors to the Estates, 106. he begins war
& surpriseth towns, 107. he is taken at Laon	& carried to Orleans where he dyes.
	108
Charles Earle of Prouence defeats & kills Man-	froy in Sicilye, 558. hee is made Vicar of the
Empire and King of Naples & Sicily. <i>Ibid.</i>	
Charles King of Sicilye a turbulent Prince,	166
He is repulst at Messina.	167
Charles the Faire crowned king without opo-	sition, his disposition and issue,
	186
Charles King of Nauarre a scourge for France,	204. he is taken prisoner by the French king
205. he is set at liberty, & comes to Paris,	210
Charles the 5. his reigne & disposition, 222. his	marriage and children, 223. he reconciles the
pretendants for Britain, 224. he proclaimeth	warre against the King of England, 225. hee
sends an Army into Castile,	226
Charles the 6. vnworthily married, 223. Hee	succours the Earle of Flanders, 236. he mar-
ries with Isabel of Bauaria, 238. hee sends	men and munition into Scotland, <i>Ibid.</i> Hee
resolues to make warre in England, 239. he	makes a truce with the English, 244. he par-
dones the mutiny at Paris 246. he marcheth	against the Duke of Brittain, 252. hee falls
into a frensie, 255. hee recouers his health,	257. hee falls into a relapse by a strange ac-
cident, 258. his children during his infirmi-	ty 261. he forsakes Paris, 270. he besiegeth
Bourges by the Duke of Burgundies means	276. hee is incensed against the Duke of
Burgundy. 279. he dislikes of his Queene,	286. he is taken by the Mutins at Paris, 288
Charles the Dolphin, an enemy to the house of	Burgundy, 283. hee escapes the Mutins at
Paris, 288. hee seeks to recouer Paris, 289.	he resolues to kill the Duke of Burgundy,
295. he is banished,	299
Charles the 7. mourns for the death of his Fa-	ther, 305. his estate very desperate, 312. hee
is blamed for the loue of faire Agnes, 313. he	desires an accord with Brittain & Burgon-
dy, 314. hee sends an ambassage to Philip of	Burgundy, 315. his diligence to relieue Or-
leans, 322. his miserable estate at that siege,	324. hee is crowned at Rheimes, 329. hee
makes a progresse into Dauphine, 344. His	entry into Paris, 349. hee calles a parliament
at Orleans to treat of a generall peace, 352	hee goes with an army against the Duke of
Burbon, 354. hee retires from Pontoise, 358	he sends his Army to Rouan, 367. hee is dis-
contented with the Dolphin his sonne, 380	he

# The Table

He sends an army against the Dolphin, and	spoyles the Earle of Armanacke, 381. His
waywardnesse and lawes 383. His death,	disposition, and imperfections.
	385.
Charles of Duraffo goes with an army against	Pope Urban.
	<i>Ibid.</i>
Chastres yields to the French.	342
Charles loune to Phillip of Burgundy, maries	Katherine of France, 352. He is taken priso-
ner and rescued, 392. He is abandoned by his	friends, and submits himselfe to Lewis the 11
406. He seeks to poyson Lewis, 412. Hee	begins to make warre in Germany, 414
Charles Duke of Burgundy blames King Ed-	ward for making a truce with France, 421.
Hee breaks his oath with the Constable, 427.	He makes an vninst title to Lorraine, <i>Ibid.</i>
He strikes Campobasso, 428. Hee seares the	King should breake the truce, 429. Hee armes
again, 430. He is defeated at Morat, 431.	He is ouerthrowne & slaine at Nancy, 433.
Charles the 8. borne, 405. His reigne, 455. His	disposition and children, 456. His coronati-
on, 457. Hee seeks to diuide the Brittons	from the Duke of Orleans, 468. He demands
Anne of Brittan to wife, 470. Hee is disfa-	ded from the enterprise of Italy,
	478
Charles the 8. goes into Italy with an army, 479	He enters Florence with his army, 482. Hee
makes a royal entry into Naples, 486. He re-	fuseth the Florentines offer, 492. Hee is in
great danger at Foure noue, 494. He is disho-	noured by two of his subiects, 502. His re-
turne to Lyons. 503. He affects the enter-	prise of Italy.
	504
Charles the 5. chosen Emperour.	584
Charles the 9. 735. His coronation, 737. He de-	clares the Prince of Conde and his adherents
sedition, 740. Hee comes with an army be-	fore Rouan, 748. He is declared of full age,
764. He besiegeth S. Iohn de Angely, 783. Hee	maries the Emperours daughter, 787. His
dissembling, 788. He auowes the massacre at	Paris, 794. He is dangerously sicke, 805. His
death and disposition,	808
Chambers of the edict at Bourdeaux and Gre-	noble,
	996
Chartres besieged by the Protestants,	772
La Charité taken and the Protestants spoyled,	745. taken by the Germaines, 778. besieged
again by the Catholicks,	779
Chastillon taken by the Catholickes,	745
Charge of the Germaines at Vimorry	844
Charge made by the marshal of Biron at Foun-	taine Francoyse,
	931
Charbonier yielded to Des Digneres	951
Chartres taken by the King	899
Chaize surprized for the King.	943
Chasteau-Thierry taken by the league	899
Cheualier d'Aumale slaine at S. Denis. <i>Ibid</i>	
Chancellours speech at the conference at Foun-	taine-bleau.
	1051
Chilpericke expelled for his vice and called	home againe.
	12
Chilpericke reiected from the crowne,	54
Christians twise defeated by the Turks	123
Christians affaires in the East	130
Christians loofe all in the East	131
Christians estate in Asia very miserable,	137
Circumstances remarkable in the battell of	Crecy,
	197
Ciuill warre in France	265
Cisteron besieged by Summarin,	762
Taken by assault.	<i>Ibid</i>
Chetardes death and praise	1266
Clovis aspires to the Monarchy of Gaul,	14
He becomes a Christian, <i>Ibid.</i> His conquest	in Burgundy, 16. Being a conqueror is van-
quished. 18. His cruell practises to bee great,	19. His horrible murders, his death with his
vertues and vices.	<i>Ibid</i>
Clodomir takes and is taken.	25
Cliffon yields to King Charles	465
Claude daughter to Lewis the 12. married to the	Earle of Angouleme,
	542
Clement the 7. chosen Pope,	607
Clergy present a petition vnto the King	981
Coquiac besieged by the duke of Aniou, 777	Combate appointed betwixt two Kings.
	169
Combate betwixt Don Phillipin and Crecy,	1013
Combate of Frenchmen and Spaniards	532
Colomus capitulate with the Pope.	620
Commendations of S. Lewis	161
Commissioners to arraigne the Prince of Conde,	733.
Competitors for the gouernement of the Scate,	137.
Complaines against the duke of Brittain, 250	Complaints against the abuses of the Church,
	235
Composition of Caen,	370
Competitors for the heire of Brittain	462
Compeigne besieged	340
Composition made by the French in the Realme	of Naples very dishonourable,
	506
Complaint of the Protestants	773
Composition of S. Iohn de Angely broken	783
Complaint of the King of Nauarre against the	Pope.
	835
Complaint of the Protestant strangers,	841
Complaint of the three Estates.	861
Complaints from them of Geneva.	980
Complaints of them of the Religion.	986
Complaints made by the King of Spaine,	1020
Complaints of the Duke of Sauoy.	1049
Conclusion of Charlemaignes life	75
Conclusions made by the French Church a-	gainst the Pope.
	556
Conditions propounded by Angolant and ac-	cepted by Charlemaigne,
	69
Conditions very vnreasonable propounded by	King Iohn.
	206
Conditions for king Iohns deliuey propoun-	ded.
	228
Conditions of peace betwixt Lewis 11. and the	duke

# The Table.

Duke of Brittain.	411	Contention betwixt the Duke of Orleans, and the Earle of Beauieu for the Regency,	456
Conditions of the combat betwixt D <sup>r</sup> Philip-pin and Creguy,	1014	Corbell taken by force by the Duke of Parma	897
Confederates to the King of Nauarre behead	205	Corby taken for the King,	898
Conference at Poyssey,	737	Councell of Lateran.	149
Conference of the Queene mother, with the King of Nauarre,	837	Councell seekes to reconcile the princes by aliances,	263
Conference at Surene,	910	Councell at Pisa to reforme the schisme in the church.	337
Confirmation of Queen mothers regency,	810	Councell at Constance.	370
Confusion among brethren.	25	Councel at Basil summons the Pope to appeare	377
Confusions in France, Italy, Germany, the East and the church.	93	Councell begun at Pisa, 559. Transported to Milan,	560.
Confusions in Italy betweene the Emperour and Popes.	120	Councillors of the court of parliament imprisoned,	719
Confusion, the mother against the sonne,	283	Councillors displaced at Tolouse,	753
Conquest made by Henry the fourth,	885	Consultations of the French against the house of Guise,	725
Colledge of Nauarre built.	172	Councell called at Trent,	765
Conquest of Sauoy.	642	Councillors at court dismissed,	858
Constable succeeds the Maior of the palace,	109	Councell erected at Paris for the vnion,	873
Conrade sonne to Fredericke, poysoned by his base brother,	157	Councel of Spaine demands the Duke of Sauoyes children,	1026
Conradine defeated and beheaded by Charles of Aniou.	158	Coücel of the duke of Sauoy ful of passion,	1049
Constable of Clifton assailed by Craon, 251. he is condemned being absent,	257	County of Tolouse annexed to the crown,	165
Constable of Burgundy taken by his owne practise,	308	Countesse of Anremours letter to Peter Mar-shew.	980
Constable of Richmond his ill successe,	316.	Country of Mont-belliard spoyled by the duke of Guise,	847
he stirs vp new troubles in court, 317. he is re-ceiued into Paris,	348	Conference at Fontain-bleau.	1051
Constable of S. Pauls dissembling,	410.	Courtes of the Duke of Maienne,	870
he is reconciled to Lewis the 11. 412. he labours to corrupt the Duke of Bourbon,	416.	Couetousnesse cause of murders,	1036
he seeks to the Duke of Burgundy, & deceiues him,	417.	Court of parliament at Paris imprisoned,	872
he deceiues both King and Duke of Burgundy,	419.	Court of parliament opposeth against the E-dict of pacification,	989
he is perplexed,	421.	Cremona taken by the Imperials,	558.
his treachery,	422.	he is miserable estate,	425.
he yelds himselfe to the Duke of Burgundy,	426.	he is deliuered to the French King, and beheaded.	Ibid.
Constable of Castile comes to Burgundy,	930	Constable of Castile comes to Burgundy,	930
Constable intreats the Legate to do the Coun-tesse of Antremont iustice,	980	Constables sonne made gouernour of Langues doc in Reuerfion.	981
Constables sonne made gouernour of Langues	981	Consciences should be free,	988
Consulations of the Duke of Sauoyes going in-to France.	1027	Contestation touching Synods with strangers,	988
Constantinople taken by the Turke.	379	Constantine taken by the Turke.	379
Constantine the Emperour smothered,	Ibid	Constancy of Lauree before Naples,	628
Constancy of Lauree before Naples,	628	Contention for primacy,	59
Contention for primacy,	59	Contention betwixt brethren,	116
Contention betwixt brethren,	116	Contention for government,	256
Contention for government,	256	Contentio for the election of a new Pope,	164
Contentio for the election of a new Pope,	164	Controuersie for precedency betwixt the Kings vnles,	234
Controuersie for precedency betwixt the Kings vnles,	234	Controuersie for the crowne of France,	185
Controuersie for the crowne of France,	185	Controuersie for the crowne betwixt Edward King of England, and Philip de Valois.	189

# The Table.

Constans battered by the king & yielded,	1059	Cotton the Iesuite hurt,	1183
Castell of Montmelian summoned	1062	Channell cut from the riuer of Seine to Loire	1184
Causes of the Marshal of Biron discotent.	1063	Communication necessary among Proninces,	1185
Cardinal Aldobrandino sent Legat to the King.	Ibid.	Constable of Castile returns out of England through France,	1186
Ibid.	Ibid.	Conspiratours amazed	1191
Capitulation of the Castell of Mountmelion,	1066.	Considerations vpon the taking of the Earle of Auerngne	Ibid.
Capitulation of S. Katherines fort,	1069	Comet newly appearing,	1205
S. Katherines fort yielded	Ibid.	Conspiracy of Marragues discovered	1206
Constancy of Bonuans,	1071	Complaint of the Ambassadour of Spaine,	1207
Cardinals entry in Lyons,	1075	Considerations vpon the siege of Sedan,	1214
S. Katherines Fort raised by them of Geneva,	1076.	Ceremonies at the Dauphins christening,	1218
Conditions of the peace made with Sauoy,	1078	Complaint of the Clergy to the King,	1237
Count Fuentes complaint to the Duke of Sa-uoy.	1079	Conference betwixt Moulin & Goumier,	1252
Complaints of the Duke of Sauoy,	Ibid	Conference with the Lady of Salinruack,	1256
Commodities which the Duke of Sauoy got by the peace,	1082		
Count Sora sent to the King frō the Arch-duke,	1086.		
Cradle sent to the French Queene	1088		
Conference to instruct the Queenes sister,	1089		
Chamber royall erected.	1089		
Chenieres sent to Thurin to take the Dukes oath.	Ibid		
Complaint of the third Estate of Dauphiné,	1098		
Crimes of treason are not pardoned without an abolishment,	1103		
Constable of S. Paul the patterne of an ambi-ous man,	1114		
Commissioners appointed to araigne the Duke of Biron,	1115		
Counsell refused to the Duke of Biron.	1117		
Crimes of State admit no counsell to plead for them.	Ibid.		
Crimes of State respect nothing but the punish-ment.	1123		
Chancellor pronounceth the sentence of death against the Duke of Biron,	1126		
He comes to the Bastile,	Ibid.		
Clemency a royall vertue,	1127		
Charmes nor violence cannot force an honest man to do ill,	1128		
Crimes for the which the Duke of Biron was condemned,	1129		
Chancellour takes his leaue of the Duke of Bi-ron,	1131		
Comparison betwixt Sylia and the Duke of Bi-ron,	1135		
Children cannot be termed happy,	1143		
Cantons of Swisles mediators of a peace,	1154		
Controuersy betwixt the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Prince of Brandebourg,	1159		
Cabins and Canowes of the sauaiges at Canada,	1162		
Constable of Castile comes through France,	1167.		
He visits the King.	1168		
Creation of new Cardinals,	1177		
Colledge built for the Iesuits at LaFleche,	1182		

# D

Danes reuolt,	75
Date of the French Monarchy when it begun,	I
Dauphine incorporated to the crowne,	201
Dolphin Charles yeelds to the Nauarrois,	211
He sollicit the townes for the Kings liberty	Ibid.
He leaves Paris, 212. He is declared Re-gent,	214.
He execut some in Paris,	218
Dolphin diswades the duke of Burgundy,	280
He is incountried by 3. great enemies,	284
Dolphin Lewis intreats the English courte-ously,	350.
He flies into Burgundy,	355.
Dolphins mariage with Mary of Austria,	447
Dolphin Henry comes to the campe,	654.
He goes into Piedmont,	664
Dolphin Francis married to Mary Queene of Scotland,	717
Dauphiné wholly subdued for the King	898
Death of Pharamond,	6
Death of the Emperour Constantine,	73
Death of Hugh Capet.	111
Death of Phillip King of France,	124
Death of the Emperour Fredericke	157
Death of Richard king of England	140
Death of Edward father & sonne,	227
Death of the constable Guesclin,	228
Death of Phillip the hardy,	170
Death of king Charles the wife,	229
Death most tragicall of the king of Nauarre,	248
Death of the Duke of Britaine	263
Death of the Duk of Berry,	281
Death of king Henry the 5. of England	301
Death of king Charles the 6.	Ibid.
Death of the Duke of Bedford	347
Death of great princes.	351
Death of Pothon and La Hire,	361
Death of Ladislaus king of Hungary in the midst of his ioy,	382
Death of the duke of Guienne	408

# The Table.

Death of the Marquis of Pont, and Earle of Eu,	409	Defeat of the Spanish Army at Sea,	858
Death of <i>Maria</i> of Burgondy,	447	Defeates of the League,	877
Death of <i>Edward</i> King of England,	448	Defeat of the Duke of Sauoy at <i>S. Helena</i> and other places,	952
Death of <i>Lewis</i> the 11.	450	Deliuery of the Prince of Conde miraculous,	734
Death of the Duke of Brittain,	466	Demands made by King <i>Charles</i> ,	466
Death of <i>Iohn Galeas</i> , right Duke of Milan,	480	Demands of the League,	854
Death of <i>Fredericks</i> , King of Naples	507	Deputies of the parliament make vnreasonable demands to the Dolphin	210
Death of <i>Charles</i> the 8.	510	Deputies at the treaty of Bretigny	220
Death of Pope <i>Alexander</i> & his dispositiō,	536	Deputies for the princes of Germany,	705
Death of <i>Philip</i> Archduke of Austria,	541	Deputies sent to treat a peace at Veruins,	969
Death of the Cardinall of Amboise	553	Deputies sent from the King to the Archduke,	798
Death of Pope <i>Julio</i> ,	568	Deputies from the King, and Duke of Sauoy,	1046
Death of <i>Queen Anne</i> of France,	571	<i>Des Digneres</i> chiefe of the Protestants in Daulphine, 817. his exploits in Daulphine and Sauoy,	838
Death of <i>Ferdinand</i> of Arragon,	580	Dispute for Images,	60
Death of the Emperour <i>Maximilian</i> ,	583	Description and lacke of the land of Oye,	694
Death of Pope <i>Leo</i> ,	595	Descent of Suisses into the Duchy of Milan,	564
Death of the Marquis of Pescara,	619	Desseines of the Emperour <i>Charles</i> ,	703
Death of <i>Iohn</i> of Medicis,	621	Desseines of the assembly at Nancy	848
Death of <i>Lantrec</i> before Naples	629	Desseines of Spaine,	909
Death of <i>Francis Sforce</i>	641	Desseine of the Spaniard	949
Death of <i>Budens</i>	666	Diepe besieged by the English, & relieved by the Dolphin, 362. yeilded to the Catholicks, & surprised againe by the Protestants,	749
Death of the Prince of Orange,	686	Difference betwixt the warres which <i>Charles lemaigne</i> made, and ours,	67
Death of the Duke of Orleans,	693	Difficulties in the performance of the treaty of Bretigny,	221
Death of the Duke of Anguien,	696	Difficultie of the siege of Metz,	707
Death of the King of England,	<i>Ibid</i>	<i>Dinan</i> yeields to King <i>Charles</i> ,	465
Death of the Queene of Nauarre	789	<i>Dinan</i> surprised for the King,	958
Death of the Cardinall of Lorraine,	814	Disability causes complaints against impossitions,	1018
Death of Pope <i>Pius</i> , and the Emperour <i>Ferdinand</i> ,	767	Dissentio betwixt the Emperour & Pope,	202
Death of the King of Nauarre,	741	Disorders in the church,	337
Death of the Duke of Anion,	828	Disloyalty of the Suisses,	519
Death of foure brethren of Lauall,	837	Disorders in the French army,	565
Death of the Duke of Bouillon	847	Disorders committed by the League,	873
Death of the Prince of Condé,	849	Disposition of <i>Philip</i> called <i>Augustus</i> ,	136
Death of the Queene Mother,	868	Disposition of the Emperour <i>Wenceslaus</i> ,	332
Death of the Duke of Parma,	904	Disposition of <i>Philip</i> Duke of Burgondy,	338
Death of the Marshall Biron,	<i>Ibid</i>	Disposition of a bad Cardinall,	403
Death of the Duke of Neuers,	934	Disposition of <i>Charles</i> of Burgondy,	434
Death of the Archbishop of Lyons.	1007	Disposition of <i>Edward</i> King of England,	443
Death of <i>Scomberg</i> ,	1009	Disposition of <i>Lewis</i> the 11.	450
Death of the Chancellour <i>Cheuerney</i> ,	1021	Disposition of the Duke of Guise, 848. Hee leaues the warre of Sedan, & comes to Paris,	849
Death of the Prince of Condies sister.	<i>Ibid</i>	Disposition of the Kings Army at Dreux,	890
Declaration of the Protestants.	825	Disposition of the Duke of Nemours to the Kings service,	1030
Declaration of the King of Nauarre,	831	Distribution of counsellors of the religion in the chambers of the Edift,	996
Declining of <i>Charlemagne</i> race,	77	Dissentio betwixt the Emperour & Pope,	134
Decrees made by the court of parliament,	885	Diversity of humors in the French court,	303
Decree vnult and treacherous,	889	Diuines tell <i>Lewis</i> the 11. that he must dye,	450
Decree forced fro the parliament at Paris,	895		
Decree of the parliament at Rouan,	903		
Decree against the popes Bull, burnt by the Duke of Maienne,	908		
Decree of the parliament at Paris.	910		
Decree against the League and Duke of Maienne,	921		
Decree against the Iesuits.	928		
Decree of the court of parliament against the propositions of <i>Florentine Iacob</i> ,	932		
Decree against the Earle of Fournoue.	983		
Decree against <i>Martha Broffier</i> .	1017		
Defeat of the French at Cressly	198		
Defeat of <i>Mont-Iohn</i> and <i>Boissy</i> .	650		

Diuisions

# The Table.

Diuision of portions causeth diuision of hearts	26	taken prisoner at the battell of Saint Albini,	465.
Diuision of the Empire,	73	hee is freed from prison,	471.
Diuision among brethren, & the cause,	78	hee refuseth to make warre against the Duke of Milan,	507
Diuision in Flanders pacified by <i>S. Lewis</i> ,	160	Duke of Grauina strangled,	531
Diuision of the French army at Poitiers,	207	Duke of Atri defeated by the Spaniard,	533
Diuision at Rome for the election of a new Pope	231	Duke of Nemours, Viceroy of Naples slaine,	534
Diuision betwixt the Dukes of Bedford and Burgondy,	306	Duke of Valentinois sent prisoner into Spaine	540.
Diuision betwixt <i>Mary</i> of Burgondy, and the <i>Gantois</i>	438	540. he is slaine there,	543
Diuision in the Brittain Army,	464	Duchy of Milan lost by the French,	565
Diuision betwixt <i>Lewis</i> and <i>Ferdinand</i> ,	527	Duke of Bouillons estate ruined by the Emperour.	587
Diuision among the captaines of the French Army in Piedmont,	662	Duke of Milan hurt,	603
Diuision betwixt the Duke of Maienne, and the 16. Tribunes at Paris,	902	Duke of Bourbon reuolts from the King,	603.
<i>Dorman</i> the Chancellor disgraced,	243	he flies away disguised.	604
Dourlans besieged by the Picards,	600	Duke of Burgondy slaine.	622
Dourlans forced by the Spaniards,	933	Duchy of Burgondy vnited to the crowne of France.	636
Dreux besieged by the King,	800	Duke of Cleues submits himselfe to the Emperour.	678
Duke and Earle but title of officers	88	Duke of Aumale defeated.	707
Duke of Normandy treacherously slaine	95	Duke of Alcor taken prisoner	708
Duke of Brittain reconciled to the King,	250	Duke of Guise goes into Italy, 714. he is slaine before Orleans,	743
he seifeth treacherously vpon the Constable	<i>Ibid</i>	Duke of Alua takes many places about Rome,	714.
he seeks to satisfie the King,	253	<i>Dunkerke</i> taken by the French,	717
he is reconciled with the Constable,	262	Duchesse of Valentinois disgraced,	721
Duke of Orleans aduanced to the government	264.	Duke of Montpensier commits great cruelty at Tours.	747
he getowes odious to the subjects, <i>Ibid</i> ,		<i>Duras</i> defeated by <i>Montluc</i>	750
Duke of Orleans murdered by the Burgundians.	268	Duke of Anion made General of the army,	770
Duke of Brittain leaues the English,	292	Duke of <i>Martignes</i> slaine at <i>S. lean D'Angely</i>	783.
He comes to King <i>Charles</i> , 316. hee is amazed to see his intelligences discovered,	435	Duke of Guise chiefe of the Massacre, 793. he is fortified by a peace, 832. hee complains of the King, 839. he desires warre, 840. hee seeks to recouer the Kings fauour, 853. hee affects a peace, 856. his dissembling,	863
Duke of Clarence defeated and slaine by the French,	299	he is slaine at Bloys,	867
Dukes of Bedford and Burgondy hold a council at Amiens.	305	Duke of Anion comes to the campe before Rochell, 800. he makes warre against the Protestants,	826
Duchesse of Bedford dyes	342	Duke of Aumale slaine,	801
Duke of Bedford sendes a challenge to the French Army, 310. hee brings new forces out of England, 319. hee discontents the Duke of Burgondy,	323.	Duke of Alangon discontented,	818
He marries againe	343	He is made chiefe of the Protestants Army,	821.
Duke of Sauoy becomes a Monke,	351	821. he is reconciled againe to the King,	824
Duke of Burgondy seifeth vpon <i>Iaqueline</i> , Countesse of Henault, 318. he is in danger of his life at Bruges, 350. he writes vnto the Dolphin, 354. hee vndertakes for the Duke of Orleans ranfome,	358	Duke of Maiennes Army in Guienne,	836
Duke of Orleans released in England,	356	Duke of Bouillon Generall of the Germane Army,	839
Duke of Yorke goes with an Army to relieue Pontoyse,	358	Duke of Ioyeuse slaine at Coutras,	843
Duke of Sauoy made Pope,	377	Duke of Espernons iustificacion	854
Duke of Alangon set at liberty, 387. he is committed againe and condemned,	411	Duke of Maiennes stay at Lyons suspected to <i>Mandela</i> .	862
Dukes of Normandy and Brittain reconciled,	396	He pursues the King, 885. he goes to begge succours in Flanders, 884. he seeks to crosse his Nephew the Duke of Guise, 911. hee is restored into fauour.	937
Duke of Nemours beheaded	436	Duke of Nemours commands in Paris, it being besieged, 895. hee seeks to be a Monarch in Lyons, 905. hee makes warre against them of Lyons.	929
Duke of Brittaines Armes seized on,	447		Duke
Duke of Orleans goes into Brittain	457		
He leaues the court discontented,	458.		

# The Table.

Duke of Parma refuseth to fight with the King 897. He releues <i>Rosen</i> . 904	Duke of Birons letter to <i>Bouvens</i> . 1071
Duke of Guise escapes out of Tours, 901. He is reconciled to the King, 926	Death of Queene <i>Louyse</i> of Vaudemont, 1082
Duke of Joyeuse forced from Villemure, and drowned. 906	Discourse of the life of Queene <i>Louyse</i> , <i>Ibid</i> .
Duke of Bouillon makes war in Luxemburg. 927	Duchesse of Beaufort loued not Queene <i>Louyse</i> . 1084
Duke of Aumale declared guiltie of treason. 943.	Death of the Princeesse of Conde, <i>Ibid</i>
Duke of Joyeuse yeeldes to the Kings seruice. 944.	Death of the Princeesse of Conty, <i>Ibid</i>
Hee returns to be a Capuchin. 1008	Death of the Duchesse of Eguillon, <i>Ibid</i>
Duke of Mercœur yeelds his obedience to the King. 959	Duke of Esquillon sent to the Archdukes, 1087
Duke of Biron sent to the Archdukes. 978	Duke of Biron sent into England, <i>Ibid</i>
Duke of Sauoy desires to be comprehended in the treatie, 970. He sweares the peace. 979.	Dolphin of France borne. 1088. His entry into Paris. 1089
His pretensions to Geneua. 980	Duke of Biron comes to court, <i>Ibid</i>
Duke of Sauoy seeks to be reconciled to the King. 1010	Diet at Soleure. 1092
Duke of Sauoy icalous of his ambassadors at Rome. 1011	Difficulties in the Treaty with the Suisses, 1096
Duke of Sauoy complains of the Spaniards, 1012.	Duke of Biron sent to the Suisses to confirme the Treaty. <i>Ibid</i> . his speech to the Suisses, 1097
He is grieved for the Duchesse of Beaufort. 1013. Hee desires to goe into France 1025. Hee is discontented with the King of Spaine, 1026. He comes to Lyons. 1027. He comes to Fontain-bleau. 1028. He demands the inuestiture of the Marquisate for his son. 1048. He departs discontented. 1052	Death of the Duke of Mercœur, <i>Ibid</i>
Duchesse of Beaufort fauours the Duke of Sauoy. 1012. Her death and disposition. 1013	Decree touching the impositions of Dauphin 1098.
Duke of Juliers marries the Duke of Lorraines daughter. 1022	Duke of Birons conspiracy discovered, 1100
Duke of Nemours sent to meet with the Duke of Sauoy. 1028	Hee said hee would dye a Soueraigne, <i>Ibid</i> .
Duke of Mercurus voyage into Hungarie, 1029.	He desires to continue the warres, 1101. He discouers his discontent to <i>La Fin</i> , <i>Ibid</i> . He contemnes the Kings aduise, 1102. Hee treates with the Duke of Sauoy. <i>Ibid</i> . Hee craues pardon of the King, 1103. Hee continues his offence pardoned, <i>Ibid</i> . Hee is aduised not to cometo court, 1108. Hee comes and iustifies himselfe, 1109. Hee praies the King of Spaine, 1110. Hee refuseth to humble himselfe to the Kings clemency. 1111. His words in the Bastile, 1114. Hee is amazed to see <i>Remaze</i> . 1116. Hee desires to see <i>Monsieur de Roussy</i> , 1126.
Duke of Biron refuseth the Duke of Sauoyes present. 1030. He is impatient of anothers praifes, <i>Ibid</i>	Duke of Birons words to the Chancellour, 1127
Duke of Barre goes to Rome disguised: 1046	He deliueys vp the Kings order, 1128. Hee is suffered to make his will, 1129. hee falls into a rage after the reading of his sentence. <i>Ibid</i> . hee confesseth himselfe, 1130. hee resolves to dye. 1131. he sends commendations to the Earle of Auvergne, 1132. hee is in a rage when hee sees the Executioner, <i>Ibid</i> . he went to a Mathematician to know his fortune. 1136. he is executed 1135.
Discourses of the Bishop of Eureux, and <i>Monsieur de Plessirat</i> Fontain-bleau. 1052	Discommodities by the cessation of commerce 1185
Duke of Sauoyes inconstancy. 1053. He sends Embassadors to Lyons. 1054. Hee refuseth to signe the articles concluded by his Embassador, 1055. Hee is troubled in minde. 1057. He demands two Legates, 1058. His letters to <i>Henry</i> the 3. <i>Ibid</i> . Hee resolves to fight with the King. 1064. His letters to the Earle of Brandix, 1067. Hee sends his Chancellor <i>Bely</i> to Rome, 1081. His bounty to the Kings ambassador, 1092	Dolphin goes to Fontain-bleau. 1186
Deputies appointed for the King to treat with the Duke of Sauoy. 1054	Discouery of conspirators. 1191
Difficulties inuented by the Duke of Sauoy. <i>Ibid</i>	Duke of Bouillons accusation & iustification, 1193
Description of Charbonieres 1060	Discouery of praistes within the Realme, 1203
Duke of Sella request to the Pope, 1063	Death of <i>Theodor Beza</i> . 1204
Description of <i>S. Katherine</i> fort. 1069	Death of the Earle of Lauall, 1211
	Duke of Bouillon cannot be drawne to come to court. 1213
	He is reconciled to the King. 1216
	Death

# The Table.

Death of the Chancellor <i>Belleure</i> 1222	<i>guieres</i> , 1013
Death of the Duke of Montpensier, 1227	Edward the 3. King of England, doth homage for Guienne 190. He resolves to make warre against <i>Philip</i> of Valois, 191. He sends Ambassadors into Flanders & Germany. 192.
Death of Father <i>Angelo</i> , 1241	Hee enters France with an army. 193. His proceedings after the battell of Cressly. 199
Duke of Neuers sent to Rome. 1243	He distrusts the Nauarroys, 213. Hee represents an opportunity neglected, 217. Hee besiegeth Paris, 219
Death of the Duke of Cleues, 1246	Edward the blacke Prince restores <i>Peter</i> King of Castile. 226.
Duke of Vendosmes marriage, 1266	Edward the 4. King of England, & the Earle of Warwicke diuided, 2404. Hee defies <i>Lewis</i> the eleuenth, 418. His seruants are discontented with the Truce, 423. Hee sends the Countables letters to king <i>Lewis</i> , 424. He offers to aid him against the Burgundian. <i>Ibid</i>
Duke of Saxones pretensions to Cleues, 1272	Edict against disorders in money, 701
Death of the Marshall <i>D'Ornano</i> 1276	Edict against abuses of the Church of Rome, 703
<i>Desdiguieres</i> made Marshall of France, 1277	Edict of Iuly, 737
Duke of Suilly puts himselfe into the Bastile, 1285	Edict of Ianuary. 739
Decree against Aduocates. 1105	Edict of peace ill obserued, 765
Defence of the aduocates, 1106	3. Edict of peace, 787
Diffimulation a new vertue in Princes, 1110	Edict of reunion. 856
Duels answers are doubtfull, 1128	Edict made by the King vpon the reduction of Paris, 922
Duke of Bouillon refuseth to come to the King, 1139	Edict against the carrying of harquebuzes and pistols, 980
Discounte vpon the Duke of Birons death, 1141	Edict of pacification, 990
Deputies sent out of Dauphine to the Dolphin. 1142	Edict against the bringing in of stufes made of silke, gold, or siluer, 1016
Deputies sent from the Suisses, 1144	Edict concerning Taxes, 1053
Demands made by the Deputies of the Suisses, 1145	Edict against bankrupts, 1260
Duke of Sauoyes pretensions to Geneua, 1149	Edict against Duels, 1261
Defence of them of Geneua, <i>Ibid</i> .	Edict for the continuement of the pacification of Nantes, 1299
Duke of Sauoy excuseth himselfe to the Senate of Bearne, 1153	Efficacie of a successiue Royalty. 3
Declaration made by the King vpon the priuiledge of Lions, 1154	Efficacy of the Law of State, 29
Duke of Espernon goes to Metz, 1156	Effects following the victory of <i>Serisolis</i> , 685
Death of the Duchesse of Bari, 1170	Effects of the kings army at Fontaine-Francoyse, 930
	Effects of the warre in Brittain, 942
	Elections of Popes seditious 111
	<i>Elenor</i> Queene of France ynchaste, 132. Shee marieth with <i>Henry</i> king of England, 133
	Emperour sends to <i>Clouis</i> . 18
	Empire in the west and other places 58
	Empire confirmed to <i>Charlemaigne</i> , 75
	Emperour grieved for the ill visage of his Father, 126
	Emperour degraded by the Popes decree in a generall Councill. <i>Ibid</i> .
	Emperour and King of England ioyne against the French, <i>Ibid</i>
	Emperour and French King resolve to succour the Christians in the East. 131
	Emperour of Greece deales trecherously with the Emperour and King. 132
	Emperour subiects himselfe basely to the Pope, 135
	Emperour of Greece murdered, 138
	Emperour

# The Table.

Emperour goes with an army against the Pope	155.	496
Empire of the Greekes translated to the French.	159	593
3. Emperours at one instant in the East.	161	751
Emperour strangely poysoned.	202	781
Emperour Charles 4. his disposition.	231	832
Emperours army before Padoua.	550.	841
Hee raiseth his siege.	161.	850
Emperour affects to be Pope.	571	869
Emperours voyage into Lombardy.	580	894.
Emperour Charles 5. his dishonorable retreat.	590	1030
Emperours vnreasonable demands.	617	1
Emperour Charles his dissimulation.	641.	2
Hee makes his entry into Rome.	644.	8
His protestation.	645.	11
His speech to Roche Du Maine.	647.	50
His conceit of his passage into France.	648.	55
His retreat out of Prouence.	655.	59
His passage through France.	666.	60
His voyage to Argiers, without successe.	667	83
Emperours pollicie.	665	83
Emperours entry into Champaigne.	687	111
Emperours designe against Merz.	706	146.
Emperour resignes his kingdome to his son.	713.	155
End of the Spanish warre.	701	159
Enguerand of Marigny vnjustly put to death.	183.	182
Enemies to King Charles the 7.	304	202
Enterprize against England.	384	209
Enteruiew of two Commanders.	395	218
Enteruiew of two Kings.	422	231
Entrie of Charles 8. into the Realme of Naples.	485	277
Enterprize vpon Genoua dishonorable.	492	337
Enteruiew of the Kings of France and Arragon.	544	368
Enterprize vpon Coma, fatall.	591	402.
Enterprize vpon Cremona.	631	450.
Enteruiew of the Kings of France and England.	635	452
Enteruiew of the Pope and French King.	639	468
Enterprize vpon Salusses.	652	475
Enterprize vpon Ait.	663	518
Enteruiew of the Emperour, and King at Nice.	665.	536.
Enterprize vpon Thurin.	674	611
Enteruiew of King Charles and the Queene of Spaine at Bayon.	767	640
Enterprize vpon Perpignan.	948	712
Enterprize vpon Villefranche.	950	731
Entrance to a peace.	967	742.
Entertainment of Monsieur D'Alincourt at Rome.	1046	749
Equality of command, the ruine of an estate.	105	813
Errors of King Charles the simple.	90	830
Error of King John.	206	894.
Error of Charles Duke of Burgundy.	419	1030
Error of Charles 8. in the Realme of Naples.	485.	1030
Error of Charles, at the battell of Four-		

# THE TABLE.

Estates assembled at Bloys.	859	Enteruiew of the Legate and Duke of Sauoy.	1081
Estates grow zealous of the King.	861	Enterprize vpon Marfeilles.	1085
Estates declare the King of Nauarre vnworthy of the succession.	864	Enterprize vpon Metz.	1090
Estates of Bloys dissolued.	871	Edict against vsurie.	1090
Estates called at Paris by the Duke of Maienne.	908	Earle of Soissons marriage.	1091
Estates of Picardie assembled at Amiens.	944	Edict against combats.	1097
Estate of the Kings affaires in Swisserland.	1015	Earle of Auvergne apprehended.	1112
Etimologie of the word Salike.	6	Euill vnpunished is tolerated.	1114
Endes maligned in his regencie	88	Edict for the ording of gold mines.	1144
Euents strange.	233	Exercises of a Prince.	1160
Executions done by Simon of Montfort vpon the Albigeois.	148	Exercise of Noblemen in Court.	1161
Execution vnseasonably done.	195	Exposition of Scriptures by the Ministers.	1165
Execution of some of the religion.	699	Example of a crime and the punishment.	1166
Execution done at Rouen.	749	Estate of old Rome.	1178
Excuses of the Duke of Medina.	857	Enterview of the Dukes of Sauoy and Mantoua.	1187
Execution of diuers of the Tribunes of Paris.	902	Earle of Auvergne resufeth to goe to the king.	1188
Execution of Barriere.	914	He is surprised and sent to Paris.	1190
Execution at Paris boldly performed.	920	Hee is committed to the Bastile.	1191
Exclusions from publicke charges dishonourable.	987	Hee is condemned to dye by the Court of Parliament.	1192
Exercise of religion allowed	993	Edict for paying of the Paulet.	1197
Exercise of religion forbidden in Court.	994	Edict against them that robbe the Publike.	1223
Execution of the Edict of Pacification.	1022	Examination of Faua.	1232
Exhortations made to them of both religions.	1047	Entrie of the Bishop into Orleans.	1240
Exchange demanded instead of restitution.	1047	Executions at Toloufe for murder.	1245
Exploits of Richard King of England in Asia.	138		
Exploits of the Prince of Wales.	225		
Exploits of the Dauphin and of Philip of Burgondie after his fathers murder.	297		
Exploits of King Henry the 5.	300		
Exploits of the French in Guienne & Normandy.	366		
Exploits in the realme of Naples.	505		
Exploits of the French in Italy.	515		
Exploits of the Duke of Valentinois.	518		
Exploits of the French in the realme of Naples.	529		
Exploits of the Pope.	543		
Exploits of the Popes armie.	548		
Exploits of Pont-Dormy.	613		
Exploit brauely performed.	652		
Exploits in Piedmont.	655		
Exploits in Picardie.	659.664		
Exploits in Luxembourg.	669		
Exploits of Piles in Guienne.	751		
Exploits of the Kings armie at Luxembourg.	706		
Exploits in Artoys.	710		
Exploits of them of the religion.	740		
Exploits in Guienne during the troubles.	750		
Exploits in Viarets.	755		
Exploits of the Baron of Adretz.	760		
Exploits in Bourgondy.	762		
Exploits in Court.	807		
Exploits of the King of Nauarre.	838		
Exploits of the Duke of Ioyeuz in Poitou.	841		
Exploits of the Duke of Neuers armie.	862		
Exploits of the Duke of Maienne at Tours.	875		
Exploits of the Duke of Maienne about Paris.	889		
Exploits of the Constable about Lions.	929		
Exploits of the Marshall D'Aumont in Brittainie.	943		
Exploits of the Duke of Guise in Marfeilles.	944		
Exploits of the Marshall of Biron in Artois.	947		
4. Enterprizes against the King.	1055		
Earle of Brandis letter to the Duke of Sauoy.	1066		
Excuse of the Count Fuentes	1080		



# THE TABLE

Fontenay befeiged by the Spaniard and releued by the French.	599	braue retreat.	679
Fontenay yeelded to the Spaniard,	606	French defeated at an enterprife vpon Boullen	690
Fontes sent out of England into France,	369	French confute to take the Ile of Weights and to fortifie it.	692
Fontenayners of an ouerthrowe,	614	French defeated in Picardy.	711
Fontenay befeiged.	646	French defeated at Graueine.	718
Fontenay furprised by the Catholikes.	811	Frutes of the Kings Coronation.	914
Fontenay befeiged.	786	Frugality maintaines that which valour hath gotten.	984
Fort of S. Bartholomew taken by Des digniers	957	Fundamentall rules or Maximes of State.	4
Fortification of Padoua	550	Fundamentall lawe called Salique.	5
Portes of the Oath in swearing the peace.	977	I. a Fin comes to Court.	1104
Francis the 1. His disposition 575. He fendeth an army into the Duchy of Milan. 576. His first passage into Italy. 577. Hee is taken prisoner at Paulia. 616. And Transpored into Castile. 617. Hee is set at liberty. 618. He Chalengeth the Combat of the Emperour. 625. He is wonderful inceded for the death of Morueth. 629. He vnder takes the duke of Wirtembergs caufe. 640. His diflike of the Duke of Sauoy. 642. His Army going into Piedmour. 643. His preparation for the warre. 645. He provides for the Emperours attempts. 649. His Ambassadors furprized and murdered. 667. He fendes a great Nauy againft England. 691. His death. 696. Disposition and Vertues. Ibid. Touched in confidence for the perfecution at Merindoll.	700	Fruits of the Kings voiage into Poitou.	1107
Francis Maria chafed from Vrbin.	581	Fawa a cunning imposter.	1228
Francis the Daulphin poyfoned.	649	He robs his hofte.	1231
Francis Marquis of Salufes flaine.	652	being apprehended he offers to kill himfelfe.	1232
Francis the second French King. 621. Hee chargeth the Prince of Conde to haue attempted againft the State. 731. His death.	734	He poyfons himfelfe.	1234
Fredegonde dies with her victories.	31		
France full of factions.	88	Gaulle called France.	15
French cannot fubfift but vnder a royalty.	110	Qantois goe to field againft their Earle.	235
French begin to fall from their obedience	125	They feeke Succours from England.	237
French King and Emperour reconciled	126	Gaucourt takes Oranges and is recouered againe.	330
Frederic the Emperour ruines Millan.	135	Galeas Duke of Milan murdered.	434
Hee takes Rome and creates a new Pope Ibid. His happy fufceffe in Affa. 156. He is excommunicated and degraded.	157	Gafton of Foixe flaine at Rauenna.	563
French expelled Constantinople by the Grecians.	166	Gaultiers defeated.	877
French all flaine in Cicily.	167	Gaucher defeated at Ville Franche.	951
French defeated at Blanquetaque.	196	Germaines choofe another Emperour, Frederic being excommunicated.	157
French charge the English at Poitiers.	207	General truce made.	363
French defeated by the English in Britanny.	223	Geneology of Lewis the twelfe.	512
French goe into Hungary.	260	Genoua recouered by the French.	544
they are defeated there.	261	Genoua attempted by the venetians.	555
French defeated by the English	306	Genoua befeiged.	558
French difcontented with the infolency of the English.	309	Genoua yeelded to King Francis.	576
French defeated at Vernueill.	311	Genoua taken and fpoyled by the Imperials.	599
French fene to warre in Swifferland.	363	Genoua yeelded againe by the French.	623
French flecte fies without caufe.	497	Generalls both taken at Dreux.	742
French fend a flecte into the realme of Naples.	503	Grenoble befeiged.	761
French enter Italy	514	Germaine succours promised to the Prince of Conde.	819
French defeated in the Realme of Naples.	513	Germane Army in Beaufse.	844
French releue Landercy with vitualls and make a	534	Gersy defeated.	859
French defeated at Nouarre	569	General of the Franciscans acquaints the King of his charge.	968
French defeated at S. Quintins.	715	Gilbour taken for the King.	878
French expelled Italy.	599	Gondebautes trechery is iuftly punifhed.	17
French forces fent into Piedmont.	672	Goths expelled by the French.	59
French releue Landercy with vitualls and make a		Gedfry of Bouillon wins the greateft part of Affa.	123
		He dyes.	130
		Gouernor of Champagne refuseth to deliuer it.	341
		Gonfalues exploits.	526
		Gods iuft iudgment vpon murder.	701
		S. Gregory his worthy fpeech	90
		Granson taken and the Souldiers trecheroufly flaine	418
		Guelphes and Gibilins.	146
		Guy Earle of Flanders imprisoned.	175
		He and his daughter both die.	178
		Guienne fwears obedience to King Charles.	372
		Guingam taken by the French.	471
		Guillestre taken for the Proteftants.	838
		Guelles fpeech vnto the King.	1023
		La Guich recues the Duke of Sauoy at Lions.	1027
		Greue the publike place of execution in Paris.	1114

Government

# THE TABLE

Gouernment of Bourgongne giuen vnto the Daulphin. 1134  
Genoua furprised by the Seyoyard, and recouered againe. 1151

## H

Hatred of Popes to Emperors irreconcilable. 156  
Hatred betwixt the houfes of Orleans and Bourgondy increafeth. 262  
Happineffe of the Raigne of Lewis 12. 511  
Han furprised for the King. 933  
Hermigrade daughter to Lewis married to Bafon King of Arles. 81  
Hebert Earle of Vermandois hanged. 98  
Henry Prince of Wales iealoufe of his owne Father. 133  
Henry the Emperour Murthred by Osborne who fucceeded him. 146  
Henry the 5. King of England enters France with an army. 281  
Hee is declared heire apparant of France. 298. His proceedings in his new Royalty. Ibid.  
Henry 6. Proclaymed King of France. 302  
crowned at Parrs. 342  
Heden yeelded to Lewis the 11. 438  
Hedin taken. 590  
Hedin befeiged by the Imperials and English. 601  
recouered againe by the French. 708  
Henry King of England defies the Emperour. 621  
Henry 2. Crowned. 698. Hee makes his entry into Boullen. 701. Hee oppofeth himfelfe againft the counsell of Trent. 703. Hee treats with the Proteftant Princes of Germany. Ibid. He goes in perfon with his Army. 704. He enters with his whole army into Metz. 705. His answer to the deputies of Germany. Ibid. He married his two daughters, and fister. 719. His death Ibid. His children and difpofition. 720.  
Henry 3. 809. He retourneth out of Poland. 811. His coronation and Marriage. 815. His carriag during the peace. 827. Hee refolues to make warre againft the Proteftants. 833. He complains of the Duke of Guife. 839. He rayfeth three armies. 840. His Gards are forced at the Baricadoes. 850. Hee retires from Paris. 851. His answer to the leagues demands. 854. His answer to the Parliament. 855. Hee refufeth to goe to Paris. 857. His fpeech to the Estates at Bloys. 860. He forgues the Parrifians. 861. His defaigne vpon the furprize of Salufes. 863. He refolues to prevent the Duke of Guife. 865. Hee is in danger at Tours. 875. Hee is murdered by a Monke. 880. His fpeech dying his manner and difpofition Ibid. His letter to the Queene being hurt. 1083.  
Henry the forth. 882. His geneology. 883. Hee rayfeth his Seege from Paris 885. He is befeiged in Deepe. 887. He forceth the Duke of Maieane to retire. Ibid. Hee approacheth with his army to Paris. 888. His conquest after the victory at Dreux. 892. His answer to the deputies of Paris. 899. Hee leaues Paris and goes againft the Duke of Parma. 897. He pourfues the Duke of Parma to the Frontiers of Artoies. 898. He is excommunicated by Pope Gregory. 899

He is miraculoufly hurt. 904. His declaration againft the Leaguers. 909. His conuerfion. 910. His coronation at Chartres. 913. He is hurt in the face. 927. He enters into the French County. 932. He makes his entry into Lions. 934. He grants a general truce to the Duke of Maieane. 935. His fpeech to the affembly at Rouen. 947. He makes a voiage into Brittain. 958. His generous refolution touching the peace. 968. His answer to the Archdukes deputies. 976. His answer to the Clergy. 982. Hee falls ficke at Montcaux. 884. His fpeech in the Court of Parliament. 989. He lends money vnto the Swiffer. 1016. He feeskes a new loue after the death of the Ducheffe of Beaufort. 1022. His liberality to Queene Margurite after difolution of their Marriage. 1025. Hee is vniwillig the Duke of Sauoy should come into France. 1206. Hee goes with the Duke of Sauoy to the Court of Parliament. 1021. Hee writes to Rome for the Duke of Bar. 1046. His answer to the Popes Nuntio. 1047. Hee comes to Lions. 1053. His declaration vpon the warre of Sauoy. 1055. His preparations for warre. 1056. His answer to the Patriarke of Constantinople. 1057. He offers mercy to the Inhabitants of Chabery. 1559. two desperate men fent to kill him. 1061. Hee returns to Montmelian. 1064. His answer to the Legat. 1068. His letter to the Gouernour of Bourg. 1070. His first fight of the Queene. 1075. His answer to the Ambassador of Spaine. 1076. Hee goes with the Queene to Paris. 1079. Hee grants a prolongation of the Truce. 1080. Hee comes to Callis. 1086. Hee confirms the Priuiledges of Bresse. 1089. He is difquieted for the Marshall of Biron. 1097. Hee expects repentance onely of the Duke Biron. 1104. Hee fends for the Duke of Biron. 1107. He comes to Paris. 1113. Hee commands Lanercin to campe vpon the frontiers. 1114. His letters to Mounfier De la Guifche. 1137. His answer to the Deputies of the Suiffes. 1146. Hee promifeth to succour Genoua. 1153. Hee returns from Metz to Paris. 1160. His age. 1168. Hee is troubled with the gout. 1169. His sorrow for the death of his fister. 1180. He fups with the Conftable of Castile. 1189. Hee fends for the Count of Auergne. 1187. Hee giues order to haue him taken. 1188. His clemency to the Earle and Antragues. 1192. His answer to the Clergy. 1212. He grants all affurances to the Duke of Bouillon. 1213. He refolues to befeige Sedan. 1214. He enters with his Queene into Sedan. 1216. He is perfwaded to alter his coyne. 1257. He is cruelly murdered. 1282  
Hernan Tiello flaine in Amiens. 954  
Houfe of Orleans called to the crowne. 163  
Houfe of Guife corrupt the King of Nauarres counsellors. 723  
Hoftages giuen for restitution of places. 976  
Houfes ifued from Montmorency. 981  
Husband againft the wife. 32  
Hugh Capet chofen King of France. 104. held worthy of the Crowne. 105. hee is defeated and in great danger. 107. he is no vifurper. He forceth

# THE TABLE

the Earle of Flanders to obedience, *ibid.* hee suppresseth the Maior of the palace, and crownes his sonne King *ibid.* hee decrees that the eldest sonne should raigne alone, *ibid.* his proceedings against Arnulph bastard to Lothare. 111  
Humor of them of the religion. 987  
Hebert the Duke of Birons Secretary put to the racke. 1189  
Honor of the house of Velasques. 1186  
Humieres slaine at Han. 933

**I** Ames of Arceville ringleader to the seditious Flemings. 192  
Ione of Vallois labors to reconcile the two Kings. 193  
Isabel Countesse of Antremont prisoner in Sauoy. 979  
Jeffrey Duke of Guienne pittifully slaine. 57  
Iewes banished out of France. 136  
Icalousie betwene the Duke of Orleance and Bourgondy. 258  
James Cour banished. 382  
Saint Iean d'Angely besieged by the Duke of Aniou 783, yeelded by composition. *ibid.*  
Ienis defeated. 799  
Iesuits seeke to bee restored, 982, they make petition to the King. 983  
Iohn succeeds Richard the first in England, & makes a peace with Philip of France 140, hee murdered his nephew Arthur, and is declared guilty of murder 141, he makes the Realme of England tributary to the Pope 143, hee oppresseth his subjects. 144  
Iohns reigne mournfull in the beginning 204, hee forceth Prince Edward to defend himselfe 206, he is taken prisoner by Prince Edward. 208  
Iohn sends to the Parisians for his deliury but in vaine. 212  
Iohn of Marais a famous Aduocate executed. 245  
Iohn of Bourgondy seizeth on the Daulphins person 269, he confesseth his cousins murder *ibid.* he flies and offers to iustifie it by armes *ibid.* he is resolved for the murder 270, hee gouerns the Court 272, his practises in Court 277, hee reuiues the war 282, he armes and draws in the English 284, he comes with an army before Paris 285, hee fetcheth the Queen fro Tours 286, hee treats with the English but in vaine 291, hee seekes to reconcile himselfe to the Daulphin *ibid.* hee comes to the Daulphin. 296, and is slaine by his commandement. *ibid.*  
Iohn duke of Bourbon dies in England. 343  
Iohn the Daulphin dies. 282  
Iohn Hus & Jerome of Prague condemned and burnt. 376  
Iohn of Medicis his stratagem. 608  
Iohn Chastel condemned for attempting to murder the King. 928  
Images at the first a politike inuention. 60  
Impostions newly laied in France. 181  
Impiety of Pope Alexander. 484  
Imperials defeated. 652  
Imperials surprized at Beins 676, they charge the French in their lodging, and are repulst. 677  
Imperials ouerthrowen at the battail of Serifolis. 648  
Insolency of Popes at this day. 60

Instruction for Princes how to carry themselves in ciuill warres. 648  
Institution of the twelue Peeres of France. 68  
Inglish enter into Guienne. 120  
Infidels make their profit at the dissention of Christians. 138  
Inglish reiect king Iohn & offer the realm to Philip of France 144, they change their mindes, and receiue Henry the sonne of Iohn. 145  
Inglish rebel against their King. 161  
Insolencies of the parisians against their Prince. 212  
Insolency of Iohn of Pigueny in the Daulphins presence. *ibid.*  
Inglish beat the parisians in vew of the Nararrois. 216  
Inglish affaires succeed ill in Guienne. 173  
Inglish provide for their defence. 240  
Inglish enter Picardy. 243  
Inglish troups leaue the Duke of Bourgondy. 275  
Inglish take all Normandy. 290  
Inglish grow amazed at the exploits of Iane. 325  
Inglish defeated at largeau. 328  
Inglish defeated at Patay. *ibid.*  
Inglish seeke to crosse Charles in his courses. 338  
Institution of the golden fleece. 339  
Inglish defeated at Viuaia. 344  
Inglish defeated and the Earle of Arundel slaine. 345  
Inglish defeated at Saint Dennis. 348  
Inglish prepare to invade France. 415  
Integrity of the Suisses in old time. 432  
Insolency of the Gantois. 440  
Inglish land in France. 601  
Incounter of two armies at Ranty. 710  
Inundation at Rome. 716  
Inglish spoile the coast of Normandy & Picardy. 717  
Insolency of the Protestants at Mans. 745  
Incounter of Roch-abeille. 779  
Incounter at Renle-Duke. 786  
Infanta of Spaine desirous of a peace. 966  
Ioane Queene of France dies. 201  
Ioane seekes to recouer Naples. 242 she is taken and smothered. 243  
Ioane the Virgin, or rather witch, 324 she threatens the English, 325, shee diswades King Charles from fighting 338, shee is wounded 339, shee is taken, brought to Rouen & condemned for a witch. 340  
Ioy at Paris for the Kings murder. 884  
Isabel wife to Philip the Hardie dies in Affrica. 164  
Isabel complains of her husband Edward King of England. 187  
Irene the Emperesse banished. 73  
Isabel daughter to Philip the Faire married to the King of England. 178  
Issue of Lewis Duke of Orleance. 268  
Italy made desolate by the Gothes. 28  
Italy in alarum. 714  
Iury and Jerusalem taken. 124  
Iulius the 2. chosen Pope. 537  
Saint Iulian surprized. 818  
Imposture very strange. 1060  
Icalousie of Queene Lewis. 1082  
Inuention to make sike in France. 1154  
Iesuits speech to the King at Metz for their restitution. 1156  
Imposition of thirty in the hundred in Spaine. 1171  
Imposition

# THE TABLE

Imposition exacted by the French. 1172  
Iesuits restored in France. 1182  
Inuention of new workes brought into France. 1184  
Iesuits admitted to goe into Nauarre. 1228  
Imposture descouered. 1231  
Inundation of the riuer of Loyre. 1242  
Iesuits sent for to receiue the Kings heart. 1283  
Iesuits come to the King and Queene. *ibid.*  
Iesuits receiue the Kings heart. *ibid.*

## K

Kingdome of the Lumbards ruined. 66  
Kings of the last race of Charlemagne. 101  
King Charles his vnclis diswades him from the warre of Britannie. 252  
King of Hungary craues succours from King Charles. 260  
Kings mignions slaine by the Councell. 315  
King of Englands lawfull title to Guenne. 371  
King of Nauarre enemy to King Charles. 374  
Kings Proctor opposeth himselfe against the Popes proceedings. 399  
King of Hungary poysoned. 453  
Kingdome of Naples conquered by Charles. 486  
King of England offers all loue to King Francis. 616  
Kings of France and England proclaime war against the Empeperor. 626  
King Francis his children redeemed out of Spaine. 632  
Kings of France and England complaine of the Pope. 636  
King of Scotland goes to succour the French King. 657  
Kings army in Piedmont. 681  
King of Nauarre betraied by his Chancellor. 731  
King of Nauarre comes to Orleance with his brother the Prince of Conde 732, hee forsakes them of the religion 739, hee is slaine before Rouen. 748  
King of Nauarre retires from Court. 821  
King of Nauarres petition to the States. 821  
King of Nauarre goes to armes. 821  
King of Nauarre succours the king at Tours. 821  
King of Spaine desires peace, 965, hee doubts of a peace, 967, hee resolves to yeeld vp all places. 969  
King of Spaine swears the peace. 977  
Kings only sister made sure to the Prince of Lorraine. 985  
King desires to haue his sister to be a Catholike. 985  
Kings sister pursues the establishment of the Edict. 990  
King of Spaine intreates the Pope to end the arbitrament. 1012  
King of Spaine offended with the Duke of Sauoy. 1026  
King of Spaine complains of the French. 1172

## L

Law for wearing of long haire. 8  
Languedoc severely punished by Marsel. 49  
Languedoc returns to the crowne. 147  
Last act of the Constables tragedy. 425  
Laudais gouerns the Duke of Britaine insolently 456

he condemnes the noble men of high treason 457  
he is hanged. 459  
Lanskenets defeated by the French. 503  
Lawrence of Medicis inuested in the Dutchy of Vrbino. 581  
Laude taken from the French. 598  
Ladies Bridge in Paris fails. 518  
Laurrec odious to his army, 594, he is forced to fight by the Suisses, 597, his successe in the realme of Naples. 625  
Langey dies in Piedmont. 672  
Landrecy taken by the French, 675, besieged againe by the Imperials. 678  
Lagny taken by the Duke of Parma. 897  
Laon taken by the King. 926  
Lewis his base facility, cruelty and indiscretion. 77  
Lewis the Gentle imprisioned by his children, and forced to giue them portions 78, he dies. 80  
Lewis the Stuttering leuues his wife with child. 83  
Lewis the Regent defeated by the Normans, and dies for griefe. 84  
League of Robert against King Charles the Simple. 89  
Lewis the fourth, a disloyal Prince 94, hee deales treacherously with the Duke of Normandy 95, he oppresseth the Normans 96, hee is taken prisoner at a parly & enlarged 97, hee hates of his subjects 98  
Lewis the Grosse purissheth the rebels. 127  
Lewis sonne to Lewis the Grosse married the heire of Guionne. 129  
Lewis the Yong pretends cause to bee diuorced from Elenor. 133, hee marries againe. *ibid.*  
League against Philip Augustus. 142  
Lewis sonne to Philip Augustus, receiued by the English. 144  
Lewis the eight, his raigne, manners, and death. 147  
League against Queene Blanch. 152  
Lewis the ninth, called Saint, in danger to be taken by his rebels 152, his disposition 133, his happy gouernment 154, he goes with an army into the East 159, he takes Damier 160, he is taken by the Sultan of Egypt and paies his ranlome 161, he reconciles the English to their king *ibid.* hee goes into Barbary 162, hee falls sicke and dies their 163, his vertues, raigne and children. *ibid.*  
Lewis eldest sonne to Philip the Hardy poysoned. 165  
League made against Charles King of Cicaly. 166  
Lewis Hutin his disposition; his wiues. 183  
League against Philip the faire. 173  
Lewis Duke of Aniou made Regent. 233  
Lewis crowned king of Naples 241, his death. 243  
Lewis the Daulphin dies. 281  
League against Charles. 305  
Lewis the eleuenth, eldest sonne to Charles the seuenth borne. 309  
League with England shaken. 313  
League against Charles, to aduance the Daulphin. 353  
Lewis the Daulphin marries contrary to his fathers liking. 382  
Lewis the eleuenth his disposition and wiues 386, hee purchaseth the county of Roussillon 388, hee discouers the League 389, hee sets vpon his brother 396, hee sollicit the Ligeois to a new revolt 400, he and the Duke of Bourgondy in great danger of their liues 402, he pretends a collour to get quietly from

# THE TABLE.

from Liege, 403. He makes a peace with the Bourgondion, 407. He and *Charles* of Burgundie seeke to circumvent one another, 412. He maries his two daughters, 413. He seeke a peace with the Duke of Burgundie, and is refused, 415. He dissembles with the Countesse, 417. He sends an Ambassador to the Emperour, 418. His subtil practises, 421. A free abuser of mens seruices, 423. He discouers a traytor to *Charles* of Burgundie, 427. He feares the good successe of *Charles*, 429. He is reconciled to the king of Sicill, 436. He sets the Duchesse of Savoy at liberty, 431. He discouers the Duke of Brittaines practises, 455. His error after the death of *Charles* of Burgundie, 436. His health decays, 437. He purchaseth the County of Boullen, and doth homage for it, 439. He seeke a peace with *Maximilian*, 445. He distrusts all men in his sicknesse, 449. He falls into a relapse, 447. His disposition in his declining age, 448. He is braued by his Phisition, 449. His admonition to his sonne, *ibid.*  
League of the common-weale, 389  
League betwixt the Duke of Burgundy, Guienne, and Brittain, against *Lewis*, 407  
League with the Swisses, 442  
League made by the duke of Orleans, 458  
League betwixt the Pope, Venetians, and the duke of Millan, 477  
*Lewis* the 12. his title to the Dutchie of Milaine, 512. he enters into league with the Venetians, 515. hee succours the Florentines, 521. he confirmed a truce with the Emperour, 524. hee makes a new accord with the Florentines, 527. hee succours them with men, 528. he is discontented with the Pope and his sonne, 531. he sends a new armie to Naples, 535. hee is much perplexed for the losse of Naples, 540. hee seeke to crosse *Maximilian*, and his sonne *Philip*, 542. hee goes with an armie against the rebels of Genoua, 544. hee seeke to hinder the Emperours passage into Italy, *ibid.* he goeth into Italy, 546. hee marrieth *Mary* of England, 572. his death, 573  
League betwixt Pope *Alexander* and *Lewis*, 524  
League against the Valentinois, 538  
League against the Venetians, 541  
League betwixt the Emperour and King of France and Arragon, against the Venetians, *ibid.*  
League betwixt the Pope and *Ferdinand*, against the French, 554  
League made against *Francis* the first, 576  
League betwixt the Emperour and King of England, 600  
League betwixt the Emperour and Venetians, 602  
League against the Emperour, 619  
Leue of Launt-knights for the English made fruitlesse, 692  
League betwixt *Henry* the second and the Protestant Princes against the Emperour, 714  
Letters to the King of Nauarre, 728  
League of Princes against the Protestants, 765  
League made by the King and his subiects, 767  
League made at Peronne, 824  
Letters from the king to the Duke of Maienne, 871  
League defeated before Senlis, 877  
League defeated at Dreux, 892  
Leaguers defeated in Prouence, 899

League defeated at Iuetot, 904  
Legat exhorts the deputies to peace, 969  
Letter from Queene *Margret* vnto the king, 1024  
*Leopolds* title to Cleues, 1272  
Limits of the French Monarchie in Germany, 71  
Liegeois rebell against the Duke of Burgundy, 399  
Liegeois despairing hazard all, 402  
Lieutenant to the Duke of Burgundy, executed by the Swisses, 416  
Liberalitie of *Lewis* the 11, 443  
Liliens burnt by the French, 659  
Lions ceated on by the Protestants, 757  
besieged by the Duke of Nemours, 758  
Liuron besieged by the Prince Dauphin, 814  
Lions reduced to the king, 914  
Lombards presumption hanging the Popes secretary, 63  
Lombard twise defeated by *Charles*, 65  
Lothaire thinking to surprise his brethren, is surprized and defeated, he dyes a Monke, 79  
Lothaire a treacherous king, 99  
he attempts warre against *Richard* Duke of Normandie, *ibid.* detested of all men, 100  
Lord of Croy defeated by *Callis*, 349  
*Lodowick* *Sforce* vsurpes the state of Millan, 474  
discontented with *Charles*, 481. taken prisoner, 520  
Louiers surprized by the king, 902  
Lorraines serues the king, 928  
Luthers beginning, 584  
Lusignan besieged, 812. and yeelded by composition, 813  
*Saint Luke* slaine without Amiens, 954  
Legates speech vnto the king, 1067  
Leauie of Swisses vnprofitable, 1069  
Legate aduertised that the Duke refused to signe the Peace, 1080  
Legate discontented with the Duke of Sauoy, *ibid.*  
Letter from the Duke of Bouillon to the king, 1119  
Letters from Geneva to *la Guiche*, 1152  
League betwixt the Venetians and Grisons, 1163  
Lies treason discouered by an other traitor, 1174  
he flies and drownes himselfe, 1176  
Leue of a Dogge to his Maister, 1221  
*Lewis* the thirteenth King, 1284  
He goes to the Court parliament, and makes a Declaration, 1285

M.  
Males in France onely capable of the crowne, 5  
*Mahomets* sect begins, 59  
Manners of Pope *Iohn* the 12., 111  
*Mahomet* aines command, 123  
Massacres committed by the souldiers of *Lewis* the young, and with his consent, 111  
Mariages of *Philip Augustus*, 119  
*Manfroy* vsurpes Sicilie and Naples, 157  
*Margret* the French Queene goes with her husband *Saint Lewis* into the East, 289  
Massacre at Paris, 321  
Mans surprized from the English, and recovered againe, 321  
Saint Maxent taken by the League and recovered againe, 354  
Marshall of Raiz burnt for Sorcerie, 356

Mahomet

# THE TABLE.

*Mahomets* cruelty against his brethren, 378  
Mariage of *Maximilian* and *Mary* of Burgundy, 442  
Marshall of Reux seeke to win the English for King *Charles*, 469  
Manage of King *Charles* to *Anne* of Brittain, 472  
Marquis of Pelicaria slaine, 497  
Marquis of Mantoua generall of the French, giues ouer his charge, 539  
*Maximilian* forces defeated, 545  
Marquis of Mantoua surprized by the Venetians, 549  
*Maximilian* retires secretly out of Lombardy, 580  
Marquis of Salufes besiegeth Millan, 620  
Marseilles surprized by the Emperour in imagination, 653  
Marquis of Guast iustifies himselfe, 667  
Mariages solemnized at Paris, 719  
Massacre at Vassay, 740  
St. Macaire forced by *Duras*, 750  
Mascou besieged by *Tauannes* in vaine, taken afterwards by a stratagem, *ibid.*  
Mariage of the King of Nauarre solemnized, 297  
Massacres committed in other parts of France, 697  
Marshall of Montmorancie committed to the Bastile, 807  
Marshall D'Anuille ioynes with the Protestants, 813  
Mariage of the Prince of Conde, 836  
Marquise of Sallufes surprized by the Duke of Sauoy, 862  
Mans taken by the King, 889  
Marceilles ready to be deliuered to the Spaniard, 944  
Maurienne taken by *Des Dignieres*, 950  
Marshall of the Cardinals armie defeated, 953  
Manner of the Kings sisters marriage, 986  
*Maria* *Brossier* counterfets her selfe to bee posselt, 1016  
Marchants of Lions complaine of their new custome, 1018  
Marquise of Bel-Ile becomes a Nun, 1021  
*Mary* of Medicis the D. of Florence daughter, 1025  
*Marian* condemned vpon suspicion, 1033  
*Merone* sets footing into France, his happy raigne, 1079  
Meulan yeelded to the English, 1092  
Meanes to pacifie a people that wauer, 1112  
Mirandola taken, 1144  
Melford taken by the French, 1168  
*Merveilles* vnworthily put to death at Millan, 638  
Metz besieged by the Emperour, 707  
Men of quality slaine at the battaile of Coutras, 843  
Mantes yeelds to the kings obedience, 893  
Meaux yeelded to the king, 913  
Mildnesse a good remedy to cure a decayed Estate, 933  
Mignons chased from Court, 935  
Milan and the whole Dutchie ready to reuolt against the Duke, 492  
Milan mutins against *Lodowick* *Sforce*, and yeelds to the French, 816. it reuolts againe from the French, 818. it is pardoned by king *Lewis*, 520  
Milan yeelded to king *Francis*, 579  
Milan surprized by the Imperials, 594  
Miserable estate of Milan, 620  
*Minard* a President slaine, 724  
St. Michael besieged, 776  
Millers Bridge at Paris sinckes into the riuer, 947

Motieue of *Roberts* league, 82  
Monachy of France ancienter then any other, 112  
Montpellier purchased to the crowne, 201  
*Montagn* put to death, 272  
Montargis besieged, 319  
Montargis taken by the French, 342. taken and lost againe, *ibid.*  
Montreuil yeelded to *Lewis* the eleuenth, 439  
Moussay defeated, 461  
*Monteleon* put to flight by the French, 498  
Montcontour taken, 461  
Mont Saint Ian taken and burned, 485  
Mouzon taken by the Imperials, 588  
Motiues of the seperation of the Church of England from the Church of Rome, 638  
Motiues of new warre in Sauoy, 641  
Montreuil taken by composition, 616  
Montdeuis taken by the Imperials, 680  
Montreuil besieged by the English, 689  
Montauban thrise besieged, 753  
Montpellier besieged by *Ioyenze*, 755  
*Monbrun* defeated by *Shze*, 762  
*Momans* and *Pierre-Gaord* defeated and slaine, 774  
Motiues of rebellion against the King, 823  
*Montelon* keeper of the great Seale, 860  
*Mora* disgraced by the Prince of Spaine, 966  
Motiues why the Duke of *Ioyenze* became a Cappuchine, 1008  
Mutinies in France by reason of an imposition, 181  
Mutinies in Flanders, 200  
Murther committed in the Dauphins presence, 212  
Mutiny at Rouen, 284  
Mutiny at Arras, 419  
Murthers at the massacre at Paris, 793  
Murmuring against the King, 820  
Mutiny of the Parisians, 896  
Montmelian taken for the King, 1056  
Marquiat of Saluces transported to the Duke of Sauoy, 1079  
Marquis of Lullins sent Ambassador for the Duke of Sauoy, 1092  
Marshall of Lauardin sent into Bourgondy, 1112  
Mines of gold discouered, 1144  
*Mendozas* vaine speech, 1168  
Maquis of Rhofny goes into Poictou, 1186  
Maquis of Verneuil restrained of her liberty, 1192  
shee is set at liberty againe, 1202  
Mutins punished in Guienne, 1203  
*Mairargues* apprehended with a Spanish Secretary, 1207. he is beheaded, 1210  
*Montbarrot* set at liberty & declared innocent, 1212  
Mons buildings at Paris, 1212  
Murther committed at Metz, 1226  
Mariage, betwixt the Duke of Orleans, & the Duke of Montpensiers daughters, 1227  
*Mussardus* commits a cruel fact, 1234  
Mulars bridge built at Paris, 1243  
Murther committed at Tolouse, 1244

N  
Names of them that went to the Holy Land, 122  
*Namarrois* seeke to ruine the Dauphin 123. hee growes  
444

# THE TABLE.

growes odious to the Parisiens, 215. hee seekes to	227
poysen King <i>Charles</i> ,	239
Naue of France, part of it dispersed,	240
Naples offered to the Regent,	472
Nancie taken by Rene, and besieged by <i>Charles</i> .	461
rescued by Rene,	470
Nantes besieged,	386
taken for the French,	626
Nauarre recovered by the French, and lost againe,	86
Naples besieged by the French,	622
Neustria, now called Normandie,	749
New league against the Emperour after the Sack of	764
Rome.	791
New-hauen deliuered to the English,	816
New-hauen recovered from the English,	1029
Negotiation of Poland,	869
Negotiation of Peace,	198
New-yeares gifts presented by the Duke of Sauoy to	208
the King,	167
Niort taken by the King of Nauarre,	312
Number of the dead at the battaile of Cressly,	370
Number of the dead at the battaile of Poitiers.	486
Nobilitie of Flanders ioyne with the people,	492
Noblemen slaine at the battaile of Vernueil,	498
Normandie yeelds wholly to the King,	578
Nola taken by the French,	596
Naples yeelds to King <i>Charles</i> ,	684
Nouarre taken by the Duke of Orleans,	707
Number of men slain at the battaile of Fournoue,	786
Nouarre besieged by the League	901
Number of men slaine at Marignan,	914
Nouarre taken by the French,	914
Number of the dead, and prisoners at Serefoles,	914
Noblemen in Me. z being besieged,	914
Nonnay taken by the Catholikes,	914
Noyon taken by the King,	914
Nobill ty of Prouence make a declaration against the	914
Duke of Epemou,	914
Nuz besieged by <i>Charles</i> of Burgundy,	914
Nauigation of the French to Canada,	914
Nauigation to the Indies,	914

## O.

Oath of Edward king of England to <i>Philip</i> ,	190
Oath of the vnion renewed,	860
Observations for great Estates.	92
Observations of the raigne of King <i>Iohn</i> ,	203
Observations necessary to be vnderstood,	232
Objections against the Duke of Guise,	865
Obedience is the eye and hart of an Estate,	1022
Occasions to renew the warre with the English,	172
Odo Earle of Champagne, seekes to seaze vpon the	117
County of Burgundy,	67
Off-spring of <i>Widichind</i> ,	106
Off-spring of <i>Hughes</i> the great,	91
<i>Ogma</i> the French Queene flies into England with	456
her sonne <i>Lewis</i> ,	147
<i>Olmer</i> and <i>Daniel</i> hanged,	967
Opinions touching the Albigeois	10
Opinions concerning Peace,	146
Orleans besieged,	207
Orders of Religious men	207
Order of the French and English armies at the bat-	207
talle of Poitiers,	207

Originall of the Cantons of Suifferland,	231
<i>Orgomonts</i> speech to the Parisiens,	245
Order for government of the Realme during the	255
Kings frenzie,	321
Orleans besieged by the English,	326
twise rescued by <i>Ioane</i> the Virgin,	327
freed from the English,	464
Order in the French and Britissh armies,	490
Order king <i>Charles</i> left in the realme of Naples,	494
Order of King <i>Charles</i> his armie at Fournoue,	682
Order of two Armies.	740
Orleans taken by the Protestants,	742
besieged againe by the Duke of Guise,	827
Order of the Holy-Ghost erected,	913
Orleans and Bourdeaux reduced to the Kings obe-	1135
dience.	143
<i>Otho</i> the Emperors sonne taken by the Venetians,	398
<i>Otho</i> the Emperor dyes for griefe,	219
Outrage committed by them of Dinan,	480
Ouerthrow at Granfon, where <i>Charles</i> lost his bag-	1032
gage,	1089
Ouerthrow of the armie of Arragon,	1092
Opinions of the peace with Sauoy,	1092
Officers of the Treasury discharged,	1146
Oration made by <i>Sillery</i> to the Suiffes,	1181
Oration made by the Chancellor to the Suiffes,	1181
Othe taken by the Suiffes,	1181
Opinions strangely held by Iesuites.	1181

## P.

<i>Pa</i> uia taken and <i>Dider</i> in it,	66
Pampeluna taken,	68
Parliament called at Noion for the election of <i>Hugh</i>	106
<i>Capet</i> ,	110
Paris the chiefe place of <i>Hughes</i> residence,	110
Patte of an excellent Prince,	153
Parliament made ordinary by <i>Lewis</i> <i>Huin</i> ,	184
Parliament called at Compienne,	214
Parisians submit themselves vnto the Dauphin,	216
they mutine against the English which had serued	218
them <i>ibid.</i> they mutine againe,	218
Plage of the English into France,	227
Parliament at Paris erected,	172
Peace built.	246
Parisians cry for mercy.	265
Parisians sollicite <i>Iohn</i> of Burgundy to come thether,	292
Parisians grow in dislike with the Burguignons,	293
they mutine against his faction,	302
Particularities of the raigne of King <i>Charles</i> 7.	348
Paris reduced to the Kings obedience,	362
Parliament of Tholouse erected,	395
Paris in danger to be surpris'd,	531
<i>Paul</i> <i>Vrsin</i> strangled.	549
Padoua besieged.	593
Parma besieged by the Imperials.	595
Parma besieged againe by the French,	596
Pauias besieged by the French in vaine,	623
taken by the French.	660
<i>S. Paul</i> besieged by the Imperials.	735
Parliament held at Orleans.	768
Parliament at Moulins.	827
Parisians ialousie of <i>Qu.</i> mothers conference.	876
Parisians courtes.	Paris

# THE TABLE.

Paris besieged,	879
Paris obeyes the King.	920
Patriarke of Constantinople sent vnto the king.	1057
<i>Pepin</i> father to <i>Marcel</i> , incontinent,	43
<i>Iepin</i> the sonne of <i>Marcel</i> meanes to make himselfe	54
King, 51. he is chosen King by the Parliamene,	54
he seekes to winne their loues by his good deeds,	56
55. he prouides for the affaires of Italy,	56
he confirms this authoritie by a Parl. 57. he resignes his	58
Crowne to <i>Charles</i> . His children and death.	61
<i>Pepins</i> children diuide the Realme,	167
<i>Peter</i> of Arragon inuades Sicily with an army,	168
he is crowned King of Sicily,	209
Peoples insolencie during <i>K. Johns</i> imprisonment,	219
Peace concluded betwix. Fr & Eng. at Breigny,	226
<i>Peter</i> king of Castile murders his owne wife,	226
he is expelled by the Castilians, <i>ibid.</i> restored by	227
the English, and afterwards abandoned by them	227
and layne,	169
<i>Peter</i> of Arragon fortifies himself in Naples,	170
<i>Peter</i> of Arragon defeated and dies.	238
Peace in Flanders,	238
Peace in Brittain,	251
<i>Peter</i> of Craon disgraced,	266
Peace betwixt the Dukes of Orleans & Burg.	271
Peace made at the castle of Winchester,	395
Peace at Conflans, and the condicions,	401
Peace betwixt <i>Lewis</i> the 11. & <i>Charles</i> of Burg.	425
Peace confirmed with the Duke of Brittain,	472
Peace in Brittain by a treaty of marriage,	473
Peace with <i>Henry</i> of Eng. and with <i>Maximilian</i> ,	476
Peace ruined in Italy by <i>Peter</i> de <i>Medicis</i> ,	482
<i>Peter</i> de <i>Medicis</i> & his brother expelled Flor.	514
Peace with the Castilian,	532
Peace betwixt the French and Spaniard,	542
Peace betwixt <i>Lewis</i> and the King of Arragon,	568
Peace betwixt the Fr. king and the Venetians,	572
Peace betwixt France and England,	583
Peace concluded with the English and Spanish,	651
Peronne besieged,	706
Peace in Germany,	718
Peace concluded at Castle Cambresis,	723
Peace concluded at Orleans,	747
Persecution of Protestants at Blois,	773
Peace concluded at Chartres,	789
Peace with the English,	802
Peace made before Rochell,	805
Petitions and admonitions to the king.	827
Peace made at Poitiers,	832
Peace concluded with the League,	876
Petition made by the Parisiens to the Pope.	944
<i>Peter</i> of Liberta the chiefe meanes to recouer Mar-	967
seilles,	968
Peace preiudiciall to a warlike nation,	1018
Peace first negotiated at <i>S. Quentin</i> ,	119
Peace vniuersally good,	120
<i>Pharamonds</i> policie, 1. his raigne,	129
<i>Philip</i> abandons <i>Baldwins</i> children at their need,	137
he is discontented at <i>Williams</i> aduancement to the	138
Crowne of England,	138
<i>Philip</i> eldest son to <i>Lewis</i> the Croise, died by a strang	138
accident,	138
<i>Philip</i> of France and <i>Richard</i> of England make a	138
peace, 137. they make a voyage into the East,	138

<i>Philip</i> stirs vp <i>Iohn</i> against his brother <i>Richard</i> King	142
of England, 14. he relents and takes his wife <i>Gel-</i>	145
berg againe, 139. his war against the K. of England	166
and the Earle of Flanders, <i>ibid.</i> he takes Normandy	168
and Poitou from <i>Iohn</i> K. of England, 141. he is in	185
danger of his life in battell,	185
<i>Philip</i> <i>Augustus</i> testament and his death,	189
<i>Philip</i> the Hardy why so called, his disposition,	191
he succors his vnckle <i>Charles</i> of Sicily,	198
<i>Philip</i> the Long crowned king, his children and dispo-	202
sition,	202
<i>Philip</i> of Valois preferred to the Crowne, 189. hee	202
settles his affaires in France, 190. he resolues to go	202
into the East, 191. his army against the English,	202
193. he saues himselfe at the battell of Crecy, 198	202
he calls a Parl. 199. his death & disposition,	202
<i>Philip</i> K. of France makes warre against <i>Peter</i> of Arra-	202
gon, 169. he is set vpon vnawares,	202
<i>Philip</i> the faire seafeth vpon the Earle of Flanders	202
daughter, 173. he inuades Flanders and defeats	202
the Flemings, 175. his army defeated by the Fle-	202
mingis, 176. he subdues the Flemings, and makes a	202
peace with the, 178. his answer to Pope <i>Boniface</i> .	202
179.	202
<i>Philip</i> of Eu made Constable,	237
<i>Philip</i> D. of Burgundy and his wife die,	263
<i>Philip</i> duke of Burgundy craues iustice against the	299
Dauphin,	299
<i>Philip</i> of Burgundies answer to <i>Lewis</i> the 11	390
<i>Philip</i> of Austria passeth through France,	527
<i>Philippin</i> of Sauoy slaine by <i>Creyney</i> .	1014
Pisa recuols from the Florentines,	481
Pisa besieged by <i>Vitelly</i> ,	417
<i>Pius</i> the third chosen Pope,	537
Piedmont in danger to be lost for want of money,	664
<i>Picoté</i> seekes to corrupt the D. of Biron.	979
Plague in <i>Lewis</i> his campe before Cairc,	160
Plague procured by the Iewes practises,	185
Plague at Paris after a massacre.	290
Plague in a fort before Bullen.	695
Plombin deliuered to the D. of Valentinois,	526
<i>La Plan</i> he discouers them of Guise.	730
Pleading before the K. and the duke of Sauoy.	1031
Portion of <i>Charles</i> and <i>Lewis</i> ,	80
Pope <i>Ioane</i> called <i>Iohn</i> deliuered of a child in the o-	93
pen streete	93
Pope incenseth the sonne against the father, who de-	121
prives him of both Empire and life,	131
Pope and French king at iarre,	144
Pope sends to king <i>Philip</i> for <i>Iohn</i> ,	146
Popes soueraigne authority ouer Christendom.	145
Popes Legat slaine by the Albigeois,	155
Pope seekes to driue the Emperor out of Italy,	163
Posterity of <i>Lewis</i> in his two sonnes,	168
Pope <i>Martin</i> supports <i>Charles</i> against <i>Peter</i> of Ar-	168
ragon,	168
Pope <i>Beneditt</i> discontented with the French king.	191
Popes arrogant Letter to <i>Philip</i> the faire,	179
Pontefon yeelds to the English,	320
Pope <i>Clement</i> vserth the Emperours Ambassador dis-	334
gracefully,	334
Pope <i>Urban</i> makes a new Colledge of 26. Cardi-	334
nals,	334
Pope	334

## THE TABLE.

Pope Clement's forces defeated by the Romans, 334	Pride of Pope Urban the sixth,	933
Pope Urban discontented against Charles of Du- razzo, 335	Proceedings of Pope Urban against Isane Queene of Naples,	335
Pope Urbans nephew defeated and taken, <i>ibid.</i> his cruelty against the Cardinals, 336. he dieth misera- bly, <i>ibid.</i>	Practise against Calis ridiculous,	352
Pope Boniface exceeding couetous, <i>ibid.</i>	Princes of the Bloud discontented,	353
Pope Innocent an enemy to the Union of the Church, <i>ibid.</i>	Printing invented,	380
Pope Gregory the 12, a cunning dissembler, <i>ibid.</i>	Prince of Wales sonne to Henry the 6. defeated by king Edward,	404
3. Popes at one time, <i>ibid.</i>	Priviledges granted to the Prince of Orange by Le- wis the 11,	416
Perion of Xaintrailles taken and deliuered, 339	Prerage of the Constables ruine,	417
Pontoise besieged, 357. taken by assault, 359	Practises of the Duke of Brittain,	413
Policy of Lewis the 11, 420	Pride and pompe of Pope Paul the 2,	451
Politike proceeding of Lewis, 423	Proposition made by k. Charles to his Councell,	465
Pope and King of Naples send their forces against Florence, 445	Pretendants for Brittain,	466
Pope Alexanders disposition, 476. he is perplexed for King Charles his coming into Italy, 483. hee poysons Zimen, Baiazets brother, 488. he flies out of Rome, 490. he capitulates with Lewis the 12. 513. he enters into league against the Venetians, 546.	Practises of the English vpon Brittain,	472
Potentates of Italy reconciled to Lewis the 12, 521	Propositions against Peter de Medicis,	480
Pox first beginning in France, 501	Propositions made by the Venetians to Charles the eight,	501
Pope seeks to chase the French out of Italy, 553. hee renues the warre against Ferrara, 556	Princes of Italy incense the k. against the Venet.	507
Popes policie, 573	Prognostications fatal for the Venetians,	547
Pope Leo's dissembling, 587	Prince of Orange flaine before Florence,	633
Pope makes a league with king Francis. 612	Practise vpon the castle of Nice,	680
Pont-dormy flaine at Hedin, 613	Preparations of the French to beseege Boulle,	690
Pope being prisoner is set at liberty by the Emperors command, 624	Presidents at Paris displaced,	701
Pope Clement the seuenth enters Marseilles in great pompe, 639	Princes answer to the French Ambassador,	706
Pursute against the Emperour in Iustice, 658	Princes of the Bloud and Officers of the Crowne dis- graced,	723
Pope Julius the 2. censured against the King, 702	Protestants executed at Amboise,	727
Politic to abuse the Princes, 731	Prince of Conde iustifies his innocencie,	<i>ibid.</i>
Politicke stratageme, 777	Protestants petition to the King,	729
Poitiers besieged by the Princes, 708	Prince of Conde escapes from Amboise,	730
Poussin besieged, 813	Protestants put them vnder the protection of the Princes,	<i>ibid.</i>
Popes Bull declared voide by the Court of Parla- ment, 834	Princes counsell discouered,	<i>ibi.</i>
Politic of the League at the States, 859	Propositions to call a generall Assembly,	<i>ibid.</i>
Pope Gregory the 14. a partisan of Spaine, 898	Propositions to call a generall Assembly, and condemned,	733
Popes Bull disannulled, 900	Prince of Conde declared guiltesse by the court of Parlament,	736
Pope blesteth the King, 936	Protestants beaten in diuers places,	741
Pope made Arbitrator for the Marquisat of Salusses, 1010.	Protestants murdered at Chalons and Barr,	744
Pomponne of Bellieure, Chancellor of France, 1021	Protestants murdered at Iffondun,	745
Pope Gregories dispensation after the kings first ma- riage, 1024	President Bourgeau cruelly murdered,	747
Pope dissolues the kings marriage, <i>ibid.</i>	Protestants put to rout by the D. of Nemours,	758
Politic of the duke of Sauoy, 1030	Processe against the Iesuites,	766
Popes Nuntio intreats the king to leaue the prote- ction of Geneva, 1046	Prince of Conde in danger to be surprised,	770
Pretendants for the Earldome of Flanders, 127	Prince of Conde flaine,	777
Prouence comes to the Earle of Amou, a sonne of France, 153	Protestants take many places in Poitou,	779
Preparation to defend France, 158	Princes voyage after the battaile of Montconter, 585.	788
Practises against the English, 310	Pretexts of the Low-country warres,	794
Proces of Laqueline Countesse of Henault against her husband, 314	Protestants massacred at Paris,	798
Prince of Orange defeated, 330	Protestants called home to their houses,	804
	Protestants against the peace of Rochel,	<i>ibi.</i>
	Protestants order in Languedoc,	808
	Prince of Conde retires into Germany,	818
	Practises of the Queene mother,	819
	Proiects of the house of Guise,	823
	Practises of the house of Guise,	825
	Prince of Conde's petition to the States,	825
	Prolongation of townes graunted to the Prote- stants,	828
	Prince of Conde in Rout,	835
	Proceedings of the King of Nauarre,	842
	Prince of	

THE TABLE.

Prince of Conty takes charge of the Protestants ar-  
 mie, 845  
 Proceedings of the league at the barricado's, 850  
 Practices to make the king odious, 861  
 Proceedings of the Duke of Mayenne, 905  
 Proceedings at Paris touching their reduction, 907  
 Preparations of obedience to the king, 913  
 Proses against the Iesuites renewed, 926  
 Prince of Spaine reiects the council of peace, 966  
 Proposition of peace continued, 968  
 Precedency yielded to the French at Veruins, 969  
 Prince of Spaine signes not the peace till the Treatie  
 of Sauoy, 977  
 Proposition of frugality, 981  
 Prince of Lorraine arrives at Paris, 985  
 Proposition of sequestration of the Marquisat, 1011  
 Prince of Orange sent from the Archduke to visit the  
 king, 1020  
 Praises of the Duke of Sauoy, 1029  
 Pretext of the D. of Sauoy's stay in France, 1049  
 Punishment of a rebellious Sonne, 23  
 Publication of the motiues of the League, 830  
 Punishment for false accusers, 1033  
 Priuiledge of Suisses and Germaines, 1074  
 Propositions of peace betwixt the king and the duke  
 of Sauoy, 1075  
 Peace concluded with Sauoy, 1077  
 Pleading in the Court of Parliament, 1086  
 President *Jarin* sent for the Duke of Biron, 1108  
 Passage of troupes into Flanders, 1113  
 Prince *Jouville* committed to custodie, 1140  
 Present giuen vnto the Daulphin, 1143  
 Pardon promised to all them that were of the duke  
 of Birons conspiracie, 1149  
 Prisoners taken at Gencua intreated like theues, 1152  
 Peace concluded betwixt the Duke of Sauoy and  
 Gencua, 1154  
 Priuiledge granted to the City of Lyons, *ibid.*  
 Profit of making of silke, 1155  
 Pont returns out of Canada into France, 1163  
 Profit of synods, 1164  
 Popes complaint, 1165  
 Priuiledges of Phisitions, 1170  
 Promises of Count *Fientes* to the Grisons, 1179  
 Predictions of Friar *Seraphin* of Mantoua, 1181  
 Priuiledges granted to the Kings household seruants,  
 1199  
 Piramede of the Iesuits beaten downe, 1202  
 Prince of Orange restor'd to his principality, 1204  
 Pensions appointed for maymed souldiers, 1217  
 Prince of Conty's marriage, 1221  
 Plague in Paris, *ibid.*  
 Proces for the murder of *Halot*, 1223  
 Punishment of Sorcerers, 1236  
 Punishment of Priests, 1237  
 Punishment of a Bankrupt, 1258  
 Post-house built at Paris, 1267  
 Prince of Conde his retreat, 1298  
 Prince of Conde his summation, 1269

Q

Quarrell for the Duchie of Brittain, 194  
 Quarrell for precedencie, 243

Queene *Isabel* takes charge vpon her Regency, 283, she  
 is sent to Tours with a gard, 286. the Duke of Bur-  
 gundy seicheth her from thence, *ibid.* she comes to  
 Paris with him, 290. she seeks vnto the Daulphin,  
 292. she hates the Daulphin her sonne, 298  
 Quarrell betwixt the duke of Barr, and the Earle of  
 Vaudemont, 242  
 Question for the Crowne of France, 346  
 Queene *Isabel* dies, 347  
 S. *Quentin* taken for the duke of Burgundy, 405. yeel-  
 ded to the king, 426. befegeed by the Imperials  
 715. taken by assault, 716  
*Quentin* excuseth himselfe to the Admirall, 736  
 Queene of Nauarre comes to Court, 789  
 Queene mother goes to the duke of Alanson, 819  
 Queene mother employed for a peace, 854  
 Queen of England sends succors to the seege of Ro-  
 uen, 902  
 Q. *Margaret* sends a petition to the Pope, 1024  
 Queens picture sent to the King, 1050  
 Queenes answer to *Aldobrandino*, 1071  
 Q. parts from Florence to go into France, 1072  
 Queene *Louise's* necessities, 1083  
 Queene comes to Paris, 1085  
 Q. of Englands speech to the D. of Biron, 1087  
 Q. of Spaine deliuered of a daughter, 1088  
 Quarrell betwixt the Cont Soissons, and the Marquis  
 of Rhosny, 1164  
 Queene in danger of drowning, 1221  
 Queene brought in bed of a daughter, 1268  
 Queenes Coronation, 1280  
 Quarrell betweene the Ambassadors of Spaine and  
 Venice, 1282  
 Queenes speech to the Iesuites, 1286

R

Race of *Eudes* from whence sprung *Hugh Capet*, 88  
*Raoul* an vsurper, his raigne vntfortunate, 92  
 Raigne of *Lewis* the 6. 125  
 Raymond Earle of Tholousa defeated by *Simon* of  
 Montfort, 149. he is recieued againe into Langue-  
 doc, 150. he submits himselfe vnto the Pope, 150  
 Rauenna taken and sackt, 564  
 Reception of a new King vsed in old time, 4  
 Religion the onely true bond of affection, 15  
 Rebellion in Guienne by *Penault*, 63  
 Rebellion against *Charlemagne*, 75  
 Rebellion of children, 78  
 Regents crowned as kings, 83  
 Reasons why *Charles* of Lorraine was reiected, 105  
 Rebels suppressed and punished, 126  
 Reuenge full of signomnie, 158  
 Rebel: calling themselves shepheards, 185  
 Resolution of Prince *Edward* in extremity, 207  
 Regent recieued into Paris, 217  
 Regent opposeth himselfe against the warre of Eng-  
 land, 239  
 Reasons to induce the Daulphin to kill the duke of  
 Burgundy, 294  
 Retreat of the Italians gallantly performed, 312  
 Reasons that moued the duke of Burgundy to vn-  
 dertake for the duke of Orleans, 357  
 Reasons why king *Edward* protects the duke of Bur-  
 taine, 423  
 Reuolt



# THE TABLE.

Reuolt of the Priuce of Orange.	441	Rome surpris'd,	6020
Reasons why <i>Edw.</i> neglects <i>Mary</i> of Burgundy.	444	Rome sackt by the Imperials,	622
Reuenge taken by the Suiffes, bloody.	493	<i>Roche du Maine</i> speech vnto the Emperour,	647
Reasons to draw King <i>Charles</i> into Italy.	509	Rouen befeeged and taken by assault,	741
Realme of Naples diuided betwixt the Kings of France and Arragon.	524	Rouen seized on by the Protestants, 748. befeeged by the King and taken by assault,	749
Rebellion in the State of Naples.	535	Rochell befeeged,	800
Realme of Naples wholly lost by the French.	539	Rochelois indured nine assaults,	801
Resolution of Captaine <i>Bayard</i> .	589	Romish Religion restored in all places,	992
Reuolt of <i>Andrew Doris</i> and his Nephew from the French.	628	Reuocation of the Pancart,	1143
Reasons that moued King <i>Francis</i> to warre.	668	Resolution of <i>Atignac</i> at Geneua,	1152
Rebellion of the Rochelois.	673	Religion one of the pillars of a State,	1178
<i>Renaudy</i> slaine	726	Resolution of the Grifons,	1179
Resolution of some of the Nobility.	729	Reuenues of Nauarre vnted to the Crowne,	1222
Retreat of Meaux,	769	<i>Ronsards</i> Epitaph,	1266
Retreat of the Princes.	770	Rumor of warre in Cleues,	1267
Resolution of the Prince of Conde.	795	Reception of the Kings heart into la Fleche,	1289
Reistres begin to murine.	821	<i>Ranillac</i> his arraignment and execution,	1294
Reistres defeated at Anneau,	846		
Retreat of the Earle of Chastillon.	<i>ibid.</i>	S Aliens what they were,	6
Reistres pourfued by the Duke of Guise, contrary to the publike faith.	847	Sarrasins inuade France with 400000. men,	46
Resolution of the Duke of Guise.	865	Saxons rebell and are subdued,	55
Reuolt of many townes from the King.	873	Sarrasins victorie,	68
Reconciliation of two Kings.	875	Sarrasins entrie into Gasconie, and are defeated in Spaine,	69
<i>Reclannille</i> defeated.	877	Sancerre distressed for victuals, 799. yeilded by composition,	800
Resolution of a damned Monke.	876	<i>Sanenze</i> defeated,	877
Retreat of the Duke of Parma from Paris.	898	Scisme in the Church,	242
Retreat of the D. of Parma out of Normandy,	904	Scisme in the Church in the time of <i>Winceflaus</i> ,	333
Reuolt at Lions against the Duke of Nemours	919	<i>Sconderberg</i> dies, his vertues,	454
Reduction of Paris to the Kings obedience.	919	Sedition at Montpellier,	228
Reduction of diuers places to the King,	926	Sentence pronounced against them,	229
Religious men should be Angels of peace,	965	Sedition at Paris,	240, 276, 288
Reasons that moued the King of Spaine to desire peace,	966	Senlis befeeged,	287
Remembrance of iniuries past, suppressed,	992	Sege of Naples raised,	639
Resolution of two breethren.	1014	Sedition in Guienne for the Imposts,	698
Rhodes taken by the Turke.	601	Sedition at Tholoufa, and many Protestants murdered,	752
<i>Richard</i> duke of Normandy marries the daughter of <i>Hugues</i> the Great.	97	Sege and ruine of Oranges,	760
<i>Richard</i> of England makes a truce with <i>Saladin</i> vpon vnreasonable conditions. 138. He is stayed by the Emperor, and forced to pay a ranfome.	139	Sege of Sancerre,	799
Reux reuolts from the King,	462	Sedition at Marfeilles,	816
<i>Riniere</i> surpriteth <i>S. Foy</i> by scalado.	751	Seedes of Rebellion sowne in Paris,	829
<i>Richard</i> d. speech to the King.	977	<i>Sixtus</i> the 5. excommunicates the king of Nauarre, and Prince of Conde,	834
Royalty of France successiue.	3	Senlis befeeged by the Duke of Aumale,	877
Romines rooted out in Gaule,	4	Sege of Paris,	894
<i>Rowl</i> defeated at Roncevaux, 70. He dies for thirst,	71	Sentence against the Popes Bull,	907
<i>Robert</i> brother to <i>Endes</i> caused himselfe to be crowned king. 90. defeated and slaine by <i>Charles</i> the simple. 91. His vertues, 109. He prefers <i>Henry</i> his younger sonne to the Crown, 114. He giues Burgundy to <i>Robert</i> his eldest sonne, 115. Hee reconciles the D. of Normandy, and the Earle of Chartres,	<i>ibi.</i>	<i>Sforce</i> recouers Milan,	519
<i>Robert</i> the eldest brother yeelds the Crowne to <i>Henry</i> his younger brother,	116	<i>Sforce</i> restored to Milan,	566
<i>Robert</i> duke of Normandy prefers his Bastard before his lawfull children.	117	<i>Simon</i> of Montfort slaine before Tholoufa,	149
Rouen taken by king <i>Charles</i> ,	368	Sicilian Euen-song,	167
Rouen returns to <i>Lewis</i> .	397	Sicilians seek to make their peace with <i>Charles</i> ,	168
<i>Rab de la Mark</i> D. of Bouillon desies the Emper,	586	<i>Sigismund</i> the Emperor comes into France,	282
		<i>Sillery</i> Ambassador in Suifferland,	525
		<i>Sillery</i> Ambassador in Suifferland,	1015
		Skirmishes before Boullen,	692
		Slaughter of the Albigeois,	148
		Slanders & false witnesses against them of the Religion,	724
		Slander cause of false iudgement,	1032
		Sons make war against the father,	114
		Sommieres befeeged,	803
		Speech of <i>K. Edward</i> at the battell of Crecy.	193
		Spaniards	

# THE TABLE.

Spaniards defeated at Naples,	532	Supplication of the Clergy to the King.	1212
Speech of <i>Bayard</i> being hurt and dying,	610	Sentence giuen against <i>Fana</i> ,	1224
Spanish bragge.	645	Sisterers discovered,	1235
Speech made by the French Ambassador,	706	Sentence for a Clandestine marriage,	1236
Speech of peace,	770	Speech of a woman condemned,	1245
Speech betwixt the Earle of Brisac and the Ambassador of England	851		
Speeches made by the three estates at Blois.	860		
Speech made by the Archbishoppe of Bourges at the ending of the estates.	871		
Speech made by the Earle of Brisac.	<i>Ibid.</i>		
Spaniards land in Brittany and fortified Blauer,	899		
Spaniards goe out of Paris with bag and baggage.	920		
Spaniards enter into Picardy.	929		
Spanish ships defeated before Dunkerke.	1021		
Stem of the house of Bourbon,	128		
Stratagem of <i>Phillipin Doris</i> ,	627		
Stratagem brauely performed be <i>Langcy</i> ,	671		
Saint <i>Nijer</i> befeeged by the Imperials and yeilded,	686		
Stratagem against the Duke of Nemours,	759		
Subtily of a woman,	29		
Subiects doe Homage to <i>Hugh Capet</i> ,	108		
Success of the Normans in Italy,	118		
Sutes of the Parliament of France against the Clergy,	119		
Success of the French army in Guienne	225		
Supplies out of Scotland,	309		
Swiffes fight Gallantly and are defeated.	363		
They craue peace of the Duke of Bourgondy with great submission, 428. They arme for their defence	<i>Ibid.</i>		
<i>Ibid.</i> They reuenge the cruelty vsed at Granfon,	429		
Suiffes 20000. at Verceil for King <i>Charles</i> ,	499		
Their practise to seaze vpon the King,	500		
Suiffes murine and abandon the French.	518		
Suiffes braue <i>Lewis</i> the twelfe,	529		
Suiffes forsake the Emperour.	545		
They forsake the alliance of France and ioyne with the Pope.	552		
Suiffes enter into Bourgondy.	571		
Supplies sent into Bourgondy,	712		
Supplication to the Queene Mother,	723		
Submission made by the Vniuersity to the King.	921		
Suiffes intreate the king to retire the army out of the County of Bourgondy.	912		
Succours to releue La Fere defeated.	943		
Spanish Ambassador complains of the king in Swifferland.	1060		
Sege of the Castile of Montmelian.	1062		
Sauoyards brag.	<i>Ibid.</i>		
Speech of the Earle of Brandis to his soldiars,	1065		
Skirmish neere to Villetre.	1068		
Sauoy Ambassadors consult with Taxis.	1077		
<i>Sillery</i> and <i>De Vie</i> Ambassadors in Suifferland.	1092		
Suppositions of letters.	1128		
Shame followes Pride.	1136		
<i>Scipio</i> kills his wife and her Adulterer at Paris.	1148		
Situation of Geneua,	1149		
<i>Sobole</i> deliueys vp the Cittadell of Metz	1156		
Synode held at Gap.	1164		
Sentence giuen against Adultery and Incest.	1167		
Sedition growing at Rome,	1181		
Scarcity of Corne in France,	1184		
		T	
		T Artars refuse the Christian religion by reason of their euill life.	160
		Talbot commands at Orleans in the place of the Earle of Salisbury.	324
		Tartas relieved by King <i>Charles</i> ,	361
		Talbot enters Bourdeaux with new English troupes,	373
		He is slaine by the French,	374
		Taxes remitted,	981
		Talions lawes abrogated,	1037
		Teligny slaine by the Imperials,	600
		<i>Tigery</i> the new Earle of Flanders defeated.	128
		Therouenne yeelds to <i>Lewis</i> 11	439
		Therouenne befeeged,	570
		Therouenne surpris'd by the Imperials.	708
		Thoul taken by <i>Henry</i> 2.	705
		Theonuille taken by the French,	717
		Thouloufa yeelds it selfe vnto the Kings	944
		Title of France to Naples and Cicily	478
		<i>Tierfelins</i> regiment defeated,	836
		Townes in Flanders seaze vpon their Gouvernors,	237
		Townes in Normandy yeeld to the King	336
		Townes in Picardy yeeld to <i>Lewis</i> 11.	436
		Tourney taken,	570
		Lost againe by the French,	590
		Townes taken for the King.	878
		Troubles at Rome.	63
		Trechery of <i>Idnabala</i> the Sarrasin,	68
		Treaty of peace with the Sarrasins	70
		Treason of <i>Ganelon</i>	<i>ibid.</i>
		Troubles in Normandy,	95
		Trechery punisht with trechery,	98
		Troubles in Flanders	127
		Trechery against the good Earle of Flanders,	<i>ibid.</i>
		Troubles in Bourbonnois,	128
		Troubles in England betwixt the father and the sonne	133
		Troubles in Flanders for the Earledome of Vermandois.	137
		Troubles in Nauarre.	165
		Troubles at Naples,	194
		Troubles in Brittany,	200
		Troubles in Flanders pacified by <i>Phillip</i> .	228
		Troubles in Court caused by the Constable.	320
		Truce prolonged for 5. yeares,	336
		Troubles in England.	375. 384. 444. 699.
		Truce granted to <i>Charles</i> of Bourgondy,	406
		Troubles rayfed by the Duke of Guienne,	<i>ibid.</i>
		Trechery and defeat.	408
		Troubles in the East,	453
		Troubles in Brittany,	459
		Troubles rayfed in Brittany by the Vicount of Rohan.	460
		Troubles by the death of <i>Lawrence de Medicis</i> .	476
		Treaty of Verceil.	500
		Treachery and couetousnesse of <i>Entragues</i> ,	501
		Truce	

# THE TABLE

Truce betwixt the Kings of France and Castile.	504	Varennes taken.	874
Truce continued with the Spaniard.	509	Valour of Captaine <i>Rigande</i> .	897
Troubles in Bourgondy.	514	Verona taken by <i>Charlemagne</i> .	66
Treaty betwixt the Emperour and <i>Levis</i> the twelfth.	517	Vertues and vices of <i>Charlemagne</i> .	76
Troubles raised by the Suisses.	532	Vermuel yeelds to the French 310. taken againe by the English.	312
Truce betwixt Spaine and France.	538	Venetians and Milanois iearous of K. <i>Charles</i> they descouer an enterprize against Scutari to the Turk	
Truce betwixt the Emperour and Venetians.	545	483, they succor the Duke of Milau 508, they oppose against the Florentins 509. reconciled to the Pope 541, they leauy an army, and are censured by the Pope 547, they beginne to recouer their losses 549, they make warre against the Duke of Ferrara, and are put to route 551, they are repulled from Verona 555. they abandon King <i>Francis</i> .	599
Treachery of Pope <i>Lulio</i> .	564	Verona yeelded to the Venetians.	581
Truce betwixt France and Arragon.	568	Vernon reduced to the Kings obedience.	893
Treachery of the Suisses.	577	Vezelay besieged.	782
Treachery of the Marquis of Salusses.	646	Veruins chosen for the conference of peace.	969
Truce for three monthes.	661	Victory of Fourmigny against the English.	369
Truce in Piedmont.	685	Villany of Campobasso.	410
Treaty of peace.	687	<i>Virgilio Vrsino</i> in the Kings pay.	502
Truce betwixt the French and Spaniards for five yeeres.	713	<i>La Vergne</i> drawne with foure horses.	699
Treaty of peace betwixt the French and the Spaniards.	718	<i>Vitelli</i> beheaded.	517
Troubles at Meaux.	744	<i>Vitelloxze</i> and <i>Linerot</i> cruelly murdered by the Valentinois.	531
Treachery of captaine <i>Bugole</i> at Lectoure.	750	Victory gotten by the Marquis of Salusses.	613
Troubles in Languedoc.	754	Victory at sea gotten by <i>Philippin Doria</i> .	627
Troubles in Dauphine.	759	<i>Villegagnon</i> sailes to America.	713
Truce made and presently broken.	770	Vienne yeelded to the Duke of Nemours.	758
Treaty of peace reuiued in vaine.	771	Victories after the battaile of Montconter.	782
Treaty of peace at Angieres.	784	Vicount of La Guerche defeated and slaine in Poitou.	906
Treachery of King <i>Charles</i> .	792	Villemer besieged by the Duke of Ioyeuse.	ibid.
Truce made with them of Poictou.	810	<i>Villars</i> yeelds Rouen and al. his other commands to the King.	926
Treachery of Pau.	844	Vienne reduced to the Kings obedience.	930
Treachery against the duke of Espernon in Angoulesme.	858	Vilson appeares at the Kings hunting at Fontaineblew.	981
Treachery of the Leagues Lansquenets.	886	<i>Vitellus</i> , prodigall expences.	981
Troies expels the Prince <i>Lannille</i> and yeelds to the King.	544	Vizeroy of Naples, doth homage to the Pope.	1046
Treaty at Boulon betwixt the English and Spanis.	984	Vncle supplants the Nephew for the county of Flanders.	119
Turkes defeated twise in Asia.	454	Vniuersity of Paris mutins.	512
Tumout of Amboise.	726	Vniuersity of Paris opposed against them of the religion.	988
Turkes army at Malta.	767	Voiage to the holy land.	122
Treaty of peace reuiued.	1077	Voiage into affrica by the French and English.	249
Transport of gold and siuer forbidden.	1090	Voiege of Angiers.	834
Treason is punished in the intent onely.	1122	Vsurpation of Popes.	120
Turkes title to the French King.	1163	<i>Vrbain B.</i> deposed and <i>Clement</i> chosen Pope.	334
Traffike into Spaine and the Low countries forbidden.	1172	<i>Vrsins</i> and <i>Collonnois</i> bands against the Valentinois.	337
Treason committed by <i>Loss</i> .	1173	Vsurpation of the house of Guise incense the French.	725
Troubles betwixt the Grifons and the Count Fuentcs.	1178	Vulpian besieged and taken by the French.	712
Traffike open with Spaine.	1186	Vic the Kings Ambassador in Suifferland.	1060
<i>Terrails</i> enterprize vpon Cieneua 1246. he is discouered and apprehended 1248. hee confesseth the fact, and is executed.	1252	Vairs Oration to the Queene at Marceilles.	1072
		<i>Villards</i> Oration to the Queene.	1074
		Vic. sent to Geneua.	1153
		Voiage to Metz.	1155
			Vics

V

*Vindes* why so called. 154  
*Valentine* Dutcheffe of Orleance demands iustice for her husbands death 166. she dies for grieve. 270  
Vannes taken by the Britan. 463  
Valentinois fearefull to the Potentats of Italy, 530  
he is a prisoner. 538  
Valour of *Pontdormy*. 6007  
Valour of *Robert La Marke*. 519  
Vandosme. spoiled by the Protestants. 746

# THE TABLE.

<i>Vics</i> discourse vnto the Grifons.	1178	Warre in Picardy.	599
Vines burnt vp.	1257	Warre in Champagne.	606
		Warre in Piedmont.	651
		Warre declared in Luxembourg and Rossillon.	669
		Warre in Picardie.	686
		Warre begun in Italy betwixt the Italians & French.	702
		Warre in Piedmont.	711
		Warre in Prouence betwixt the father and the sonne.	761
		Warre against the Rochelois.	797
		Warre in Dauphiné and other Prouinces.	811
		Warre in Languedoc and Dauphiné.	814
		Warre betwixt the Marshall D'Auville, and the Duke of Vzes.	815
		Warre against the Protestants.	833
		Warre in Brittanie.	927
		Warre proclaimed against the Spaniard.	928
		Warre in Artois.	946
		Warre in Saouy.	950
		Warre ruins both estate and religion.	1023
		<i>William</i> of Normandie made Eare of Flanders.	1128
		He is slaine there.	ibid.
		Wisdom, Iustice and Pietie of Pope <i>Clement</i> the eight.	969
		He exhorts the two Kings to peace.	ibid.
		Words giuen by sentence, must bee cured by sentence.	1031
		Women burnt for attempting against the King.	1055
		Wearing of gold and siluer forbidden.	1090
		Wisdom of the Constable <i>Montmorency</i> .	1191
		Winds violent at Paris.	1221
			Y.
		Yury yeelds to the English.	310

FINIS.